

The Changing Face of Lagos

From Vision to Reform and Transformation

CITIES
WITHOUT
SLUMS

by Prof. Michael O. Filani



Cities Alliance
Cities Without Slums

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Foreword

By the turn of the last Century, Lagos had become an international poster-child for the doomsayers of the coming urban challenge—with a reputation for overcrowded and squalid living conditions, high rates of crime, poor governance, urban and environmental degradation and transport chaos. While Lagos certainly suffered from an exaggerated and too-negative image, even those that loved the city admitted that Lagos was in deep trouble.

At the same time, anyone who has ever visited Lagos knows that it has a vast abundance of energy, skills and resources, especially its people.

Around the turn of the century, the in-coming Lagos State Government signaled its intention to stop the rot, and launched a programme to transform Africa’s largest city, and Nigeria’s powerhouse.

This report is a first and modest preliminary attempt to capture some lessons learned by the ongoing urban transformation of Lagos—one of the fastest-growing cities in the world. Central to the progress already made is the introduction of good urban governance based on the democratic principles that had been absent for so long. This has begun to lay a solid platform for the participation of ordinary citizens, and the building of partnerships with the private sector, both at the state and local government levels.

For a megacity the size of Lagos, with its huge infrastructural and governance backlogs, the challenges are enormous. Its transformation is a long-term project, requiring a combination of clear and consistent leadership, constant reform and innovation, meaningful engagement with the city’s private and corporate citizens and huge investments.

What happens in Lagos matters—not only for its citizens, but for Nigeria, for Africa and internationally. As Lagos transforms, and defies its negative reputation, it has the capacity to become the most important real role model for Africa’s urban future.



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Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and
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William Cobbett
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Executive Summary

Lagos is the economic and social “nucleus” of Nigeria and the West African subregion, accounting for 32 per cent of national GDP. It is also one of the fastest-growing cities in the world; by 2015, it is expected to be the globe’s third-largest city, according to UN estimates. Over the past decades, the city has had to contend with the challenges that accompanied staggering population growth rates. But since 1999, a consistent leadership has guided a reform process hinged on sustainable urban development. Now, Lagos’s transformation is emerging from its former status as an infamous, decaying metropolis into a modern, attractive, and functional city.

This report, funded by the Cities Alliance,¹ documents the critical achievements of the city’s governance over the past decade and a half, the major innovations that accompanied various reforms, the catalysts for this change, and the lessons learned in the process.

Chapter 1 introduces the study and briefly explains its goals. Chapter 2 captures the origin and development of Lagos as a megacity, provides an overview of its governance and political administration, describes the local economy, and outlines challenges to sustainable development. Between 1967 and 1999, Lagos witnessed unprecedented infrastructural development, but faced with explosive population growth without effective land-use planning and city management, the city had to contend with various developmental challenges. From 1999 to date, the Asiwaju Bola Tinubu and Babatunde Fashola administrations, through focusing on good governance and strong political leadership, have initiated and sustained the ongoing transformation.

The essentials of the reforms that have taken place are captured in Chapter 3, which begins by establishing the link between good governance and the reform process. The common vision of successive state governments and the governance by the leadership of the same political party, the Action Congress, between 1999 and the present, have been a key factor in the reform process and in the success of sustainable urban planning initiatives.

In addition to the exercise of political will to ensure the development of inclusive cities characterised by equitable and sustainable growth, other building blocks of the reform process include:

- The strategic visioning of development through which political leaders and the general public were able to envision and take broad long-term views of governance and urban sustainable development initiatives as well as the resources required for their accomplishment;
- A knowledge-based approach that allowed the Lagos State government to integrate and share specialised knowledge among its various ministries and parastatals, thereby promoting sustainable development;

¹ The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Cities Alliance.

- Budget reform and linkage to the activities of government institutions, through the adoption of the medium-term expenditure framework that projected likely availability of resources over a three-year horizon (documented in a fiscal strategy paper);
- Popular participation and partnership building with the private sector, both at the state and local government levels, through which stakeholder groups were invited to deliberate on draft bylaws and other issues before they were approved;
- Policy change, along with legislative and institutional reforms, aimed at improving the delivery of city services;
- Resource mobilisation coupled with transparency and accountability, leading to significant increases in revenue generation, which rose from ₦600 million² per month in 1999 to an average of ₦5.02³ billion per month in 2006. and peaking at between ₦7 billion and ₦8.2 billion per month in early 2007;
- Application of information and communication technology and data in governance, through which a robust database of taxpayers was established, ghost workers gradually eliminated, and tax loopholes closed; and
- Programmatic interventions hinged on poverty alleviation and sustainable economic growth through the pursuit of the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project that was initiated in collaboration with Cities Alliance support, which funded the preparatory work leading to the project design and approval of the World Bank.

Chapter 4 documents the critical innovations of the various reforms, focusing on three broad issues: (1) the development of plans, institutions, and physical infrastructure for transportation, water and power supply, and solid waste management; (2) urban and environmental planning; and (3) slum upgrading and redevelopment and the interconnected topic of social transformation.

The reforms in Lagos aim to promote effective, equitable, participatory, and accountable governance as well as the security of life and property. Several lessons can be drawn from the experience of Lagos, which are captured in Chapter 5. They include the need for an institutional framework for effective service delivery, which has been implemented in Lagos through the enactment of laws, policies, and the establishment of many metropolitan-wide parastatals including the Lagos State Emergency Management Authority (LASEMA), Lagos State Emergency Medical Services (LASEMS), Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA), Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA), and others.

Other factors critical to the transformation of Lagos include the promotion of participatory governance in all sectors of development; the establishment of mechanisms for effective resource mobilisation that included

² 1 USD = N156.00

³ 1 billion = 1,000 million

transparency and accountability; the planning for, and strategic visioning of, development through long-term land-use planning for all sectors and engaging in an operative poverty reduction strategy; sustainable urban planning and development of a strategic vision in this regard; and the use of information and communication technology and data for planning through the creation of a referenced database, using geographical information system (GIS) images.

Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, notes that despite Lagos' successes thus far, major challenges still remain, including the need to overhaul the administration of physical planning in the state, especially expanding the responsibility for planning beyond the Lagos state government to include the local governments. The extent of federal government infrastructure in the city area, along with the extension of the megacity into certain parts of Ogun State, require improved levels of cooperation to promote service delivery and public welfare in this burgeoning metropolis. Ideally this would involve cooperation among the federal government, the Lagos state government, the Ogun state government, various local governments, and the private sector.

Introduction

Lagos is a classic example of a modern city, having transformed from a small farming and fishing village in the fifteenth century to a burgeoning megacity in 2010, when its population rose to over 10 million people. Until recently, this megacity⁴ was generally written about in a negative light and frequently satirised. Today, however, the face of Lagos is changing as a result of a series of transformations effected by a new style of governance adopted from 1999.

In the past, scant attention was paid to land-use planning, basic infrastructure, and other public services needed to sustainably accommodate the city's exploding population growth. One of the most visible manifestations of this was severe traffic congestion, which ultimately led to the relocation of Nigeria's political capital from Lagos to Abuja in 1986.

Now, new parks are just one sign that Lagos is on a new path towards sustainable urban development. Less visible signs of local government reform include improvements in basic city services and physical infrastructure.

Since Nigeria returned to democratic governance in 1999, the successive governors of Lagos State have initiated and pursued a knowledge-based approach to critical reforms. Aside from promoting sustainable development, these reforms also span resource mobilisation, innovative and inclusive approaches to spatial planning principles, transportation upgrades, provision of educational health care services and facilities, and partnership building with the private sector in development. As a result of these reforms, Lagos is being transformed into a modern city that offers a high level of services provided by an increasingly efficient city administration.

This report documents a critical review of Lagos's governance over the past decade and half, and the positive, visible transformations that have taken place in the megacity. It identifies relevant innovations and their impacts on urban

Box 1: Lagos: A Megacity

The seat of Nigeria's government until 1986, Lagos remains the nation's commercial capital, contributing more to its economic growth than any other city.

With an estimated population of 11.2 million, the city is the most populous conurbation in Nigeria as well as the second most populous and fastest-growing city in Africa after Cairo. Lagos currently ranks as the seventh fastest-growing city in the world. (*World Urbanization Prospects: The 2011 Revision*)

The Lagos megacity comprises most of the local government areas of Lagos State and four local governments in Ogun State: Ado-Odo/Otta, Ifo, Obafemi Owode, and Sagamu.

⁴ In its *State of the World's Cities 2010/2011* report, UN-Habitat defines a *megacity* as a city with 20 million or more inhabitants (other sources set different limits, some as low as five million). In addition to the number of inhabitants, other indicators include population density, with a minimum level of 2,000 persons/square kilometres, by some definitions. Moreover, a megacity can span a single metropolitan area, or even two or more such areas that have converged to form one urban area—and in this instance, it is also referred to as a *megopolis*.

planning and management, physical infrastructure provision, resource mobilisation, crime prevention, taxation, and employment generation. It also documents the various critical lessons learned in implementing reforms.

Map 1: Study Area of Lagos Megacity Within Nigeria



Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development 2009

The Lagos Megacity: Background

Origin and Development of the Lagos Megacity

The city of Lagos was founded before the fifteenth century by the Aworis and Benin people, who named it Eko. In 1472 the name *Lagos* was given to the city by Portuguese explorer Rui de Sequeira because of its many lagoons. Lagos was an important port for the export of millions of slaves from the eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, when the British abolished the nefarious trade. Thereafter, slaves returning from Brazil settled in the older parts of Lagos, such as Campbell Street and its environs (referred to as the “Brazilian quarters”).

Lagos has been administered under a variety of different territorial schemes (Abiodun 1997). After it was ceded to Britain in 1861, the city was administered as a city-state with its own separate administration, and operated as a separate colony until its merger with the former Western Nigeria in 1951. In 1953 a federal territory, which included Lagos, was carved out of

Western Nigeria. This geopolitical change occurred after the split of political and administrative authority between antagonist governments at the time: the federal government dominated by the Northern People’s Congress, which controlled the federal territory, and the Action Group, which administered the rest of Western Nigeria.

