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**Territorial Development: Suggestions for a New Approach to Rural
Development in Nigeria**

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Abstract

A core development concern in Nigeria is the magnitude of challenges rural people face. Inefficient infrastructures, lack of employment opportunities and poor social amenities are some of these challenges. These challenges persist mainly due to ineffective approaches used in tackling them. This research argues that an approach based on territorial development would produce better outcomes. The reason is that territorial development adopts integrated policies and actions with focus on places as opposed to sectoral approaches. The research objectives were to evaluate rural development approaches and identify a specific approach capable of activating poverty reduction. It addressed questions bordering on past rural development approaches and how to improve urban-rural linkages in rural areas. It also addressed questions relating to ways that rural areas can reduce poverty through territorial development.

Literatures relating to rural-urban interrelationships and territorial development, from conventional and European perspectives, served as its theoretical foundation. From these literatures, it conceptualised a territorial approach to rural development in general and specific terms, and went into an empirical investigation of the situation in Nigeria. Its methodology is mainly qualitative descriptive case study. However, the research used quantitative data where necessary.

The research found that Nigeria has opportunities for improving rural areas through territorial development, but due to incessant political changes and policy negligence, this has not been materialised. With focus on a territorial concept, it suggested a “territorial rural development approach” for Nigeria. It identified and outlined pre-conditions for operationalising the territorial rural development approach. Meeting these preconditions will give rural communities and practitioners the guidance for adopting local territorial development plans.

Key words: rural development, rural-urban linkages, territorial development, Isuikwuato, Nigeria

Zusammenfassung

Nigeria steht vor großen Herausforderungen hinsichtlich der Entwicklung seiner ländlichen Räume: Ineffiziente Infrastrukturen, fehlende Arbeitsplätze und mangelhafte soziale Leistungen sind verbreitete Probleme und begründen einen Handlungsbedarf. Bisherige Ansätze sind jedoch ineffektiv und haben wenig zur Verbesserung der Situation beigetragen. Die vorliegende Dissertation basiert auf der Annahme, dass zur Lösung aktueller Herausforderungen ein Ansatz geeignet ist, der auf dem Konzept der Territorialen Entwicklung beruht. Im Gegensatz zu sektoralen Ansätzen umfasst diese integrierte Strategien, die sich auf den jeweiligen Ort beziehen.

Das Ziel der Arbeit bestand darin, ländliche Entwicklungsprogramme zu untersuchen und herauszufinden, welche Ansätze zur Reduzierung von Armut beitragen können. Hierbei wurden sowohl vergangene Programme zur ländlichen Entwicklung in Nigeria und Möglichkeiten zur Verbesserung der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen analysiert, als auch der Beitrag der Territorialen Entwicklung zur Armutsbekämpfung.

Als theoretische Grundlage diente Literatur zu Stadt-Land-Beziehungen sowie zur Territorialen Entwicklung, vor allem auch aus europäischer Perspektive. Basierend auf den hierbei gewonnen Erkenntnissen konnte zunächst ein Ansatz zur Territorialen Ländlichen Entwicklung entworfen werden. Hierbei wird zwischen einem allgemeinen Ansatz und der Konkretisierung für die lokale Ebene unterschieden. Mit Hilfe von qualitativen Fallstudien wurde anschließend die aktuelle Situation in Nigeria empirisch untersucht. Falls notwendig, wurden quantitative Daten in die Auswertung mit einbezogen.

Die Untersuchung zeigte, dass Nigeria die Situation ländlicher Gebiete durch Territoriale Entwicklung verbessern kann. Häufige politische Veränderungen sowie Versäumnisse der Politik standen der Verwirklichung bisher jedoch entgegen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund entwirft die Arbeit einen Ansatz zur „Territorialen Ländlichen Entwicklung“ für Nigeria und zeigt Voraussetzung für eine erfolgreiche Umsetzung auf. Die Berücksichtigung dieser Aspekte hilft ländlichen Kommunen und Praktikern territoriale Entwicklungspläne auf lokaler Ebene einzuführen.

Schlüsselwörter: ländliche Entwicklung, Stadt-Land-Beziehung, Territoriale Entwicklung, Isuikwuato, Nigeria

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Table of contents

Abstract	i
Zusammenfassung.....	ii
Aknowledgement	iii
Table of contents.....	iv
List of appendices	x
List of figures.....	x
List of tables	xi
List of textboxes	xi
List of maps.....	xi
Abbreviations	xii
Glossary	xiv
Chapter One: General Introduction.....	1
1.1 Opening statement.....	1
1.2 Rural and urban development in Nigeria.....	1
1.3 The urban part of rural development: an overview.....	2
1.4 Lack of comprehensive rural development approach in Nigeria	3
1.5 Significance and objectives of the research.....	4
1.6 Questions under investigation.....	5
1.7 Research hypothesis.....	6
1.8 The subjects of analysis.....	6
1.9 Structure of the thesis	7
1.10 The overall research process.....	8
Chapter Two: Rural Development through Rural-urban Interrelationship.....	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Understanding the rural and urban	10
2.3 Defining rural development	12
2.4 Traditional approaches to rural development.....	13
2.5 Limitations to traditional approaches.....	14
2.6 The shift in rural development paradigm.....	15
2.7 The role of rural towns in rural development.....	17

2.8 Rural-urban interrelationship for rural development.....	18
2.8.1 From rural-urban disparity to rural-urban linkages	18
2.8.2 Framework for promoting rural-urban relations	19
2.9 Conclusion	20
Chapter Three: Territorial Development -Theoretical Orientations	21
3.1 Introduction	21
3.2 Territory: terminology and definition.....	21
3.2.1 Difference between territory and region in this research	23
3.3 Territorial development	23
3.3.1 Territorial development is an integrative concept.....	25
3.3.2 Territorial development is a linkage concept	25
3.4 Polycentrism is embedded in territorial development.....	26
3.4.1 Types of polycentricism.....	26
3.5 Theory of central places.....	27
3.6 Central places theory is the basis for territorial development	29
3.7 Preconditions for territorial development.....	30
3.7.1 Decentralisation and local governance.....	30
3.7.2 Planning (and visioning)	31
3.7.3 Participation.....	31
3.7.4 Funds and regulations that support territorial development	31
3.7.5 Policy integration	31
3.7.6 Improving accessibility of growth centres (polycentricism).....	32
3.7.7 Political leadership and will.....	32
3.8 Conclusion	32
Chapter Four: European Perspective of Territorial Development.....	33
4.1 Introduction	33
4.2 European spatial development perspective	33
4.3 ESDP is a modern expression of the central place theory.....	35
4.4 Polycentric urban system in ESDP	36
4.4.1 Urban-rural partnership in ESDP.....	36
4.5 Transportation and accessibility in ESDP	37
4.6 Territorial agenda of the European Union	38

4.6.1 Why focus on developing territories in EU?	39
4.7 Territorial agenda 2020	40
4.8 Lessons (from EU development practice) for other countries	41
4.9 Conclusion	43
Chapter Five: From Theoretical Orientation to Conceptual Framework	44
5.1 Introduction	44
5.2 Conceptualising territorial development in Nigeria.....	44
5.3 Conceptualising territorial rural development at the local level	47
5.4 Conclusion	49
Chapter Six: The Research Methodology	50
6.1 Introduction	50
6.2 The case study approach.....	51
6.3 Nigeria: the country and case study area.....	51
6.4 Case study selection and justification: Isuikwuato municipality	51
6.5 Isuikwuato as a territory	53
6.6 Object and units of analysis	55
6.7 Data collection methods.....	55
6.7.1 Primary data	55
6.7.1.1 Key informant interviews	55
6.7.1.2 Observations	58
6.7.2 Secondary data	58
6.8 Data processing, reliability and validity	59
6.9 Data analyses	61
6.10 Conclusion	63
Chapter Seven: Rural Development Approaches in Nigeria and Opportunities for Territorial Development	64
7.1 Introduction	64
7.2 Emergence of rural areas as development concern	64
7.2.1 Pre-colonial period laid the foundation (before 1861).....	64
7.2.2 Colonial period introduced the rural/urban concepts (from 1861)	65
7.2.3 Post-colonial period inherited the rural challenge (1960-present).....	67

7.3 Rural development approaches in the past six decades.....	68
7.3.1 There was no policy on rural development until 2001	69
7.3.2 Emergence of national rural development policy (in 2001)	70
7.4 The scope of NNPIRD.....	70
7.4.1 NNPIRD defines poverty as rural mass and individual deprivations	71
7.5 The objectives of NNPIRD	71
7.6 Stakeholders recognised in the NNPIRD	72
7.7 Implementation strategy and funding for NNPIRD	74
7.7.1 The funding structure.....	74
7.7.2 Implementation strategy for NNPIRD	75
7.8 Major development features not covered in the NNPIRD	76
7.9 Legal frameworks and opportunities for territorial development	77
7.9.1 Opportunities for territorial rural development in Nigeria	78
7.10 Conclusion	79
Chapter Eight: Case Study: the Scope of Territorial Approach to Rural Development in Nigeria.....	80
8.1 Introduction	80
8.2 Isuikwuato municipality: an overview	80
8.2.1 Population dynamics	81
8.2.2 The socio-economic situation	82
8.2.3 The settlement pattern	82
8.2.4 The climate and environment	84
8.3 Evaluation of community and social development project (CSDP)	84
8.3.1 Origin of CSDP in Isuikwuato	85
8.3.2 The objectives of CSDP	85
8.3.3 Institutional arrangements for CSDP	86
8.3.4 Action plan for actualising CSDP objectives.....	87
8.3.5 Stakeholder and actors situation: participation in CSDP	89
8.4 CSDP evaluation: projects and outcomes.....	91
8.5 Summary of CSDP findings and on the scope of territoriality	94
8.5.1 CSDP outcomes are neither effective nor efficient.....	94
8.5.2 The CSDP programme was not territorial.....	94
8.5.3 Achievements and failures of CSDP	95

8.5.4	CSDP lacked public participation in implementation	95
8.5.5	Territorial potentials and challenges found in Isuikwuato	96
8.5.6	Availability of existing land use plan as a tool for territorial planning.....	98
8.5.7	No concrete rural development plan was found	100
8.6	Refuting or verifying the research hypothesis	100
8.6.1	Legal and institutional opportunities for territorial development exist	101
8.6.2	Concrete rural development plan and area-based strategies do not exist	102
8.6.3	The research hypothesis is verified	104
8.7	Conclusion	105
Chapter Nine: Towards a New Approach to Rural Development in the Study Area		106
9.1	Introduction	106
9.2	Overview of rural settlement in Isuikwuato.....	106
9.2.1	Transportation detects flow of development in Isuikwuato	109
9.3	Existing hierarchal settlements development.....	109
9.3.1	Existence of hierarchical settlement networks.....	112
9.3.2	Current polycentric networks	114
9.3.2.1	Administrative networks between settlements.....	115
9.3.2.2	Rural and urban economies networks	115
9.3.2.3	Living, tourism and mobility networks.....	116
9.4	Implications of the current networks situation of Isuikwuato	120
9.5	Conclusion	121
Chapter Ten: General Conclusions and Recommendations.....		122
10.1	General conclusion	122
10.1.1	Rural development approaches in Nigeria	122
10.1.2	Potentials and constraints of territorial development in Nigeria.....	122
10.1.3	Confirmation of hypothesis	122
10.2	Recommendations for territorial development in rural Nigeria	123
10.2.1	Application of territorial rural development approach in Nigeria	123
10.2.1.1	Redefining the Isuikwuato territory as a starting point.....	124
10.2.1.2	Adopting a local territorial rural development plan	125
10.2.1.3	Introducing local territorial regulatory system	127
10.2.1.4	Shifting from hierarchical to complementary polycentricism.....	128

10.3 New model: territorial rural development approach	130
10.3.1 Planning processes	132
10.3.2 Policy and legal framework.....	132
10.3.3 Rural development processes	133
10.3.4 Preconditions for the application of territorial rural development approach.....	134
10.4 Emerging issues concerning the new approach	135
10.4.1 Generalising the Isuikwuato case in Nigeria.....	135
10.4.2 Implications in designing rural development programmes in Nigeria	135
10.4.3 Policy implications of the new approach.....	136
10.4.4 Implications of the new approach on rural poverty reduction	137
10.4.5 Implications on urban development in Nigeria.....	137
10.4.6 Theoretical implications of the new approach	137
10.4.7 defining territorial rural development in the research (Nigerian) context.....	138
10.4.8 Methodological limitations and directions for further research	139
10.5 Final remarks	140
References	141
11. References	141
11.1 Important website articles consulted	160

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide for field research	xv
Appendix 2: Letter of request for authorisation for fieldwork in Isuikwuato municipality	xx
Appendix 3: Letter of authorisation from Isuikwuato community	xxi
Appendix 4: Letter (from <i>Doktor-vater</i>) authorising researcher to undertake fieldwork	xxii
Appendix 5: Photos of some of natural and spatial features identified in Isuikwuato.....	xxiii

List of figures

Figure 1: Structure of the thesis	7
Figure 2: Overall research process	9
Figure 3: Identifying rural and urban based on differences and commonalities	11
Figure 4: Levels of territory as domain of development	22
Figure 5: Description of threshold and range as the basis of central place theory.....	27
Figure 6: The organisation of central places reflects in polycentrism.....	29
Figure 7: Goals of ESDP	34
Figure 8: Trans-European networks in transportation	38
Figure 9: General framework for territorial development.....	45
Figure 10: Specific framework for territorial rural development.....	48
Figure 11: Isuikwuato as a territory	53
Figure 12: Characteristics of Isuikwuato as a suitable case study for the research.....	54
Figure 13: Summary of the data collection methods for the research.....	60
Figure 14: The methodological design of the research	62
Figure 15: How colonial laws influenced the concept of rural areas in Nigeria	66
Figure 16: Hierarchy and participation of rural development stakeholders	72
Figure 17: The flow of fund in rural development in Nigeria.....	74
Figure 18: The prescribed implementation strategy of NNPIRD	75
Figure 19: Key legislations that help broaden the scope of NNPIRD.....	77
Figure 20: Population changes in Isuikwuato.....	81
Figure 21: Framework for evaluating the CSDP approach in Isukwuato.....	85
Figure 22: Institutional arrangement of CSDP.....	87
Figure 23: Implementation of CSDP	88
Figure 24: Visual representation of stakeholders and their relationships	89
Figure 25: Main roles of actors identified in the CSDP	91
Figure 26: Summary of people's perceptions of CSDP project outcomes	93
Figure 27: Citizens' participation in the decision-making process of CSDP.....	96
Figure 28: Main roles of actors identified in the CSDP	97
Figure 29: Findings in support of the positive proposition	102

Figure 30: Findings in support of the negative proposition	103
Figure 31: A diagrammatic representation of the verified research hypothesis	104
Figure 32: Hierarchy and criteria of classification in Isuikwuato	110
Figure 33: The rural territory as a package of overlapping assets	124
Figure 34: Levels of competences and adaptability of local territorial plan in Nigeria	125
Figure 35: Planning phases for territorial rural development in Isuikwuato	126
Figure 36: Proposed local territorial regulatory system for Isuikwuato	127
Figure 37: Territorial rural development approach at the local level in Nigeria	131
Figure 38: Defining territorial rural development	138

List of tables

Table 1: Trend of poverty in Nigeria	3
Table 2: A chronological record of traditional approaches to rural development	13
Table 3: The new rural paradigm	16
Table 4: Rural-urban linkages and interdependencies	19
Table 5: Institutional framework for promoting rural-urban linkages	20
Table 6: List of categories of key informants interviewed.....	56
Table 7: Population perspective of development challenges in Nigeria	67
Table 8: The dominant rural development approaches practised in Nigeria	68
Table 9: Opportunities for territorial development in Nigeria	79
Table 10: Achievements and failures of CSDP objective in Isuikwuato	95
Table 11: Potentials for polycentric networks	114
Table 12: Limitations to effective network of settlements in Isuikwuato	120
Table 13: Classification of nodes (settlements) for complementary polycentrism	130

List of textboxes

Textbox 1: Statement of Nigeria's Vision 2020 goals.....	4
Textbox 2: Raymond William's view on rural and urban	10

List of maps

Map 1: Location of Isuikwuato in the national and regional contexts of Nigeria.....	52
Map 2: Isuikwuato territory (municipality)	83
Map 3: The partial land use plan of Uturu (northern part of Isuikwuato only).....	99
Map 4: Isuikwuato territory (showing notable features).....	107
Map 5: Transportation network of Isuikwuato as generator of development	108
Map 6: Polycentric hierarchical character of Isuikwuato territory	113
Map 7: Administrative networks	117

Map 8: Rural and urban economies networks	118
Map 9: Living, tourism and mobility networks	119
Map 10: Complementary polycentrism based on clustering settlements	129

Abbreviations

AA:	Agricultural Act 2001 (of Nigeria)
ASG:	Abia State Government
AU:	African Union
BMELV:	Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz
BMU:	Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit
BfN:	Bundesamt für Naturschutz (Federal Agency for Nature Conservation)
BMBF:	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung
CAP:	Common Agricultural Policy (of European Union)
CBN:	Central Bank of Nigeria
CCP:	Community Competition Policy (of European Union)
CDD:	Community-Driven Development
CEC:	Commission of the European Communities
CPRP:	Community-based Poverty Reduction Project
CRRF:	Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation
CSDP:	Community and Social Development Project
EC:	European Commission
ECOSOC:	Economic and Social Council (of United Nations)
ECOWAS:	Economic Community for West African States
EEA:	European Environment Agency
EEMU:	European Economic and Monetary Union
EENRD:	European Evaluation Network for Rural Development
EMU:	European Monetary Union
EP:	Environment Policy (of European Union)
ERDF:	European Regional Development Fund
ESCAP:	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (of United Nations)
ESDP:	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESPON:	European Spatial Planning Observatory Network
EU:	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FEPAA:	Federal Environmental Protection Agency Act 1992 (of Nigeria)
FGN:	Federal Government of Nigeria

FIG:	Federation of International Surveyors
FMARD:	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (of Nigeria)
FP:	Forestry Policy 2006 (of Nigeria)
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (of Germany)
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
IDU:	Isuikwuato Development Union
IFPRI:	International Food Policy Research Institute
IITA:	International Institute for Tropical Agriculture
LUA:	Land Use Act 1979 (of Nigeria)
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
MP3:	Motion Picture Experts Group-1 Audio Layer-3
NBS:	National Bureau of Statistics (of Nigeria)
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
NITP:	Nigerian Institute of Town Planners
NNCA:	Nigeria's National Council on Agriculture
NNPIRD:	Nigeria's National Policy on Integrated Rural Development 2001
NNTCRD:	Nigeria's National Technical Committee on Rural Development
NRCA:	Natural Resources Conservation Act 1989 (of Nigeria)
NRDSS:	Nigeria Rural Development Sector Strategy
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OUR:	Organization for Urban-Rural Interchange Revitalisation
PPP:	Public Private Partnership
RIETI:	Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (Japan)
RNF:	Rural non-farm
SF:	Structural Fund (of European Union)
StMWIVT:	Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Infrastruktur, Verkehr und Technologie
TEN:	Trans-European Networks (of European Union)
TUM:	Technische Universität München
UDA:	Uturu Development Association
UN/UNO:	United Nations/United Nations Organisation
UNDCP:	United Nations Drug Control Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECE:	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNEP:	United Nations Environment Programme

UN-Habitat:	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
URPA:	Urban and Regional Planning Act 1992 (of Nigeria)
UUMG:	Universities UK Management Guidelines
WRA:	Water Resources Act 1993 (of Nigeria)

Glossary

Abia:	Name of a State in Nigeria
Abuja:	A city in central Nigeria
Chiefs:	Individuals ordained with traditional or cultural titles
Federal Capital Territory:	The federal capital of Nigeria, Abuja
Hausa:	Ethnic group in Nigeria; also a language of the people
Igbo:	Ethnic group in Nigeria; also a language of the people
Isuikwuato:	Name of a municipality (and its people) in Southeastern Nigeria
Kaduna:	A city in northern Nigeria
Kano Chronicles:	Ancient Islamic literature found in Nigeria
Kano:	A city in northern Nigeria
Katsina:	A city in northern Nigeria
Lagos:	A city in western Nigeria
Local Government Area:	Municipality
Minna:	A city in north central Nigeria
Naira (₦):	The currency of Nigeria
Port Harcourt:	A city in southern Nigeria
SMART:	Mnemonic for “specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, timely”
Traditional rulers:	Individuals assigned with cultural non-political leadership
Uturu:	The northern territory and people of Isuikwuato municipality
Yoruba:	Ethnic group in Nigeria; also a language of the people

Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Opening statement

The world faces too many rural challenges today. Although urban problems seem to be getting more attention than the rural challenges, there is as much a problem in the rural areas as in the urban. That is why “after a period of neglect to bring back rural development to the centre of the development agenda”.¹ Ignoring this statement is dangerous because dealing with the situation is critical in tackling current global development challenges. Most of the resources needed for fulfilling the growing demands for global food, water and energy come from the rural areas (Magel, 2006). The population problems in urban areas originate from the movement of people from the rural areas. The world's poorest populations also live in these rural areas. This makes rural development as much an important agenda as urban development.

One peculiar feature of Nigeria is the magnitude of development disparities expressed in its spatial structures (World Bank, 2010). This has led to major development contrasts between rural and urban areas. It is most visible at the local level because rural development is not a major national priority (Ogidefa, 2010). This is not to say that policy-makers completely neglect spatial issues in Nigeria. The challenge is that spatial planning focuses mainly on urban areas rather than on regional issues, which will embrace rural areas. This has led to the relegation of the rural areas to the background. Historically, the focus of rural development in Nigeria has been on agricultural production. The implication is that the rural development processes negate socioeconomic issues such as inefficient infrastructures, lack of non-farm employment opportunities, rural health, education, technology, capacity building and other institutional aspects of the rural context. These problems persist because traditional rural development efforts in Nigeria have concentrated on ad hoc solutions (Aribigbola, 2008). Further implication is that it omits simple spatial and people centred tools of planning (ibid), leading to uneven development of settlements units.

1.2 Rural and urban development in Nigeria

From a rural perspective, 56 percent of Nigeria's over 160 million people live in rural areas and contribute 40 percent GDP to its economy through agriculture (World Bank, 2012a; United Nations, 2012). Despite their large population and GDP contributions, rural areas remain significantly cut off from the basic amenities of decent living (British Council, 2012).

¹ Remark made by the Secretary General of the UN ECOSOC session 2003, in Geneva, Switzerland.

Poverty is not only widespread in rural areas, but most poverty is rural, at least for now (ibid). This has been attributed to wrongly or ill-conceived rural development strategies, lack of effective planning and poor prioritisation of rural development initiatives (World Bank, 2012a).

People resident in the urban areas face many challenges. Lack of employment opportunities, housing and informal settlement are some of the very serious urban challenges in Nigeria. There has been haphazard growth around big cities and along national highways. Poor housing, inadequate and poorly maintained urban infrastructure characterise most of the cities in Nigeria. Poor social services and population challenges are other problems common in Nigeria's urban areas. In addition, indiscriminate conversion of neighbouring rich rural agricultural land for urban uses is becoming a norm. These are observable in large Nigerian cities, such as Lagos, Benin, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Kano and Kaduna. The problem of high land values is one of the biggest constraints on the capacities of most urban dwellers to gain decent housing. This situation is exacerbated by high cost of land, high cost of transportation and exposure to greater environmental risk (and many other issues). Urban poverty is on the rise in the country.

It is easily noticeable that because of inadequate attention to spatial planning at the different administrative levels in the country; rural and urban development challenges have not been sustainably managed. There is no coordinated link between urban and rural developments. Indiscriminate conversion of rich agricultural land for urban uses is unchecked. The very poor level of rural and urban development in Nigeria reflects in the country's life expectancy. The life expectancy, at birth, is 52 years (World Bank, 2012a). Improving this scenario calls for embracing "spatial information revolution and the evolving land management paradigm" to achieve development beyond sectoral lines (Magel, 2003).

1.3 The urban part of rural development: an overview

Rural and urban areas serve very important functions to the national economies of their various countries (Tacoli, 2004). Due to this, specific strategies are required for their developments. In the case of Nigeria, rural areas form the base of land-based livelihood, employment and productivity. The urban area is the base of commerce, manufacturing and services. Land is therefore, at the centre of rural and urban development, and plays important roles in their development. However, urban centres sometimes spring up in rural areas due to development needs of rural people. Aligning with Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2003: p.1) who referred to them as the "urban part of rural development," this research considers them as "rural towns" (refer to section 2.7). These places are very important in rural development because they play the role of urban areas to neighbouring villages in rural areas. This means that rural areas are viewable from a rural-urban perspective. Magel

(2009) suggests that these places could serve special functions in the socioeconomic development of an entire rural area. The main challenge here is the enhancement of institutional interfaces, coordination and cooperation of comprehensive development activities in all aspects of the rural places (Masum, 2011).

1.4 Lack of comprehensive rural development approach in Nigeria

There are several methodological challenges in Nigeria’s rural development. Currently, rural development delivery is not inclusive and equitable in Nigeria. Umebali and Akubuilu (2006: p.27) summarised some of the major problems of rural areas in Nigeria to include vicious cycle of poverty, poor infrastructure and high level of illiteracy. Ogidefa (2010) in Nchuchube and Adejuwon (2012: p.54) notes that uneven development of rural and urban areas has turned “rural areas” into places of “high propensity for out-migration”. Furthermore, this has made Nigeria one of the world’s poorest countries in terms of per capita income (Stock, 2005; cited in Nchuchuwe and Adejuwon, 2012: p.54). Table 1 illustrates the status of poverty in Nigeria.²

Table 1 shows the present magnitude of poverty in Nigeria and captures the negative trend of poverty from the country’s earliest time of independence. It shows that between 1960 and 1980 (when the country was more rural and agricultural), it was obviously less poor than it is today. The current poverty rate is 54.7 percent (World Bank, 2012a). Despite the progress made within the past two years, 80 percent of the poor live in the rural areas (ibid). These are challenges that any rural development approach must address in Nigeria. Considering these challenges, there is need for a renewed approach to rural development in the country. Rural development in Nigeria needs to shift away from intensive agriculture towards sustainable rural economies. This is necessary for improving non-agricultural livelihood sources (CEC, 1997). Achieving this demands for improving the efficiencies of urban and rural areas within a specific territory. It also requires a comprehensive approach to rural development. Such an approach needs to cover the entire socioeconomic spectrum of

Table 1: Trend of poverty in Nigeria

Period (years)	Absolute Poverty Incidence (%)
1960	15.0
1980	28.1
1985	46.3
1992	42.7
1996	65.6
2004	51.6
2010	62.8
2012	54.7

Source: Compiled from various sources (see footnote)

² Table 1 is author’s compilation of data sourced accordingly: 1960 figures (The *Tribune* Newspaper of Nigeria, February 13, 2012); 1980-1996 figures (National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria, 1999); 2004 figures (National Bureau of Statistics of Nigeria, 2006); 2010 figures (World Bank, 2010); 2012 figures (World Bank, 2012b).

areas under development. The search for a comprehensive approach for improving rural development is the main concern of this research.

It is difficult to assert that there is a unique or universal approach to development because development may not occur in the same way in one country as in another. Therefore, any state policies aimed at promoting rural development must take into account that development may take different forms in different spaces. It must also take into account that the promotion of specific objectives (priorities) must allow development to take place. The EU (2006) confirms that territorial development approaches could guarantee this. As the world has become complex and interdependent, many development challenges (such as unemployment, social exclusion, economic downturn or poverty) have developed spatial or territorial dimensions. Considering current challenges in rural development in Nigeria, this research posits that an approach based on territorial development may help in producing positive development outcomes in rural areas.

1.5 Significance and objectives of the research

The volume of literature on Nigeria's rural development has increased over the years. Despite this, there are still gaps in rural development literature and practice. There have been several calls for change in strategies concerning rural development in Nigeria. In assessing the Nigeria situation, Onokerhoraye (1978: p.33) called for "regionalisation" as an essential tool for "the successful implementation of rural development". Ajaegbu (1979: p.6) then called for a more "spatially equitable distribution of urban-rural improvements" as a way of achieving accelerated development in the country. These earlier ideas are part of the concept of territorial development. However, the country never adopted any of these ideas, rather, the government embarked on sectoral leaning strategies (UNDP, 2010). These approaches are incapable of meeting recent shifts in rural development paradigm. Even those that advocate for multi-sectoral approaches have not provided specific frameworks for the implementation of such approaches (Okosun *et al.*, 2012). Despite all these calls for change in strategy, steering rural development towards a

Textbox 1:

Statement of goals by FGN's Vision 2020 Working Group on Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria

"By 2015, promote the preparation and adoption of regional development plans for each of the 36 states and the six geopolitical zones that will identify growth poles for accelerating development of identified villages, small and medium sized settlements..."