The resulting fragmented political authority led to a gross lack of coordination in service provision to the territorial space, which by then constituted metropolitan Lagos. Moreover, there was more infrastructural development in the federal territory of Lagos than in the outer metropolitan area, thanks to the greater financial resources and administrative capacity available at the federal level.

This fragmentation brought about the evident contrast in the quality of urban services available in the two areas within the metropolitan settlement (ibid.). In 1967, following the outbreak of civil war in Nigeria, the country was split into 12 states, of which Lagos State was one. In 1976 the military administration decided to relocate the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja.

Administratively, Lagos State, with its capital at Ikeja, comprises five divisions: Lagos, Ikorodu, Ikeja, Epe, and Badagry. In 1991 the divisions were further subdivided into 20 local government areas, and in 2006, into 37 local

Box 2: Location and Natural Environment

Lagos megacity occupies two main islands in the Atlantic Ocean, separated by creeks. Its land area is 153,340 hectares, with 209 km² (some 19.6 per cent of its landmass) covered by water and mangrove swamps.

Lagos experiences a tropical rainforest climate with very high temperatures and humidity year round—a climate typical of southern Nigeria. There are two main seasons: a wet season, from April to November, with a brief dry spell in August; and a dry season, from December to March, accompanied by *harmattan* dry winds that can be very severe between December and early February.

government council areas. While the local government areas are duly recognised in the Nigerian Constitution, the local council development areas are not. Lagos State, however, uses these areas for state budget allocation purposes and for development projects, based on the principle of federalism and on the imperative of promoting grassroots development. This process of local government creation, however, has not been without its own peculiar consequences. It led to division of most major cities in the country into several independent administrative units. For instance, metropolitan Lagos was subdivided into eight local government areas. The subsequent creation of development areas by the state government further compounded the problem.

Map 2: Lagos and other divisions, districts, and local government areas in Lagos state



Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development 2009.

Box 3: Impact of Population Growth in Lagos Megacity

The physical growth and urban development of Lagos are tied to its expanding economic and political roles, aided by rapid population growth. The city’s population rose from an estimated 25,000 inhabitants in 1866 to 74,000 in 1911, partly due to the resettlement of freed slaves from Brazil. Between 1891 and 1952, the population almost doubled every 10 years (Table 2.1). The oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s caused even more people to migrate to Lagos from other parts of Nigeria. In 2006, a national census recorded the population of Lagos State as 9.1 million. This figure was vehemently disputed by the Lagos State Government, which conducted an independent census that gave a figure of 17 million (Figure 2.1).

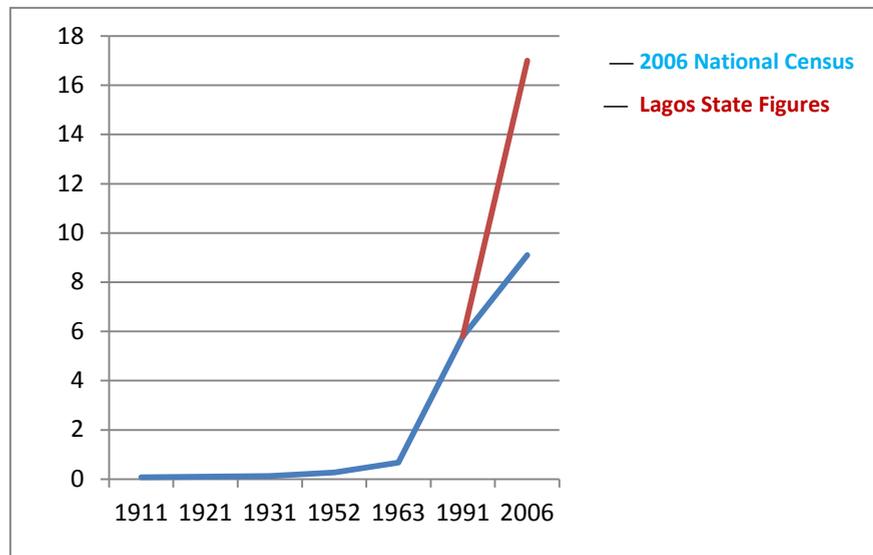
The upsurge in population growth greatly influenced the development of infrastructure and social amenities, such as housing, sanitation, educational institutions, traffic control, waste disposal, and physical planning. It also highlighted the absence of effective land-use planning and city management, and the rising crime rate seriously challenged the capabilities of the security agencies. Lagos has been projected to become the third-largest city in the world by 2015, with an estimated population of 24.6 million (UN-Habitat 2006). Currently, it has a population density of about 5,000 persons/km², making it one of the most densely populated cities in Africa (Table 2.2).

Table 2.1: Population of Lagos, 1911–2006 (in Millions)

| Year | Population |
|------|------------|
| 1911 | 0.07 |
| 1921 | 0.10 |
| 1931 | 0.13 |
| 1952 | 0.27 |
| 1963 | 0.67 |
| 1991 | 5.80 |
| 2006 | 9.01 |

Source: National Population Commission

Figure 2.1: Comparison of National Versus State Population Count for Lagos, 1911 to 2006 (in Millions)



Source: Falade 2010.

Table 2.2 Household Income Status and Density in Selected Local Government Areas of Lagos Metropolis, 2004

| Local Government Area | Status by Income | Persons per Room | Number of Household Members |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Apapa | High | 1.4 | 4.8 |
| Eti-Osa | High | 1.6 | 5.6 |
| Surulere | Middle | 2.0 | 4.8 |
| Ajeromi-Ifelodun | Low | 5.8 | 5.8 |
| Lagos Island | Low | 5.4 | 10.8 |
| Mushin | Low | 8.0 | 8.0 |

Source: Lagos State Government/UN-Habitat Nigeria office 2004.

Over the years, Lagos has spread to the mainland in the west and more than 40 km to the northwest, merging with Ikeja and Agege to form a major metropolitan conurbation. The metropolitan area covers about 16 of the state’s 20 local government areas and impinges on four local government areas of neighbouring Ogun State.

Today, the city comprises Lagos Island and Victoria Island, both connected to the mainland by three bridges; the densely populated mainland suburbs of Yaba and Oworonshoki; and the mainland districts of Ebute-Meta,

Surulere, Yaba, and Ikeja. Greater Lagos includes Mushin, Maryland, Somolu, Oshodi, Oworonsoki, Isolo, Ikotun, Agege, Iju Ishaga, Egbeda, Ketu, Bariga, Ipaja, and Ejigbo.

The city's internal structure is in line with the concept of the "multiple nuclei structure," as postulated by preeminent African urbanist Professor Akin Mabogunje. Lagos has several central business districts, including the Lagos Island Central Business District, which houses many of the city's largest wholesale markets, such as the Idumota and Balogun markets.



Aerial view of the Lagos Island Central Business District. Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Information and Strategy 2009.

Governance and Political Administration

Up to the mid-1900s, public officials in Lagos faced minimal socioeconomic and political issues (Ajose 2010), and governance posed few complex challenges. But, rapidly increasing urbanisation changed the primarily rural enclave into a modern, heterogeneous, and metropolitan city with a dense road network, modern transport system, and high-rise buildings. The existing infrastructure became inadequate and environmental sanitation problems emerged, leading to the development of shanties and slums, and to violations of urban planning regulations, among other problems.

To address the issue of environmental sanitation, a series of institutional reforms ensued. The Lagos City Council, in charge of city administration, was established in 1917, and the Lagos Executive Development Board was established in 1923. The board was in charge of the first slum clearance in Lagos, which led to the founding of Surulere, a local government area on the mainland. In later years, health sanitation inspectors were employed to address environmental sanitation. The Municipal Transport Service was also established in 1958, and a slaughterhouse was built to promote public health.

The city's reclassification in 1953 as a federal territory compounded the problem of city planning and administration. In 1967, Lagos State was created as one of 12 states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria⁵. It inherited all the problems and liabilities of Greater Lagos and its surrounding areas, and faced the daunting task of establishing the necessary political, economic, and sociocultural infrastructures to facilitate growth. This period also ushered in the military dictatorship, which lasted until 1979.

Despite these challenges, Lagos State witnessed unprecedented infrastructural development between 1967 and 1975. Many townships and rural and intercity expressways were constructed, and housing schemes were designed to address the urgent need for habitable accommodations for all categories of Lagosians.

In 1976, the decision was made to relocate the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja, after acute traffic congestion and inadequate infrastructures essentially ground the functioning of the city to a halt. In the same year, new guidelines led to the creation of new local governments. By 1991 the Lagos metropolis had been divided into 20 local governments, compounding the problem of city governance and physical planning.

From 1979 to 1983, the civilian administration of Lateef Jakande launched a programme to address the problems of housing accommodation, road construction, water management, transport development, and the provision of social amenities. This contributed to the socioeconomic transformation of the state, which in turn led to more prosperity for the people. It also led to a population explosion.

Governments and administrations that came after Jakande, especially his immediate successors, jettisoned some of his programmes, though they also made their own efforts to solve some of the state's problems. By 1996 Colonel Buba Marwa's administration had achieved modest success by opening up new development areas at the city fringes, building new housing, and tackling waste disposal and traffic congestion. The Marwa administration also introduced Operation Sweep and Neighbourhood Watch to strengthen the capability of the state security operations.

Between 1999 and 2007, the administration of Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu had to contend with a situation that was rapidly deteriorating. The state's urbanisation rate had spiraled out of control, adding 600,000 people per year, and the state's population reached 12 million. This brought numerous additional challenges, including more traffic, the proliferation of slums, chronic road congestion, poor waste management, inadequate educational and other social infrastructure, and seriously neglected physical infrastructure.

The Bola Ahmed administration began to confront these problems by forming many agencies as parastatals to provide effective service delivery to residents. The parastatals formed included the Lagos Signage and Advertisement Agency; the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA); the Lagos State Bus Services, and

⁵ There are currently 36 states in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, plus the Federal capital of Abuja.

the Lagos State Transport Management Authority. The Babatunde Fashola administration, which assumed office in 2007, has continued to build on that foundation.

The Economy of Lagos

Despite the movement of the federal capital to Abuja, metropolitan Lagos has remained the country's dominant economic, social, and financial centre as well as the hub of national and international communications. It is a thriving industrial and commercial centre with two seaports, local and international airports, and industries concentrated in the Apapa, Ikeja, and Ilupeju industrial estates. Most corporations in the country are headquartered in Lagos.

Lagos makes the greatest contribution to Nigeria's leading economic indicators, with industries including manufacturing and service delivery, banking, and telecommunications services, as well as, to a lesser extent, fishing, mining and quarrying, agriculture, and forestry. The state is rich in resources such as crude oil, bitumen, silica, clay and wood. In 2006 Lagos contributed 30 per cent of Nigeria's GDP, consumed more than 60 per cent of its energy, collected 65 per cent of its value added tax (VAT), and accounted for 90 per cent of its foreign trade and 70 per cent of its industrial investments. Five terminals and ports generate half of Nigeria's port revenue.

This economic concentration is largely due to the availability of sea, land and air transport, fairly well-developed infrastructure, and the large markets provided by the burgeoning population. In addition, Lagos is a major educational centre, providing a well-educated and highly skilled labour pool. The employment opportunities continue to attract both domestic and international migrants. The city has become an economic hub for West Africa, with the Murtala Mohammed International Airport generating 82 per cent of international airline departures within West Africa and between the subregion and Europe.

Challenges to Sustainable Development

Lagos has historically been challenged by rapid urbanization and natural population growth. With its coastal location limiting expansion, the availability of land is a major issue. It is imperative to manage and utilise land and resources as efficiently as possible. Extensive reclamation works have been undertaken in several areas, including Victoria Island, Lekki Peninsula, Amuwo Odofin New Town, and Festac. Private developers have encroached on areas zoned as a conservation belt in the Lagos Master Plan. The continued pressure on land has resulted in unmet demand for efficient basic urban infrastructure services, such as safe water, storm drainage and flood prevention, electricity, access roads, public transport, sanitation, and solid waste management.



Lagos' coastal location means flooding is a major challenge for upgrading slum communities. Photo: The World Bank

Historically, governance and policy responses have been unable to sustainably plan and manage the city's development. With no strategic urban planning, the city has had to contend with challenges such as uncontrolled urban sprawl, inadequate and overburdened infrastructure, housing shortages, social and economic exclusion, high youth unemployment, inadequate funding of urban development, rising crime and physical insecurity, cumbersome judicial processes, and low-level preparedness for disaster management. In addition, a large informal sector has developed, primarily as a result of in-migration of unskilled labour.

Current urban planning and development initiatives in Lagos State are addressing these challenges. More important, evidence indicates that relevant initiatives are yielding results, which will be explored in subsequent chapters of this report.

CHAPTER THREE

The Changing Face of Lagos: The Transformation

Catalysts of the Reform Process

Indian sociologist Dr. Surendra Munshi has aptly described good governance as “a participative manner of governing that functions in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest”. This description underscores “the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice” (Munshi 2004).

It is such good governance that has brought about the current transformation of Lagos. The actual catalysts of this reform process are the following:

- Consistent political will and leadership
- Strategic visioning of development
- Knowledge-based approach to planning
- Budget reform and its linkage with activities of government institutions
- Institutional reform for efficient service delivery
- Partnership building with popular participation
- Policy, legislative, and institutional reforms
- Resource mobilisation, transparency, and accountability
- Application of information and communication technology and data in governance
- Programmatic interventions
- Sustainable urban planning

Political Will and Leadership

When he became Lagos State Governor in 1999 after three decades of military dictatorship, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu inherited what amounted to a nearly failed state. Over the course of eight years, his administration promoted a consistent pattern of reforms to promote development, resuscitate the state’s value systems, and restore its image. In 2007 Babatunde Raji Fashola, who was Tinubu’s chief of staff, succeeded him as governor with the same consistent approach.

Strategic Visioning of Development

To govern effectively, political leaders must have “vision, goals, targets and broadly accepted performance measurements” (TUGI 2002). The UNDP (1997) identified strategic vision as one of the key elements of good governance, which could be achieved through the adoption of vision and mission statements, land-use plans, and poverty reduction strategies. Through strategic visioning of development, political leaders and the general public were able to take broad, long-term views of good governance and human development initiatives as well as the resources required for their accomplishment.

In 2003 Nigeria adopted a home-grown poverty reduction strategy referred to as the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS). This strategy was later decentralised to the state level in 2004. Following the example of the Federal Government, Lagos State formulated and adopted the Lagos State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LASEEDS) in 2005. It is “a poverty reduction strategy aimed at achieving cohesive coordination of the development process through adoption of a bottom-up approach and inclusiveness of stakeholders” (Ehingbeti 2008). LASEEDS also has a reform and development agenda, articulated through basic strategic planning techniques for stimulating sustainable development—mainly through empowering the people (human development), developing the private sector (wealth creation), and reforming the government and its institutions (public sector reforms). To this end, the strategy’s main objectives are to reduce poverty, generate employment, create wealth, and reorient value systems.

LASEEDS’ 10-point agenda comprises development in the following areas:

1. **Environmental and physical planning** – Beautification of the city, community-based and integrated waste management, etc.
2. **Roads and transportation** – Aggressive road rehabilitation in all the local government areas and construction of new roads, as well as the introduction of the integrated Mass Transit Programme for road, rail, and water transport services and effective traffic management.
3. **Power and water supply** – Establishment of Island Power, Alausa Power, Akute Power, Adiyani II as well as the Odomola water scheme.
4. **Education** – Curriculum review, school facility upgrades, awarding of scholarships, etc.
5. **Employment** – Graduate empowerment programme, job creation, skills acquisition, etc.
6. **Health** – Provision of emergency medical services; improvement of primary, secondary, and tertiary healthcare services; and development of personnel leadership skills.
7. **Physical security** – Improvement and empowerment of the security apparatus to reduce crime.
8. **Food security** – Empowerment of farmers to achieve higher productivity and support of strategic food preservation and creation of farm settlements.
9. **Shelter** – Provision and creation of affordable mass housing schemes, including development of seven new satellite towns to address high-population-density areas.
10. **Revenue enhancement** – Increase revenue sources and the tax net

One of LASEEDS' main goals is to make Lagos a model African megacity—a hub of financial and economic growth in Nigeria as well as in the entire West African subregion. Strategies for achieving this include:

- Continued communication and engagement with all relevant stakeholders
- Conduct of research for planning purposes
- Application of geographic information systems
- Continuous institutional capacity building
- Greater enforcement of town-planning regulations
- Urban upgrading of slums
- Development of Lagos into a model city-state
- Pursuit of systematic physical planning for sustainable development
- A reliable database for physical planning
- Enhanced partnership for governance

The Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development has actively pursued these objectives since 1999 as part of the reform process, and its progress is explored in Chapter 4.

Knowledge-Based Approach to Planning

A knowledge-based approach to management involves integrating and sharing specialised knowledge within an organisation. The Lagos State Government adopts such an approach among ministries and parastatals to promote sustainable development. One example is the biennial organisation of the Lagos State Economic Summit (Ehingbeti). Since 2000 the Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget, in collaboration with other stakeholders, has organised five state economic summits that serve as a framework for public-private partnerships (PPPs) to support development. With the exception of the 2000 event⁶, the summits have all been organised under the aegis of the Lagos Economic Summit Group. Its membership comprises a range of stakeholders, from NGOs to bilateral and multilateral agencies, including the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Nigerian-American Business Club Ikeja, other special interest groups, the State government⁷, and the UNDP. The summit reports have become critical policy inputs for the State.

Budget Reform and Linkage with Government Activities

One of the results of the LASEEDS Programme is budget reform, which is based on the adoption of a medium-term expenditure framework that projects the likely availability of resources over a three-year horizon. LASEEDS also entails a series of medium-term sector strategies that identify goals and objectives for key sectors of government,

⁶The 2000 Ehingbeti Summit was organised in partnership with the Business Club Ikeja.

⁷The Commissioner for Economic Planning and Budget serves as chair of the Lagos Economic Summit Group, with a private-sector executive as co-chair.

and then translates them into affordable, fully costed, and well-defined projects.

Institutional Reform for Efficient Service Delivery

The Lagos State Government has implemented several institutional reforms through the creation of new agencies in the areas of transport, resource mobilisation, urban environmental management, and sewerage and waste management. These agencies include the Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA), Lagos State Water Authority, Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA), Lagos State Emergency Management Agency (LASEMA), Lagos State Emergency Medical Services (LASEMS), Lagos State Ambulance Services, and Lagos State Microfinance Institution (LASMI).

Partnership Building with Popular Participation and Private-Sector Involvement

Popular Participation

In line with its democratic ideals and respect for human rights, the State Government has adopted inclusive approaches to development planning as well as policy formulation and implementation. The formulation of poverty reduction strategy papers and land-use plans depended on effective participation. These approaches are also applied at the local level. For instance, in Ikeja, residents have regular town hall meetings with local government officials. Stakeholder groups from different wards (such as market women, landlords, representatives from community development areas and community development councils, pastors, imams, and chiefs) are invited to debate draft bylaws or other issues before they are approved. Traditional rulers serve as spokespersons for the community on issues such as granting lockup permits and tenement rates, and they are usually consulted to obtain their endorsement of other important issues. Residents are also involved in annual budget preparations. Each community is represented by its men, women, and youth, as well by traditional leaders from each community development association (CDA). Public expenditure by the local government is monitored by a statutory committee.

Promotion of Public-Private Partnerships

With the public sector unable to fund the infrastructure needs of a modern megacity, Lagos emphasises the adoption of public-private partnership (PPP) projects as a mechanism for infrastructure delivery. Perhaps the most far-reaching is the ongoing construction of the US\$0.2768 billion Lekki-Epe Expressway and its accompanying coastal roads,⁸ the largest concessioning project of its size and complexity in Africa. However, this is just one of several such projects.⁹

⁸ Unless otherwise indicated, all amounts were converted into U.S. dollars from the Nigerian Naira at the rate of 1USD = 156.00 Nairas.