*

"By 2020, promote physical planning and management of 100% of human settlements in rural and urban areas..."

Source: FGN (2009: pp. 18-19)

sustainable direction remains a challenge in Nigeria. This is why this research is relevant in the following ways:

- It provides wider options for rural development approaches for achieving results at the local level.
- It highlights the importance of urban aspects of rural development.
- It contributes to the knowledge needed for fulfilling the goals of *Vision 2020* of the Nigerian government (see *textbox 1*: FGN, 2009: pp.18-19).

The idea of filling the gap left because of ineffective and inefficient rural development approaches in the country served as a motivation in the framing of the research. As a result, the research generally shapes the discourses within the methodological issues involved in devising new approaches to rural development. To achieve the significances mentioned, the research aims at attaining important objectives. The research follows a scientific path to assessing some major rural development issues (policy and programme implementation) in Nigeria. It puts focus on exposing important elements of rural, with the aim of achieving the following objectives:

- Evaluate general rural development approaches and identify a specific territorial approach capable of providing sustainable rural development through improved livelihood options within the case study territory.
- Assess the factors militating against the development of “urban nodes” within a rural territory and identify the institutional, economic, environmental and social/cultural conditions necessary for enhancing its current situation.

The research pursued these objectives through exploration of various literatures and key issues in rural development. The investigation of a specific Nigerian case study and the discussion of rural development processes in the country were undertaken. It produced a framework for a new approach to rural development.

1.6 Questions under investigation

The research looks at the relationships between various variables: rural areas, the people living in these places and factors necessary for its development. By implication, the different conditions posed by rural life: such as the economic, political, social/cultural, institutional and

policy issues were described. This therefore led to the investigation of some exploratory, relational and descriptive questions. Below are the main questions under investigation:

- How have rural development approaches been addressed in Nigeria?
- Do present rural development programmes cover territorial development approaches?
- What are the potentials and constraints of territorial development in Nigeria?
- How can rural-urban linkages enable a territorial development approach?
- In what ways can rural areas benefit through territorial development?

1.7 Research hypothesis

In line with the research objectives and questions under investigation, the research hypothesises that:

Nigeria has legal and institutional opportunities for comprehensive development of rural areas through territorial development approach. However, due to the absence of concrete rural development plan and area-based rural development strategies, this has not been materialised.

1.8 The subjects of analysis

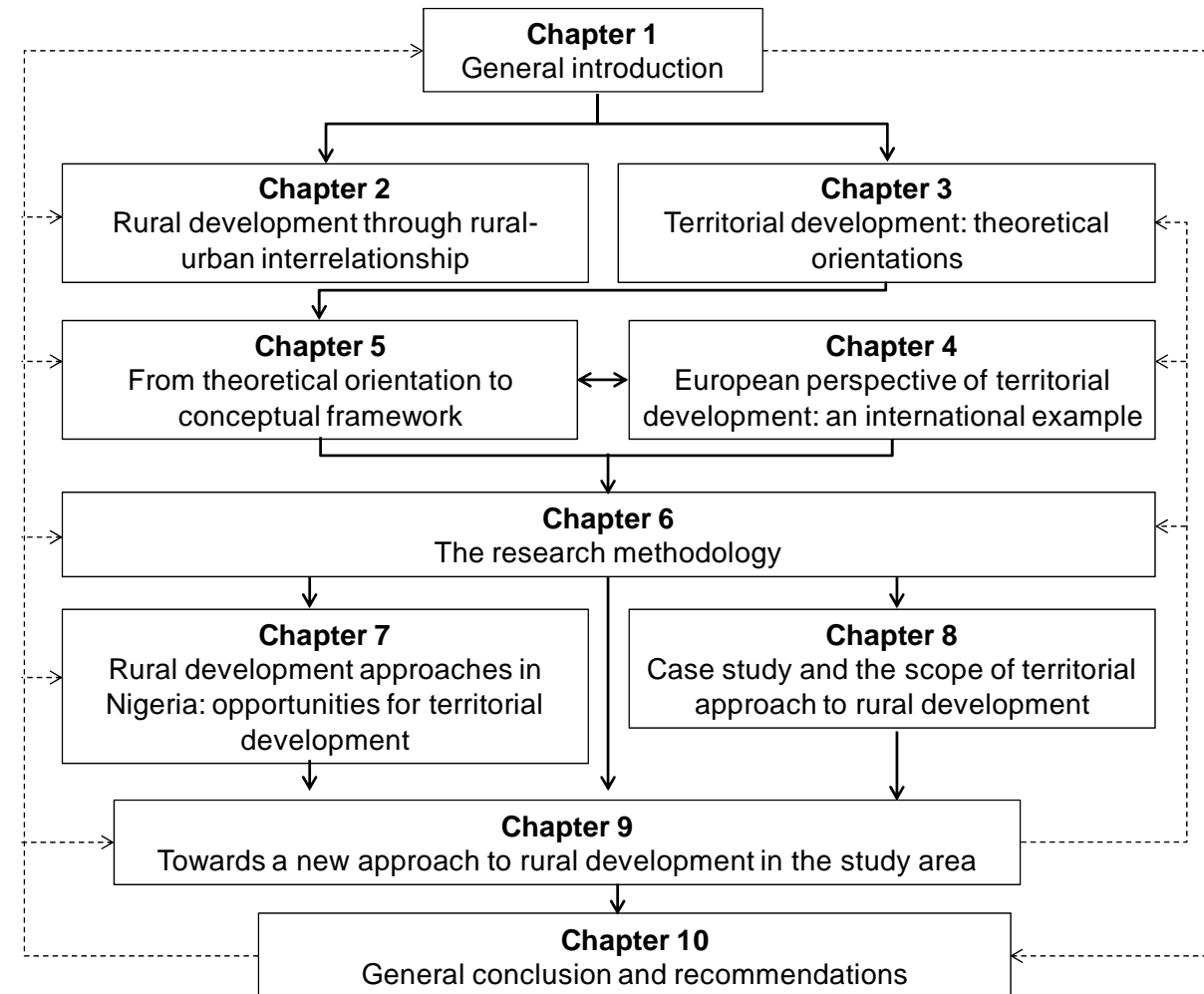
According to Cooke (2001), there appears to be a broad and shared understanding that, in the emerging economic environment, regions have become increasingly more meaningful than countries as a geographic unit of economic analysis. Therefore, in the course of a research of this nature, “choice of geographic scale for the analysis is crucial” (Alasia, 2005: p.13). Based on this, the geographical focus of the research is on Isuikwuato territory, in Southeastern Nigeria. However, it explored some general aspects of rural development in the whole country only based on their relevance to the subject under investigation.

In terms of the scope of the subjects under investigation, the main concern of the research is on territorial development as an approach to rural improvement. It gives attention to three main areas of spatial planning identified by Dale and McLaughlin (1999: p.84). They are people, work and place. To achieve these in rural areas demands for boosting rural economies and improving the spatial dimensions of their locality.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

The research, as reported in this thesis, begins with a *general introduction* and ends with an *output and general conclusion*. Using *general introduction* was necessary to differentiate between chapter introductions and conclusions (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Structure of the thesis



—> Direct transition: connection between chapters (with no breaks between ideas)

-----> Indirect transition: implied connection (there is connection but with breaks between ideas)

Source: author

As shown in figure 1, the structure of the thesis follows a sequence necessary for answering the research questions, towards attaining the objectives of the research. **Chapter one** (the current chapter) introduces the general work of the study, being a *general introduction* of the entire research. It transits directly to the second chapter. **Chapter two** explores relevant literature on rural-urban interrelation and sets the foundation for understanding the context of rural development as used in this research. **Chapter three** provides the theoretical

orientation necessary for grasping territorial development as applied in this research. It also provides further understanding of the terminologies used in the research.

Chapter four focuses on the *European perspective of territorial development* as an international example. **Chapter five** dwells on the *conceptual framework* of the research. It transits to six, leading to the different aspects of the empirical work of this study. **Chapter six** explains the research methodology, then directly transits to chapter seven. It provides the up-to-date details on all the methods used in the research.

Based on research finding, **Chapter seven** explores Nigeria's national policy on integrated rural development. From a countrywide perspective, it introduces the relevant empirical issues concerning the process of rural development in Nigeria. **Chapter eight** takes a critical evaluation of rural development in a specific Nigerian territory and assesses the scope of territorial rural development. It did this by evaluating a rural development programme within the case study area of this research. **Chapter nine** makes the case for a territorial approach to rural development. It presents the overall development nature of the case study from a territorial development context. This leads to the main research output in the final chapter.

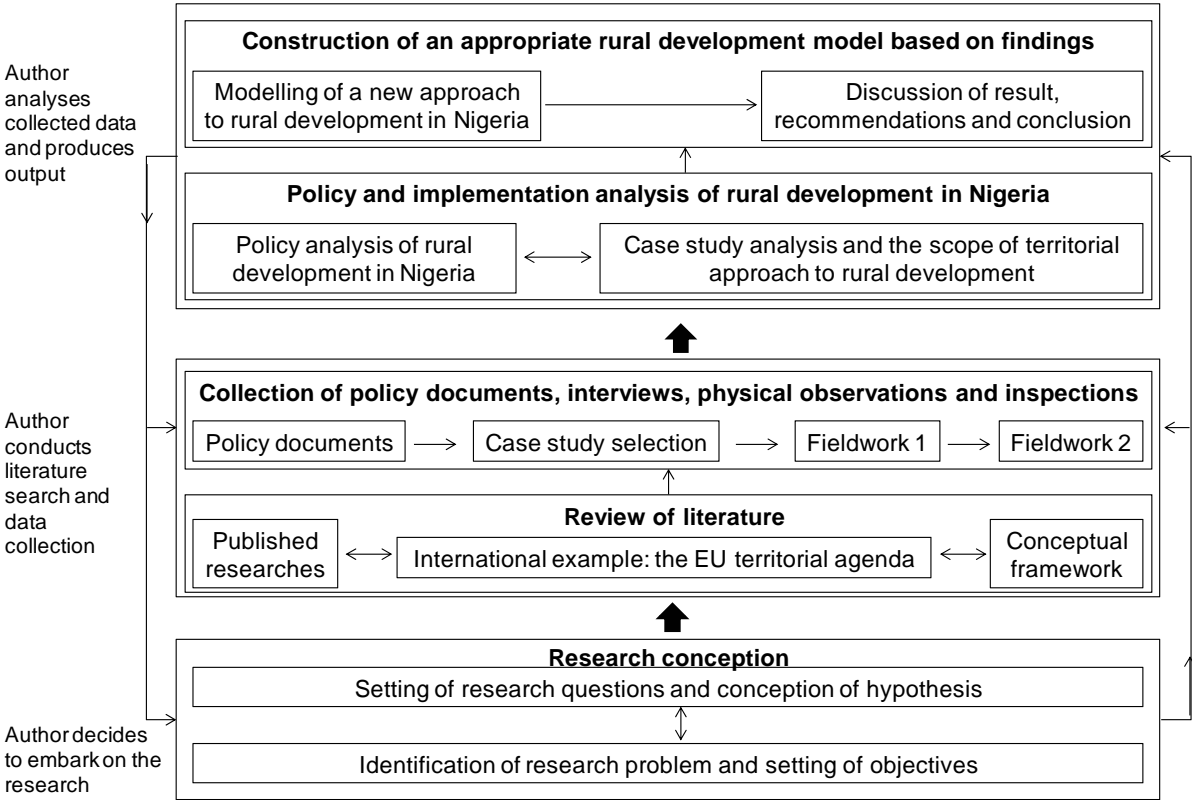
Having presented the rural development in Nigeria from national and local perspectives, **Chapter ten** (the final chapter) presents the research output. It also ends with a general conclusion. As shown in figure 1, it provides an indirect connection with Chapter one by discussing the extent to which the research questions, objectives and hypothesis were addressed. It also discusses some limitations of the research and future studies necessary for addressing issues that this research could not address.

1.10 The overall research process

The research followed an iterative process involving a series of sequential tasks. These activities can be categorised in three stages. The first stage of the research began with the author making a decision to conduct the research, then identifying a problem, setting of objectives, constructing research questions and hypothesis that can guide in the course of the research.

The second stage involved the collection of relevant data for the research. This involved extensive review of literatures, policy documents, conduction of interviews, physical observation and inspections. The third (and final stage) of the research involved the analysis of the collected data. This led to the derivation of recommendations and making of overall conclusions. Figure 2 shows the detailed research process.

Figure 2: Overall research process



Source: author

Figure 2 shows, in details, the various activities the author carried out in the course of the research. The succeeding part of this study (thesis) presents all aspects of these activities in very detailed ways.

Chapter Two: Rural Development through Rural-urban Interrelationship

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines rural development from the context of rural-urban interrelationship. It provides understanding for defining these terms relating to *rural* and *urban*. It also establishes literary understanding on how cooperation between them can particularly benefit the *rural*. The chapter makes its arguments based on the notion that the core aim of rural development is to make life better for all in rural areas (people and their environment). It posits that the process of fostering improvements in the conditions of people; their physical, social cultural and economic environments is *development*. The chapter argues that rural areas cannot exist in complete isolation from urban areas. Hence, it calls for the need to view the two in more inter-connected ways. Understanding the use of the terms, rural and urban, as well as being able to distinguish between them, is important to this aspect of the research.

2.2 Understanding the rural and urban

Generally, the terminology, rural, has no universal definition. The term evokes various images in the minds of people. Williams (1973: p.1) explained this by elaborating on the perceptions held on *rural* and *urban* areas (in textbox 2). Singh (1999: p.19) notes that rural is “a subset of the broader term, development”. Defining rural can be difficult because structural features usually attributed uniquely to the rural are present also in some urban areas (Magel, 2008). Descriptive definitions assume “a clear geographical distinction can be made between rural and urban areas on the basis of their socio-spatial characteristics” (Woods, 2009: p.5). This assumption serves the purpose for identifying rural as territories but may not be very useful in other contexts. Since no consensus exists among researchers on how to define *rural* or rural areas, this research adopted its own pattern, based on its own specific contexts. It views *rural* areas as land-spaces with culturally defined identity; situated within a place statutorily

Textbox 2:

Williams' view on rural and urban

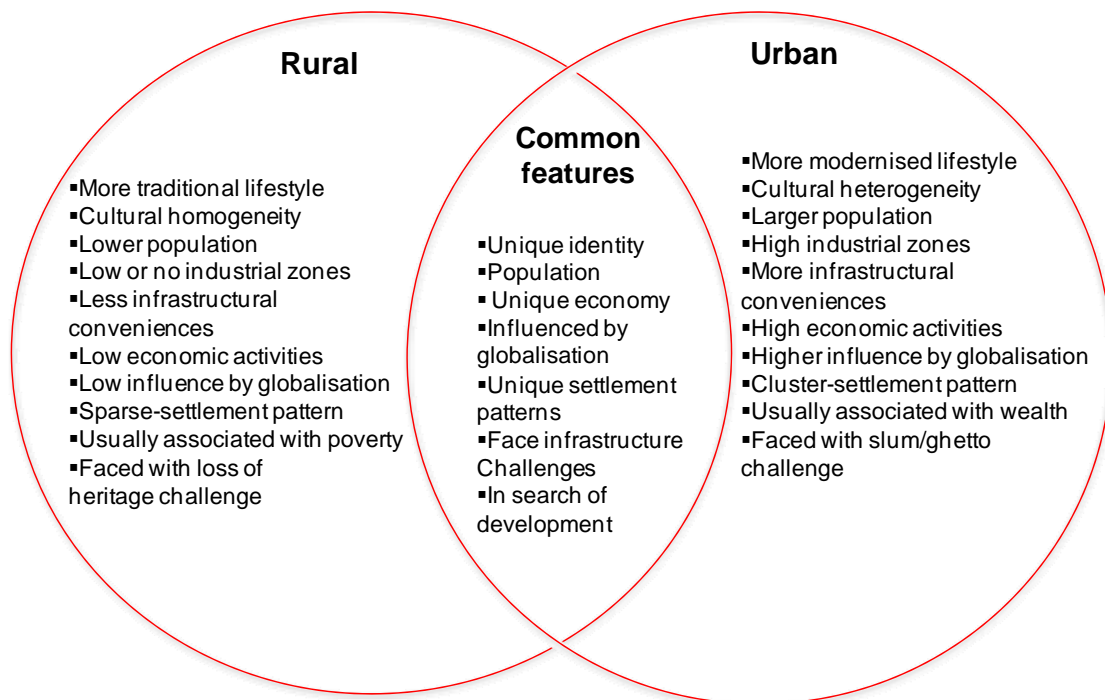
“The terms ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ are very powerful words, and this is not surprising when we remember how much they seem to stand in the experience of human communities... ‘Rural’ has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. ‘Urban’ has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light.”

Williams (1973: p.1) in Woods (2009: p.4)

recognised as non-urban; and occupied by settlers predominantly depending on primary sources of labour for their livelihood. This definition is suitable to the Nigerian case study.³

To distinguish the *rural* from the *urban*, there is need to explain what may or may not constitute *urban*. Generally, *urban* is built-up area with multiple supplies of services (Woods, 2009). These services can be administrative, commercial, educational, entertainment and other social and civic functions. Usually they have a concentration of population, network of roads and other means of transport –making it an area of high mobility (Wulfhorst and Crozet, 2010). These are the images that come to mind concerning *urban*, in the Nigerian context. However, for investigating rural-urban interrelationships in this research, the *urban* area includes all geographical locations with central places, slums and ghettos, middle and upper class income areas, whether in inner or sub parts of any spatial unit, which by statutes is recognised as urban. For general illustration, urban and rural areas can be understood by means of emphasising on their differences and similarities –see figure 3

Figure 3: Identifying rural and urban based on differences and commonalities



Source: author (based on literature)

The Venn diagram (figure 3) suggests an availability of differences and commonalities between rural and urban, as spatial units. Each of the two concepts has some differences,

³ It is further explained based on the statutory basis as shown in the Nigeria’s National Integrated Rural Development Policy (in chapter 7 of this thesis).

which gives them uniqueness. They also have some common characteristics. The common features shared by these two (usually erroneously considered opposite concepts) provide a ground for cooperation. Unfortunately, experts have put more emphases on their differences than on their commonalities, but the commonalities that exist between them (as settlement units) are important factors for their dual development.⁴

2.3 Defining rural development

Lea and Chaudhri (1983: p.13) hold that before the 1970s, rural development was synonymous with agricultural development and focused on “increasing agricultural production.” As a result, today’s concept of rural development is fundamentally different from that used about fifty years ago.⁵ Contemporary issues such as sustainability, governance, globalisation and climate change are some of the factors that have broadened the scope of rural development. So, what exactly does rural development portray? In defining the term, Singh (1999) took a general and specific approach. From a general perspective, Singh (1999: p.20) notes that rural development entails “overall development of rural areas”. It can be “a strategy designed to improve the economic and social well-being of a specific group of people” (ibid). The “specific group of people” being the “rural poor” (ibid). This definition could have been generally acceptable for this research, but for its rigid use of the *rural poor*. It does not capture the scope of rural development in this research. For this research, rural development is a process done for all people in the rural areas (the rural poor, rural middle-class and the rural wealthy). More so, today there seems to be a universal consensus that the ultimate objective of rural development is to improve the quality of life of all rural people. It has also become agreeable that rural development should ensure sustainability and long-term protection of the environment, its social system functions and values. This is important since at the local level rural development objectives are concerned more with the problems all people face in meeting their needs. This research defines it as *all activities done for improving the socioeconomic conditions of all rural people, and the environmental conditions of their locality*. On one hand, by *socioeconomic conditions*, this definition covers improvements in the cultural, economic, political, social and technological needs of all rural people. On the other hand, by mentioning environmental conditions of (the people’s) locality, the definition caters for all other conditions that improve place. This benefits both the people and their living space. The definition puts into consideration the role land management plays

⁴ It is these common characteristics and differences that make it possible for urban characteristics to be present in rural areas. Understanding this situation was important in the case study analysis done in chapter 9.

⁵ Statement of Professor Holger Magel, at the Graduation Ceremony of the MSc Land Management and Land Tenure Programme, 22nd March 2010, at the Headquarters of the Bavarian Construction Industry Association (BBIV).

in the rural development process. Rural areas are not developable without encountering various land-related (local) issues.

2.4 Traditional approaches to rural development

There are varieties of approaches to rural development. Many authors have noted these. According to Lea and Chaudhri (1983), land policy, rural institution and employment are some principles on which rural development approaches are based on. While *principles* are the values that help to guide rural development delivery, *approaches* are the different processes undertaken to do so. Approaches to rural development delivery are the “tangible” or “practical” undertakings that deliver rural development (Hill, 2006: p.18). Phuhlisani (2009) on their part provide literature of chronological views on rural development approaches over the past decades. Table 2 summarises some traditional approaches to rural development:

Table 2: A chronological record of traditional approaches to rural development

Approaches	Philosophical Basis
1950	
Modernisation	Industrialisation
Dual economy	2-way sectoral model
1960s	
Green Revolution	Technology transfer
Agricultural extension	Technology transfer
Small-holder agriculture	Small-scale farming
1970s	
Growth redistribution	Income transfer
Basic needs promotion	Social services provision
Integrated development	State led and top down
Limits to growth	Conservation
Women development	Household & gender
1980s	
Structural adjustment	Economic reform
Rapid rural appraisal	Indigenous values
Environment and sustainability	Brundtland’s report (1987) on sustainability
1990s - present	
Structural adjustment	Free-market transition
Governance	Public sector efficiency
Micro credit	Self employment
Poverty reduction	Wealth empowerment, MDGs
Participatory rural Appraisal	Empowerment through participation
Actor-oriented	Endogeneity
Stakeholder-based	Participation

Source: compiled from Ellis and Biggs (2001) and Phuhlisani (2009)

The above chronology (table 2) highlights the breadth and diversity of elements associated with the rural development approaches. Most of these adopted approaches to rural

development have strong implicit or explicit ideological orientation (Lea and Chaudhri, 1983: p.18). This means that approaches adopted for rural development matter a lot because such approaches go a long way to determining the outcome of any rural development initiative. However, they are not in any way limited to this list (which is only a summary). It excludes approaches involving rural service provisions, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and malaria mitigation, education and transport. These are also key components of rural development approaches.

2.5 Limitations to traditional approaches

There is evidence that “traditional approaches to rural development are becoming increasingly irrelevant due to the huge changes underway in rural society” (Berdegué and Schejtman, 2004: p.14). Changes in the external conditions and dissatisfaction with traditional responses have led to growing proposals for change in approaches. While methods that are more suitable have replaced traditional approaches in most developed countries, most developing countries are still battling with traditional approaches. There are documented reasons for changes from the traditional approaches. Dirven (1998) is of the view that in general, the traditional approaches limit viability and sustainability in development results. This is the case in most African countries. The traditional approaches do not embrace the urban sector as a partner to the rural sector in the development process (Schejtman, 1998). Most of these approaches are not multidimensional in design. Therefore, they lack the needed capacity to tackle current rural challenges. In addition, they focus largely on agricultural activities, without taking into account the multitude of non-farm options that can create employment for the rural poor. The reality is that “it is all about land” (Magel and Wehrmann, 2006: p.1). Therefore, rural development deserves a multi-faceted approach because land provides multiple development options. The *Rural 21 Conference*⁶ noted that “rural areas of this world (wherever they are) require answers to urgent structural and economic questions and problems of location” (Magel, 2000). That is why this research argues that there is a whole room for improvement when it comes to developing or adopting new rural development approaches. This is important because many of these traditional approaches depend on “urban bias”, rather than development ideologies that recognise “rural-urban linkages” (Töpfer, 2000: p.100). In searching for new solutions for rural development, the idea of this research is to devise a method that suits this changing rural paradigm –in Nigerian territories.

⁶ *Rural-21* was organised by the Chair of Land Readjustment and Land Development (then lead by O. Univ.-Prof. Dr.-Ing. Holger Magel) of TUM. The Rural 21 (Potsdam, 5 - 8, June 2000) examined the future of rural areas.

2.6 The shift in rural development paradigm

A look at the history of human thinking towards rural development (refer to table 2), shows that efforts have been made to outline different approaches and key ideas in the past. Phuhlisani (2009: p.10) summarised the basic ideas with which rural development approaches have been associated with over the last fifty years:

- 1960: associated with modernisation approaches emphasising technology transfer.
- 1970: associated with large-scale state development interventions and integrated rural development programmes.
- 1980: associated with market liberalisation and attempts to roll back the state.
- 1990: known as being strongly process-focused with an emphasis on participation and empowerment within a context of diversifying rural livelihood opportunities. By end of 1990s, a more balanced approach had started to emerge but there remains no agreement worldwide on how to get the right mix.
- 2000: focused on poverty eradication, reinvigoration of smallholder agriculture, sustainable farming systems and the location of producers within global value chains.

Phuhlisani's (2009) summary does not cover the whole issues. From the year 2000 upward, several other issues have caught the attention of the world. Spatial measures, environmental issues, vulnerability reduction and disaster risk mitigations are increasingly occupying the centre stage of rural development approaches. In addition, there is increasing recognition of the severity and speed of climate change and its impacts on the poor. Sachs (2006: p.14) particularly lists some combined approaches which are currently being implemented. According to Sachs (2006: p.14), they include territorial, dynamic, systemic and multi-level approaches. Other approaches of rural development as practiced in other parts of the world include the regional, integrated, public private partnership and multi-stakeholder approaches, etc. This suggests that rural development discourse changes its language, strategies and practices (McDonagh, 1998: p.48).

Presently, OECD governments are showing increasing interest in a more place-based approach to rural policy (Barca, 2009). It emphasises investments rather than subsidies, this makes it possible to integrate different sectoral policies and improve the coherence and effectiveness of public expenditure in rural areas. Evidence from the OECD suggests that a paradigm shift has occurred in most advanced economies. This situation is gradually occurring in developing countries, so, there is need for policies to brace up to the demands of this shift to a new paradigm. Table 3 shows details of the new rural paradigm.

Table 3: The new rural paradigm

	Old Approach	New Approach
Objectives	Equalisation, farm income, farm competitiveness	Competitiveness of rural areas, valorisation of local assets, exploitation of unused resources
Key target sector	Agriculture	Various sectors of rural economies (e.g. rural tourism, manufacturing, ICT industry, etc.)
Main tools	Subsidies	Investments
Key actors	National governments, farmers	All levels of government (supra national, national, regional and local) and local stakeholders (public, private, NGOs, etc.)

Source: OECD (2006: p.15)

Table 3 depicts the main direction of the OECD's view on the new rural development paradigm. It shows the major ideological shift from old to new paradigm. This shift to a *new rural paradigm* concerns changes in policy focus. According to (OECD, 2006), they include:

- “A shift from an approach based on subsidising declining sectors to one based on strategic investments to develop the area's most productive activities;
- A focus on local specificities as a means of generating new competitive advantages, such as amenities (environmental or cultural) or local products;
- More attention to quasi public goods or “framework conditions” which support enterprise indirectly;
- A shift from a sectoral to a territorial policy approach, including attempts to integrate the various sectoral policies at regional and local levels and to improve co-ordination of sectoral policies at the central government level;
- Decentralisation of policy administration and, within limits, policy design to those levels; and
- Increased use of partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors in the development and implementation of local and regional policies”.

In general, the new paradigm de-emphasises top-down and state-led development and emphasises on bottom-up approaches. It seeks to regenerate rural areas by enhancing and adding value to local resources (both physical and human) according to the priorities and preferences of the local communities (Woods, 2009: p.158). Although the new rural paradigm portends to present a sustainable pathway for improving rural lives and environments, it is necessary to implement it with caution. This is because agriculture, for instance, constitutes the core basis of rural development in many developing countries. De-emphasising its role could negatively affect output in those countries. For instance, the European Union has not

officially endorsed the new rural paradigm of the OECD. The Barca report (commissioned by the EC) takes a regional approach to the same issue. According to Barca (2009), it puts emphasis on regions' competitive advantage. This goes to support the fact that countries must streamline rural development approaches to suit their individual situations in order to gain efficiency out of such approaches. This is especially true for most developing countries where agriculture still plays the biggest role in terms of contribution to GDP. In devising a rural development approach for Nigeria, this research recognises this important situation.