⁹ Other projects that the administration delivered through PPPs include the rehabilitation of Bishop Kale Close on Victoria Island, by Starcomms Limited; rehabilitation of Olakunle Bakare Street, Victoria Island, by Vee Networks Limited; rehabilitation of part of Molade Okoya Thomas Street, Victoria Island, by Zenith Bank; construction of access roads to Beach Resort Estate, Victoria Island, by Beach Resort Nigeria

One of the Tinubu administration's greatest legacies is Lagos State's sound financial standing. In 1999, the state was nearly completely dependent on statutory allocations from Federation Accounts; by the time Tinubu left office in 2007, the state's reliance on this account had been dramatically reduced, to 25 percent. As a result of this sound financial management, the administration was able to pay salaries and emoluments totaling \$1.13 billion to about 50,000 civil servants between 1999 and 2007 and \$440 million as civil service operational running costs within the same period; pay its 15,000 civil service teachers and pensioners, 51,000 primary school teachers, and local government workers; and promptly pay subventions to the 50 parastatals, including tertiary institutions. Not even the seizure of more than \$151 million by the federal government could destabilise the state financially or incapacitate the local governments from functioning in the interest of the grassroots—another indication of its financial stability.

On the strength of its internally generated revenues, the administration was able to undertake major projects such as the renewal, redevelopment, and reconstruction of the Lagos Island Central Business District, comprising 16 highways, at a cost of \$94 million; the redevelopment of key roads¹⁰; the construction and modernisation of educational and public facilities¹¹, including hospitals and universities; and the development of massive rural electrification and microwater projects.

Policy, Legislative, and Institutional Reforms

The State government undertook policy and legislative reforms that impacted institutional restructuring and resulted in the establishment of new institutions for efficient service delivery. Specific laws enacted in Lagos State include: urban and regional planning and development (2010); building construction and planning (2011); physical planning, urban development, urban regeneration, and building control (2010); the Lagos State Model City Plan (2009); public-private partnerships (2004); transport (2003); traffic (2010); the Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport

Limited; rehabilitation of the road junction between Orofin Street and Old Ojo, Mazamaza, Amuwo-Odofin, by Intercontinental Bank Plc; rehabilitation of Oyin Jolayemi Street, Victoria Island, by a consortium of companies; powering and maintenance of street lights on Wempco Road, Ikeja, by the Wempco Group; rehabilitation of Adetokunbo Ademola Street as a partnership between the Lagos state government and Eko Hotels; rehabilitation of Danmole Street, Victoria Island, by Intercontinental Bank Plc; provisioning, energising, and maintaining street lights on Ligali Ayorinde Street, Victoria Island, by Pan Ocean Oil Corporation; rehabilitation of Buraimoh Kenku Street, Victoria Island, by Liquefied Natural Gas Company Ltd.; redevelopment of Ajose Adeogun Street, Victoria Island, by Zenith Bank Plc; and rehabilitation of Jimoh Odotola Street, Surulere, by Flour Mills.

¹⁰ Road reconstruction and modernisation projects include the commencement of the LASU-Iba and Ajah-Badore roads and the reconstruction and modernisation of key roads, including Awolowo Road, Ikoyi; Akin Adesola Road, Victoria Island; Adeola Odeku Road, Victoria Island; Oba Sekumade Road, Ikorodu; Yaba-Itire-Lawanson-Ojuelegba Road, Yaba; Agege Motor Road, Agege; Ikotun-Igando Road, Ikotun; and Kudirat Abiola Road, Oregun.

¹¹ Civil engineering projects include the upgrading of facilities and buildings at the Lagos State University Teaching Hospital (LASUTH) to meet world-class standards; the construction and modernisation of high courts; the expansion and rehabilitation of general hospitals (in Lagos, Gbagada, Epe, Isolo, Ikorodu, and Badagry) and of the Island Maternity Hospital; the construction of new hospitals at Mushin, Shomolu, Ibeju Lekki, and Isheri-Iba; the upgrading of existing health centres to full-fledged hospitals at Ijede, Ketu, Agbowo, and Agege; the massive rehabilitation and construction of new public primary and secondary schools in all divisions; and the provision of infrastructure in newly constructed housing estates.

Authority (2007); and the Lagos State Universal Basic Education Board (2006).

Resource Mobilisation, Transparency, and Accountability

Hallmarks of the state's success in enhancing revenue include the adoption of aggressive resource mobilisation and the rejuvenation and reorganisation of its Board of Internal Revenue. Once a centre of corruption, the Board was re-engineered and its revenue collection capacity enhanced through greater autonomy, professionalism, and motivation. It was strengthened to collect optimum revenue at the least cost while earning the trust and confidence of the public. Now named the Lagos Internal Revenue Service, this entity has become a matter of pride for the state.

The Tinubu administration also reformed the tax administration process. The State's tax assessment records were computerised, culminating in the introduction of electronic tax clearance cards (a fraud-free, convenient method of keeping taxpayer records). This measure was accompanied by the continuous renovation and upgrading of the state's tax offices with modern facilities to aid electronic tax collection and reporting.

Publicity campaigns were also used to make the public appreciate the importance of paying taxes so that the government can deliver quality infrastructure and social services. For instance, the administration erected huge signboards with the inscription "Tax Payers' Money At Work" at various project sites. Consequently, the number of citizens who willingly paid their taxes increased.

The introduction of the land-use charge—which consolidated the fragmented collection of ground rents, development charges, and neighbourhood improvement charges by the state and local governments—also boosted revenue for both tiers of government. The Land Use Charge Law of 2001, which restructured the land-based tax system in the state (for the first time in Nigeria), stipulated that once a land-use charge demand notice is levied on a property, ground rent, development charges, and neighbourhood improvement charges will cease to apply. This led to the collection of more than \$22 million in land-use charges between 2001 and March 2007, and the value of this revenue source continues to increase.

As a result of these and other measures, the internally-generated revenue of Lagos State rose from \$3.77 million per month in 1999 to an average of \$32 million per month in 2006, with revenue peaking at between \$44 million and \$52 million per month in March 2007.

Determined to deliver on its promise to radically modernise the infrastructure in Lagos State, the Tinubu administration was the first to approach the capital market to source long-term funds to pursue major projects. Through this strategy, the first Lagos State Floating Rate Redeemable Bond 2005–06 was floated in September 2002, and \$15 billion was raised in the capital market as a refinancing option with a two-year moratorium. The floating of the bond enabled the administration to refinance locally sourced, short-term funds, while fast-tracking the construction of major projects in diverse sectors. Upon bond redemption in 2007, the state had saved \$138 million in the sinking fund against the bond of \$94 million, demonstrating the state's creditworthiness and significantly

enhancing its financial rating. The bond was used to deliver key projects such as modern highways with world-class ancillary amenities; housing schemes; global computerisation of the public service; micro-water works; construction and rehabilitation of high courts; waste management projects, and classrooms.

During this period, the Tinubu administration continued to strengthen the state's investment portfolio through Ibile Holdings Limited, the Lagos Building and Investment Company, and the Lagos State Assurance Company (whose name was changed to LASACO Assurance Plc in 1988). As of March 2007, Ibile Holdings' equity portfolio had a market value of \$72 million. Through the holding company, the state invested \$24 million in Celtel (formerly Vmobile/Econet) in 2003; by the time it divested from the company in 2007, it had reaped a dividend of \$112 million. It also invested \$69 million in the state's highly successful mass transit bus project (LAGBUS), with \$41 million for the acquisition of brand new Marco Polo buses and \$28 million for the provision of infrastructure and maintenance facilities. In the same vein, the administration increased the share capital of the Lagos Building and Investment Company from \$630,000 to \$3.15 million to enhance its capacity to be an effective player in the modern mortgage industry, while supporting the former Lagos State Assurance Company with more than \$6.3 million to meet the Central Bank of Nigeria's directive on the recapitalisation of insurance companies.

Application of Data and Information and Communications Technology in Governance

One radical measure taken in regard to the application of information and communications technology was the introduction of the Lagos State Government Electronic Banking System of Revenue Cycle Management (LASG EBS-RCM) project. Partnering with the private sector, Lagos State used high-level technology to ensure more effective monitoring of collected revenue. Revenue performance-enhancing measures included creating a robust database of taxpayers, eliminating ghost workers, and plugging tax loopholes.

Programmatic Interventions

The state's primary policy effort to combat the challenges of increasing urbanisation hinged on poverty alleviation and sustainable economic growth, a goal that received a boost through the Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance project.¹² A product of Ehingbeti 2002, this World Bank-assisted, comprehensive project focuses on expanding trunk infrastructure, enhancing the delivery of basic services for the poor, and building the capacity of the state and local governments to cope with future growth challenges. In this regard, preparatory work has begun on the creation of a database for planning. The implementation of this ongoing project has benefited physical infrastructural development, urban planning and slum upgrading, urban regeneration, management of lagoon channel drainage, flood control, transport management, and solid waste management.

¹² This project was initiated with Cities Alliance support, which funded the preparatory work that led to the project design and approval of the World Bank.

Box 4: New Partnership for Africa's Development

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (also known as the NEPAD Cities Programme) was conceived by the African Union and is a UN-Habitat initiative to make key African cities functional, productive, safe, and environmentally friendly. UN-Habitat selected Lagos as one of the seven NEPAD cities in Africa to pilot this programme, along with Rabat, Lusaka, Bamako, Durban, Nairobi, and Douala. The Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development hosted the First NEPAD Cities Consultative Forum in Lagos in 2004. It has led to bilateral visits between Lagos and Durban, and UN-Habitat also invited the Governor of Lagos State to participate in the 2004 World Urban Forum.

Currently, Lagos State is collaborating with UN-Habitat to conduct profiles of Agege and Ifako. These are expected to lead to the production of structure plans in collaboration with the Foundation for Development and Environmental Initiatives (a national NGO).