2.7 The role of rural towns in rural development

As earlier mentioned (see sections 1.3 of this thesis), despite the urban and rural divide, even within the rural areas there are small towns or urban centres. These places form important part of the social, economic and political fabric of the rural entity. Despite having some level of urban character, Hardoy *et al.* (1992) point to the fact that such places have social networks which sometimes distinguishes them from the urban. In a country like Nigeria, they are ancestrally (kinship and family ties) connected to neighbouring villages. They are rural in character, smaller than urban areas and located in rural regions or territories. Their demographic trends are partly rural and urban, but are neither sprawls nor fringes of a major urban area. They are usually equipped with more infrastructural facilities (schools, health, market, roads, etc.) than in interior villages. They form the centres of economic activities due to the citing of employment-generating rural industries within their boundaries. They serve as administrative centres for municipal authorities and political activities. They also have markets and availability of several services that are not available in the villages. So, it is part of the rural system, but provides urban functions to the villages. In Nigeria, most of such towns develop as a result of the citing of a municipal headquarter or some other important government organisation in such places. These places are capable of playing important roles in rural development. Mulongo *et al.* (2010) noted that in the 1950s and 1960s, development practitioners called them *small towns*. Watts (1983) referred to them as *indigenous towns*. In the context of Nigeria, such places are *rural towns* (Anong and Dipeolu, 1983; Okafor, 1991; Okafor and Okunji, 1996; Adegoke *et al.*, 2010). Voss (2008) notes that the advantages of these developed commercial nodes lead to rapidly rising land values, which are indicative of urbanism in rural areas. Mulongo *et al.* (2010) noted these places serve as rational spatial strategy for promoting rural development so that villages can gain access to services and infrastructure that cannot be economically located in them. This concept is important in this research and serves as one of the bases for devising a new rural development approach in Nigeria.

2.8 Rural-urban interrelationship for rural development

The multitude of rural approaches in operation (refer to section 2.4 of this thesis), do not give relevance to the towns centres within the rural. “On a level of everyday experience, such relations are immediately visible and understandable” (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: p.12). “There are rural users of urban services, or consumers of urban products; and there are urban consumers of rural produce and services” in the rural areas (ibid). These exchanges apply to infrastructural uses (such as libraries, banks, post offices, service centres for heavy machines) in urban areas. They also apply to recreational activities (such as cultural festivals, tourism, etc.) in rural areas. Even at very early stages of development, such relationships existed (ibid). It is due to the inability of most approaches to integrate this situation in their framework that makes them ineffective for meeting today’s rural challenges. The *Marrakech Declaration*,⁷ referred to such approaches as “the old orthodoxy of a discrete and dichotomous approach to urban development” (FIG, 2004: pp. 13/14). It called for a comprehensive approach that recognises that “rural and urban areas are economically, socially and environmentally interdependent” (ibid). That is why this research totally agrees “there is a need to promote an urban-rural linkages development approach” (UN-Habitat, 1996).⁸ Doing this requires a shift from rural-urban disparity to rural urban linkages.

2.8.1 From rural-urban disparity to rural-urban linkages

Scott *et al.* (2007: p.5) are of the view that ever since the birth of planning systems in various countries, there has been a dichotomous relationship between rural and urban areas. They view it this way because of “different agencies, procedures and remits for the management of rural and urban space were created.” This drew a dividing line between the two sectors. Crucially, rural space was to lie outside formal planning controls with the majority of agricultural and forestry operations falling under “permitted development” rural and urban space (ibid). This separation brought about increased tension between urban and rural dwellers (ibid). Ever since then, issues of rural and urban relations appear to be a matter of conflict or competition (Bergman, 2000). This research agrees with Reimer and Nagata (2008) who assert that this idea is hazardous and assumes a false dichotomy. The research embraces the idea of rural-urban linkages as a very important element in the formulation of its own rural development approach in Nigeria.

⁷ The International Federation of Surveyors (FIG) and its partners at the Marrakech Conference recognised the urban-rural divide that exists in different areas of the world and that a commitment to address this issue is essential for acceptable human living conditions throughout the world. They proffered recommendations on the best ways to address the problem.

⁸ Dialogue 6, Land and Rural/Urban Linkages in the 21st Century, Habitat II Conference, Istanbul, 6th June, 1996

2.8.2 Framework for promoting rural-urban relations

Existing urban-rural interrelationships have not always been all positive or beneficial to both ends of the spectrum. According to FIG (2004: p.14) “cities and their metropolitan extensions absorb productive agricultural land, exploit water resources, pollute the rural environment”. This situation leads to disparity in development. UNESCAP and UN-Habitat (2002: p.7) note that the main trouble with “uneven development” is that what happens in the urban is not in tune with what is happening in the rural. In order to maintain even or balanced development, emphasis on functions that encourage rural-urban relations. As a way forward, Douglas (1998: p.11) emphasised on the interdependencies for achieving this (see table 4).

Table 4: Rural-urban linkages and interdependencies

Urban system functions	Interdependencies	Rural system functions
Agricultural, trade/transport centre (with further linkages outside region)	↔	Agricultural production (changing) and productivity (increasing)
Agricultural support services: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • production inputs • repair services • production credit • information and innovation 	↔	Agricultural intensification influenced by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rural infrastructure • production incentives • education and capacity to adopt/adapt innovations
Non-agricultural consumer markets: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • processed agricultural products • private and public services (education, health, etc.) 	↔	Rising rural incomes for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • services • non-agricultural goods
Agro-based industry	↔	Diversified agricultural production
Non-agricultural employment	↔	All of the above functions are involved

Source: adapted from Douglas (1998: p.11)

Table 4 shows the different interdependencies that co-exist between rural and urban areas. It reflects a major reason for Klaus and Magel’s (2001) view that rural and urban areas are not a contradiction, but rather, are supplementary to each other. It also supports Apedaile and Tsuboi’s (2008) opinion that lifestyle and community reflect individual blends of urban and rural value, culture and living standard. By focusing on exchanges, it is possible to identify directions for building interrelations between rural and urban people. The patterns of rural-urban flows of human and social capital may have positive outcomes for civil society on both sides. Generally, the trend is such that the duality of urban-rural linkages determines the living conditions of people in rural areas and in urban centres (Töpfer, 2000). Such linkages are good for dealing with service deficits, migration issues and shared experiences. Sustaining such linkages will lead to cohesion between rural and urban areas. However,

Lepine *et al.* (2007) emphasises the need for cohesion outcomes of rural-urban linkages to benefit both rural and urban communities. To gain mutual benefits, Töpfer (2000) set some necessary important institutional factors (see table 5).

Table 5: Institutional framework for promoting rural-urban linkages

Sector	Agencies	Functions
Public	Central government, local government, regional government, regional development agency, association of local governments, etc.	Provide enabling environment; formulate rural policies, put regulatory frameworks in place; coordinate policy implementation; introduce land policy, infrastructural provision; promoting science and technology, access to finance, provision of social and extension services (education, health, agriculture and non-agriculture enterprises), etc.
Community	Non-governmental organisations	Mediate between government and community, influence government policies; advise, organise and implement development; provide market and labour information.
	Community-based organisations, cooperatives, etc.	Provide and maintain feeder roads, water supply, power supply, refuse removal, provision of social services, agricultural marketing, supply cooperatives, community-based finance, etc.
Private	Companies	Provide transport services, water supplies, telecommunication, waste disposal facilities, wholesaling, retailing, repair workshops, schools, health services, etc.

Source: Adapted from Töpfer (2000: p.103)

Table 5 suggests a distribution of key functions and responsibilities between the public, community and private sectors in strengthening rural-urban linkages, leading to development. This distribution of functions, when well coordinated, serves as a major framework for promoting rural-urban linkages. This is possible within urban centres in rural areas, as well as between rural areas and urban areas.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter revealed the difficulties encountered in defining the concepts of *rural* and *urban* and *rural development*. It surveyed literatures on different approaches to rural development objectives and stressed on the limitations of the traditional approaches and the need to follow a new paradigm in the subject. It elaborated on the importance of rural towns in rural development, with focus on rural-urban interrelationship, and identified its importance for achieving even or balanced development. The next chapter provides further literature for understanding the research from spatial and territorial development viewpoint.

Chapter Three: Territorial Development – Theoretical Orientations

3.1 Introduction

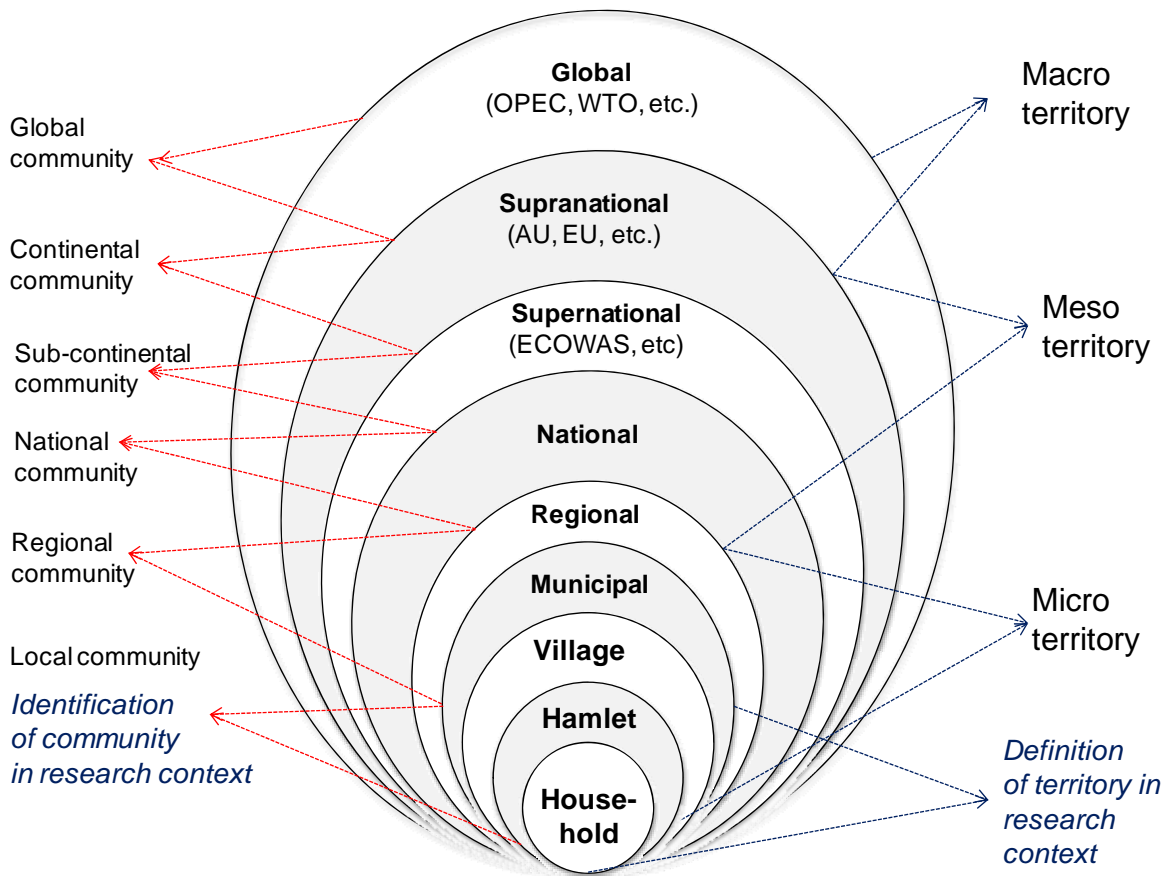
“Theoretical orientation is a review of interrelated and relevant concepts and theories used in the research to get an in-depth idea” (Masum, 2009: p.29). This chapter surveys literatures related to territorial development. It also surveys their associated definitional issues. This is necessary for better understanding of the succeeding chapters of this research. Considering the subject being under investigation, the chapter explains its adopted definitions for concepts relating to territory, space, identity, central places and polycentrism.

3.2 Territory: terminology and definition

Development does not take place in a void. An analytical view of development is unattainable without an understanding of the units it works to develop. Martz (1995) referred to this unit as neighbourhoods and described it as an entity that has long been present in the planning field. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2006) identify this unit to be composed of space and identity. This research simply views it as the territory.

This concept has a central place in this research. Various academic disciplines view it differently. Slater (1993), rightly taking a development approach, views territory as places where developments take place. Adopting the terminology of *territory* is relevant in this research because most community based approaches to economic policy start from a common and systematic analysis of local factors based in territories (OECD, 1996: p.15). In a broader sense, territory encompasses a “bounded social space occupied and used by different social groups” (Johnston *et al.*, 2000: p.824). Storey (2001) describes it in terms of regional development. Lawson (2004) views it from a geographical sense. From a pure political perspective, territory is about spatial relations of power (Stouten, 2005). However, what mostly captures the use of the term in the context of this research is Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones’ (2006) definition of the term. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones’ (2006: p.10) define it as “a given area of land under the jurisdiction of a state, or an organised division of a country that has a particular set of powers and jurisdiction.” This definition identifies a territory as a development domain, hence, serves for the purpose of the research. Figure 4 is a graphical representation of territory at different levels.

Figure 4: Levels of territory as domains of development



Source: adapted from Vinopal (2012)

From figure 4, it is conceivable that a territory is a domain where development can take place. The research adopts this context of territory because it conforms to the UNECE's (2008: p.45) description of the term as an area "which can be defined for spatial analysis and planning purposes as distinct and coherent, and/or the division of a country into administrative areas". Since rural development is a global agenda, this research views it from a global perspective, hence, has separated territory between three levels. This is explainable by three levels used by Vinopal (2012): micro, meso and macro. Micro territory can lead from households to the regional hierarchy of human settlement and interaction. Meso territory highlights national to supranational interactions, while the macro level is global.

Following this pattern, the research pegs its definition of *territory* within the *micro*, at the boundaries between the municipality and household. Household comprises of family and individuals. By targeting the municipality as a territory, the approach to development will be locally people-centred. At every level of the territories, there exists a kind of community for whom development is meant for –e.g. WTO (global), EU (continental), ECOWAS (sub-continental), Germany (national), Bavaria (regional) and Munich (local). Households, hamlets, villages and municipalities (in the case of Nigeria) become the centre of

development activities.⁹ This means that development can reach all within the territory –rich, poor, geographically advantaged and the geographically disadvantaged, etc.

3.2.1 Difference between territory and region in this research

From a micro perspective, the usage of terms (such as region and territories) varies from nations to nations and depends largely on the socio-political system in place. This research does acknowledge that region and territory can imply or mean the same thing in various disciplines and from conventional literatures. However, in this research, they mean different things and are available at different levels. What then differentiates territory from region? Any differentiations between the two terms strongly depends on the context they are used. This is because the two terms (in addition to other terms like, zone, etc.) are mere human constructs that are capable of being mapped, remapped, analysed and reanalysed. For instance, it is possible to break the world (or continents and countries) into regions and territories based on physical and human characteristics. Diverse countries, like Nigeria, are broken into regions or territories. Each country decides how these are conceptualised (at least, at the geopolitical level). So the conception of these two terms is prone to biasness and contextualisation. The use of region in this research does not apply in its broadest sense. In the context of this research, a region lies a step above the territory. As used here, in a federal political system, such as found in Nigeria, the region constitutes the states while the territory constitutes of the municipalities (refer again to figure 4). In terms of rural development, “regional development approaches” are considered as territorial in Germany (GIZ, 2011: p.8)

3.3 Territorial development

According the EU (2004: p.9), “territorial development is about the spatial dimension of development. It is concerned with where people live and work”. It is also concerned with “the location of social and economic activity, and the way in which resources we possess in limited supply are exploited to achieve socioeconomic objectives” (ibid). Land-use is an important aspect of territorial development but not the only one. From the previous sections of this thesis, it is understandable that there may be different definitions to the term. Having already defined the terms, *development* and *territory* (see sections 2.1 and 3.2 respectively); this research does not take a straightforward path towards defining the term, *territorial development*. It is not as simple as saying it means *the improvement of a territory*. Even though such an expression does generally explain it, it does not capture the main features of

⁹ Terms like region, zones and territory are interchangeably used in some countries. Also, community has been identified here, for understanding later analyses.

territorial development. From a spatial angle, territorial development is a unique kind of development. In fact, it is better to explain the term than to expressly define it. It is only by explaining its import in into development literature that one can best understand it –especially from a rural perspective.

In following this pattern, this research adopts the EEA (2010) view of the term as a way of explaining it. According to EEA (2010: p.73), “territorial development is a comprehensive concept used as an objective of public policies for comprehensive results in economic, social, environmental and cultural improvements”. It deals highly with the qualitative aspects of the concept and implementation of development policies (ibid). In practice, territorial development is a very broad subject in development studies. Several important issues are involved in territorial development: urban development, access to public services, rural development, territorial cohesion, climate change (adaptation/mitigation), nature, mobility (Wulfhorst, 2008); agricultural and sustainable development (Magel, 2008). In theory, the concept of territorial development has its origin from spatial planning and development measures; and partly from socioeconomic measures. These are well captured by Binder *et al.* (2007: p.36) who stated that:

“Territorial development is a concept based on a multi-sectoral approach, including the sustainable management of the rural space and its economic and social links with urban centres, as well as the decentralization process and issues of local governance”.

As can be concluded from the above definition, territorial development cuts across disciplines in theory and integrates various sectors in practice. This means territorial development depends on the basic requirements for the effective and economical organisation of geographical spaces (and places). This research adopts the above definition as a working definition for territorial development for some reasons. The definition rightly identified territorial development to involve actions that are born out of a long-term vision, with focus on improving a specific place. It recognises to consist of integrated interventions in human, natural, social, economic and cultural resources of a specific place based on local conditions. Most importantly, the definition is flexibly applicable or stretchable between rural and urban perspectives. The definition presents and promotes territorial development as multidimensional because it has human, natural, social, economic and cultural perspective. This also implies economic diversification, partnership of stakeholders, linkages of sectors and participation issues. It promotes long-term vision as a pre-condition because of the need for sustainability. It employed the term, specific place, because of its spatial and place-based

nature (that is, a defined territory and issues of polycentrism). In general, territorial development is an integrative and linkage concept in development practice.

3.3.1 Territorial development is an integrative concept

From the exploration of the concept of territoriality in the previous sections of this chapter, it appears to be obvious that a territory is a pattern of land and social boundaries. Such pattern itself is establishable by a set of rules that define it. So, changing the pattern is only possible by changing the rules. From the perspective of land management, it is deducible that environmental, social and economic sustainability are some of the reasons for developing a territory. Therefore, to achieve the development of territories, the nature of development needs to be integrative. The territorial view to development links the different functions of agriculture and agricultural land use with the other functions within a territory (Knickel *et al.*, 2004). Some rural development practitioners (Peter and Knickel, 2006) view territorial approach as capable of integrating cultural, social and human capital. This makes it crucial for developing specific areas. Rand *et al.* (2008) and Pecqueur (2001) provide examples of how territoriality can serve as bases for bio-energy and linkages between landscape and climatic features with local quality products and food specialties. However, it is important to note that the integrative aspect of *territory* as a factor “for combining different functions in the same area” is a view shared unanimously (Cairol *et al.*, 2009: p.279). Prior to the introduction of the European territorial agenda, it was a big debate in places like the Netherlands (*ibid*). There were fears of over-unifying the *rural* and *urban* in the Netherlands. Today, the concept has become integrative within a place-based situation.

3.3.2 Territorial development is a linkage concept

Taking cue from the impact of territorial development in urban and rural interrelationships, it provides links between production and the society. According to Cairol *et al.* (2009: p.280), “the recent evolution of patterns of demand and supply place a huge challenge to the local embeddedness of agricultural activities”. This leads to rural-urban interaction and results to economic benefits for both rural and urban areas. It can also happen between rural and urban units of the same territory. Renting and van der Ploeg (2001) note its importance in linking productivity sectors through interventions of reordering and standardisation of farm resources. This also usually leads to the multifunctionality of activities and places within territories (*ibid*). This trend is a driving force for a development because it views space as the meeting point between agriculture and wider society, making territory a central issue for multifunctionalities, interrelationships, partnerships and livelihood. Cairol *et al.* (2009: p.280) hold that the implication of this, is that “land assets are no longer valued only in terms of their

size, rational parcelling or productive potentials, but may also acquire an economic and symbolic value". The linkages can be "political or governance", spatial, institutional, economic, infrastructural, environmental or other sort of exchanges (Elden, 2013).

3.4 Polycentrism is embedded in territorial development

Polycentricism is a nested concept that holds something for everybody (Peters, 2003). Surprisingly, several authors use the term without any specific definition, but rather use implied definitions (Maier *et al*, 2009; Veneri and Burgalassi, 2010). This research considers the term as development within a territory based on spatial balance and equity of settlements in geographical, political, social and economic terms. Its embedment in territorial development is mainly what makes it unique as a development approach. Though usually applied to urban regions or territories, this research calls for its application to rural areas as well. In fact, the terms *polycentrism* or *polycentric development* is synonymous to *territorial development* in some literatures because (Veneri and Burgalassi, 2010).

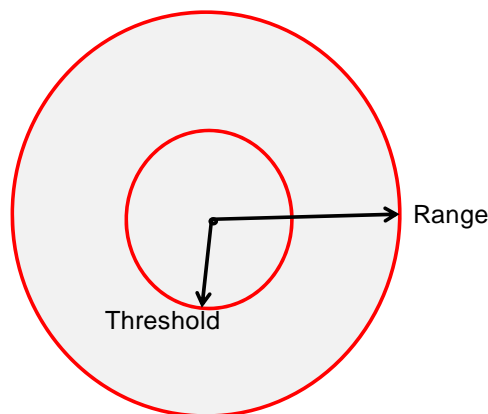
3.4.1 Types of polycentricism

André (2009) noted that Adolphsson *et al.* (2006) recognise polycentric structures to be identifiable in two distinct forms: hierarchical or complementary. Other than these two, it is simply *monocentric*. A monocentric structure of development means domination by either one urban centre or by several urban centres that are geographically and functionally isolated from each other. A hierarchical polycentric type contains several urban centres that are organised in a hierarchical central place structure. In such a structure, one centre is dominating the others and the smaller centres are dependent on the bigger for the supply of specialised goods and services. A complementary polycentric type contains several urban centres, which are organised in a complementary structure. In this case, no particular centre is dominant in terms of being able to provide access to more activities and services than the others are. There is a close cooperation between places within territories. This is emphasised because various areas can together reach a critical mass that the territory would not be able to reach when dependent on individual area developments (*ibid*). Any form of polycentrism has a tendency to lead to more spatially balance; even development; prevents rural exodus and avoids urban sprawl (Waterhout *et al.*, 2003). It strengthens the competitive position of urban/rural places; networks and counterbalance over-concentration (*ibid*). These advantages of polycentrism are what make territorial development unique. This research views territorial development from a polycentric lens. It does not in any way use it to imply monocentric structures of any form.

3.5 Theory of central places

It will be incomplete to discuss territorial development (or polycentrism) in isolation of the central place theory. Several studies have dealt on geographical distribution and external relations between urban and rural areas. As cited by André (2009), Adolphsson *et al.* (2006) hold that economic and planning theories have aimed at explaining localisation patterns and finding solutions to social and economic problems. These can help in the planning and execution of rural-urban based development interactions, partnerships and relationships, which are important factors in territorial development. One of the most influential theories to have influenced urban and regional planning/development is the central place theory. According to Preston (2009: p.5), Christaller (1933a) argued that all cities have to reach a minimum threshold of citizens to be able to provide certain services or goods. Christaller (1933a) also presented a hypothetical case about the maximum distance that people are willing to travel in order to obtain a service or a good (*ibid*). In general, the theory seeks to explain the size and spacing of cities. Its idea is that cities emerge to provide goods and services. Bigger cities provide higher order of goods and services (more durable, valuable and variable) as well as variety of goods and services compared to smaller cities, hence the term hierarchy. The theory relies on two concepts: *threshold* and *range* –see *figure 5* below.

Figure 5: Description of threshold and range as the basis of central place theory



Source: Preston (2009)

As shown above, *threshold* describes the minimum population that is required to bring about the provision of certain goods or services. *Range* describes the average maximum distance people will travel to purchase goods and services. Within the concept of urban and rural development, *threshold* (in terms of population) has been a major factor determining development in urban areas –especially through infrastructural provision. On the other hand, *range*, has been a major factor impeding the development of rural areas. That is why they are usually referred to as remote areas in some countries. This is due to their distance from

the main central place. However, from the economic perspective, *threshold* entails the minimum market (population or income) needed to bring about the selling of a particular good or service while *range* entails the maximum distance consumers are prepared to travel to acquire goods (Adolphsson *et al.*, 2006). In reality, at some point the cost or inconvenience will outweigh the need for the good. According to the theory, “the logic of the market will over time create a spatially hierarchical system of cities that control the growth of the cities (ibid). As cited by Preston (2009), Christaller (1933a) was in his central place theory guided by market principles and the logic of supply and demand. According to the market logic, an area with a high population and developed infrastructure can reach out to a bigger market and can thus attract producers of specialised goods and skilled workers. This means that the city will reach a high position in the urban hierarchy (ibid). The implication is that localities and persons living outside the *range* region (see figure 5) will find it uneconomical to purchase goods from the central place. It will be extremely difficult to access amenities and better living conditions. This is usually the situation of rural areas – hence, there is need for multiplicity of central places in order for rural areas to gain.

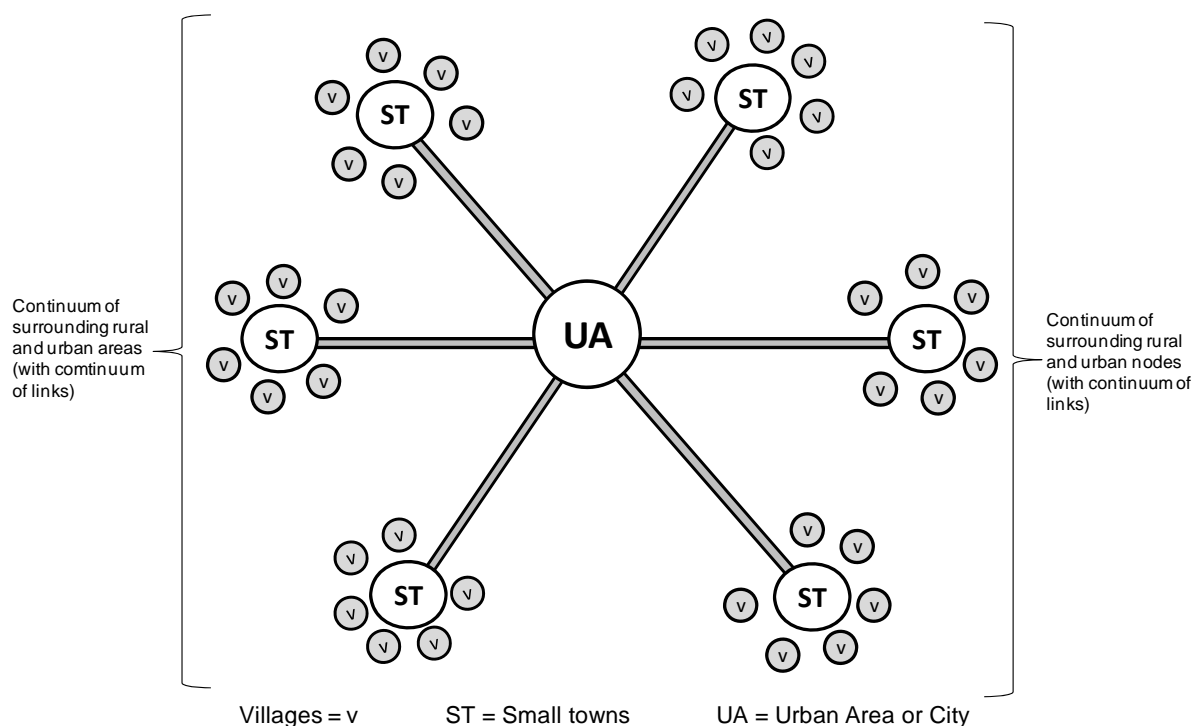
While applying this theory to the subject of this research, it is important to note that the principal thrust of Christaller's (1933b) research was theoretical. According to Preston (2009: p.6), “his main task was to develop a theoretical foundation and plan for a hierarchical system of urban-centred administrative and planning regions that facilitated the centralised control”. The research contributed directly to plans facilitating German *Lebensraum* policy (Rössler, 1990; cited by Preston, 2009). However, it makes three main assumptions: that resources are the same everywhere (homogeneous plain), that population is mainly of self-sufficient households and that transportation costs are equal in all directions and proportional to distance (Briney, 2010). In some way, the idea of polycentricism borrows the central place theory as a main theme. However, it deviates by putting emphasis on socioeconomic, environmental, institutional and cultural issues (in addition to spatial aspects). Specifically, this research has transposed the idea of central place (through polycentrism) to an entirely rural area –a deviation from the regional focus of the theory. Its main assumptions may not apply in general or specifically to Nigeria. For instance, production costs may vary not only because of economies of scale but also by natural resource endowments (i.e. heterogeneous plain). Transportation costs are not usually equal in all directions and central places may take a different form (ibid). Irrespective of the imperfections of the theory, especially when applied to some developing countries, the *central place theory* provides basis for spatial planning/development through its attempts to explain the reasons behind the distribution patterns, size, and number of cities and small towns/villages around the cities. It also

attempts to provide a framework for studying the historic, locational and relational patterns of places.