Highlights of Innovations

An innovation in governance may “be an effective, creative and unique answer to new problems or a new answer to old problems,” involving “the incorporation of new elements, a new combination of existing elements or a significant change or departure from traditional ways of doing things” (UN ECO-SOC 2006). This chapter outlines innovations in the Lagos megacity, including physical infrastructural development, urban planning and environment, slum upgrading and redevelopment, and social transformations.

Physical Infrastructural Development

Transportation

In response to the enormous transport challenges and the desire to reform the transport sector, the Lagos state government, in collaboration with the World Bank, has been implementing the Lagos Urban Transport project. This project was designed to create an efficient, effective, integrated, intermodal mass transit system, involving land, water, and rail transport—and in the process, to contribute to poverty reduction. The state government’s policy thrust on transportation development has been centred on:

- Providing a safe, efficient, and sustainable integrated mass transit system
- Improving transportation infrastructure and the traffic management system
- Introducing rapid rail transportation

Integrated Mass Transit System. In 2003 the Lagos state government created the Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA), signaling its intention to re-orient the way in which transport services were managed and implemented (Mobereola 2006). LAMATA is responsible for the formulation, coordination and implementation of urban transport policies and programmes. It has developed a strategic Transport Master Plan that specifies the infrastructure details of the modal routes required by 2020 and outlines how to achieve its targets, with an emphasis on integration.

Since its inception, LAMATA has worked to improve the efficiency of Lagos’ road network. It maintains 24 kilometres of road network, has rehabilitated and improved some 35 junctions, established three transport monitoring units, and implemented transport system management along the bus franchise corridor to improve traffic flow. It has enhanced bus service and traffic flow by creating bus bylanes, providing traffic management on routes and at bus depots, and establishing garages for the fleet. The government has also invested heavily in the

periodic maintenance and expansion of roads, construction of new roads, and the construction of vehicular and pedestrian bridges.

One of the most effective of LAMATA's initiatives has been the introduction of a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system on the Mile 12 to CMS corridor. A fleet of high-capacity buses runs on a segregated, dedicated lane for about 65 per cent of the entire corridor, significantly reducing traffic congestion.

To complement the BRT system, the state government also introduced the Corporate Taxi Scheme in the city to provide secure taxi operations that meet international standards and best practices. About 1,225 of these taxicabs now operate in Lagos.

The BRT system has reduced the major challenges of mobility in the city, especially in the busy Mile 12-CMS corridor and its catchment areas. As of January 2010, it had moved more than 114 million passengers and helped bring order to public transportation by promoting the concept of an orderly waiting line at bus shelters. Commute times

have been drastically reduced, as has the percent of household income spent on transportation. The system also employs more than 2,000 workers (Lagos State Government 2009a). On an environmental level, BRT has reduced carbon dioxide emissions by about 13 per cent and greenhouse gases by about 20 per cent. Thus far, six per cent of car owners along the corridor have opted to use the BRT because of its affordability, reliability, timeliness, and safety.

Today, the BRT is a key component of LAMATA's efforts to address transportation and other infrastructural problems in Lagos. Projects are underway to extend BRT service to other parts of the city, including system and highway improvements and the expansion of expressways.

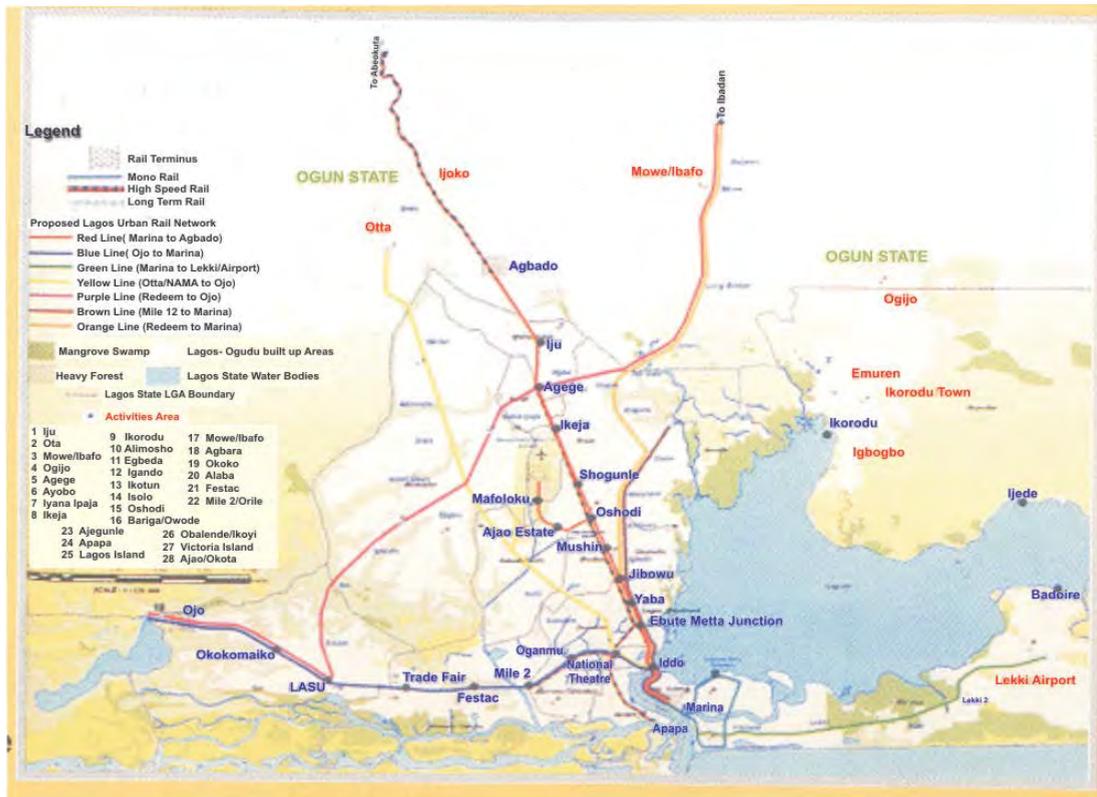
Improvement of Transportation Infrastructure and Traffic Management System. The LAMATA Act recognises the need to engage civil society in validating major infrastructure investment and policy changes (Mobereola 2006). This calls for active involvement of all stakeholders through information, consultation, and participation in various fora. Stakeholders include the government, development partners, mass media professionals and organisations, civil society, transport associations, the police, the organised private sector, the general public, UN, donor and bilateral agencies. This strategy of community engagement and participation encourages the citizens of Lagos to feel ownership of BRT and its success.



Lagos' BRT system has created dedicated lanes for bus traffic, reducing traffic congestion. Photo: LAMATA

Light Rail Transit. Plans are underway to establish an urban rail network in Lagos, with seven rail lines spanning 264 kilometres. Once complete, the network is expected to ease traffic congestion and provide employment, particularly for the youth. Two lines have been prioritised: the 27-km Blue Line, which will run from Okokomaiko in Ojo to Lagos Island West; and the 24-km Red Line, which will run from Agbado in Lagos North to the Marina with a connection to the Muritala Mohammed International Airport Ikeja. Each line is projected to carry 200 million passengers per year. Designs have been completed and contracts awarded for both lines. (Lagos State Government 2009b)

Map 3: Light rail route on Lagos’ rail mass transit system.



Source: Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA) 2010.

Water Transportation

LAMATA has identified six corridors for water transportation: Badore, Badore-Admiralty-Osborne-Marina, Ikorodu-Oworonsoki-Marina, Ijegan-Egba, the Oke-Afa-Festac-Mile 2-Marina, and Iddo-Ota area-Marina. Two of these corridors (Ikorodu-Oworonsoki-Marina and Badore-Admiralty-Osborne-Marina) have already been opened with daily passenger service. Old jetties have been rehabilitated and new ones built in Ipakodo, Badore, and Osborne. New terminals have also been constructed to accommodate the watercraft, and some of these terminals will feature park-and-ride facilities as well as banking, shopping, and dining.

In order to oversee the new water transportation services, the Lagos State Ferry Services has been upgraded to the Lagos State Waterways Authority, a regulatory agency that is charged with ensuring water safety and the use of best practices in achieving sustainable water transportation.

The development of water transportation has helped integrate transportation modes in the city and brought relief to neighbourhoods that line the water corridors, as well as helping to ease overall traffic congestion. It has also opened up new avenues of investment and employment opportunities.

Water and Power Supply

Water Supply

Out of a total estimated water demand of 1,800 million litres per day in Lagos State, only a third is supplied by public agencies. To improve water supply, the state government has made significant investments to rehabilitate waterworks and to privatise the Lagos State Water Corporation. It has also focused on constructing and refurbishing micro- and macro-waterworks, improving power generation for water projects, providing efficient bill collection, and repairing or rehabilitating collapsed boreholes.

To date, 15 micro and macro waterworks have already been built with the capacity to produce 30 million gallons per day as part of a water project coordinated by the Lagos State Water Corporation and implemented by Naston Engineering Nigeria Ltd. Long term, the state government plans to resuscitate the Adiyari/Iju waterworks, each with a total production capacity of 130 million gallons per day.

Power Supply

Lagos state consumes between 45 to 50 per cent of the electricity generated in Nigeria and generates only 20 per cent of its electricity supply. Lagos megacity alone uses 6,000 megawatts of electricity, but only 1,000 megawatts of this demand is being met by the Power Holding Company of Nigeria. Consequently, power supply has been a priority of the state government's economic reforms.

In recent years the government has turned to independent power producers to help alleviate power supply problems, particularly in Lagos megacity. An independent power project implemented in 1999 by AES Nigeria, a subsidiary of AES USA, is responsible for generating 270 megawatts of power through nine barge-mounted gas turbines, with an option of upgrading to 540 megawatts. The \$12 million project was financed by a consortium of four foreign banks and three foreign institutions.

Another independent power producer is Akute Power Limited, responsible for installing the 12.15-megawatt plant that supplies electricity to the Adiyari-Iju waterworks. The government has also partnered with AES Nigeria and El Sewedy Electric of Egypt, a major producer of cables and electrical products in the Middle East, to build a transformer production factory in Agbara that produces oil-immersed distribution transformers from 50 kilovolt-

amperes to 1,500 kilovolt-amperes. In addition to producing power, this project also bolsters the transfer of technology and skills to Lagosian citizens.

Water Drainage

Several water drains have been rehabilitated or reconstructed, and most clogged canals have been cleared in Lagos megacity. For example, the Macgregor Canal—which serves Lagos Island, Ijeh, Obalende, Dolphin, Ikoyi, Osborne, and other communities—has been cleaned up and properly aligned all the way to the Lagos Lagoon. A chain-link fence has also been constructed to prevent further abuse of the canal. The Achapo Canal, Ajegunle has also been cleared, reducing the amount of flooding experienced by adjoining communities. A major channel named System 5, which runs from Surulere down to Apapa and through Orile and Ajegunle, has also been cleared through dredging, and work is underway at three additional channels (Oko-Oba, Gbagada and Medina).

Solid Waste Management and Sanitation

Solid waste management

Lagos State's 18 million residents generate more than 6,000 metric tonnes of solid waste each day. To address this issue, the state government created the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA), which is also responsible for managing waste generated within the city.

Also involved in waste management are the Ministry of Environment as a policy regulator, and the local government by virtue of its constitutional role. Private sector participants (or operators) have been brought in to collect, transport and dispose of waste, and an informal labour force collects any residual waste. LAWMA also manages three major landfills and dumpsites.¹³

The state's waste management policy is geared towards providing an enabling environment for effective public-private partnerships (PPPs) to support infrastructure maintenance. Through such partnerships, Lagos has become the largest

Box 5: Youth as Agents for Change

One example of LAWMA's efforts to raise awareness of environmental practices among the public is an advocacy programme targeting schools. It supplies them with bins so they can store refuse before collection, instead of incinerating or burning it. The schools are also supplied with waste-sorting bins to teach students how to recycle. The initiative engages school-age children so they can become agents for change in their homes and communities.

¹³ The Olushosun landfill site (42.7 hectares, 20-year residual life span) in northern Lagos receives about 40 per cent of total waste deposits from Lagos. The Abule-Egba landfill site (10.2 hectares, 8-year life span) in western Lagos handles waste from the densely populated Alimosho local government area. The Solous II and III landfill sites are located along the LASU-Iba Road, and each receives an average of about 2,250 cubic metres of waste deposits per day. Solous II occupies 7.8 hectares of land and has an average life span of 5 years, while Solous III is a new site with about 5 hectares of land and an average life span of 5 years.

producer of compost, which it supplies throughout Nigeria and to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture. It has also improved medical waste management to prevent comingling with domestic waste.

The agency provides services such as the collection of industrial, commercial, market, medical, and hazardous waste; the destruction of classified and expired waste products and materials; the licensing of private sector participants for industrial and commercial waste collection services; the collection and sale of waste receptacles; the issuance of waste dumping permits; and provision of industrial cleaning.

LAWMA also oversees the state of the environment, enforces environmental laws on defaulters or violators, and promotes strict compliance and awareness of environmental practices among the citizens of Lagos State. These responsibilities are implemented by a department with monitoring, enforcement, and compliance responsibilities.¹⁴

Other steps LAWMA is taking to improve waste management include a strategy for converting waste into fertilizer and the construction of transfer loading stations that serve as transit camps for refuse to be regularly compacted.

Sanitation

The Highway Sanitation Unit, formerly under waste management services, became an independent department in 2006. It appointed litter marshals to clean highways. The success of the Litter Marshals Programme led to the establishment of a new private partnership, in which more than 90 companies registered with the Lagos Waste Management Authority to provide cleaning and sweeping services at various strategic highways and streets. About 5,000 workers were employed by these companies. In addition to providing employment, the programme has significantly reduced litter. More than 150 trucks patrol the highways to collect bags of refuse.

Urban Planning and the Environment

Urban Planning

The Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development's stated vision is to make Lagos a place where people live, work, and recreate in an environment featuring world-class infrastructure and services that support an improved quality of life and cultural diversity. Its mission is to plan and facilitate an organised, safe, green, dynamic, economically and culturally vibrant, and sustainable city that supports optimal land use.

The following initiatives have been undertaken in an effort to achieve the Ministry's vision and mission:

¹⁴ The monitoring unit oversees the state of the environment, prepares daily monitoring reports, monitors state-approved private-sector operators, and issues sanitation alarms to government agencies, public communities, and other stakeholders. The enforcement and compliance unit investigates public complaints relating to environmental issues, issues abatement notices, enforces state sanitation laws, and produces weekly enforcement reports and pictorial representations. It also holds mediation meetings between aggrieved parties from the public and private sectors, produces waste management-related reports, and generates data on waste management.

- Preparation of district plans
- Draft of state town plans and regulations
- Preparation of layout plans for excised villages
- Preparation of interim regional and structural plans
- Resettlement of saw mills in Epe
- Preparation of the Metropolitan Master Plan for Ikorodu
- Preparation of model city plans
- Creation of sites for motor dealers at Mowo Badagry
- Determination of alignment for proposed major state roads
- Setting up of the Central Lagos Redevelopment Scheme
- Renewal of urban areas
- Development of markets
- Creation of a new building control authority, ensuring the construction of safe, high-quality buildings
- Establishment of the Lekki Free Trade Zone, an international PPP between a Chinese government-sponsored company and the Lagos state government

Since 1999 the Lagos state government has overhauled planning activities, culminating in the review of the Lagos State Regional Planning Law in 2005. Several commissions were tasked with preparing land-use plans for some of the state's districts and local governments in the state, and a state building code was adopted.

These plans and interventions have been based on the active consultation and engagement of all stakeholders. From the data-gathering stage up to the final plan, beneficiary communities, individuals, community development associations, traditional rulers, and other interest groups were invited to town hall meetings and thoroughly briefed about the plan's objectives and content. Contributions from such meetings formed critical inputs in the decision-making process.

Work has started on upgrading urban facilities through the redevelopment of old regional markets, such as Tejuosho, Oluwole, and Balogun, into shopping malls. Local governments were mandated to begin redevelopment of the various local markets into modern shopping centres with small trading stalls (K-Klamps) to accommodate



Redevelopment of the popular Balogun Market into a shopping mall in Lagos' Central Business District. Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, 2010.

street traders—thereby reducing trading on streets, the bane of Lagos traffic and a cause of environmental degradation.

The Environment

The Lagos state government aims to create a safe, friendly, and sustainable environment conducive to residential, business, and recreational purposes. It does so through:

- Efficient community-based waste management
- Aggressive “greening” and beautification of open spaces, decrepit loops, verges, and medians under Operation Green Lagos
- Social rehabilitation and economic empowerment of so-called area boys¹⁵ by engaging them in environmental beautification and landscaping projects
- Upgrading of the Olusosun landfill (Ikeja) by constructing three access roads to tackle the perennial Oregun traffic, as well as installing deodorisers to eliminate pollution and enhance the air quality and public health of adjoining neighbourhoods
- Construction and equipping of eight waste transfer-loading stations at Yaba, Ogombo, Ebute-Elefun (Simpson), Oshodi, Ishasi, Ajegunle, Abule-Egba, and Oba Ogunji Street (Agege)
- Procurement of 240 waste collection trucks and 3 Tana giant landfill compactors for efficient waste management at the landfills
- Introduction of Dino bins in over 2,000 locations across the state and evacuation of illegal dumpsites at 10 locations including Obele Oniwala (Surulere), Oba Ogunji Street (Agege), Opebi (Ikeja), Ajah (Eti-Osa), and Festac Gates (Amuwo), as part of a new environmental and waste disposal project
- Establishment of the Lagos State Emergency Management Agency (LASEMA)
- Building of seven mini fire stations situated at the Palm Shopping Mall, Lekki; Simpson Street, Lagos; Ojo-Alaba Market, Ojo; Oriade; Ikotun; and the Apapa Dockyard to complement existing ones.

Land

The sprawling nature of Lagos makes land issues critical in terms of both land ownership and the boundaries among the communities being integrated into its continuous built-up area. Access to land within the megacity is governed by the Land Use Act of 1978. This Act gives state governors the right to grant statutory certificates of occupancy to parcels of land, but makes their consent mandatory for any land transaction, either for mortgage or assignment purposes. The Act also allows the state or federal government to acquire land for public purposes upon payment of compensation as and when the land is used. Nonpayment of compensation has encouraged encroachment and development of squatter settlements.

¹⁵ The term *area boys* refers to able-bodied, unemployed and possibly drug-dependent men who harass pedestrians and motorists for money.

As a result of the more effective use of the Land Use Act, land has become one of the major sources of revenue for Lagos State. Over the years, successive administrations have put in place effective, dynamic reforms to ease land-use procedures, which have in turn boosted state revenue. In 1999 the Tinubu administration designed a policy that made land administration a strategic resource for the realisation of social and economic prosperity, and created the Lands Bureau to implement the policy. The Fashola administration subsequently reformed the Lands Bureau's mandate to include the following:

- Deployment of professional personnel to achieve optimum organisational performance
- Minimisation of land abuses, especially those relating to corrupt practices and red tape
- Change in payment mode for service delivery by the Lands Bureau, to direct payment to designated banks
- Creation of templates for the conduct of business in the bureau
- Introduction of the Electronic Document Management System and digital mapping of Lagos State
- Consent of Governor to be provided within 30 days instead of the previous 365 days
- Reduction of consent fees, capital gains tax, stamp duty, and registration fees
- Establishment of the Directorate of Land Regularisation to eliminate the defective ratification procedure, to ensure easy access to land, and to limit corruption
- Introduction of new land administration policies to aid industrial, commercial, and housing requirements, particularly those impacting private developer schemes
- Introduction of new urban renewal policies to create new towns out of older communities
- Introduction of a proactive policy on property regularisation and registration to develop a reliable database
- Review of the change-of-use policy to prevent the massive abuses of town planning and urban protection laws that have adversely affected Ikoyi, Victoria Island, and others, turning them into urban slums.¹⁶
- Massive reclamation and expansion programme to increase the land mass available to the state for its use
- Mortgage registry
- Acquisition and excision registry
- Automated validation of receipts of payments

The Lands Bureau has become a major revenue-generating source for Lagos State. The total revenue rose from 6.7 million naira (\$42,000) in 1999 to 17.3 billion naira (\$110 million) in 2008. Today, the Bureau is the second highest income-generating agency in the state behind the Lagos State Internal Revenue Service.