3.6 Central places theory is the basis for territorial development

In analysing Christaller's theory, Preston (2009: p.7) notes that Christaller (1966) suggested that a national system should be based on “the principle of highest rationality in the location of settlements and functions”. That it should “consist of a nested hierarchy of urban-centred regions organised around system-forming (most important) central places and laid-out according to his threshold and nearest centre locational controls” (ibid). This particular situation presents hierarchical orders of settlements from a top down view (that is, at the regional level). It can also be viewed from the bottom up perspective (that is, from the rural municipal level). Figure 6 illustrates the idea of polycentrism.

Figure 6: The organisation of central places reflects in polycentrism



Source: adapted from Boverket (1994: p.53) cited by André (2009)

Figure 6 shows how the central place system is organised, when viewed from its original (regional) perspective. In the centre is a strong urban core, connected to surrounding cities, towns and rural villages (v) which fall within a neighbouring rural area. The connections these towns have with villages (and the surrounding countryside in general) provide a sort of synergy whereby the towns provide the villages' population with one or more services, and vice versa. In turn, similar functions exist between the *big city* and its surrounding *small*

towns and rural *villages*. In a system based on this theory, a continuum of city-town, town-village, urban-rural, region-region interactions are bound to be encouraged. This can lead to active inter-linkages, interrelationships, partnerships between the two major sectors of the national system (urban and rural). It is important to acknowledge that this theory provides the basis for polycentrism and territorial development. "Polycentricity originated as an empirical concept in the 1930s, with the development of central-place theory" (EU, 2005: p. 3). The argument this research presents is that if it works in regions or urban areas, it can also work in rural municipalities (via rural territorial development).

3.7 Preconditions for territorial development

For territorial development to be successfully implemented, certain factors are necessary and should either be already existing or be put in place. According to Binder *et al.* (2007: p.38), a key pre-requisite of territorial development is decentralisation and local governance. Many others (Magel, 2010) have noted that participation and political will are essential for any development undertaking, and this applies to territorial development issues. Böhme *et al.* (2011) argue that planning, policy integration, polycentricism; funds and regulations are some other preconditions for territorial development.

3.7.1 Decentralisation and local governance

This is one of the main institutional bases for territorial development. Binder *et al.* (2007: p.28) argues that territorial development works best under "political and administrative decentralisation". Political decentralisation is a "situation where political power and authority have been partially transferred to elected and empowered sub-national levels of government" (*ibid*) up to the local level. Administrative decentralisation "aims at transferring decision-making authority, resources and responsibilities for the delivery of a select number of public services, or functions, from the central government to other (non-elected) levels of government or agencies" (*ibid*). When decentralisation is in place, it enables the various arms and levels of government to embark on specific roles, thereby, allowing the municipalities (local level) to concentrate in tackling local challenges more directly. Because of this, they have stronger political authority for implementation while higher-level authorities provide wider supervisory and policy-formulation roles for territorial development issues. Issues of funding can also be decentralised to give the local level a stronger commitment in making investments in local development.

3.7.2 Planning (and visioning)

There is need for a plan for territorial development. Such a plan needs to adopt specific visions for the people in the territory. For territorial plan to be effective, it has to adopt an optimistic vision for the future. The role of the vision is to guide spatial development in the whole territory. The focus of the vision should be socioeconomic and environmental in nature. This will enable the planning aspect to be coordinated to attain the vision (André, 2009). Planning is very important for territorial development, as it will enable measuring achievements against goals to ascertain the success or failure of development efforts.

3.7.3 Participation

Participation, as development factor, has to be an important part of planning. It enables plans be put into practicality through processes that involve and benefit all stakeholders. Participation of local citizens and other stakeholders provide social legitimacy and progress to territorial development projects. This is because citizens are the best suited for identifying their own challenges and harbouring the fairest desire to tackling these challenges. Their non-participation would usually mislead the direction of development projects. Also, territorial development goals will be difficult to attain without participation.

3.7.4 Funds and regulations that support territorial development

Territorial development should not be a mere idea. There must be funding criteria for the initiation. It can follow the example of Bavaria (Germany) which has eligibility criteria for funding rural development processes (BMELV, 2010). Such eligibility criteria can be revised accordingly to suit current realities (Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, 2011). Policies, laws and regulations would give legality and authenticity to its plan implementation. There has to be referenced to governmental policies, laws and other factors which the municipalities must respect in planning. The legal rules of expropriation in land and real estate should be consistent in all levels of government (Voss, 2010).

3.7.5 Policy integration

Apart from putting regulations in place, there is need for integration of existing policies into the mainstream of territorial development operations. "Policy integration concerns management of cross-cutting issues that transcend boundaries of established policy fields" (Meijers and Stead, 2004: p.2). This could be by linking cross-sectoral policies to have the best effect in achieving territorial objectives for rural development (Böhme *et al.*, 2011). Such

an approach is necessary for territorial development to enable consistency and coherence in policy translation, interpretation and implementation (ibid).

3.7.6 Improving accessibility of growth centres (polycentricism)

Promoting polycentric development is a very important precondition for balanced development within territories (Böhme *et al.*, 2011). This can involve spatial, organisational and policy connectivity. Transport accessibility to different centres within a territory is necessary for territorial development to be sustainable. Such centres can be major or minor centres. In the context of this research, rural towns or nodes, village centres and small villages are spatial units that would need connectivity. Making them very easily accessible to each other is usually of key importance to infrastructural sharing.

3.7.7 Political leadership and will

Politics plays a strong role in development. To fulfil visions, policies and plans should be devoid of interferences or biases. There has to be a strong and focused political leadership that has the will to implement policies without bias. It is best for individuals with strong political influence and principled political philosophy to lead the territorial development process.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the concepts of territorial development. It also dealt on associated concepts such as polycentrism and the central place theory. Its achievements depend on the definition of terms such as, territory and territorial development in the context of this research. As a literature review, the chapter raised critical aspects of the development discourse necessary for this research. Its literary revelations cut across works done by renowned researchers, practitioners and academics relating to the topic under scrutiny. This chapter connects with the previous one by providing the basis for understanding how the territoriality (polycentricism) of the rural-urban interrelationship provides a path for achieving development. The next chapter complements the current one by specifically showing (from European spatial development perspective) an international example of territorial development policy and practice.

Chapter Four: European Perspective of Territorial Development

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces an international example of territorial development. It shows territorial development in the context of Europe. This research in no way compares Europe to Nigeria. In geographical, economic, governance or historical terms, it recognises that they are incomparable. Having presented relevant literatures and theoretical orientations for this research in chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, the present chapter introduces a practical orientation for understanding territorial development. What the research does in this chapter is to show territorial development as a model pursued by a notable policy authority (the EU). This is necessary because it provides a lesson for other countries who want to embark on territorial approaches to development. More so, it highlights some important practices of the EU used in model-building part of the research. This research does not propose, in any way, that the EU is a perfect example of territorial development practice. The chapter only presents the EU as a model what understudying.

4.2 European spatial development perspective

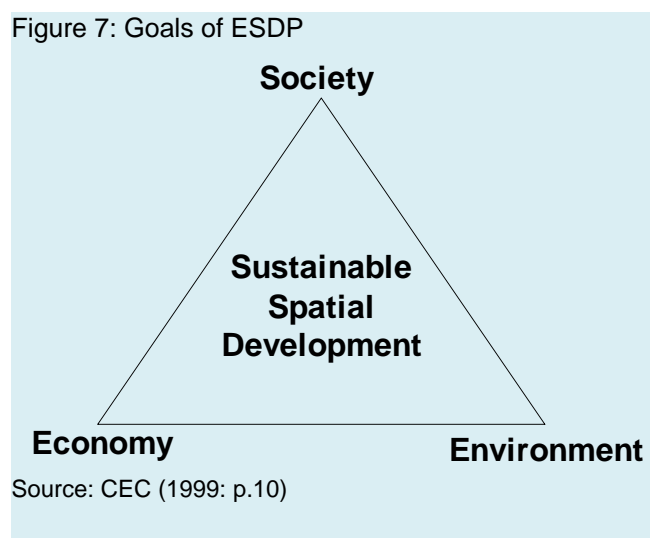
Any discussion on territorial development in the EU is incomplete without mentioning the spatial development perspective of the EU. *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP)¹⁰ argues that since EEMU came into force internal borders have increasingly lost their separate characters (CEC, 1999). Also, that more intensive relationships and inter-dependencies are emerging between cities and regions of member states (ibid). The implication is that regional, national or community projects in one EU country can have a considerable impact on the spatial structure of others. Therefore, in implementing community policy, greater attention to spatial factors has become important. This is because it will no longer be possible to compensate for regional productivity disparities by consequently adjusting exchange rates. In that respect, spatial planning can help avoid increases in such regional disparities (CEC, 1999: p.7). The ESDP provides the possibility of widening the horizon beyond purely sectoral policy measures, to focus on the overall situation of the European territory and take into account the development opportunities which arise for individual regions (ibid). This means, in particular, reconciling the social and economic claims for spatial development with the area's ecological and cultural functions and, hence,

¹⁰ Drawn up by the Member States in co-operation with the European Commission, May 1999, Potsdam

contributing to a sustainable, and at larger scale, balanced territorial development (CEC, 1999: p.10). Figure 7 illustrates a triangle of objectives linking the three fundamental goals of ESDP. These three goals (economy, society and environment) are part of the ESDP, with the general goal of attaining sustainable spatial development. They constitute the core factors for achieving balanced and sustainable development of the territory of the EU, through the contribution of the ESDP. On the EU-context of spatial policy, Williams' (1996: p.7) provides specific explanation:

“Spatial policy is taken to include any EU policy which is spatially specific or is in effect spatial in practice, whether or not it is deliberately designed to be, and any policy which is designed to influence land-use planning decisions, to be integrated with local planning strategies or to be implemented by local and regional authorities of member-states as part of their spatial planning responsibilities. Spatial planning is more specifically defined as method or procedure to influence future allocations of activities to space or space to activities. It makes use of urban or regional planning instruments to set out and implement spatial policy at whatever spatial scale”.

The above statement expresses the EU perspective of spatial policy. According to CEC (1999: p.13), some important spatial policies provides basis of action for spatial development in the EU. They include: Community Competition Policy (CCP); Trans-European Networks (TEN); Structural Funds; Common Agricultural Policy (CAP); Environment Policy; Research, Technology and Development (RTD); Loan Activities of the European Investment Bank, etc. The ESDP document clearly outlines the important functions of these policies. CCP is the key agent in the integration of individual national markets into a common European market. TEN obliges the Community to contribute to the organisation and development of Trans-European Networks in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy supply infrastructure (ibid). The Structural Funds and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) follow the objective of economic and social cohesion –as measured by traditional macroeconomic indicators (CEC, 1999: p.16). CAP is



primarily designed sector by sector to improve the productivity of agriculture. There are other policies and treaties created to support the fundamental goals of ESDP. It is demands of achieving the goals of the ESDP that set the stage for the territorial agenda of the EU. The ESDP is much more than just a policy document. Its importance cuts across theoretical and practical contributions to aspects of spatial development.

4.3 ESDP is a modern expression of the central place theory

The ESDP document introduces the idea of creating a balanced regional structure through linking and supporting cities on a transnational level (André, 2009). The aim focuses on reducing regional imbalances in Europe by stimulating significant growth in several “second level” economically dynamic areas distributed throughout the EU territory (ibid). The cores of these areas are the internationally accessible metropolitan regions, which in turn, have connections and links to their hinterland. This model thus implies a hierarchical urban structure on a European level in which the position of the cities depends on their size and economic importance (ibid). Chapter three introduces the ESDP spatial development guidelines. They are: polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural partnership; parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge; wise management of the natural and cultural heritage (ibid).

According to Waterhout (2008: p.59), in order to clarify how these three policy options relate to the polycentric development concept, the French Presidency analysed these links one year after the publication of the ESDP. The outcome of this was a document that established that polycentricism encapsulates all three spatial development guidelines (ibid). The overall objective of the polycentric development concept is to contribute to a “more balanced competitiveness of the European territory” (CEC, 1999). Since the ESDP makes no explicit study of polycentricism, the concepts that are in focus in the ESDP remains unclear and provide room for diverging interpretations. This study puts emphasis on three concepts that are central to understanding the spatial development vision of the ESDP. They are *polycentric urban system; urban-rural partnership; and balanced development*. According to André, (2009), these three concepts provide the basis for analysing national spatial plans in Europe. The presence of these three concepts in the ESPD document provides the basis for the inference that the ESDP is a modern expression of the central place (discussed in the previous chapter).

Pumain *et al.*, (1999: p.2) observe that the central place theory supports that “the setting of the towns... their spacing, the differences in their sizes correlate to those in their functions, present some regularities that have been noted, analysed and classified” in this model for a long time. The spacing in this context implies “the specific distance between

towns of the same size or of similar hierarchical levels” (ibid). The idea is to achieve functional equilibrium and this is explainable through the central place theory. This is because of similarities in their framework of an evolutionary theory of the systems of cities, from a historical process of development to competitive spatial entities (Pumain and Saint-Julien, 1996). This means that urbanisation in Europe is exhibiting a general centre-periphery pattern. For this, the ESDP calls for achieving concrete urban and rural patterns in its regional territories without depriving the rural areas of comparable development (Pumain *et al.*, 1999: p.1).

4.4 Polycentric urban system in ESDP

The polycentric development concept can mean a different thing depending on at what level it is applied. Three basic urban structures are classifiable in Europe –*monocentric*, *hierarchical polycentric* and *complementary polycentric* regions. As explained in the previous chapter, in a *monocentric* region, one urban centre or several urban centres that are geographically and functionally isolated from each other dominate. The *hierarchical polycentric* regions contain several urban centres, which are organised in a hierarchical central place structure. In this urban structure, one centre is dominating the others and the smaller centres are dependent on the bigger one for the supply of specialised goods and services.

The *complementary polycentric* regions contain several urban centres that are organised in a complementary urban structure. In this case, no centre is dominant in terms of being able to provide access to more activities and services than the others are. There is a close cooperation between the cities and together they reach a critical mass that the cities would not be able to reach individually (Adolphsson *et al.*, 2006: p.10; cited in André, 2009: p.15). The German case provides for a clearly and hierarchically structured system (Magel, 2010). The central place theory recognises that in a polycentric urban system there must be several dominant cities (economically, socially and culturally) relatively evenly located across the territory and well connected through developed communication links. This is enshrined in the ESDP.

4.4.1 Urban-rural partnership in ESDP

According to Pumain *et al.* (1999: p.2), “Europe is one of the most urbanised continents, characterised by a specific form of urban system, which distinguishes it from other parts of the world: a very high density of cities which are very close to one another. ESDP advocates for the development of a polycentric and balanced urban system and strengthening of the partnership between urban and rural areas (CEC, 1999). It particularly calls for removing

urban and rural differentiations (ibid). By this, the ESDP acknowledges the importance of rural-urban linkage. It introduces the term, “urban-rural partnership” (CEC, 1999: p.19). It emphasises on the mutual dependencies between urban and rural areas (just as explained in urban-rural partnership concepts discussed in chapter two of this thesis). It further argues that in order to improve the spatial balance in Europe it is necessary to create “several dynamic zones of global economic integration, well distributed throughout the EU territory and comprising a network of internationally accessible metropolitan regions and their linked hinterland –towns, cities and rural areas of varying sizes” (CEC, 1999: p.20).

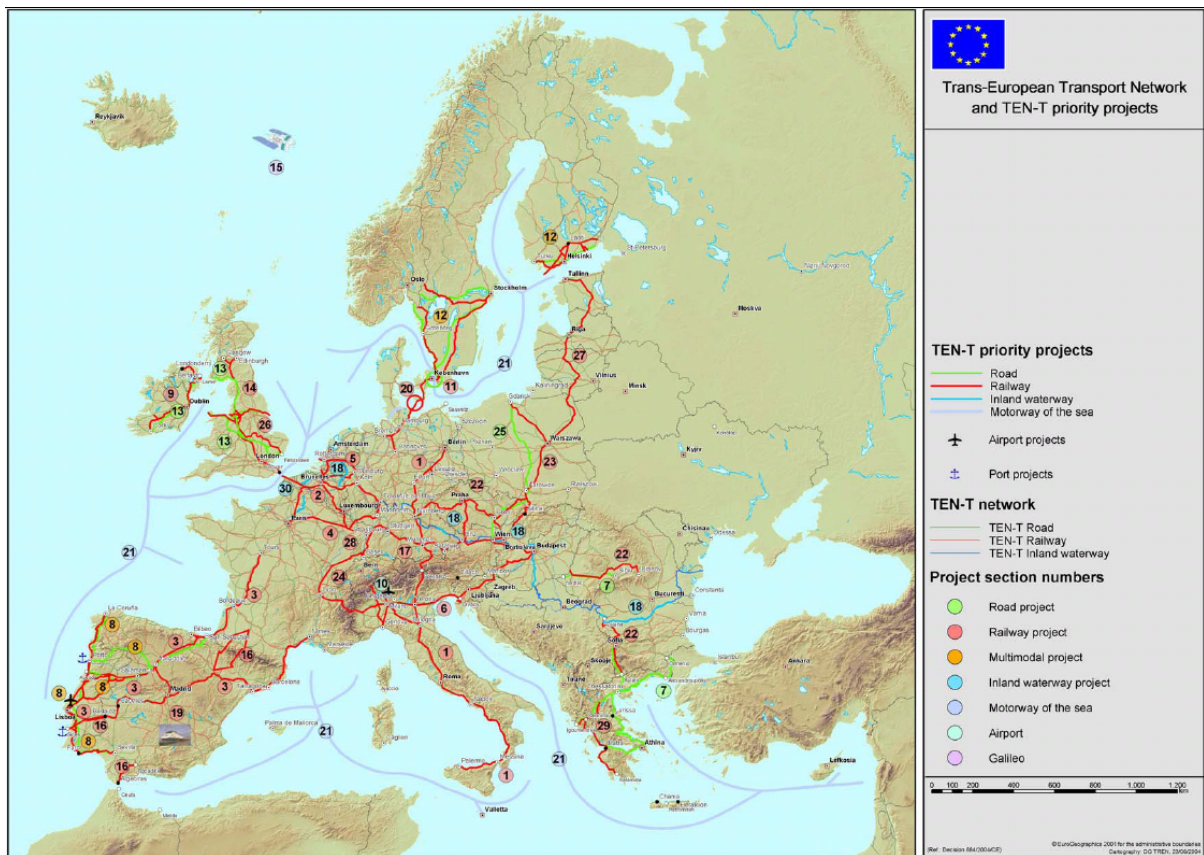
4.5 Transportation and accessibility in ESDP

Accessibility is one of the most realistic factors for territorial development. The ESDP asserts that because of development disparities and the way in which Community policies affect individual regions, local communities and regions of the EU are not automatically converging to a regionally balanced territory in the wake of EMU. It is, therefore, more important to take spatially differentiated measures and the opportunity presented by European integration to achieve sustainable and, thus, territorially balanced development of the EU (CEC, 1999: p.19). Transportation and accessibility play important roles in this regard, especially towards the idea of attaining balanced development.

A balanced development is in the ESDP primarily interpreted as the need to reduce inter-regional disparities. It is the issue of transportation (mobility) and accessibility that make it possible. Magel (2010) notes that balanced developments are achievable through planning, by emphasising on provision and sustenance of basic human needs in a way that various regions and sectors benefit. These benefits include education, supply, housing, communication, recreation, labour and traffic. Wulfhorst and Crozet (2010) add that such benefits are possible through coordinated mobility through transportation for easier accessibility. Transportation for territorial development in the EU includes rail, biking, road, sea, inner water, air, infrastructures.

Figure 8 presents details of trans-European network projects in support of its territorial development agenda. It illustrates the importance of mobility (through transportation) in Europe. The regional potentials are different in different regions and depends on for example the size of the region, natural resources, quality of life. According to the second approach, rural and peripheral regions are encouraged to exploit their unique territorial capital (André, 2009: p.16). In all, it remains always and everywhere about how best to connect, mobilise and access the seven basic functions of human existence.

Figure 8: Trans-European networks in transportation



Source: European Union (2007)

Figure 8 not only shows the state of trans-European networks in transportation, it also shows the complexity involved in achieving functional networks. This is because, in reality, to identify basic human needs for human existence in a society is not simple. It depends on many factors, like the resources in a society and its infrastructure. For example, housing is important everywhere, every human being should have the right to a home. “Promoting affordable housing is a main social responsibility of the society; safeguarding adequate housing conditions for all people is of great importance to create a balanced society” (Voss, 2012). In the theory’s urban hierarchy model, Christaller (1933a) notes goods and services with higher threshold and ranges are only located in big cities. Small cities only provide goods and services with lower threshold and range. The generating factor is always transportation.

4.6 Territorial agenda of the European Union

Territorial development, in terms of spatially based development, has a long history, at least in Europe. Its spatial dimension involves regional or district planning, watershed development, urban and rural development or the development of sub-national territorial

units of countries. Its strongest agreement on territorial development vision is from its *Territorial Agenda*, agreed on by the EU Ministers responsible for spatial development.¹¹ This was during the Informal Ministerial Meeting held in Leipzig, on 24/25 May 2007. The *Territorial Agenda* is an EU policy paper that calls for “a more competitive and sustainable Europe of diverse regions” (EC, 2007). It mobilises the potentials of EU cities and regions’ territorial diversity for more balanced economic growth through integrated spatial development (ibid). The document builds upon the European Spatial Development Perspective (discussed in the previous section). In its own case, it specifically calls for a territorial approach to development of the EU. By implying territorial development in the EU, this does not suggest isolation from the wider forces, which provide the livelihoods at local and national levels. It involves the “coordination of state and communities, of businesses and research facilities as well as citizens’ commitment in a civil society” (Voss and Brandis, 2007).

4.6.1 Why focus on developing territories in EU?

The EU territorial development (agenda) aims at investing in local territorial assets (human, financial, physical and natural resources) to strengthen the territory’s competitive advantages and raise living standards. Territorial development evolved from the approaches of the early 1980s as area-based planning, regional and district level planning, *aménagement du territoire*¹², integrated rural development into sustainable livelihoods in the late 1990s (Binder *et al.*, 2007: p.49). Territorial development is linked to space, administrative responsibility for that space, the socioeconomic characteristics of space, the ethnic and cultural dimensions of space, the human dimensions, the governance context of space, the environmental, ecological and climatic implications of spatial development; the human settlement pattern, the natural resource endowments and their management (ibid). From the content of the EU’s (2006) *Territorial State and Perspectives of the EU document*, there was need to adopt a territorial approach in order to curtail some striking challenges the EU would face in coming years. The most important territorial trends and driving forces will influence EU cities and regions in different ways. According to the EU (2006), the important challenges that create diverse territorial impacts are:

- Geographical concentration of activities supported by market forces and general evolution of society,

¹¹ The document’s full title is “Territorial Agenda of the European Union: Towards a More Competitive Europe of Diverse Regions”.

¹² French term for *sub-national territorial units*.

- Accelerating integration of the EU in the global economic competition;
- Growing interdependency between the EU territory and neighbouring countries
- Effects of ageing and migration on labour markets and social sustainability;
- Impacts of climate change e.g. on occurrence and type of hazards,
- Rising energy prices and uneven territorial opportunities for new energy paradigm;
- Impacts of enlargement of the EU on economic, social and territorial cohesion, and
- Aspects of unsustainable development leading to the overexploitation of ecological capacities of the regions.

Although there is no prescriptive all-embracing concept of territorial development, Binder *et al.* (2007: p.49) outline that it has to be practiced on a specific geographical space, which has unifying characteristics (urban, rural, natural region). In most cases, it unifies the administrative boundaries whose citizens (in partnership with the government) identify the means to strengthen sustainable livelihoods by realising the social, economic and cultural opportunities of the territory where they reside and developing these in an environmentally sensitive manner –with the aim of achieving peace, progress and respect for human rights (ibid). The EU logic of territorial development is that economic growth is based “in part in the organisation of space which is shaped by a range of policies at all levels of government, as well as by social trends, technological development and market forces” (EU, 2006: p.3).

4.7 Territorial Agenda 2020

Based on the previous documents, the EU worked to improve further territorial challenges it is facing. This led to the agreement of an updated territorial agenda for 2020.¹³ The main aim focuses on a coordinated approach towards transforming existing EU potentials through territorial development. It focuses on achieving an “inclusive, smart and sustainable Europe of diverse regions” (EU, 2011: p.1). Its main priorities remain the same (polycentrism, integration, competitiveness, connectivity, etc.). In summary, the idea behind the *Territorial Agenda 2020* is not very different from the previous one, except that it gives more focus to the following areas:

- *Increased exposure to globalisation: structural changes after the global economic crisis:* this aims to accelerate globalisation and growing vulnerability to external shocks by local and regional communities (EU, 2011). It argues that “globalisation

¹³ This was agreed at the Informal Ministerial Meeting of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development on 19th May 2011, Gödöllő, Hungary

can bring about important territorial consequences at EU at national, regional and local levels” (ibid). It recognises the importance of local endowments and territorial characteristics and enables regions cope with and recover from external shocks.

- *Encouraging integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions*: it considers the application of “integrated and multilevel approach in urban development and regeneration policies” (EU, 2011: p.7). The cooperation and networking of cities become more effective at contributing to “smart development of city regions at varying scales in the long run” (ibid).
- *Territorial integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions*: it puts attention to border settlements and works to attain territorial integration and co-operation that can “create a critical mass for development, diminishing economic, social and ecological fragmentation, building mutual trust and social capital” (EU, 2011: p.8). Cross border and transnational functional regions may require proper policy coordination between different countries.
- *Ensuring global competitiveness of all regions based on strong local economies*: this makes sectors to become globally integrated with others elsewhere. It advocates for the “use of social capital, territorial assets, and the development of innovation and smart specialisation strategies in a place-based approach” (EU, 2011: p.8).

According to the Territorial Agenda 2020 document, there are other focal points emphasised. They include improving territorial connectivity for individuals, communities and enterprises; and managing and connecting ecological, landscape and cultural values of regions. Again when viewed critically, these measures are all geared towards achieving the fundamental goals of the ESDP from more specific perspectives. This is why discussions on territorial development in the EU context relate closely to spatial planning and development. The two (territorial development and spatial planning) are inseparable. Hence, they are practicable only based on individual member country’s spatial planning system. While these planning systems are different from one European country to the other, they do share common features that can serve as lessons to developing countries (like Nigeria).