Housing

¹⁶ Both Ikoyi and Victoria Island were initially developed as upscale middle-class housing areas that, over the years, have increasingly witnessed the conversion of residential buildings to offices, shopping plazas, banks, and churches, among other things. The insensitive application of development control has dramatically increased traffic congestion in many previously quiet residential areas.

The challenge of housing Lagos' ever-increasing population is enormous. Serious overcrowding results in room occupancy of about five to seven persons. Housing needs have been estimated for about 8 million, requiring an annual delivery of about 40,000 units. The land on which houses can be built is also in short supply, and corporate financing of mass housing, particularly for the poor, is nearly absent. The organised private sector's involvement in, and financing of, housing has been directed towards the medium- and high-income brackets. It has been suggested that the proliferation of slums in Lagos metropolis, especially in the peripheral areas, can be ascribed to the difficulties of providing housing for all income levels, particularly low-income groups.

As a first step in creating a conducive environment, the state undertook the following land policy reforms:

- Establishment of land tenure and ownership reforms
- Establishment of a mortgage division in the High Court of Lagos State
- Requirement of 30-day consent by the Governor (down from 365 days)
- Establishment of electronic land registry with web access
- Securing of tenure and titling by regularising illegal occupation of government land in slum communities
- Granting of a certificate of occupancy in 90 days (down from 365 days)
- Preparation of area action plans
- Controlled reclamation and development of land
- Introduction of housing mortgage financing

The Lagos state government has also realised that it alone cannot meet the housing demand for some 18 million Lagosians. As a result, the government has redefined its role in the delivery process by enhancing the role of private-sector participants. It has taken steps to remove existing bottlenecks and strengthen the private-sector delivery process. It also made equity contributions by providing land for genuine investors. For this, the Ministry of Environment developed a template for appraising interested private developers and facilitated the necessary approvals from relevant ministries and government agencies on their behalf. The government's efforts to encourage PPPs in housing have started bearing fruit. Some projects have been completed, and others are near completion.

Another major challenge in the housing sector is maintaining housing estates and their existing infrastructure. The government has upgraded the infrastructure of various estates in Lagos State¹⁷, renovating the buildings, improving common facilities, and generally beautifying their surroundings. These renovations have enhanced the value of the houses and created healthy environments for residents. They have also provided backward and forward linkages for housing-sector activities by generating employment for locals, who are encouraged to pay taxes on income derived from these activities. In addition, the Ministry of Environment has put mechanisms in place to ensure sustainability by engaging professional facility managers to continue maintaining the upgraded facilities.

¹⁷ With the exception of the estate in Ikorodu, all others that have been renovated are within the Lagos megacity region.

The government has also begun issuing deeds of sub-lease to allottees, so that they can be registered to secure their property. The documents provided can then serve as collateral for raising new funds.

Slum Upgrading

In the past decade and a half, the Lagos state government has progressively embarked on upgrading slum communities and making them conducive to sustainable development. Based on a 1985 World Bank study, a comprehensive Urban Renewal Programme was launched in 2001 covering 750 hectares of largely swampy terrain. The government created the Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority, which adopted a citywide approach supported by a \$200 million credit intervention assisted by the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA).

This seven-year upgrading project began in October 2006 and is scheduled to end in March 2013¹⁸. The project involves upgrading the nine worst slum communities. It targets 1.1 million inhabitants and 150,000 households whose average monthly income is about \$170. The intervention involves upgrading dilapidated roads or footpaths; providing public toilets and bathrooms; sinking boreholes; building new schools and improving existing ones; developing health facilities; and creating youth empowerment through skill acquisition and leadership development.

Slum Redevelopment

The Lagos state government has developed and implemented a strategy of redeveloping slums with private-sector funding. The upgraded slums, in most cases, feed into the redevelopment scheme.

Under this arrangement, the property owners and tenants of the slums are consulted. The owners contribute their properties for redevelopment through a cooperative and in return receive reasonable compensation. Property developers are brought in to build high-rise buildings on the property to prevent occupier displacement. Most properties are redeveloped from bungalows into three-to-four story buildings, compensating for land-use allocation to roads, drainages, and open spaces in the newly developed areas and avoiding displacement of slum residents. After redevelopment, the property owners are allocated a three-bedroom flat in the high-rise building and given the opportunity to purchase additional flats from the compensation received.

During redevelopment, the tenants are temporarily displaced and provided transit housing. They are also given relocation allowances during this period. A typical example is the case of Oluwole in the Lagos Island Central Business District, where 39 displaced families were financially assisted and provided alternative accommodation. The tenants were also equity holders in the redevelopment of their former abode with a reversion of the entire development after the redevelopment period.

¹⁸ Lagos State Government 2009a.

This approach by the Lagos state government is a unique, welcome strategy for Nigeria. It is significant to note that past slum redevelopment in Lagos (such as in Isale Eko, Maroko, and others) always led to some social dislocation.

However, community inclusion, an essential component of the urban regeneration process, allows communities to prioritise their needs and inform the executing agency. To this end, slum redevelopment projects in Lagos were preceded by surveys to profile the communities, leading to more informed choices for various stakeholders. Pursuit of slum redevelopment according to this approach ensured participation because the interests of the property owners were addressed. These projects were conceptualised at Isalegangan, and to date, about 13 families have signed up to submit their properties for redevelopment.



Slum Redevelopment in Lagos Megacity, Before and After. Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Information and Information and Strategy, 2010.

Health

Lagos State's demographic and geographical features present unique challenges for health care delivery. Forty per cent of the land mass is riverine, which —combined with increasing urbanisation and rapid natural population growth—have created acute public health problems such as communicable diseases, malnutrition, and inadequate delivery of maternal and child health care.

As in other parts of Nigeria, the health care system is organised at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. The government's health care policy and programmes focused on the following:

- Free community-based primary health care services
- Provision of comprehensive secondary health care services
- Institution of the Health System Reform Programme, including the State Health Insurance Scheme
- Improvement of the health care system and its management
- Reduction of disease burden and improved access to health care services

- Fighting HIV/AIDS as a development issue
- Improvement in health resources and their management
- Improvement in the quality of health care services
- Improvement in consumer awareness and community involvement
- Promotion of effective partnerships along with collaboration and coordination
- Establishment of a communication strategy for the Health System Reform Programme
- Establishment of a performance monitoring and evaluation system

As part of its efforts to achieve the abovementioned goals, the Lagos state government established pro-poor health care programmes such as the Eko Free Malaria Programme, the Blindness Prevention Programme, and the Limb Deformity Rehabilitation Programme. These initiatives provide free treatment for expectant mothers, children up to age 12, and elderly persons age 60 and above; the establishment of emergency medical services through the Lagos State Emergency Medical Service (LASEMS) and Lagos State Ambulance Services; and the construction of maternal child care centres in six locations as well as the Lagos State University Teaching Hospital (LASUTH).

In Nigeria, tertiary health facilities are the preserve of the federal government. Before 1999, there was only one tertiary hospital, the Lagos University Teaching Hospital, so the government sent many citizens abroad for care. To reverse this trend, it started improving health care services at the tertiary level. Under the Tinubu administration, the Ikeja General Hospital was refurbished and upgraded to a teaching hospital on par with institutions worldwide. The Fashola administration continued these efforts, including the commissioning of the Bola Tinubu Ward, the B.T. Pediatric Complex, and a diagnostic centre. A clinical service complex was built for lecturers working in the College of Medicine of the Lagos State University, and a cardiac and renal centre is under construction at the upgraded Gbagada General Hospital. A trauma and burns centre is also being constructed, and a cancer centre is planned.

The secondary health care services, mainly the preserve of the state government, have been significantly improved. There are presently 24 general hospitals, most of which have been or are being refurbished. Their scope of services is being increased to bring them to the level of a fully fledged general hospital.

At the primary care level, the state government has worked closely with the local government to address health care issues. It is also looking at preventive health care as a strategy. Immunisation campaigns have been intensified, and many primary health care facilities established. The administration has also focused on non-communicable diseases that have a high mortality rate and have become prevalent, including hypertension, diabetes, and cancer. Preventive services include screening and public education programmes.

High mortality rates have been ascribed to the poverty level of Lagos' inhabitants. To address the situation, the state government has begun to offer free medical services for tuberculosis patients, children under age 10, and adults age 60 and above. Antenatal and general basic maternal care is also free of charge to the user.

On a broader level, the institutional framework for health care services has been revamped. The Health Management Board has been decentralised so that each hospital has its own governing board. The Board has also been reconstituted as the Health Services Commission, with the sole responsibility of addressing human resources issues in the health sector, such as recruitment, training, and remuneration.

Physical Safety and Security

Economic prosperity thrives only with safety and security, and nowhere in Nigeria is the issue of security more critical than in Lagos. The megacity has a high incidence of armed robbery and violent crime, including assassination attempts, carjacking, riots, vandalism of pipelines and other installations, and *area boys* (and sometimes girls).

Over the years, governments have undertaken numerous efforts to keep Lagos secure. Since 1999, strategies to combat crime have included:

- The State Security Trust Fund, in partnership with the private sector
- A comprehensive security strategy (the *Safe City project*) to enable central security surveillance
- Expanding, reorganising, rekitting, and remotivating the state's Rapid Response Squad
- The Surveillance and Command Centre at Alausa (Ikeja)
- More than 200 new patrol vehicles
- A new communication system for security agencies
- Comprehensive insurance for all members of the Rapid Response Squad
- Nigeria's first dedicated emergency call centre
- A joint military-police patrol code named *Operation Mesa* to complement State police efforts
- Improved road signs to facilitate expedient emergency relief to crisis points and centres
- New streetlights on major roads to deter criminals and increase effectiveness of security cameras
- Beefing up the Neighbourhood Watch, a complementary community security initiative
- The Community Security Assembly, a programme to educate people about safety
 - Publication of telephone numbers of senior police officers for public usage in case of distress
 - New police information and complaints boxes at strategic locations all over the state

All these interventions have significantly reduced crime in the city, especially armed robberies, carjacking, and riots. They have also increased public confidence in the police's ability to respond to emergency situations across the city.

Employment Generation

Unemployment constitutes a major challenge to economic development in Nigeria. In Lagos, the restiveness and destructive tendencies among the youth, especially the *area boys*, has been a problem. The Lagos state government

has addressed unemployment through several programmes since 1999, including training and the implementation of employment-generating projects.

One such programme has focused on science and technology. More than 7,000 “millennium graduates” have been employed. They were given special training in information technology and then became trainers themselves—dispatched to various government agencies to train public servants, from the top ranks to entry-level workers.

The federal government also created the Ministry of Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation in 1999 to provide sustainable economic empowerment programmes targeting women and youth. Training centres were established to offer courses in subjects such as shoe-making, printing technology, and wheel balancing and alignment. Since 2007, these centres have been established in each of the state’s 20 local governments and have graduated a total of 5,300 students, including some *area boys*.

The government has also organised regular short-term vocational training. More than 30,000 women across the state have benefited from skill development in areas such as catering; the manufacture of soaps, and hair-dressing.

In addition to job creation strategies, the government is using microfinance programmes to create large corps of skilled employed people and, in turn, develop new markets. It established the Lagos State Microfinance Institution (LASMI) to provide collateral-free loans to women and youth to start their own businesses, especially those who had benefited from vocational training programmes¹⁹.



Skill acquisition programmes. Source: Lagos State Government, Ministry of Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation, 2008.

The only requirement is that the beneficiaries provide LASMI with their address and offer them the pledge of a guarantor. Thus far, the loan repayment rate has been almost 100 per cent. Almost 25,000 persons have benefited from the programme since its inception in 2008.

Another programme has focused on providing members of the Lagos State Drivers and Owners Association with loans to purchase new vehicles to create jobs, alleviate poverty, and improve the transportation system within Lagos megacity.

Box 6: The Lekki Free Trade Zone: Stimulating Job Growth in Lagos Megacity

¹⁹ LASMI has partnered with eight microfinance banks for this programme: Integrated Micro-Finance Bank, Gapbridge Micro-Finance Bank, LASU Micro-Finance Bank, Ojokoro Micro-Finance Bank, MIC Micro-Finance Bank, Townserve Micro-Finance, GS Micro-Finance Bank, and Infinity Micro-Finance.

A major job-creation initiative is the construction of the Lekki Free Trade Zone, which is being developed as an international PPP between the Lagos state government (which has provided land) and a consortium sponsored by the Chinese government (which is funding the infrastructure for the first phase, including power, water, sewerage, and some road-building). As part of the agreement, the Chinese are training local workers in skills needed for the project, thus creating jobs.

Located about 80 kilometres from the Murtala Mohammed International Airport in Ikeja, the Lekki Free Trade Zone was conceived as a hi-tech industrial zone that will incorporate petrochemical facilities to utilise Nigeria's abundant natural gas resources. In addition to a new international airport, it will feature a deep-sea port complex and other state-of-the-art facilities, such as luxury residential apartments, shopping malls, and recreational and service centres.

Once completed, it is expected to stimulate infrastructure development such as better public transport facilities, steady electricity supply, decent health facilities, and efficient road linkages.

Revenue Enhancement

Lagos State's internally generated revenue profile has been rising since 1999. Key sources of revenue generation include taxes, federal monies (allocations), bonds, land-use charges, development assistance, lotteries, joint ventures, and concessioning arising from PPPs.

Improved government financial controls and other steps to create a favourable climate for investment have seen confidence grow in Lagos as a destination for investors. An agreement for the largest direct funding of a subnational government was concluded between the Lagos state government and the World Bank. Multilateral donor partnerships include \$150 million for public transportation, \$100 million for water expansion, and \$200 million for a slum upgrading project. Many foreign companies are recognising the potential for investment in this growing market. For example, global appliance giant LG Electronics opened a \$3.77 million plant in Apapa to produce products for Lagos State and beyond. As stated by Mrs. Olusola Oworu, Special Adviser to the Governor on Commerce, Lagos "is ready for business."

Lessons Learned

The reforms discussed in Chapter 4 have been designed by the Lagos State Government to promote effective, equitable, participatory, and accountable governance as well as the security of life and property. The process of implementing these reforms presents its own challenges from which several lessons can be learned, including the following:

- Developing an institutional framework for effective service delivery
- Promoting participatory governance
- Establishing structures for effective resource mobilisation, transparency, and accountability
- Adopting planning and strategic visioning of development
- Using information and communication technology and data for planning

Developing an Institutional Framework for Effective Service Delivery

The growth, structure, and sheer size of Lagos megacity—and its fragmentation into eight local governments—require an innovative governance structure in order to achieve effective service delivery. Constituent local governments alone cannot manage citywide services such as solid waste management, health care delivery, transportation, security, water supply, pollution control, and land-use planning.

The reforms undertaken over the past decade and a half have increasingly provided the framework for the necessary governance structure to handle such a daunting task. The state government enacted laws, implemented policies, and established many metropolitan-wide parastatals for effective service delivery. The focus now must be on establishing mechanisms to help these various entities work together. Handling central sewerage disposal also remains an issue.

Promoting Participatory Governance

One of the major lessons that can be drawn from the case of Lagos is the importance of community participation in the decision-making process. In recent decades the state government has sought to mainstream community participation. This bottom-up approach represents a major shift from the one that characterised the previous military era, and it has proven to be very effective and has been embraced by the population.

In Lagos, the government and its partners actively engage stakeholders through fora that include communities in the planning and decision-making processes and in ongoing strategies. For all projects, the government prepares a draft proposal that it presents to a target audience at a formal gathering within the beneficiary community. For the

formulation of policy—which often results in legislation—stakeholder engagement is even more involved. After an initial series of consultations, draft legislation is sent to the state legislative assembly, which discusses it and then organises a stakeholders’ forum. These consultations normally result in modification to a bill before it is enacted. An example of the process is the urban regional planning and development law enacted by Lagos State in 2005, which underwent considerable consultation prior to passage and incorporated detailed provisions for the preparation of an urban development plan.

Town hall meetings have also been institutionalised. Government representatives hold regular meetings at community centres, where they brief residents on government programmes, positions and achievements and allow community members to ask questions and request government action.

Establishing Structures for Effective Resource Mobilisation, Transparency, and Accountability

The hallmark of the state government’s achievements over the past decade and a half is the aggressive attitude towards resource mobilisation, using internally generated revenue and more systematically involving the private sector. This approach has been matched by putting in place an effective, transparent accounting system. For instance, the government introduced an e-payment system that has cut off ghost workers and ensured a transparent, accountable system. Another approach is participation: the state government involves the people and educates them on the value of paying taxes, which helps ensure that taxes are paid promptly.

Adopting Planning and Strategic Visioning of Development

Another lesson is the important role of planning—especially fiscal planning and projection—to the strategic visioning of development and to the adoption of long-term land-use plans for all sectors. Today, all settlements have land-use plans. The state also has a poverty reduction strategy, which is backed by a 10-point agenda. It is complemented by a medium-term sector strategy, which ensures that funds are available for implementing government projects. Together, these guide the more effective implementation of plans for sustainable urban development.

Using Information and Communications Technology and Data for Planning

The Lagos experience also highlighted the usefulness of data collection, storage, and utilisation. The state has made the use of information and communications technology and the establishment of databases for planning, monitoring, and evaluation a priority. As a result, Lagos State has arguably the best statistical documentation and geographic information systems in Nigeria to resolve complexities of land use and to aid in day-to-day decision making. In particular, its use of a geo-referenced database with geographical information system (GIS) images bears closer scrutiny for possible replication in Nigeria and internationally.

Conclusion

This report highlights how rapid urbanisation transformed Lagos into a megacity with associated social and environmental problems that could only be solved through replacing non-responsive and top-down approaches with good governance, and how reforms undertaken between 1999 and 2011 are gradually transforming the city. Over the past one-and-a-half decades, significant progress has been made in the good governance of Lagos megacity, and there are some best practices in city governance and in urban planning, development, and management as well as institutional reforms and resource remobilisation that can be drawn from the process.

With Lagos megacity merging imperceptibly with settlements in Ogun State, there is the need for intergovernmental cooperation—between Lagos State, Ogun State, the federal government, and the various local government areas—in promoting service delivery in the megacity.

The case for this kind of collaboration has been well made by the Presidential Committee on the Redevelopment of Lagos Megacity Region:

An institutional arrangement to facilitate the implementation of the many recommendations for transforming and re-developing the Lagos Megacity Region is proposed. It is a three-tier arrangement with a President's Council for constant dialogue and strategic decision making by the President with the governors of both Lagos and Ogun States; a Megacity Intergovernmental Committee of relevant Ministries at both the Federal and the two-state levels; and a Lagos Megacity Transportation and Planning Authority with a Policy Board of political actors and a Management Board of professionals. (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2006)

Considering that Lagos megacity is likely to be the third-largest city in the world by 2015 according to current projections, responsibility for its planning and development must be overhauled and expanded beyond the Lagos state government alone. Apart from the public sector involvement through the other levels of government, the emphasis on public-private partnership should continue, and the strategies outlined in this report that have begun the transformation process will need to be consistently applied. It is also imperative to undertake all legislative reforms necessary to make participation of the private sector and multiple levels of government possible so that the city's inhabitants may avail themselves of the most equitable and sustainable social, political, and economic environment possible.

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