4.8 Lessons (from EU development practice) for other countries

This section of the research does not compare, in any way, the EU to a specific country or municipality anywhere in the world. It also does not imply that the EU is a perfect example for development practice. Such a comparison would be improper as the EU is of a very different structure in terms of geography, culture and terrain. Being an agglomeration of several countries, it will be highly unscientific to make a comparison between the EU and a mere

country (e.g. Nigeria) or municipality. However, what this section does is to outline some lessons that are notable for others to learn from. In the context of territorial development, the following EU development efforts can serve as important learning points for less developed countries (like Nigeria):

- *Enabling institutions and the rule by law:* the EU would not have made much effort towards its integration and cooperation policies without adequate institutions and adherence to the rule of law. From a territorial perspective, there is need to respect the rights of people, electoral, regulatory and cultural demands. This enhances better quality of participation, political stability and creates the right environment for territorial development to thrive.
- *Common vision, policies and pooling of resources:* the EU has common visions for territorial development and cohesion. It is one of the factors lacking in Nigerian planning, policy and development delivery. There is need for national, state, municipal and community authorities to learn to work with one vision in all development efforts. With a common vision, it is easier to pool resources together for achieving better and more sustainable development goals.
- *Political will and commitment:* choices collectively made by the Nigerian federal, state and local governments are necessary for attaining development. It demands for strong and direct political commitment and leadership. Such commitment and leadership should gear towards result-oriented achievements. This is necessary for maintenance of peace and stability for achieving territorial objectives. Most of all, it is political leadership and commitments to goals that can deliver the end result of development. It is a major factor in the EU development case. Even in difficult times, there has been a high level of steady and committed leadership.
- *Closer cooperation units (spatial and non-spatial):* in political and economic terms, the EU has moved from being a continent of divisiveness to one of integration. This has improved the net worth of development results in individual countries, as well as their regions and municipalities. From both spatial, cultural and policy perspective, there is need for adopting an integrative and mutually benefitting approach to associations between the various units within a country, state, municipality or community. In most developing countries, this is a factor lacking, and one they can learn from the EU.

The core philosophy behind the workability of the EU operations up to this moment appears to be based on Jean Monnet's assertion that "*nothing is possible without people, nothing can*

*last without institutions.*¹⁴ Whoever follows this philosophy (whether a country, a region, municipality, enterprises or NGOs) are bound to succeed better in their development efforts. These are lessons worth learning by others –countries, municipalities, etc.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced an international example of territorial development, using the EU. It provided a lesson for countries who may want to embark on territorial approaches to development. The EU example shows development through common vision and commitment to goals. This is important for achieving balanced development.¹⁵ Achieving balanced development implies that the state has to pursue economic opportunities wherever they might be instead of working with a bias toward urban development. Although Europe has not achieved this in its entirety, basing its territorial and spatial vision on such principles alone is commendable. The concept framework adopts this principle as an important element for rural development. The next chapter takes the research from its current point of international example towards a conceptual framework.

¹⁴ Jean Omer Marie Gabriel Monnet (9 November 1888 – 16 March 1979), is one of the founding fathers of EU, due to his role in establishing the EU common market. The *Jean Monnet Building* of the European Commission is named for him. The quotation is from the luncheon speech of Denis Tersen, Minister Counsellor, Trade and Economy, French Embassy Tokyo. The speech was made at RIETI's 2-day symposium on Asian economic integration, 22-23 April, 2002, in Japan.

¹⁵ It is a development that benefits all (countries and regions or rural and urban).

Chapter Five: From Theoretical Orientation to Conceptual Framework

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework of the research. This involved following a structured and scientific construct towards achieving the research objectives. This is possible by setting strategies for the achievement of specific outcomes. A first step in setting up a concept for tackling a challenge would be to specifically identify the problem and define its scope (Stamoulis and Zezza, 2003). Since challenges (such as poverty, poor infrastructure and rural-urban migration) exist in rural Nigeria, this research searched for an *appropriate approach* for tackling these issues.

In the first chapter, this research mentioned the lack of a territorial approach as a gap in the methods of rural development delivery in Nigeria. This makes this research a methodological one –because the problem it pursues directly is the search for an appropriate approach for rural development in Nigeria. Hence, the proposed rural development approach of this research (a territorial one) is an essential part of reducing the aforementioned challenges. The concept for framing this approach is what this chapter presents. Developing the concept involved two main steps: providing a general idea on why territorial development is necessary and producing a specific approach for territorial development in Nigeria.

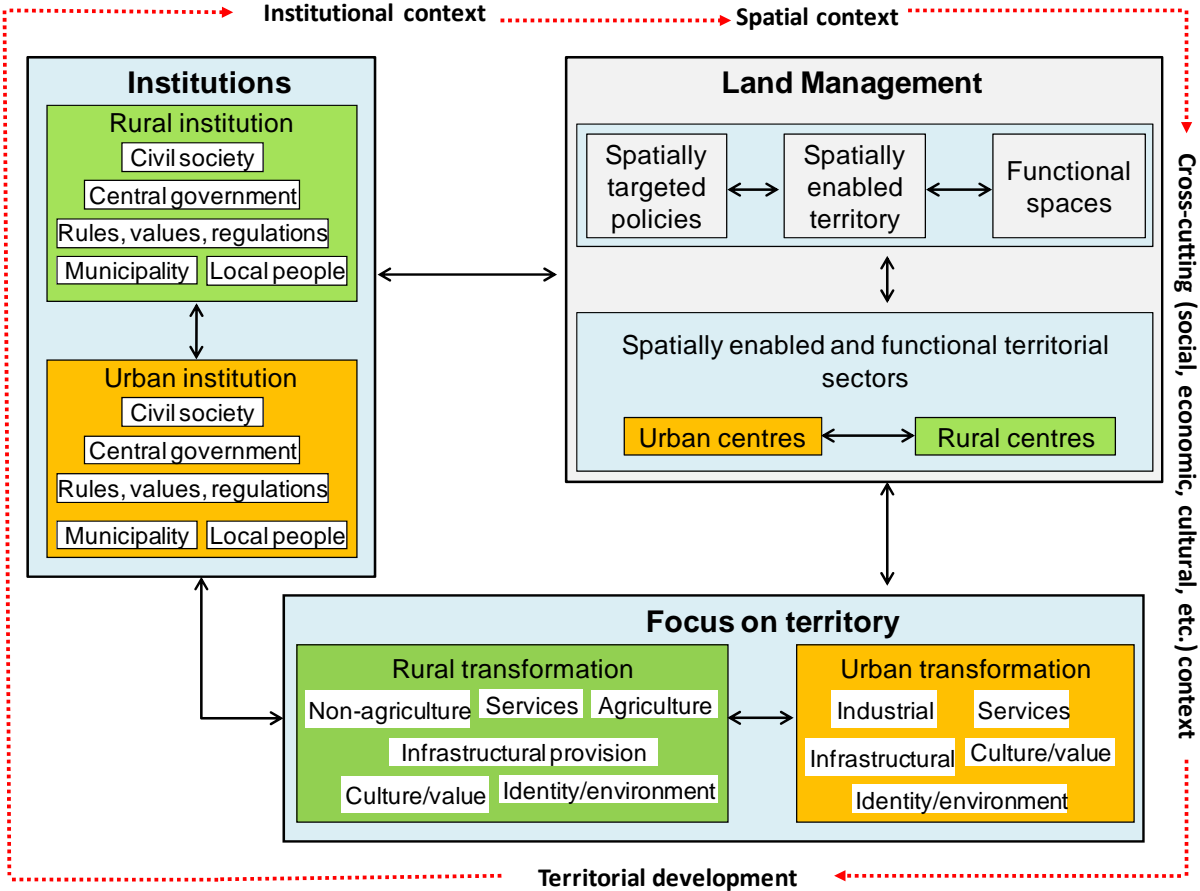
5.2 Conceptualising territorial development in Nigeria

To establish a new (territorial) approach, it is important to adopt a holistic view of the rural place as a domain for development implementation. There are two basic principles behind this notion in this research. Firstly, rural and urban developments are important to national development, hence, the development of one depends on the other, and vice versa. Secondly, the possibility of developing dynamic growth centres across rural territories (i.e. polycentricism) is central to the idea of territorial development. It conceptualised a general framework that guided its pattern of processes, followed by the introduction of a specific framework, then leading to the main output.

From general perspective, the key distinction between territorial approaches to what is being practised in Nigeria is that “a territorial approach uses integrated policies with a focus on places or regions as opposed to sectoral policies” (Storey, 2011, Pers. Com.). This should focus on “the idea of involvement and participation and emphasising a community-based approach using partnerships and reflecting shifting modes of governance” (ibid). To

attain this approach, the research adopts concepts which when followed could lead to positive transformation in the development of rural and urban areas. The main reason for adopting these concepts is to avoid urban or rural bias. In general, the research identifies three issues that are necessary for territorial development in Nigeria. They are institutional, land management (spatial) and crosscutting contexts. Each of these contexts has its own development activity, which can lead to transformations (within the rural and urban) for territorial development. Figure 9 illustrates these main ideas and their interactions towards achieving urban or rural transformations.

Figure 9: General framework for territorial development



Source: author

Figure 9 presents a general framework for territorial development. The idea is to present a wholesome view of the idea of territoriality in general. As shown, if responsive institutional contexts are developed (and followed with land management principles), it will lead to responsive spatial arrangements. This again will generate necessary crosscutting exchanges (linkages) between urban and rural centres, leading to territorial development (involving transformation urban/rural sectors simultaneously). If achieved, rural-urban transformation

would nurture improved territorial institutional capacities (governance, etc.). This will stay on as a cyclical process if well coordinated. Of course, all these depend mainly on the roles actors and agencies have to play in the development process.

The institutional relationship between sectors, their responsibilities and the rules governing their actions are important. It takes into necessity the different mechanisms for rural and urban development within a particular territory of a nation (Schejtman and Berdegué, 2004). If arranged to have territorial effectiveness, it would result to a territorial institutional transformation, which provides the necessary governance system factors that may lead to a spatial context. Achieving this will need the input, participation and cooperation of all levels of government and civil society organisations within the rural and urban.

It based the spatial context on the notion that spatial planning is important for “place-making” which is important for territorial development (Haughton *et al*, 2010: p.1). According to Magel (2010), spatial planning is relevant for countering socioeconomic and environmental challenges in a timely manner. If spatial policies target functional spaces for development, the society has potentials to attain spatially enablement. This will encourage crosscutting issues between sectors.

The crosscutting context is efficient when the spatial context is effective. Usually, “spatial development processes on the national and regional scales” (Lüthi and Thierstein, 2009: p.2). This can introduce new forms of hierarchical or complementary network development; and functional differentiation between geographical areas (Sassen, 2001). In all cases, the idea should be to keep rural and urban policies in close harmony with each other. This would encourage spatial connectivity (infrastructure, knowledge, economy, etc.). Highly enabled spatial connectivity can achieve complementarity, cooperation, linkages, interrelationships, cooperations and partnerships; and interdependencies factors for even development. The outcome will be devoid of rural or urban bias.

Through this means, attaining development transformations in all sectors within a specific territory is possible. This will make territorial development an integrative concept for rural and urban transformations from a national or regional perspective. From a municipal perspective, it serves as an integrative concept for rural and urban centres’ transformations. Attaining productive transformation within the two sectors will “articulate in a competitive and sustainable way, the economy of a given territory with dynamic markets” (Schejtman and Berdegué, 2004: p.9). Having established a general context of territorial development devoid of rural or urban biases, the next step conceptualised the implementation of this sort of development within a rural territory.

5.3 Conceptualising territorial rural development at the local level

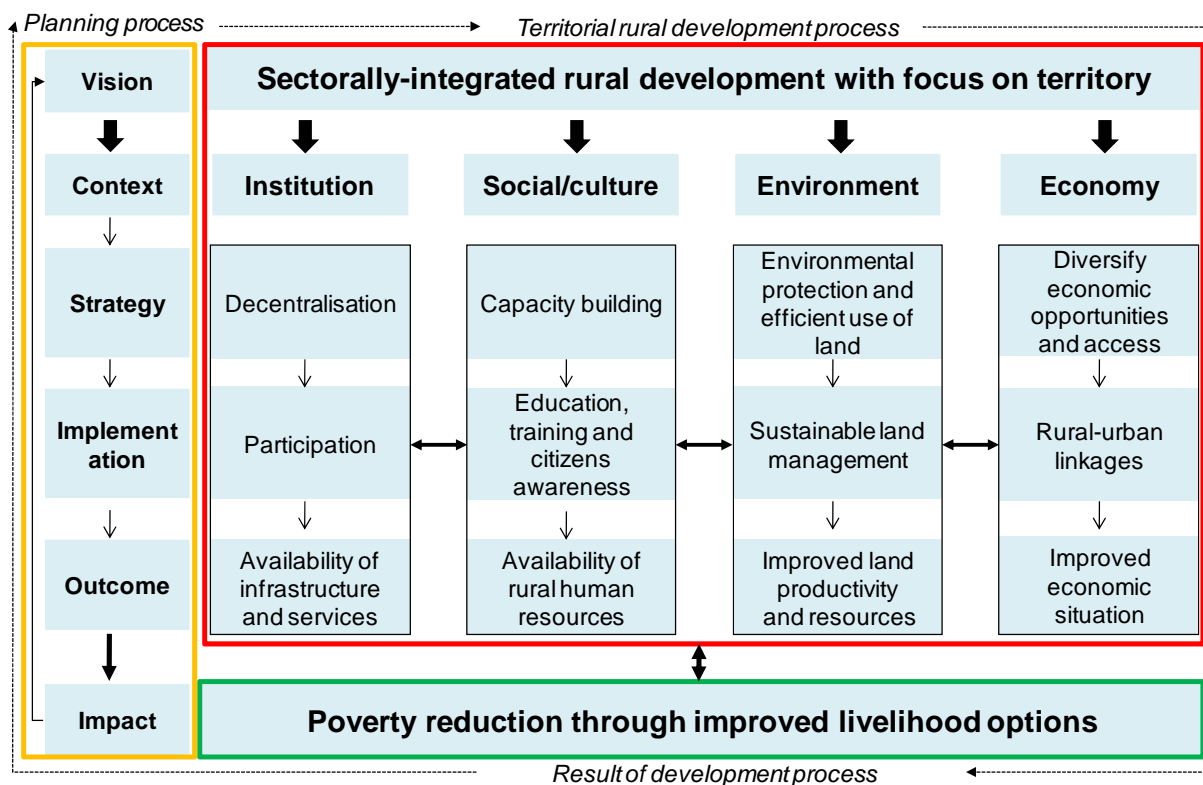
From the general concept of territorial development, the research moved towards conceptualising territorial rural development. By this, it gave priority to the development of a rural territory. The objective of this type of development is to focus “stabilisation of living conditions in rural regions, especially for poorer population groups” (Rauch *et al.*, 2001: p.2). In conceptualising territorial rural development in this research, it puts several issues into consideration. These issues include that:

- Territorial rural development must be based on a vision.
- The vision should focus on territories rather than on sectors.
- The vision should be contextualised to embrace major aspects of rural development.
- Based on contexts, a strategy is necessary. This can involve identifying priorities, embarking on implementation processes to reach rural development outcomes. This is important for causing impacts that fit the needs of the people and territory being developed.
- In reaching an outcome, the strategy should embrace a combination of people focused (community), growth-centred (polycentric arrangements) and multi-sectoral approaches.
- The outcome must be effective to people’s needs on the long term (impact). For instance, in the case of Nigeria, poverty reduction through improvements on livelihood options is necessary.

It may be wrong to assume (especially in countries like Nigeria) that all rural areas want to live a rural lifestyle. Some may want to live in rural areas but expect to enjoy the rural beauty of their localities together with aspects of urban life. Reconciling these expectations call for making a vision that guides the whole process (Magel, 2010). A vision is necessary for rural development at every level. Such a vision must be supported by political commitment, community actions and multi-stakeholders’ support. Particularly in this research, such a vision needs to integrate the territorial needs of the people and specifically identify needs for networking between centres in the area being development.

Figure 10 (below) provides the different ways, beginning with a territorial vision, in which these contexts interact to function within territorial rural development perspective. It shows how to put a framework of territorial rural vision into perspective to enable it lead to pro-poverty rural development impacts.

Figure 10: Specific framework for territorial rural development



Source: author

Figure 10 constitutes of three main parts. They are the *planning process* (in yellow boundary), the *territorial rural development process* (in red boundary) and the *result of development process* (in green boundary). Different activities take place within each of these boundaries. The *planning process* involves procedures for developing vision and making it become a reality (outcome), so that it can have sustainable impact on rural people. There is a vertical relationship between each of the variables identified within the planning process: vision, context, strategy, implementation activities, outcome and impact. The impact of the *planning process* has a backward effect on the vision for planning. If the *planning process* is well coordinated, it will determine the direction of the *territorial rural development process* (in the red box), which would constitute the implementation aspect of development.

The *territorial rural development process* involves series of activities or relationships of elements that would give result to a development impact. If guided by the planning vision, (as a sectorally integrated process with focus on territory), the context of action would involve various sectors within a territory to function holistically. This research gives focus on four main contexts of development, which have both forward and backward effect on each other: institution, social/culture, environment and economy. *Institution* entails decentralisation (as a strategy of planning), which can lead to participation (as a process in planning). This can

then, lead to availability of infrastructures and services (as an outcome of planning). The institutional context provides the power and capacities for general enabling environment for rural development to work. It tackles issues related to politics of development, decentralisation and polycentric decision-making processes. It promotes community spirit, effective role of stakeholders, functional governance system, etc.

The social/cultural and economic contexts help in strengthening human capacities and diversification of socioeconomic activities. These can be in the form of functional rural markets. The environmental context deals with identifying benefits for people and their responsibilities with issues relating to their environment, especially for sustainable land management and natural resource improvement. This context is about people's relationship with their environment as a win-win process. Following the same trend (as already explained on the institutional context), the *social/cultural, environmental and economic* contexts (in addition to institutions) form a system of territorial rural development processes. Together, they lead to improved livelihood options for poverty reduction within the territory. Each of these contexts of rural development strategised to make outcomes that would cause territorial rural development impact. The research concept is inline with empowering communities by allowing them to create sustainable socioeconomic activity through the mobilisation of local tangible and intangible assets. Oftentimes, this is a major goal of territorial development (OECD, 1996).

5.4 Conclusion

As a conclusion to this chapter, it is important to mention the level of applicability of the territorial concept around the world. In Europe, territorial development concept represents "identity in the sense that it embodies relations of social, political, cultural, and cognitive power in physical space" (Valentini, 2005: p.6). In South Africa, the concept works with a combination of the principles of livelihoods analysis and spatially focused development (Quan, 2006). In Latin America, it applies to the "implementation of new social policies localised in particular geographic spaces as a way to control and contend poverty" (Nardi, 2011: p.42). The concept, despite having acquired importance in these places, has not gained relevance in development practice in Nigeria. This is true in both rural and urban contexts. This research sets the foundation for territorial rural development in Nigeria. The next chapter explains the methodology and processes encountered in the research.

Chapter Six: The Research Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This research is not dependent on any on-going project or any previous specific studies on territorial development in Nigeria. Therefore, it raises many operational questions. Where is the researcher thinking from (basis of the research)? With who is the researcher aligned to (theoretical basis for the research)? How (through what means) and why is the research being done (purpose of research)? These questions are important elements of the investigation, which if well answered, set a good background for understanding the methodology of this research (Escobar, 2010). To answer these questions, it may be interesting to begin by defining the research with respect to its typology. The research is theoretical, conceptual and empirical. It is theoretical because it is concerned with employing general and specific rural development ideas or propositions that do not have its origin in Nigeria. The ESDP and literatures on rural development are some of the propositions from which this research has borrowed ideas. The research is also conceptual because the theoretical orientation of this research plays very important part in its framework. It is empirical because its output depends on data collected through interviews (questioning) and observation of a particular study area located in Nigeria. In addition, it involves the use of a hypothesis as a guiding principle for its operation.

About whom the researcher is aligned with (theoretical basis for the research), this is evident in the theoretical orientations provided in chapters 2 to 4 of this thesis. The research adopts on the concept of territory and practice of territorial development. Although territorial development has urban origin, this research uses and applies the concept only in the rural sense. It focuses to produce a rural development approach that can help in reducing poverty in rural areas of Nigeria. The methods it adopted in producing its output is the main concern of this chapter (i.e. the research methodology). The chapter explains the research methods. It consists of how the entire research was carried out. The chapter provides details on how relevant data was gathered and analysed in the course of achieving the objectives and answering the questions of the research. The research adopts a multidisciplinary approach. This is because of the multidisciplinary demands of rural development. The multi-disciplinary nature and scope of the research lead to some limitations (discussed in the last chapter).

Subjects encountered in this research consist of development issues that cut across land management and land tenure; urban and rural development; public policy and administration. Other subjects encountered border on issues related to sociology, economics, and geography and planning. As a way forward in this chapter, the succeeding

sections provide details concerning the selection of case study, data construction and collection; and analyses procedures.

6.2 The case study approach

The approach to the research is mainly qualitative descriptive case study. Secondary quantitative data were used only for explanatory reasons where necessary. Its analytical contents are based on empirical data from different data collection methods and the analyses. The case study approach is most suitable for the use of multiple sources of data, which are very important in understanding real life situations (Yin, 1994). It is specifically important for this research because of the difficulty involved in quantifying individual variables that influence synergies between growth centres in rural areas (inward) or between rural and urban areas (outward). The descriptive aspect of the research is done with the goal of measuring and describing the spatial characteristics of the spatial units within the case study.

6.3 Nigeria: the country and case study area

The country under investigation is Nigeria. It is located in West Africa, at the shores of the Gulf of Guinea. With a GDP per capita of US \$2300, it is the richest country in West Africa (UNDCP, 2011). It features in the Medium Human Development of the category of UNDP's Human Development Report and Index (ibid). However, it has high level of poverty due to extreme levels of inequality (UNDP, 2010).

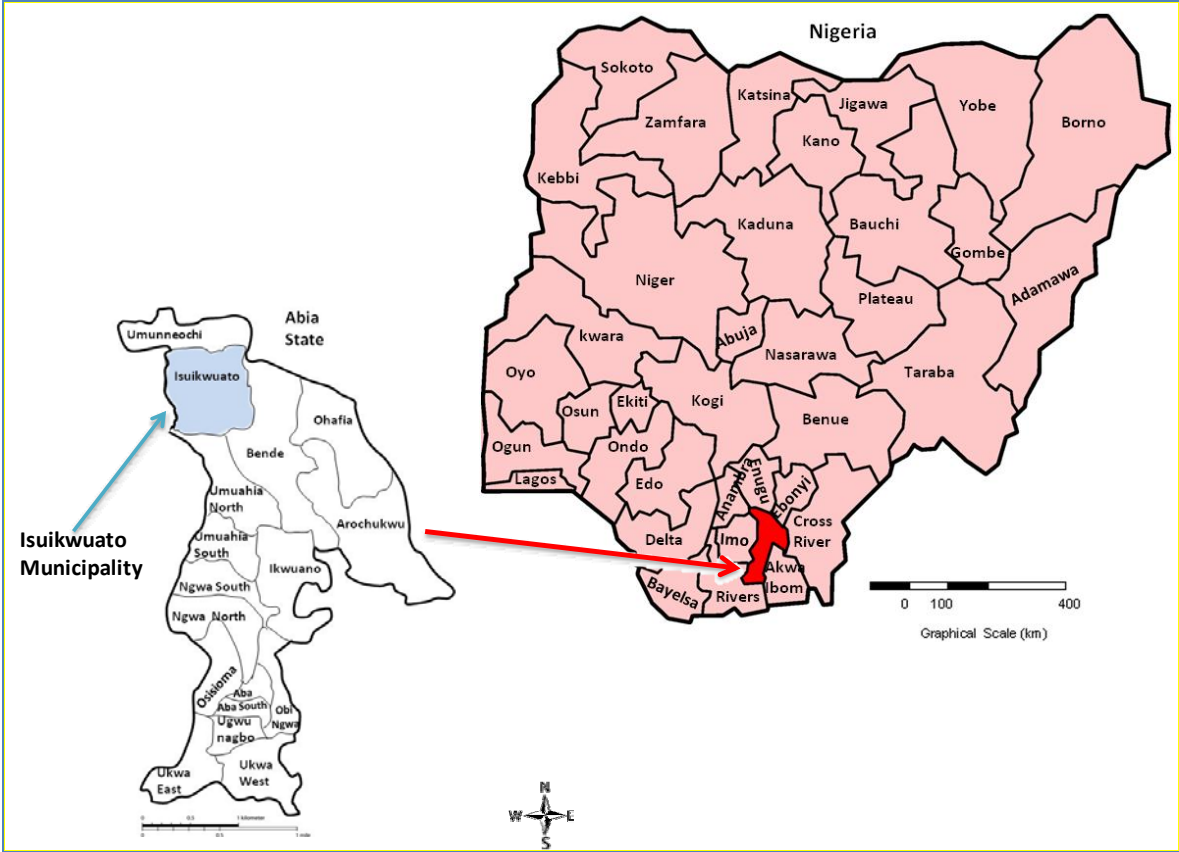
Politically, Nigeria is a federal republic. It has 36 states and 774 municipalities. It has a land size of 923,768 sq km, of which about 910,770 sq km constitutes its land area (United Nations, 2011). Of this land area, 80% are within rural areas (Nuhu, 2007) and 42% is cultivatable (Oji and Omenma, 2005). The country's United Nations (2011) population density estimate is 180 people per sq km. Its southern states tend to have higher population density than the northern states. Because of this, rural challenges are increasing in the southern part of the country due to the pressure posed by increasing urbanisation. The country has five international boundaries. It is bordered in the North by Chad and Niger Republics, in the West by Republic of Benin, in the East by Republic of Cameroon and in the South by the Atlantic Ocean.

6.4 Case study selection and justification: Isuikwuato municipality

The selected case study area for the research is located in the Southeastern part of Nigeria. This geographical space is the Municipality of Isuikwuato, a rural territory with several villages. According to Arong (2010), Isuikwuato is a social geographical entity, which has

passed through different socio-political settlement stages. It originated as a Clan Authority (consisting of two clans, Uturu and Isuikwuato), then evolved to a Native Authority. It further evolved to a political Division, and then became part of a political District. Its present status is that of a Municipality. The Municipality is located in the State of Abia (see map 1). The selection of Isuikwuato as a case study for this research is purposive.

Map 1: Location of Isuikwuato in the national and regional contexts of Nigeria



Source: adapted from Akpokodje (2006) and Abia State Government (2011)

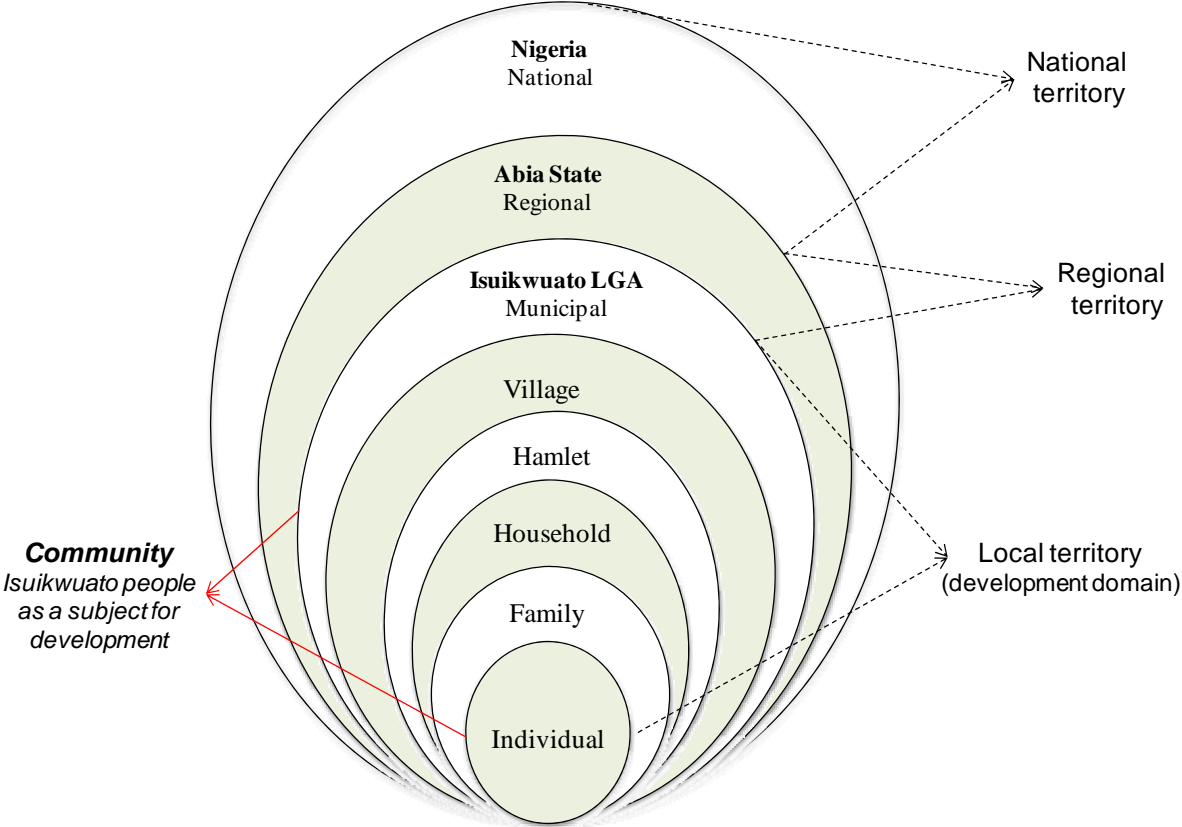
Map 1 shows the location of *Isuikwuato* in *Abia* state (highlighted in blue colour) and in Nigeria (highlighted in red colour). It is located in the northern part of *Abia* State. *Isuikwuato* as a case study is discussed in details in chapter eight and nine of this thesis. *Isuikwuato* was purposive selected for analysis because it is a single case study with embedded multiple units (Yin, 2003). Apart from *Isuikwuato* being a municipality of huge land mass and population, it contains several sub-unit of analysis that are absent in some multiple case studies. It is located within a region of about 3.5 million people. Within this region, it is surrounded by municipalities with average population of 172,000 people. It is the eleventh most populated municipality –out of the 17 municipalities in its region. Of these municipalities, some are either largely urban or fully rural. *Isuikwuato* has the unique status

of (although being largely rural) having urban potentials that provides suitable unit of analysis for this research. This situation supports the need for a new rural paradigm. This is because it necessitates identifying “narratives, discourses and concrete practices which foster new dynamics of urban-rural linkages” (Nardi, 2011: pp.56).

6.5 Isuikwuato as a territory

Apart from its rural development challenges, Isuikwuato meets the definitional requirement for *territory* in this research. It has a fitting status, firstly, for a rural area; and secondly, for a territory. It falls within the micro level territory, which is a development domain for grassroots development, such as rural development (see figure 11).

Figure 11: Isuikwuato as a territory (from the perspective of research’s theoretical concept)

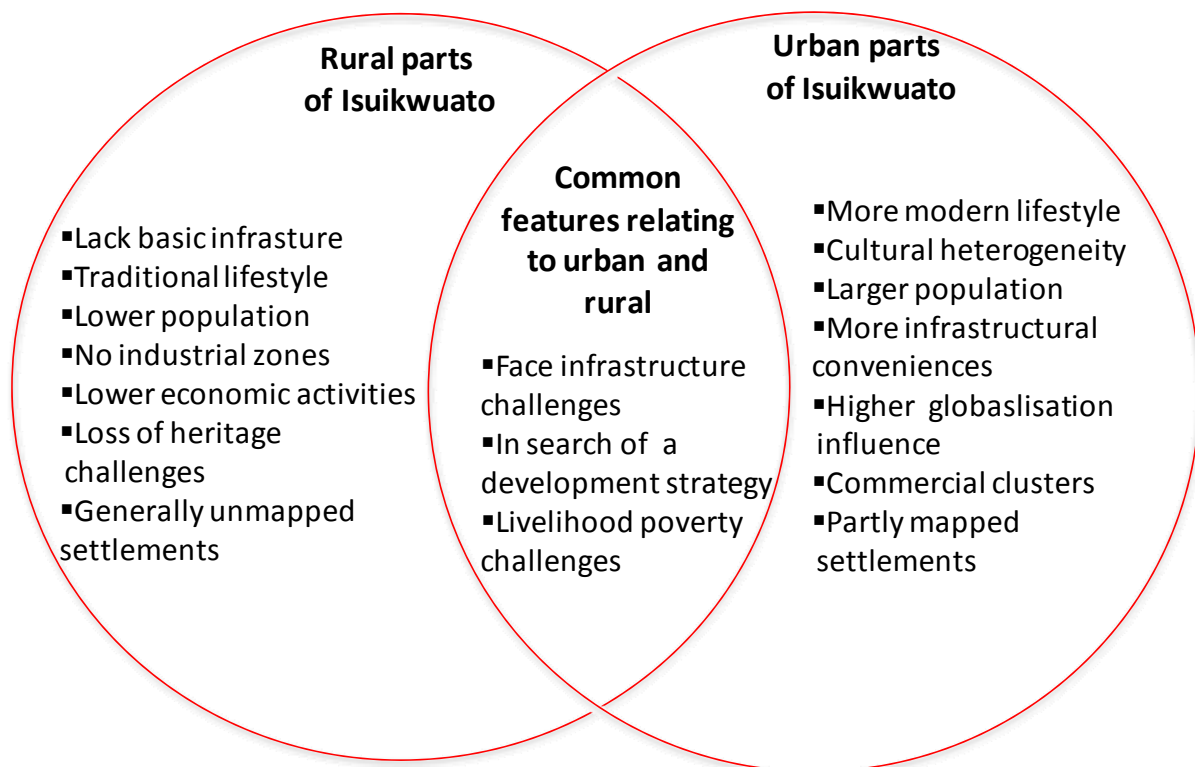


Source: adapted from (Vinopal, 2012).

Figure 11 illustrates the case study area as defined in the definitional context of territory adopted in this research. It views Nigeria as a national territory, Abia as a regional territory and Isuikwuato Local Government Area as a local territory. From rural development context, the I territory constitutes a domain for development. In this research, Isuikwuato is a local territory (domain of development), composed of a community (subject of development). The

community consists of rural individuals, families, households, hamlets and villages. Family and individuals emphasised here because of their importance in rural development –rural citizens. Isuikwuato, as a local territory, has its own formal and informal institutions for development. It has challenging development issues. With reference to figures 11 and 4, Isuikwuato fits into the class of a territory that is largely rural. The largely rural, slightly urban and common features (i.e. features that are both rural and urban) of Isuikwuato are illustrated in figure 12. This is why it is purposively chosen as a territory.

Figure 12: Characteristics of Isuikwuato as a suitable case study for the research



Source: author (based on field findings)

Figure 12 (compare with figure 3) presents Isuikwuato as a rural area that shares some common features with urban areas. It is rural because of the social lifestyle prevalent in the municipality. It faces rural challenges such as lower population (in the context of Nigeria), loss of heritage and culture, low economic activities, lack of non-farm development. Most of its residents depend on land based livelihood options. However, it does have some urban traits. These include town centres; commercial clusters, unique settlement patterns; and the need for development options. Several other territorial dynamics, such as land tenure practices and land access problems are common in the area. Based on these facts, this research views Isuikwuato as a physical, political, social and geographical territory capable of development through a territorial approach (see chapters 8 and 9 of this thesis for details).

Focusing on Isukwuato as a case study, the core aim of the research was to gain data usable in formulating ideas that could bring about improvement in the area. Achieving this aim demanded for understanding existing conditions of Isukwuato in order to know what needs are to be fulfilled and where (and how) to fulfil these needs. The challenges investigated on Isukwuato in this research, in many ways, represent the rural situation of most municipalities in Nigeria.

6.6 Object and units of analysis

The objects of analysis in this research are Nigeria's rural development policy and rural development implementation in Isukwuato (see chapters 7 and 8 of thesis respectively). The units of analysis are those involved (stakeholders) in the rural development process, from the national level to the municipality. These consist of experts (at various levels) and rural citizens. Narratives based on their experiences (and those of local citizens) were analysed. These narratives are what provided human face to the research. This was very important because rural development is about people and any efforts put to improve it must depend on people's opinions and participation. The spatial nature of the study areas is also a major unit of analysis in the research. This helped in understanding the nature of the place and the visualisation of its natural themes. In addition, non-physical spatial dimensions such as spatial networks and social conditions were analysed. The objects and units of the research are interpreted only in the contexts of Nigeria (in general) and the case study (in particular). All these necessitated for the collection of adequate data and devising reliable methods for the analysing the collected data.

6.7 Data collection methods

For this research, primary and secondary data were collected and used. The primary data consists of information "personally" collected by the researcher while the secondary data consists of information used but "not personally collected" by the researcher (Livesey, 2006: p.1). Both primary and secondary data were collected with diverse techniques. Key informant interviews and observations were used for primary data. Various literary documents and publications were used for secondary data.

6.7.1 Primary data

6.7.1.1 Key informant interviews

The primary data was collected through two main techniques during fieldwork: key informant interviews and observations (participatory and non-participatory). Key informant interviews

served for obtaining data using semi-structured interviews. These interviews were specifically designed to obtain the experiences of the informants selected for the study (see the appendix 1 of this thesis). They were collected at expert, institutional, regional and local levels. Another interview was done at the rural level (local citizens). Through these levels of interviews, diverse opinions and perceptions on general rural issues, development approaches, stakeholder's roles, policy impacts and citizens' needs were identified and analysed. Table 6 shows the categories (and other details) of key informants interviewed for this research.

Table 6: List of categories of key informants interviewed

Level	Category	Key informants	No.
Local level	Government	Opposition politician	2
		Councillors of ruling government	1
	Local people	Farmers	6
		Traders	2
		Community leaders (elder, women and youth)	2
	NGO	Local NGO leader	3
Total			16
State	Government	Ministerial workers	3
	Private sector	Urban and rural planner/development consultant	2
	Academics	Professor in urban and rural development	1
	NGO	State NGO	1
	Total		
Federal	Government	Ministerial worker	3
	Private sector	Urban and rural planner/development consultant	2
	NGO	Federal NGO	1
	Total		
Experts	Academics	Professor in urban and rural development	2
	Private planner	Practising consultant in the private sector	1
	Total		
Total of all key informants interviewed			32

As table 6 shows, thirty-two persons (32) of various backgrounds were interviewed. These key informants were selected from various organisations, sectors and backgrounds. The interviews were conducted at the local level in the local language of the Isuikwuato people – that is, the *Igbo* language. This did not pose a problem because the researcher is a native speaker of the language. The key informants had different unique positions and knowledge on rural development issues in Nigeria (in general), the region and the case study territory (in particular). However, rural people and people with knowledge on rural development were given priority. This is because the main idea behind conducting the key informant interviews

at the local level was to collect data on important needs and problems of the rural people of Isuikwuato territory.

Key informant interview involved speaking to selected individuals who provided the needed information, ideas, and insights on the research subject. Eyler *et al.* (1999) are of the view that it is an important tool for all sort of research on planning and development involving people or community. The informants were selected at three levels: national (federal), regional (state) and local levels (consisting persons in the municipality and communities). The interviews were of the face-to-face nature. This approach, although more time intensive, provided a free-exchange of ideas and helped more with getting detailed answers to complex questions. Where informants were found to be deficient in specific concepts connected to the interview questions, necessary efforts were made at explaining to them any confusing issues. At the national and regional levels, it was done to understand the various policies and actions being taken to establish enabling conditions for rural development in Isuikwuato. At the expert group level, the idea was to gain expert opinions of professionals in rural development practice or research. Note-takings and audio recordings (in MP3 format) were used for recording interview conversations. The key informants interviewed represented the under listed organisations at their various levels.

- *Local level:* Uturu Development Union; Isuikwuato Development Union; Isuikwuato Farmers' Association; Uturu Women's Development Union; Private people and farmer; Market Traders' Association of Isuikwuato; Motorcyclists' Transport Association; Peoples Democratic Party of Nigeria; and Students Association of Abia State University Uturu.
- *Regional (State) level:* Ministry of Local Government/Chieftaincy Affairs; Ministry of Agriculture; Ministry of Urban Renewal; Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development Ministry of Works; Ministry of Youth Development; Ministry of Rural Development and Poverty Reduction; and Ministry of Lands and Survey.
- *National (Federal) level:* National Planning Commission of Nigeria; Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development; Private Urban Planner; Federal Ministry of Socioeconomic Planning; and Federal Ministry of Culture Tourism and National Orientation.
- *Experts:* Abia State University; Uturu; Rivers State University of Science and Technology; and private surveyor.

6.7.1.2 Observations

The research employed observation as another way in which primary data are collected. It was participatory and non-participatory. Emmel (1997) notes that it is not the method used in research that makes it participatory, but rather the depth of the researcher's involvement in the whole process. Following this line of reasoning, observation can serve as a reliable method for data collection (Wallace, 2005). It is usable for investigating the actions of communities and individuals in their environment (Southwell, 2007). "Observation methods enable researchers to document and understand the context within which activities and events occur" (Clark *et al.*, 2009: p.5). Participatory observations involve that the observer takes part in events happening in the natural environment of the observed (*ibid*). Non-participatory observation involves that the observer takes little or no part in the events of the observed under investigation (*ibid*).

In this research, observations involved processes of data-gathering procedures through watching situations and noting physical characteristics (Taylor-Powell and Steele, 1996). The researcher (as an observer) participated in two rural meetings via direct involvement. These meetings consisted of deliberations on community hygiene and development evaluation respectively. It offered the researcher the opportunity to make inputs in the local deliberations. Furthermore, the researcher participated in the implementation of one of meetings' outcomes (which were environmental sanitation exercises). Working with local people allowed for one-on-one interaction. This helped in the gathering of more informal data during fieldwork. In addition, the researcher attended three other meetings where participation was restricted to only on-the-spot observation. The following observations emanated from the fieldwork:

- Current landscape features of the territory (the natural environment of the territory was inspected and recorded as photos)
- Daily social and economic activities of the people (for a period of two months),
- Local development meetings were attended
- Informal direct discussions on rural development issues were held with local people
- Physical inspection of past and on-going rural projects

6.7.2 Secondary data

The number of works done on territorial approaches to rural development is extremely limited (in general) and non-existent on Nigeria. Since the outcome of this research was to produce specific adaptation of territorial development in rural Nigeria, theoretical and practical

information on rural development in Nigeria were of major consideration. Most of such information was accessible through the internet, local organisations' archives in Isuikwuato, and library documents (such as old newspapers, magazines and books). Minutes of community development meetings (of organisations in Isuikwuato) aided for additional data. They provided clue to past visions of the people and provided understanding of the general perception of the people concerning their struggle for development over time. A list of all the documents surveyed in the course of this research is below:

- *Local level:* Magazines and newspapers such as *Uturu Voice* (volumes 1-2); *Uturu Outlook* (volumes 1-2); Historical account of the arrival of the advent of Christianity to Isuikwuato (from *Holy Cross Parish Catholic Church* archive); and pamphlets of the local government.
- *Regional (State) level:* Abia State Economic Empowerment Programme Document; Local Economic Empowerment Programme Document; and ministerial pamphlets.
- *National (Federal) level:* report of the *Vision 2020 National Technical Working Group* on Urban and Rural Development; National Policy on integrated Rural Development; Nigeria Rural Development Sector Strategy –Main Report. Abuja, Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development; pamphlets from the ministries.
- *Expert:* experts referred the researcher to academic books and journal publications. Where the researcher used any of these resources (including the above listed ones), they have been duly cited and referenced in this thesis.¹⁶

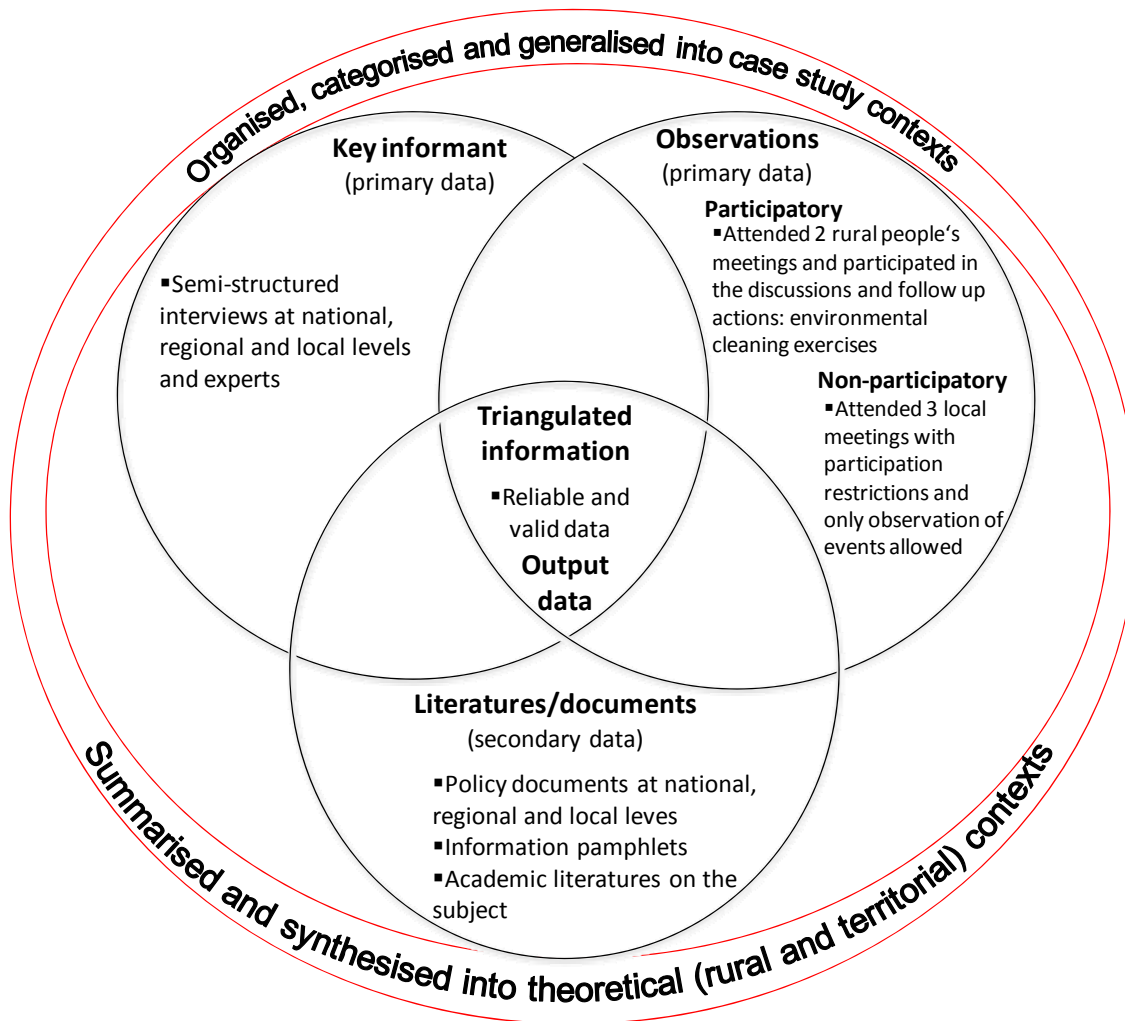
6.8 Data processing, reliability and validity

The researcher made efforts to integrate accuracy in all aspects of the data collection methods (explained in section 6.7). In summary, figure 13 illustrates the data collection and processing techniques used in the research. It shows the nature of data collection with highlights of the different methods used, the aspect of the data used for the final analysis of the work and processes that surrounded its processing.

The collected data, being qualitative in nature and originally raw and unorganised, was organised to make it usable for the research. The data processing involved organising and categorising important information gained from the interviews and observations into component pieces; then taking specific data relating them (generalisation) to the subject under investigation.

¹⁶ All of these books, reports, magazines, Newspapers and other local publications (where used) are cited in this thesis based on the information derived from them. The researcher read some of them for gaining historical orientation of development matters in the case study.

Figure 13: Summary of the data collection methods for the research



Source: author (based on processes used in data collection)

As shown in figure 13, these data were summarised, then synthesised into ideas in the context of the research objectives and questions (in rural and territorial contexts). Considering the imperfections associated with each of these methods of data collection, the researcher *triangulated* the final data in order to obtain only *valid* and *reliable* data for the final analysis. The process of data triangulation employed in the research involved crosschecking collected data at one level against data at another level. For instance, the researcher verified data collected from the experts at the local level in order to obtain a high level of correctness. This was necessary in all aspects of the data collection. It helped to improve the correctness and reality of data used (*validity of data*), as well as lead to high level of consistency (*reliability of data*). As figure 14 shows, only data that conforms to these criteria were used (i.e. triangulated information). Major efforts made to maintain validity and reliability of the collected data are:

- The researcher kept in touch with key informants on regular basis in order to ensure that they had not changed their opinions on the issues discussed during the interview.
- The researcher used MP3-player recordings of key informants' interviews in order not to miss any information provided. Further replay of the recordings helped in achieving consistency of views and better understanding of key informants' views.
- The researcher considered 'common sense' analysis of key informants' views and linked them to realities observed during physical inspection of case study area.

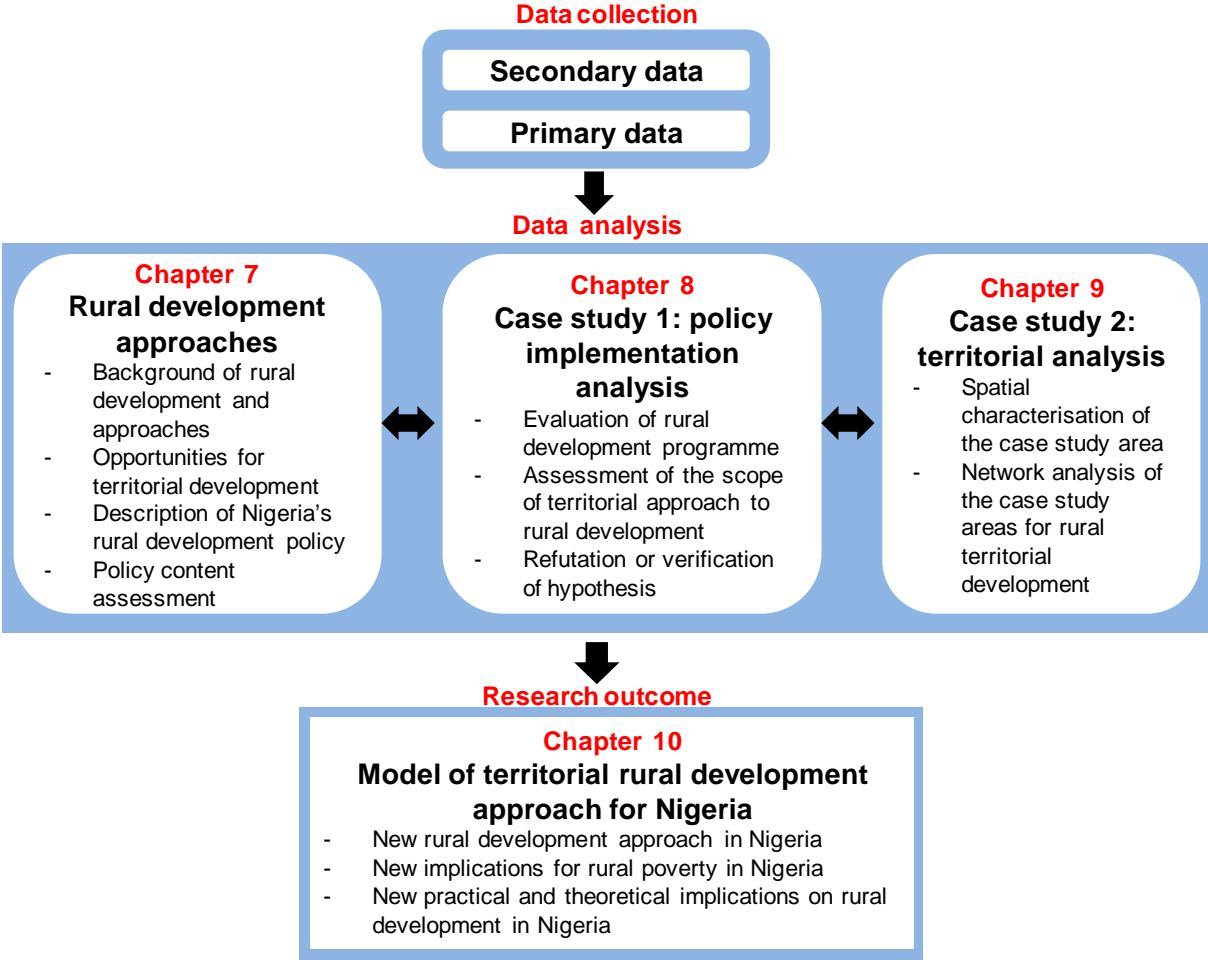
Ethical considerations were followed in every aspect of the data collection methods, and full permission was obtained from the community association for undertaking the research within the case study area (see permission documents in the appendices). Although gender was not a major aspect of the data sampling due to the qualitative nature of this research, efforts were made to integrate them where necessary. Other non-documented ethical considerations observed include gaining approval to enter the community of Isuikwuato for research undertaking.¹⁷ Audio recording of interviews and photo taking (of sites) served as means of data storage. In all cases, the research guaranteed the key informants confidentiality of data collected from them.

6.9 Data analyses

As a way of reaching accurate results, the relevant interpretation collected from key informant interviews, observations and secondary sources were analysed in various forms. These were analysed with focus on discerning limitations to current rural development practices, as well as opportunities for renewed territorial approaches. The data was interpreted within the scope of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks. Figure 14 illustrates the methodological design of the research, with focus on its analytical methods.

¹⁷ See the appendices for some samples correspondences exchanged (with details) in the course of arranging for the research. Appendix 2 shows a letter written by the researcher seeking for authorisation to enter Isuikwuato for the purpose of research concerning the municipality. This letter addressed a major local development organisation in the study area. In response to letter, the organisation formally wrote to authorise the researcher to enter into its community (the letter also reflected their enthusiasm in awaiting for the outcome of the research, see appendix 3). The idea of seeking for authorisation to enter the case study area was not a legal one. Rather it was a social one, a mark of respect to the community, done to enable the researcher inform the local about the research prior to the fieldwork. It enabled the local people to know that their community was an object of research. It helped to make the people become aware of the research before the arrival of the researcher for the fieldwork. As a result, people cooperated in providing the researcher with needed data. The researcher used another letter of identification for introductory visits (see appendix 4).

Figure 14: The methodological design of the research (with focus on analytical methods)



Source: author (based on methodology applied to research)

As shown in figure 14, the research relied on some major analytical components. These include analyses focused on national rural policy, case study area conditions, policy implementation; and spatial networks of the case study. All these involved qualitative and descriptive approaches. They are explained below.

- Analyses rural development approaches and opportunities for territorial development:*

This aspect of the research is presented in chapter 7 of this thesis. It involved a content analysis of rural development policy in Nigeria. It adopted an approach focused on explaining the evolution of rural development policy in Nigeria. In general, the analysis dwelt on specific issues pertaining on the historical background of rural development and rural challenges. This analysis set the background for understanding Nigeria's rural development arena.

- *Case study policy implementation analysis*: This part of the analysis delved into rural development from the particular perspective of the case study area. This aspect of the analysis is presented in chapter 8. It utilised programme evaluation as an approach to investigating the implementation processes of rural development at the local level in Nigeria. In general, this part of the analysis dwelt on evaluation of rural development programme, and assessment of the scope of territorial approach to rural development. It paved the way for the refutation/verification of the research hypothesis based on collected fieldwork data.
- *Case study territorial analysis*: this involved critical analyses of the case study territory. It used a combination of spatial information collected at the local level and *Google earth* data. In this case, only a hand-drawn map could be accessed from the municipality. As result of this fallback, the officially obtained hand-drawn map was digitised and re-characterised based on *Google earth image* and observations made during fieldwork. Further, it involved producing a visual description of the case study area, using *ArcMap 10.1*. Only the relevant features for the research were characterised. This section analysed issues of spatial networks.

As shown in figure 14, each of these analytical methods supports the other. The combined results from these analyses led to the outcome of the research –a territorial rural development approach for Isuikwuato.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter is methodological because it is concerned with how to gather and analyse data necessary for producing a new approach to rural development in Nigeria. It explains the research processes –i.e. methods used in carrying out the research. Considering that the research identified a known problem or opportunity (see section 1.4), it presented the paths taken in the course of producing an outcome for improving the problem (or opportunity). In the course of carrying out the research, several limitations were encountered. While acknowledging that these limitations form part of the methodological process (since they were encountered in the course of doing the research), they have been purposively omitted in this chapter for technical reasons. These are discussed in the last chapter, together with suggestions for future improvements. The succeeding parts of this thesis (chapters 7, 8 and 9) are dedicated to analyses and results.

Chapter Seven: Rural Development Approaches in Nigeria and Opportunities for Territorial Development

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings directly into context, the rural development approaches in Nigeria. It also explores the opportunities for territorial development. It presents in-depth information on Nigeria's rural development policy. It explains various aspects of the policy (priorities, objectives, funding structure, institutional and implementation strategies). The chapter begins with a historical background of the evolution of rural areas as a development concern in Nigeria. It then explores the challenges that motivated the formulation of a rural development policy. Finally, it transits to a detailed assessment of the application of the rural development policy (via case study programme analysis in chapter eight).

7.2 Emergence of rural areas as development concern

The rural development scene of Nigeria emerged because of lifestyles within three major periods of the country's history: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. Pre-colonial developments were shaped by the social cultural and political lifestyle of three major regions (north, west and east) of the country. The colonial development was shaped by the extension and enforcement of British spatial culture and legal systems into Nigeria. Finally, the current governance and administrative systems contributed to shaping the structure of rural areas as they are today.

7.2.1 Pre-colonial period laid the foundation (before 1861)

Pre-colonial Nigeria consisted of various ethnic nationalities. Of these nationalities, three (the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba) influenced land tenure systems considerably. These systems were based on practices of absolute monarchy in the north, democratic monarchy in the west; and republican system of government in the east. The recorded history of the northern kingdoms dates back to 1000 AD. Between 1100 AD and 1500 AD, two major Hausa settlements (Kano and Katsina) became the most powerful trading centres in western Africa.¹⁸ The kingdom consisted of historical trend of deliberate spatial arrangement of land uses around the palaces. This made the location of "theatres of competition for the symbols

¹⁸ This is from the Kano Chronicles. The sources for the chronicle were largely oral-court traditions, odes to kings, and writing traditions of Islamic scholars believed to be the descendants of a North African scholar, *Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili*, who died in 1505.

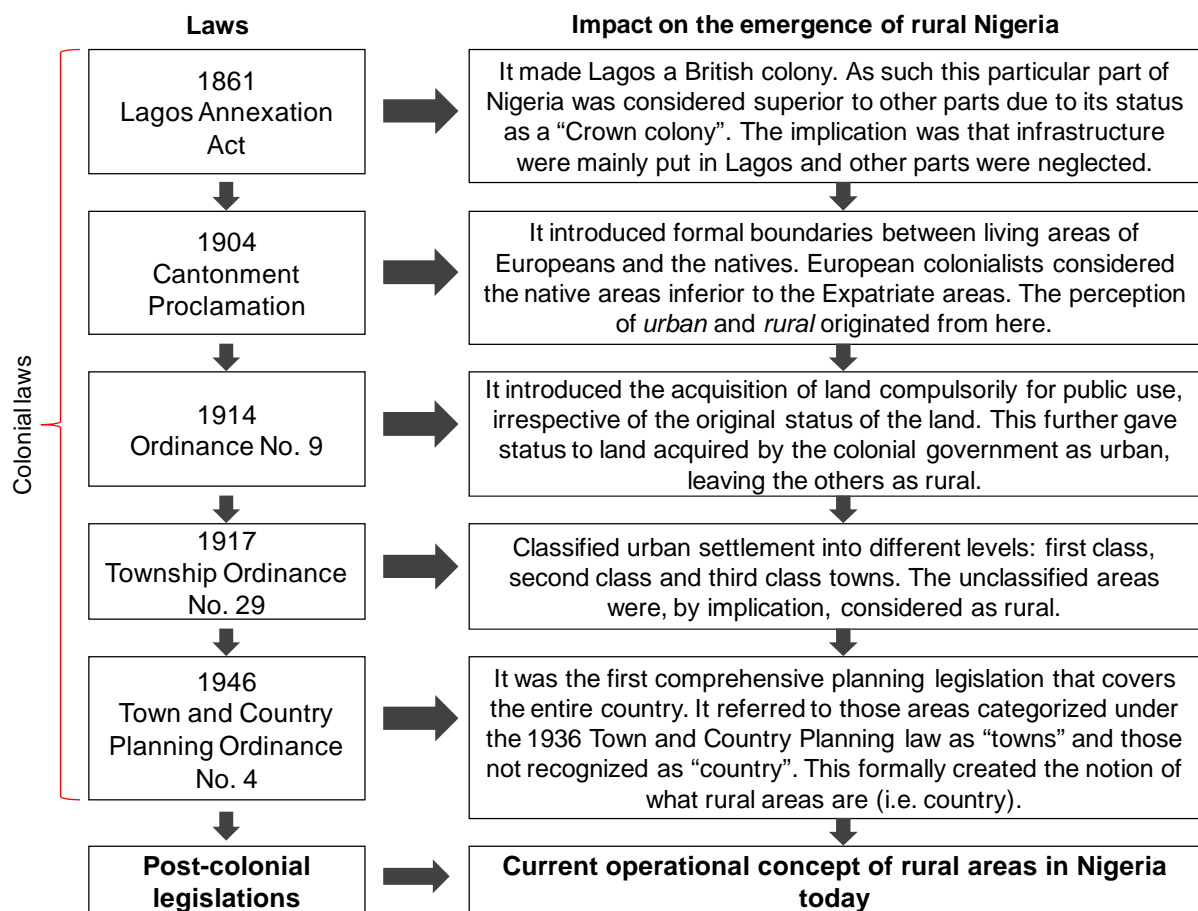
of power and material well being" (Prucnal-Ogunsote, 2002: p.48). Separate policies were made for those living within political capitals and others living outside of it. In the eastern part, the existence of a republican political culture meant that there was less concentration of population within specific locations for political reasons. Elders were core decision makers, so palaces were non-existent in most of the communities. However, cluster of activities were encouraged within certain areas due to economic reasons, mainly intense market activities. In addition, indigenous towns "emerged as collecting points for wandering immigrants who used their favourable locations as spiritual or cultural bases for subsequent territorial expansion" (ibid). In both western and eastern parts, democratic monarchy and republicanism resulted to the development of communal systems of land tenure. In all these regions (including the north), "spatial planning in a general sense was part of local indigenous administration long before the colonial administration" (Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, 2011). The implication of all these (in all cases), is that those settlements or landscapes (far-removed from the centre of power and commercial activities) that existed in these pre-colonial nations could be likened to today's rural areas. As a result, pre-colonial Nigeria (to some extent had some rudimentary element of planning) due to the influence of absolute powers in the north and west, and centralisation of economic activities in the east. However, there was no formal rural-urban philosophy in this period.

7.2.2 Colonial period introduced the rural/urban concepts (from 1861)

Colonial Nigeria was characterised by European natural resource exploration, missionary efforts, trades and political annexation of Nigeria. This brought in European spatial cultures (mainly British practices) into Nigeria. The influence of Britain began mainly through the trade of slaves in the 18th century, which ended in the middle of the 19th century. Colonial administration brought the introduction of formal planning in Nigeria. This started with the annexation of Lagos (in 1861) and took full effect in the rest of the country in 1900. It was done through the extension of several British laws into Nigeria. In 1914, the Southern (made up of the colony of Lagos, the east and west) and Northern parts of the country got united. They all became collectively named as Nigeria.¹⁹ The implication of practising these laws (mainly planning laws) resulted to the development of formal rural-urban philosophy in Nigeria. Figure 15 illustrates the colonial laws that helped form the notion of rural/urban areas as perceived today in Nigeria.

¹⁹ Prior to this period, the administration of the country was structured in three parts: the colony of Lagos, southern and northern protectorates (of the then British Empire).

Figure 15: How colonial laws influenced the concept of rural areas in Nigeria



Source: author (based on literature)

Figure 15 shows how formal rural-urban thinking evolved into Nigeria's development history. Beginning with the *Law of Annexation of Lagos* in 1861, Lagos was statutorily declared a city and a British colony. All neighbouring settlements around it were regarded as inferior to it. Infrastructures were provided for Lagos while others were neglected. In 1904, the *Cantonment Proclamation* introduced a culture of segregation of expatriate officials (British and other Europeans) from the native areas. It led to statuses of certain areas as special quarters or settlements for Europeans expatriates (and Nigerian workers who served them). Industries and markets were sited closer to these special settlements. This created a settlement pattern that differentiates between industrial and non-industrial settlements.

The introduction of compulsory acquisition of land by the colonial government (with the *Ordinance of 1914*) also gave the impression that lands not acquired by the government were considered non-urban. This is because the settlements acquired by the government were equipped with better infrastructure. The non-acquired settlements were those hinterlands far away from industrial and administrative centres. They only served for

agricultural reasons and most infrastructures provided for those areas were basically put in place to aid agricultural development. In 1917, another law, the *Township Ordinance* introduced radical classification for towns (i.e. urban settlements). Lagos was made a first-class town. Other settlements spread across Nigeria (e.g. Kano and Kaduna; Enugu and Port Harcourt) were made second-class towns. This further advanced the segregation tendency along different levels of infrastructural and living standards (Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, 2011). Those settlements that were left unclassified became automatically considered as "unclassified" settlements (rural). This was finally given legality with the enactment of the *Town and Country Ordinance* of 1946. By its name, the ordinance recognised some parts of Nigeria as towns (urban) and others are countrysides (rural).

7.2.3 Post-colonial period inherited the rural challenge (1960-present)

By 1960, a divide has been created between rural and urban areas. The country inherited this legacy from the colonial laws. Its leaders also inherited the task of dealing with challenges posed by rural areas. As achieving food production independence was made a top priority then, the post-colonial governments went in search for solutions to the rural challenge. They embraced agricultural development as a way for national development. Due to poor approaches in handling the rural challenges, rural areas have suffered from several decades of neglect. Table 7 presents a view of the past and future situation concerning poverty and population issues in the country.

General	Year		
	2000	2015	2030
General population	120 million	172 million	275 million
Urban population	42 million	87 million	182 million
Rural population	78 million	85 million	93 million
Per capita Income	€237	€259	€278
Poverty incidence	70%	75%	80%

Source: Federal Government of Nigeria (2007)

From available data, it is conclusive that poverty is the major problem facing the rural (as well as, urban) parts of Nigeria.²⁰ Based on these projections, poverty incidence would be increasing as per capita income increases and population increases. This is why there is need to change from current rural development approaches to ones that are more effective.

²⁰ All 2000 data are from actual figures, while the rest are projections. General population is based on annual growth of 2.8%. Figures on per capita are based on average growth performance of 3.8% per year. Considering that Nigeria’s current population and economic growth rates are 2.5% and 8.4% respectively (World Bank, 2012a), these assumed growth rates are reasonable.

7.3 Rural development approaches in the past six decades

It is worthwhile to present an overview of some of the rural development approaches practised in the country, and how it has changed over the decades. This would enable a better understanding of the Nigerian rural development scenario. Through documentary evidences (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2001a), the dominant rural development approaches practised in Nigeria (over the past five decades) has been summarised in table 8. It shows the changing patterns of approaches, rural thinking (philosophies) and visions on which rural development was practised from 1960 until today.

Table 8: The dominant rural development approaches practised in Nigeria

Decades	Dominant approach	Development philosophy	Focus/vision
1960s	Rural Industrialisation	Modernisation	Industrialisation
1970s	River basin development	Farm irrigation	Agricultural water supply
	National accelerated food production	Food for all	Growth in food production
	Green revolution	Technology transfer	Modernisation of agriculture
1980s	Structural adjustment	Market liberalisation	Increased role of State in infrastructural investments
	Directorate of food, roads and rural infrastructure	Poverty alleviation	Strengthen rural economy
1990s	National poverty eradication	Socioeconomic empowerment	Citizens' involvement and rural livelihood diversification
2000s till present	National policy on integrated rural development	Comprehensive development	Rural infrastructural development, MDGs, governance, climate issues

Source: author (based on literature)

In the 1960s, the core objective of development was the "extraction of surpluses from the rural areas for export" (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2001a: p.5). The implication was that infrastructural development in rural areas was mainly dictated by the need to access natural resources. This early effort depended on top-down sectoral public investments in agriculture. It "disconnected from the local fabric of social and economic life, alongside the centralised control of natural resource revenues" (Quan *et al.*, 2006: p.9). The 1970s witnessed the establishment of *River Basin Development Authorities (RBDA)* to improve irrigation systems for improved agricultural production. Within the same year, the *National Accelerated Food Programme (NAFP)* was initiated to boost food production. During the late 1970s, the *Green Revolution* was introduced modernisation of agriculture and rural transformation through technological transfer. These programmes could not last the test of time due to changes in government as a result of military take-overs in the country. In 1980s, based on a *World*

Bank's Berg Report,²¹ the International Monetary Fund (IMF) initiated the *Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)* in Nigeria. The policy was based on financial lending for structural adjustment. It put a lot of focus on macroeconomic policies, so, created a shift of emphasis from rural development to macroeconomic stability. Excessive criticism of the SAP programme drove the government to change. The *Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI)* was created to strengthen the rural economies by tackling wider rural problems. In the 1990s, due to increasing rates of poverty incidence in the country, poverty alleviation approaches were adopted. Micro-credits and gender-based approaches dominated the strategy of development approaches. As a result, socioeconomic empowerment of citizens became a major ideology for development of rural areas.

In the last decade, issues of participation and rural livelihood diversification moved into the centre stage of rural development in Nigeria. It is difficult to assert that any of these approaches are better than the other because they all came with merits and demerits. Also, table 8 does not cover specific approaches involving specific rural service provision. Focus has been put on programme-based approaches. Most of these approaches were influenced by international development thinking of the time. On the other hand the effectiveness and efficiency of these approaches depended, to a large extent, on the political climate in Nigeria. Informants provided insight into how incessant changes in the political structure of Nigeria negatively affected the direction and continuity of these approaches. These changes included movement from regional pattern of government in 1960 to federal system in 1967. This was followed by creation of states and municipalities from 1967 until 1996. These changes came with new policies, political ideologies and territorial boundary adjustments.

7.3.1 There was no policy on rural development until 2001

From table 8 (and follow-up explanations), it is obvious that Nigeria's past rural development efforts have been done mainly within the context of agricultural development. There was no specific policy on rural development. Over the past decades, approaches to developing rural areas were based on two assumptions. Firstly, that the rural area is the home of agriculture: so, agricultural development served as a major strategy for rural development. Secondly (and from a planning perspective), "plan the urban centre and the rural area will take care of itself" (Okafor, 1980: p.86). These have affected approaches, ideologies and visions guiding rural development practice in Nigeria till today.

²¹ The 1981 Report, titled "Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," was referred to as the Berg report, because it was written by Elliot Berg (a development economics)

7.3.2 Emergence of national rural development policy (in 2001)

The Nigerian government (through DFRRI) arranged a workshop in 1990 to discuss policy issues and options for a rural development policy. Proceedings of the workshop were presented in a 1995 publication titled "Integrated Rural Development in Nigeria: policy Issues and Options". This led to a draft national policy on integrated rural development. Its Federal Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development (FMWRRD) reviewed the draft policy in 1996 and produced the blueprint. Subsequent consultations resulted to a workshop held in October 1999 which endorsed need to adopt the proposed policy as a working document by the government. Finally, on 11th December 2001, the democratic government of President Olusegun Obasanjo launched **Nigeria's National Policy on Integrated Rural Development (NNPIRD)**. According to documentary evidences, the policy was prepared and adopted based on extensive consultative dialogues with relevant federal and state ministries and agencies. Municipal governments, community-based rural development organisations, research institutes and labour organisations were consulted. Farmers' cooperative societies, trade and professional groups, non-governmental organisations, international organisations, traditional rulers and other special interest groups were also consulted. It was adopted as a comprehensive approach to dealing with the many problems bothering the rural areas. On rural areas in the country, the policy documents (NNPIRD: Section 1.1) that:

"Nigerian rural communities are centres of deprivation with life often devoid of opportunities and choices and an environment lacking in infrastructural facilities, including roads, water supply and sanitation, energy, communication facilities, community-based organisations, etc".

Until today, the situation has not changed. It reflects years of rural neglect due to "urban biased approaches to development" (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2001a: p.1). This makes renewed approaches to improving the situation important. The NNPIRD was introduced "as a means of adopting an approach through which rural development would be synergistically linked with national development" (ibid).

7.4 The scope of NNPIRD

The NNPIRD (section 1.2) is "a strategy and process designed to transform rural life and landscape by ensuring progressive social, economic, cultural and political improvements". This shows that the NNPIRD has specific elements of concern that recognises the needs of its rural population. By specifying the need to *transform the rural life and landscape*, the

policy envisions development from the context of improving people or society within an identifiable place. The document actually uses the term “territorial space” through “locally-specific” efforts (NNPIRD: section 1.3) as a description of rural development. It also recognises the need for a paradigm shift from “agriculture-centred rural development efforts” to “a multi-sectoral and integrated approach” (NNPIRD: section 1.4). It expresses the specific conditions its implementation is meant to improve as “rural poverty” (NNPIRD: section 1.4).

7.4.1 NNPIRD defines poverty as rural mass and individual deprivations

It views poverty from the perspective of *deprivation*. In defining “rural poverty”, it recognises that it is most visible in two broad dimensions: “rural mass deprivation” and “individual deprivation” (NNPIRD: section 1.4). These two broad dimensions of “rural poverty” are directly connected to lack of or denial of opportunities and choices necessary for living a decent and healthy life. It identifies mass deprivation in three forms. The first form involves inadequate availability or accessibility of basic social amenities or socioeconomic infrastructures. The second form hinges on limited employment and opportunities; due to unavailability or inaccessibility of facilities or lack of resources to establish businesses. The third form involves exposure to environmental risks and degradation of nature. It identifies individual deprivation in two forms. The first form involves the lack of food, decent shelter, and clothing or the inability for people to eat or clothe. The other involves the presence of physical insecurity, lack or inadequate skills and weakness in improving one’s situation.

7.5 The objectives of NNPIRD

The objectives of NNPIRD are derived from Nigeria’s national interests for the entire country. It focuses on raising the quality of life of rural people and alleviating rural poverty. These objectives are set to enable rural development serve as a major contributor to laying a solid foundation for the country’s national development. The main objectives (NNPIRD: section 2.1) are summarised based on core priority areas of the policy:

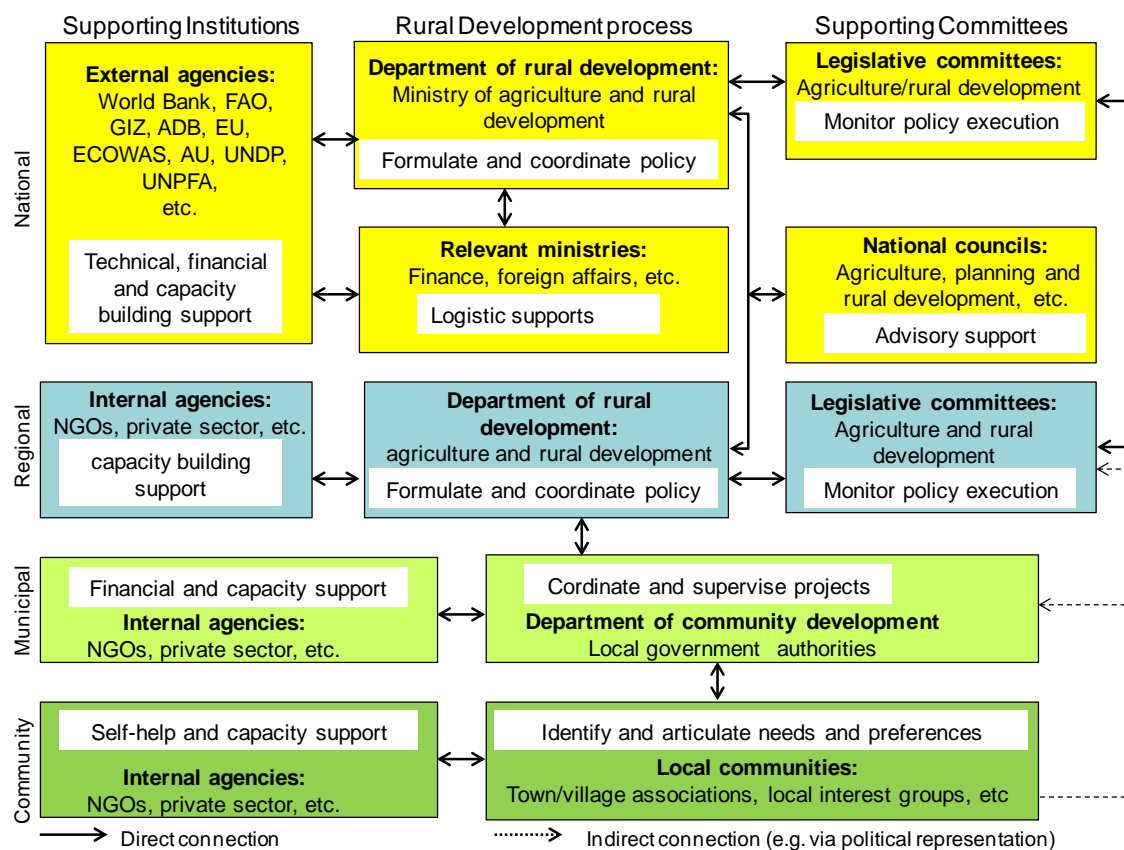
- *Promotion of productive rural activities*: implies diversifying “employment and income generating opportunities and activities” –e.g. farm and non-farm activities (ibid).
- *Supportive human resources development*: this means making rural development people-centred. Making appropriate skills and knowledge accessible to rural people.
- *Enhancement of enabling rural infrastructure*: this focuses on enhancement of enabling rural infrastructure in order “to reduce the present inequalities between urban and rural areas” (NNPIRD: section 3.4).

- *Special programmes for target groups*: it identifies need for special programmes to be made to improve the well-being of the less privileged in rural areas. Such people include the disabled and other disadvantaged persons in rural areas.
- *Rural community organisation and mobilisation*: the idea is to “encourage, promote and support the formation and strengthening of community-based rural development organisations” through “participation” (NNPIRD: section 3.6).

7.6 Stakeholders recognised in the NNPIRD

From institutional viewpoint, “multi-disciplinary nature of rural development has often created serious ownership problems” of who takes partial or full charge (Mensah, 1994: p.8). Nigeria’s institutional framework for rural development is highly influenced by its federal structure. Figure 16 shows the stakeholders, hierarchy and their lines of communication.

Figure 16: Hierarchy and participation of rural development stakeholders



Source: author (based on the NNPIRD document)

From figure 16, it is deducible that the country is governed at three political levels: federal, state and local government. At many points the interests of these stakeholders overlap, however, NNPIRD specifies different roles for the three levels of government and other

stakeholders. Of these stakeholders, the principal actors are the federal government, state government and local government (municipality). Constitutionally, the national has superior mandate over the regional level; and the regional level has superior mandate over the municipal level. For participatory reasons, the NNPIRD included the community as the fourth level of rural development operations.

- *Federal ministry of agriculture and rural development:* through its rural development department, it is the main arm of the federal government for handling rural development. A Minister appointed by the President heads it. Its tasks involve coordinating rural development and agriculture in the whole country. It formulates and keeps under review the NNPIRD yearly. It was reviewed last in March 2012.
- *State ministries of rural development:* in order to focus on special problems of rural development in different states of Nigeria, these ministries care of rural development matters within their boundaries and contexts of their problems. They make regional policies, monitor and coordinate rural development in their municipalities. Commissioners appointed by the governors of their states head them.
- *Municipalities:* this is the most basic level of government recognised by the Nigerian constitution. They are led by an elected (or mayor). Community development departments are established in each municipality to implement rural development. Their tasks include coordination and supervision of rural development activities.
- *Communities:* communities are the traditional level where the impact of development is felt. They are to identify and articulate own development needs and preferences, implement self-conceived community development projects.
- *National Rural Development Councils:* these are committees and councils set up to specifically overlook and advice on rural development matters. There are two councils and two committees with specific duties on rural development. They are the *National Council on Agriculture and Rural Development*, the *National Council on Development Planning*, the *National Technical Committee on Rural Development* and the *National Economic Council*. These councils and committees are at the same level and coordinate with the federal ministry of rural development in rural development implementations and policy-making.
- *National and state national legislative committees:* they are parliamentary committees at the national and regional levels. They assist in checking the excesses of the executive governments. They ensure accountability on rural development matters.
- *Other federal ministries:* these are line ministries and agencies that cooperate with the FMARD on various rural-related issues (e.g.budget, planning, etc.).

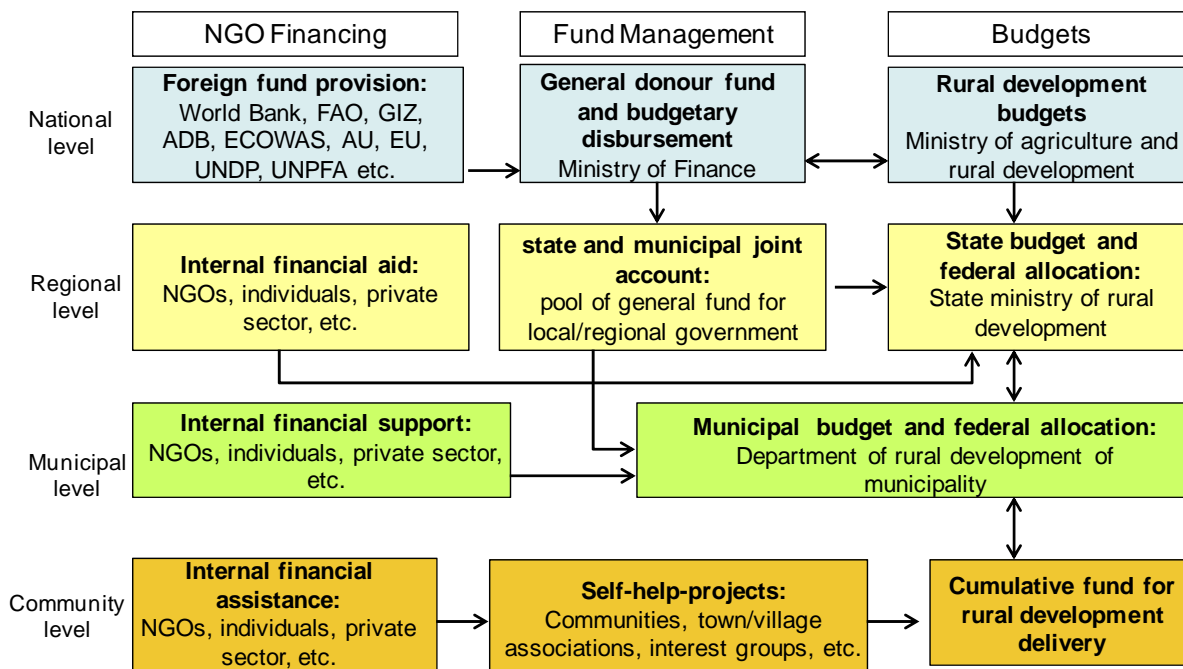
- *Internal support agencies:* Internal agencies are NGOs, corporate organisations, civil society organisations, private sector enterprises, philanthropists, etc. Their role is to bring multi-stakeholder partnerships and actualise PPP motives.
- *External support agencies:* these are foreign organisations (NGOs, foreign government agencies, etc.) involved in rural development in Nigeria. They assist in developing institutional capacities for rural development, project design and provision of financial and technical assistance.

7.7 Implementation strategy and funding for NNPIRD

7.7.1 The funding structure

The NNPIRD does not particularly state the share of funding for rural development. Rather each rural development programme or projects have separate funding structure based on the agreements reached by implementing stakeholders. However, the NNPIRD does identify possible sources of funding for rural development from the federal, state and local governments; communities, the private sector and external support agencies. Most importantly, it identified the movement pattern of funds from the national to the local level.

Figure 17: The flow fund in rural development in Nigeria



Source: author (based on NNPIRD documents and field findings)

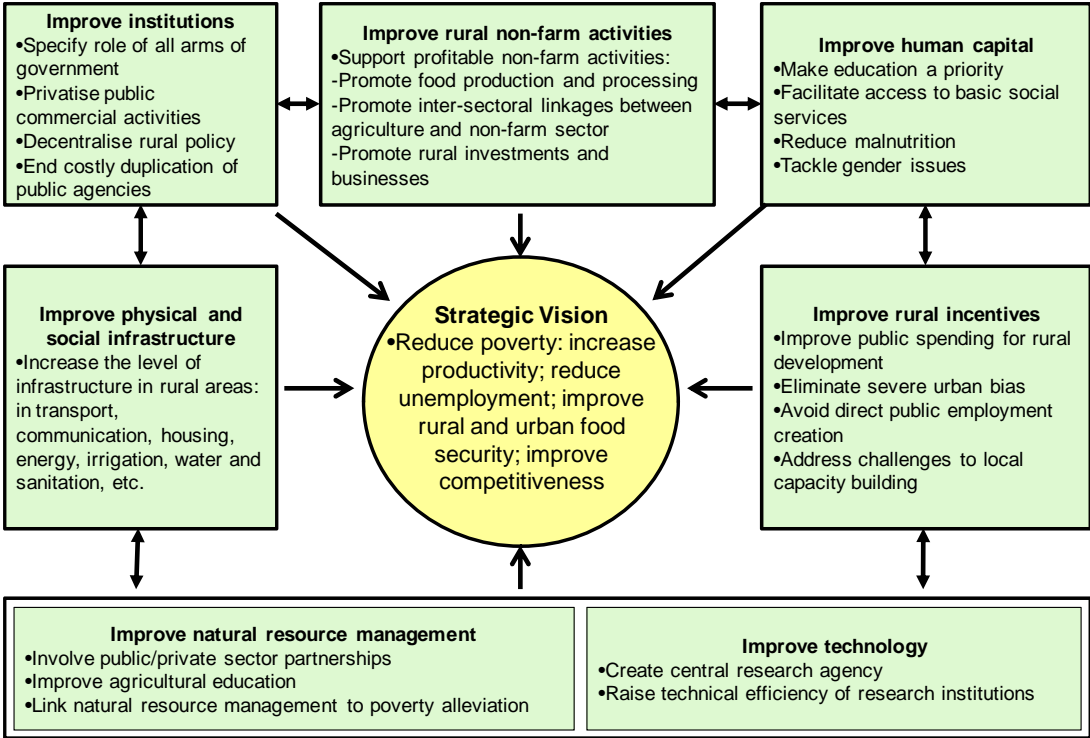
Figure 18 (below) provides a wider idea of rural development funding. Rural development funding in Nigeria is largely based on the budgetary allocations to the FMARD. They are

constitutionally entitled to receive these funds from the federal government. These funds come from budgetary allocations made by the federal ministry (and approved by the legislative assembly) as well as financial assistances from the external support agencies (international community). The state and local governments, through the state/local governments' joint account, depend on fund allocations from the Federal Ministry of Finance for their development. These funds are for general development and they are expected to give some provisions for rural areas. On the aspect of private funding, such funds (where available), flow largely to municipalities. They are then supposed to be used for projects at community level. At these levels, funds are directly used to initiate private sector based rural development projects. Instances exist where communities contribute to fulfilling immediate rural community development objectives. These are mere self-help projects.

7.7.2 Implementation strategy for NNPIRD

An implementation blueprint published in 2001, and referred to as the Rural Sector Strategy for Nigeria Strategy complements NNPIRD. Figure 18 illustrates the implementation strategy.

Figure 18: The prescribed implementation strategy of NNPIRD



Source: author (based on NNPIRD document)

In general, this strategy for rural development involves a combination of various approaches with the participation of the three levels and other stakeholders. The strategic vision of this

strategy is in line with the overall objectives of the NNPIRD. It is to “reduce poverty, increase productivity, reduce unemployment and improve rural and urban food security; and improve competitiveness” (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2001b: p.7). The approach involves six main components meant for improving rural development based on a strategic vision (i.e. poverty alleviation). These factors are: (1) technology generation and natural resources management; (2) institutions; (3) incentives; (4) physical and social infrastructure; (5) rural non-farm activities; and (6) human capital.

Figure 18 reflects the strategy for improving interrelated factors for achieving the strategic vision of rural development in Nigeria. It is expected that any of the factors would lead to improvement of one or the other, and directly add value to achieving the strategic vision. This is to say that, the strategy is hinged on the basis that improvement in institutions would lead to improvement in rural incentives. This can then lead to improvement in physical and social infrastructure, then to improvement in non-farm activities. It would lead to improvements in non-farm activities and in human capital. Finally, these would have effects on improvements in technology generation and natural resources management.²²

7.8 Major development features not covered in the NNPIRD

Despite being a comprehensive policy, there are still some rural development issues which are either missing in the NNPIRD or are merely mentioned but not covered in the policy. The following have been identified as the main subject areas not addressed in the NNPIRD.

- *Networking issues:* NNPIRD mentions challenges of rural-urban linkages; however, it failed to adopt a broad scope of networking for rural development. As a policy, it does not promote networking that brings federal departments and other agencies together for collaboration. Inter-agency, sectoral and technical networking is important for skills development, skills to access, management and sharing of knowledge relevant for rural innovations and production at all levels.
- *Specific implementation action:* it provides only guidelines, but did not provide any on-the-ground implementation path for project delivery. It failed to provide specifics on how many rural objectives it pursues should be put directly into action.
- *Recognition of globalisation impact:* it did not give attention to the impact of global trends on rural development in Nigeria. This is necessary because the rural areas

²² In the real sense of implementation, these guidelines are mere theoretical guidelines. They are not on-the-ground implementation guide for rural development delivery.

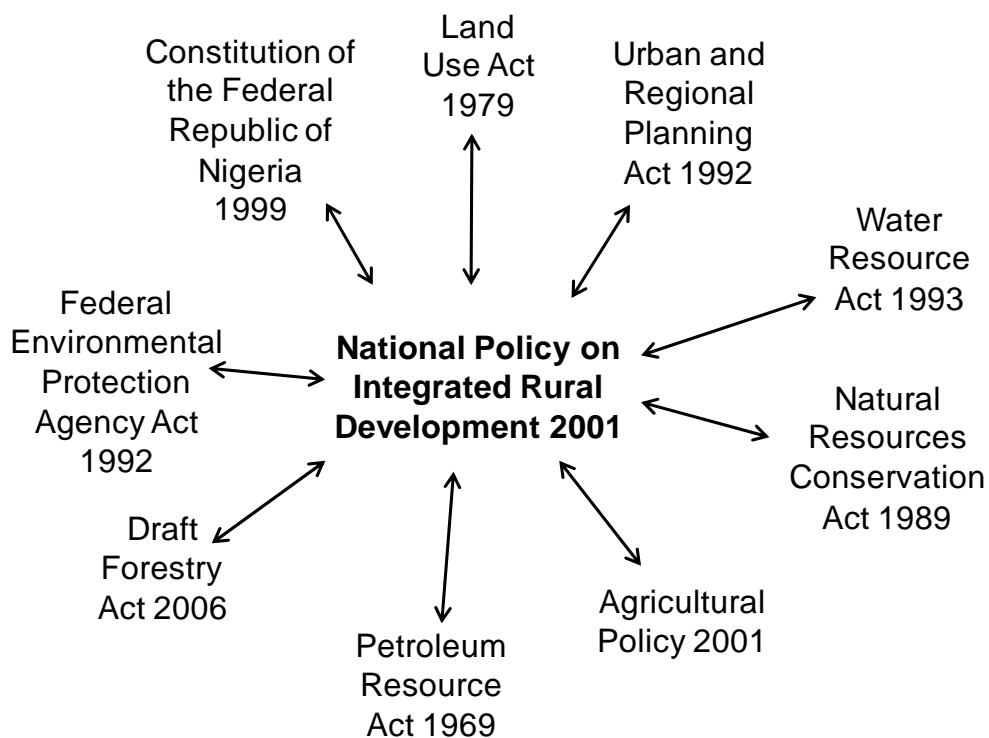
within the oil-producing regions of Nigeria are directly affected by the global land rush and oil market changes.

- *Territorial planning:* NNPIRD recognises the need for taking an area-based or territorially defined approach to implementing rural development. However, it fails to give credence to territorial planning as preconditions for achieving any rural development outcome that is based on territoriality.

7.9 Legal frameworks and opportunities for territorial development

Several laws support rural development in Nigeria. The Constitution (section 14:2 a-c) states that “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria... the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured...” By this statement, it asserts that power and participation lies with the Nigerian people. In addition to the constitution and the NNPIRD, several other legislations help broaden and give legal support to rural development (see figure 19).

Figure 19: Key legislations that help broaden the scope of the NNPIRD



Source: author (based on FGN, 2012)

Figure 19 identifies the key legislations that help broaden the scope of the NNPIRD, so that it would have a comprehensive effect on the needs of rural people. These laws are federal

laws, which are decentralised through the state to the local level. The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria has specific influence on rural matters. It recognises the existence of rural communities and lists all municipalities of the country in its content. Section 20 of the Constitution provides that “*the state shall protect and improve the environment and safe guard the water, air, land, forest and wild life in Nigeria*”. The *Petroleum Act of 1969* (section 1) vests “*the ownership of, and all on-shore and off-shore revenue from petroleum resources derivable therefrom in the federal government and for all other matters incidental thereto*”. The *Land Use Act 1979* vests all land in the territory of each State of Nigeria (except land vested in the federal government or its agencies) solely in the governor of the State. It allocates similar powers, with respect to rural areas, to municipal governments (Mayor). The *Natural Resources Conservation Act (1989)* addresses soil, water; forestry, wildlife and fisheries conservation. The *Urban and Regional Planning Act 1992* defines the goals and the concept of physical planning in Nigeria. It lays the framework for planning beyond the urban areas and into the regions. It caters for issues concerning public participation in urban and rural areas.

The *Federal Environmental Protection Agency Act 1992* promotes natural resources conservation. It works to raise awareness, prevent air, water, and land pollution in Nigeria. Its areas of operation cover both urban and rural areas. The *Water Resources Act 1993* vests planning, development, management (concerning administration, protection, quality, quantity, distribution, use of water) and usage rights on water on the government. The *Agricultural Policy 2001* works to increase the production of agricultural raw materials for industries; to generate employment; and improve the quality of life of rural dwellers. It specifically mentions that “improving the quality of life of rural dwellers” is one of its main objectives.

The *Forestry Act 2006* is currently under deliberation. It is hoped that one of its main provisions would be to give recognition to the role of communities in forestry. It is expected to address deforestation challenges and define the contribution of forests to economic development as a way of achieving the Millennium Development Goals. It is hoped that this draft law will become an Act in 2013.

7.9.1 Opportunities for territorial rural development in Nigeria

According to GIZ (2012), territorial development can apply as an approach of rural development for improving livelihoods in defined socio-political, administrative or natural territories. Judging from the NNPIRD and legal frameworks in Nigeria, some opportunities exist for territorial rural development in Nigeria (see table 9).

Table 9: Opportunities for territorial development in Nigeria

Instruments	Legal tools	Features in support of territorial development
Constitution	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (<i>basic law</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports property rights • Supports decentralisation • Supports multi level governance • Empowers municipalities as local authorities
Laws	LUA 1979 (<i>land use</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports property rights • Supports decentralisation • Supports multi-level governance
	NRCA (1989) (<i>natural resources</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports natural resource protection at all levels • Supports global and local climate change measures
	FEPA 1992 (<i>environment</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports environmental protection in urban and rural areas
	URPA 1992 (<i>planning</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defines goals and concept of physical planning • Lays the national framework for planning beyond • Supports decentralisation • Empowers municipalities to prepare and implement local plans • Supports multi-level governance • Supports participation in urban and rural areas
	WRA Act 1993 (<i>water</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports water rights in rural areas • Supports coordination at all levels
	AA 2001 (<i>agriculture</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses fully on rural food production and infrastructural development • Supports policy coordination at all levels • Supports improvement of general rural quality of life • Supports food security in rural areas
Policies	NNPIRD 2001 (<i>rural development</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises urban-rural linkages • Supports policy coordination at all levels • Supports multi-level governance • Encourages policy integration for rural development • Emphasises on decentralisation • Supports place-based rural development strategies • Endorses local and community development plans • Supports local and community participation
	FP 2006 (<i>forests</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports forest protection • Supports food security • Supports community forest resource management

Source: author (based on field findings and legal and policy documents)

The information in table 9 provides some of the legal, policy and constitutional opportunities for adapting territorial approach to rural development in Nigeria.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter provided relevant information on the current and past patterns of rural development thinking in Nigeria; and opportunities for territorial development. The next chapter critically assesses the implementation of a development programme in a specific territory of Nigeria. It weighs the scope of territorial approach to rural development in Nigeria.

Chapter Eight: Case Study: the Scope of Territorial Approach to Rural Development in Nigeria

8.1 Introduction

From the perspective of territories in Nigeria, approaches to rural development delivery (based on the NNPIRD) can be viewed from two perspectives: programme-based and plan-based. Within the study area of this research, development plan is non-existent.²³ Hence, current and past rural development initiatives have been programme-based. Usually, such programme-based rural development projects are handed down to the municipality from National, through the regional governments. Beginning from 2001, such programmes were based on the NNPIRD. Funding for such programmes mainly comes from the project initiators (and collaborators) for implementation purposes. Having presented the NNPIRD in the last chapter, this chapter critically assesses rural development based on the NNPIRD. Specifically, the chapter deals on the evaluation of a local rural development approach in Isuikwuato. Though various approaches were found, it was necessary to select one that “has goals and objectives, an implementation plan which was intended to produce results” (Vanclay, 2012: p.4). Evaluating an approach being applied was necessary in order to gain insight into the context of rural development in Isuikwuato. For the purpose of this research, this chapter provides room for understanding the processes and outcomes of an already implemented approach to rural development. It also provides necessary data useful for achieving and answering some research objectives and questions respectively.²⁴ To do this, a framework for the evaluation was adapted from the conceptual framework shown in chapter 5. As a starting point, the first section of this chapter introduces the case study area: Isuikwuato municipality.

8.2 Isuikwuato municipality: an overview

Isuikwuato Municipality is located in the state of Abia, in Nigeria. Abia State has a population of 3.5 million people. 70% of its population live in the rural areas. Isuikwuato is one of its 17 territories (municipalities) and one of its many rural areas. The Municipality is a territory of

²³ Rather what was observed were mere yearly budget plans for acquisition of funds from the national government (i.e. yearly fiscal plans or budgets)

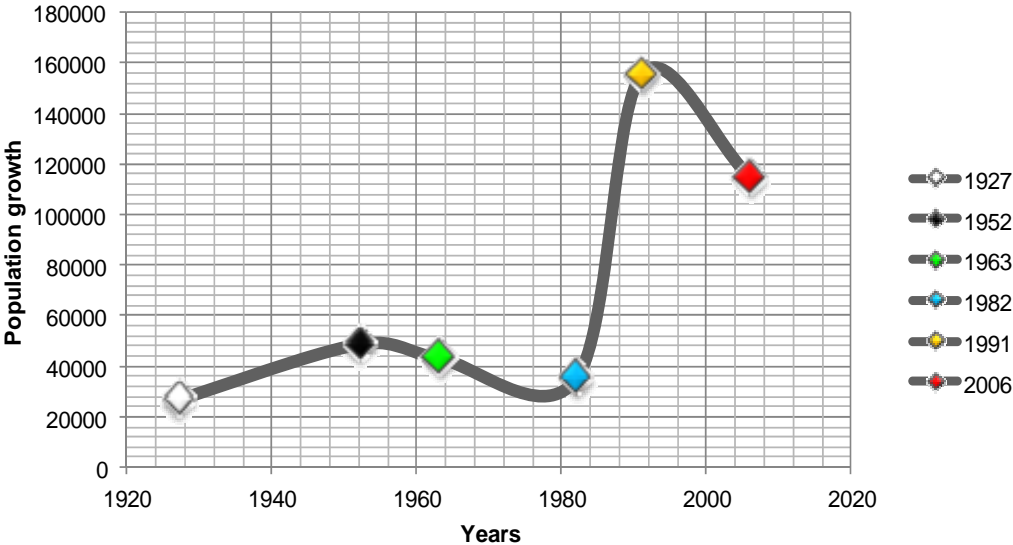
²⁴ Questions pertaining to: How have rural development approaches been addressed in Nigeria? Do present rural development approaches cover territorial development policy? What are the potentials and constraints of territorial development in Nigeria? Objectives pertaining to evaluation and assessment of rural development approaches (refer to chapter one).

394 km². It is situated in the northern part of the state, in southeastern Nigeria. It became an administrative municipality in 1991. Prior to becoming a municipality, it was a geographically and socially defined territory, made up of a clan of people with common cultural heritage and origin. Today, it has become is administratively and politically defined (in addition to its previous status).

8.2.1 Population dynamics

Concerning population, the municipality has a current annual population growth rate of about 2.83% (ASG, 2011). Historically, it has had positive and negative trends in population over the past century. Its official population record is available from 1927 till date. Figure 20 (below) shows its trend of changes in population, leading to its current population of nearly 115,000 people. It also shows that the population of Isuikwuato has been growing at a high rate over the decades, until the last decade.

Figure 20: Population changes in Isuikwuato municipality



Source: author (based on literature)

As can be viewed in figure 20, Isuikwuato’s population was about 27,000 in the British population assessment of 1927. It increased to 48,800 in 1952, then dropped to 43,313 in 1963 (IDU, 2011). In 1982, it dropped further to 35,400 people. Over the next decade it grew to 155,379 in 1991 (NBS, 1991). The most current data suggests that it has experienced decreasing population, partly due to high death rate and high rural-to-urban migration in the past decade. Its population decreased from 155,379 (in 1991) to 114,442 in 2006 (NBS, 2006). Although new census results have not been released, it has been noted that the

negative population growth of 2006 has continued. The reason attributed to this are: lower birth-rates, low life expectancy and emigration of citizens from the municipality to major cities in Nigeria (ibid). Findings from field survey show that in-migration is about 2% while out-migration is about 15%. This means that neighbouring urban areas around the municipality will benefit from any development effort made to reduce its out-migration rate.

8.2.2 The socioeconomic situation

For more than 200 years, 1787 to 1987, Isuikwuato has been a rural economy. It has not been known as a place for the settlement of the region's most affluent families. It has not been an attraction for people who are in search of fortunes. However, this started changing after the regional government sited a university within its territory in 1987. Since then it has become the site of the region's most popular educational institution, *Abia State University*.²⁵ It is also a location for earth mining (sand and gravel sites) and some strategically located rural markets. This means that commercial activities are fast developing in the municipality. Some of its citizens work in these educational institutions, alongside many regional migrant workers. Despite this, Isuikwuato remains one of the most under-developed municipalities in its region (Chukwumerije, 2009). 97% of the citizens still indulge in agricultural activities. Even those whose primary occupation is office-based still practice agriculture for either subsistence or as a second livelihood option. Findings from field survey suggest that this is mainly due to high unemployment in the territory. Findings from field survey reveal that it has employment rate of less than 2% and poverty rate of 65%. Alleviating this challenge is one of the major aims for the implementation of rural development programmes in the area.

8.2.3 The settlement pattern

Culturally, within the settlement pattern of the people, the lowest social unit is the nuclear family. From there the extended family (kinship) evolves and forms a distinct compound marked with circles of family houses. Several of these kinships form a village. However, due to the fast pace of population increase in the area, over the past fifty years, there has been increase in the number of villages. It has about 45 villages today, excluding several hamlets. In addition, group of settlements that used to be villages have now expanded beyond each others' boundaries (both in social and physical terms) as a result of increase in population. Some of these have "growth points". As a result, "urban nodes" have emerged within the territory (Mayfield *et al.*, 2005). Map 2 shows the Isuikwuato territory.

²⁵ As at the time of the research fieldwork, a second university (named *Gregory University*) has been built and is yet to begin full operation (as at the time of field study).

Map 2 is a hand-drawn map showing the territory of Isuikwuato. There are currently no internal administrative boundaries between villages. This situation is characteristic of rural areas in Nigeria. The full potentials of modern cartographic and geographical information sciences and technologies are yet to be utilised in this respect. The implication is that more data that are descriptive are not being recorded cartographically. This has consequences on planning and implementation of development activities within the municipality. Despite this, the local people have a social cultural mapping of the area. Each village, hamlets and kinships have an understanding of the borders of their lands or home place.

8.2.4 The climate and environment

Isuikwuato is situated within the forest belt of Nigeria, with temperature ranges between 20° C and 36° C. It has two main seasons: dry and rainy seasons. The rainy period is from April to October; and its dry season is from November to March. This makes agriculture a seasonal activity in the area. Despite this, agriculture remains the major occupation of the people. Crops like oil palm, cashew, cocoyam, cassava, yam, plantain and maize are cultivated in large quantities in the area. A small population is involved in petty-trading. Its natural attractions include cold-water springs, caves and hilly landscapes. These attractions have touristic potentials.

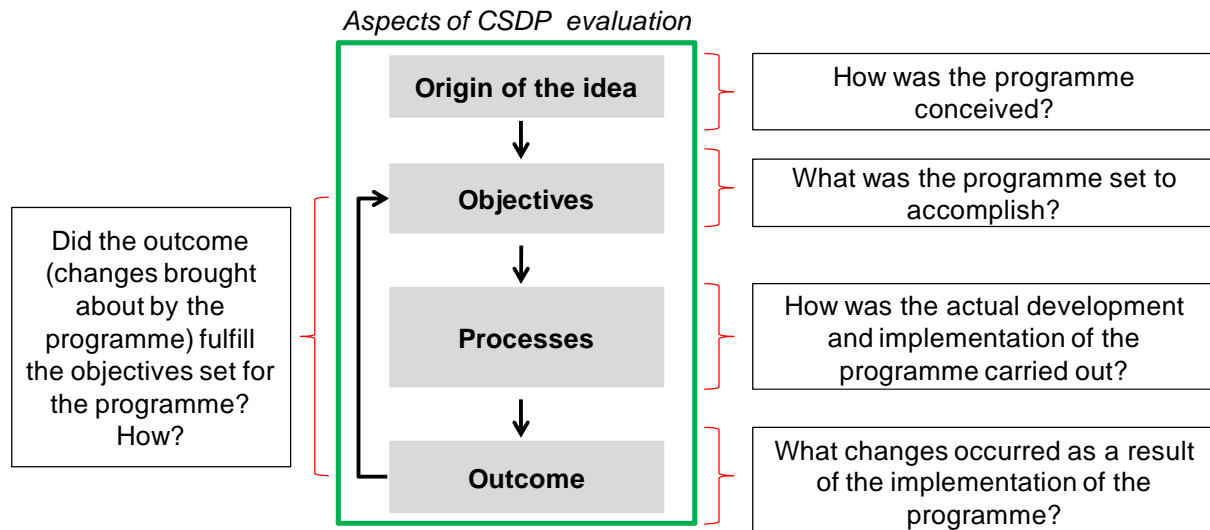
8.3 Evaluation of community and social development project (CSDP)

To understand processes in implementing rural development in Isuikwuato, there is need to conduct an evaluation of a rural development approach within the Municipality. One of the important rural development approaches that have benefited the municipality is the Community and Social Development Project (CSDP). Although not the only rural development programme in Isuikwuato, CSDP has been chosen for analysis because of its relevance to the government, the people and the World Bank. The evaluation data from CSDP creates a window of opportunity for new ideas useful for devising future approaches. So, this evaluation was done to ascertain the quality of processes and outcome of the approach.

Due to the complexities encountered in measuring long-term results, much of the evaluation effort focuses on exposing the origin CSDP, its objectives, processes and outcome (rather than impact) of the approach in Isuikwuato. These data are relevant for two possible reasons: realistic recommendations for sustaining the current approach or introducing a new approach to rural development in Isuikwuato. The evaluation framework for CSDP approach is presented in figure 21. The approach is assessed based on a process, beginning from its origin as an idea, through its objectives, processes and outcome. It is

hinged on critically evaluating these aspects with the aim of answering questions useful for understanding how the outcome of the programme helped fulfil its objectives.

Figure 21: Framework for evaluating the CSDP approach in Isuikwuato



Source: author

Focus is put on several aspects. It surveys how the programme was conceived (origin of the idea of CSDP). It answers questions on what it was set to accomplish (objectives of CSDP). It probes its immediate result to Isuikwuato (outcome of the programme). In addition, it evaluates how its outcomes relate to the programme objectives.

8.3.1 Origin of CSDP in Isuikwuato

CSDP originated from an agreement between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the World Bank in 2007 (ASG, 2011). It was introduced to enable “improvement of the standard of living of the common Nigerian, and the expansion of civilisation with a bias for green energy” (World Bank, 2012b). At the moment, 26 states of Nigeria are participating in the programme, with over 1600 community development plans being implemented with about 3,435 micro projects (ibid). Abia state is one of the participating regions in the programme. Law No. 2 of 2009 of the state supports its adoption as a rural development approach. From then onwards, it became part of the legal tools for rural development in the region (Abia State). This applies to the territory of Isuikwuato.

8.3.2 The objectives of CSDP

At the regional level, the core objectives of CSDP were set so that each of the 17 municipalities in Abia State can follow it. It was hoped that if these objectives were

achieved, it would improve the living standards of the people, and bring about improvements in the welfare and quality of life of local people. To achieve this, three major objectives were set in the CSDP. According to the World Bank (2012b), they are as explained below:

- Empower communities to plan, part-finance, implement, monitor and maintain sustainable and socially inclusive multi-sectoral micro-projects;
- Facilitate and increase community/municipal partnership on human development;
- Increase the capacity of municipalities, state and federal agencies to implement and monitor CDD policies and interventions; and
- Leverage federal, state and local government resources for greater coverage of CDD interventions in communities.

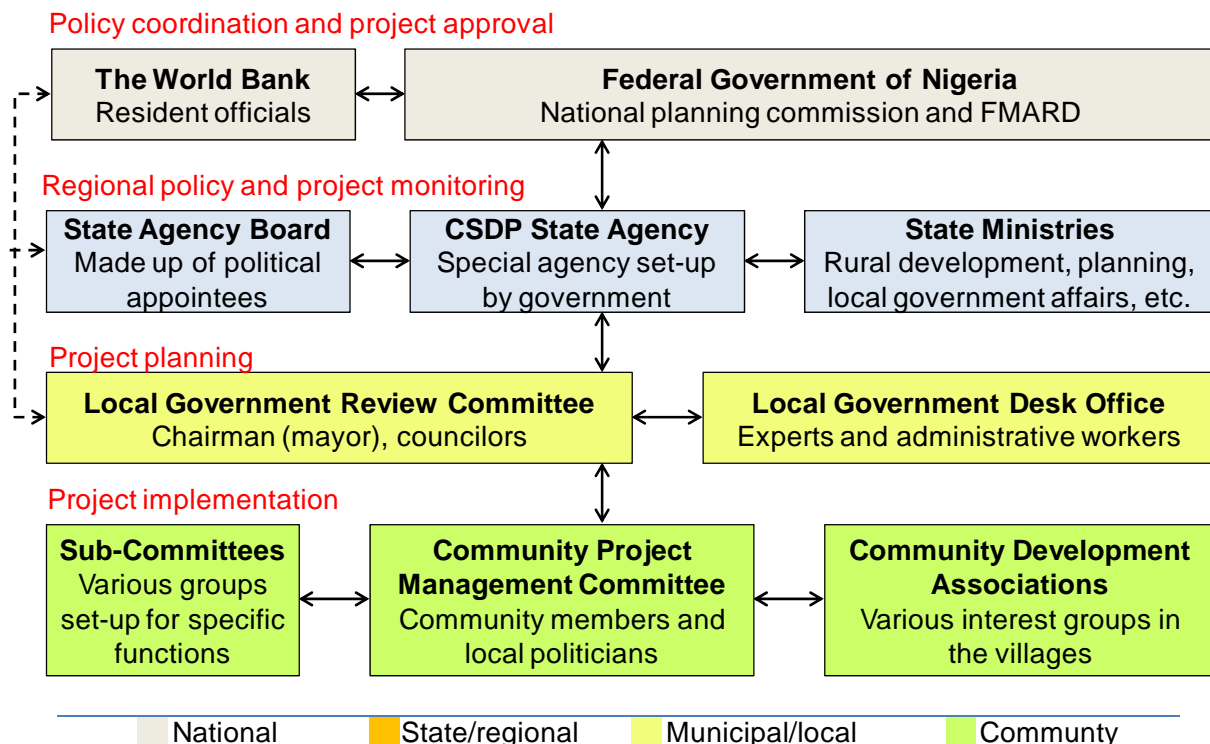
As shown above, it is deducible that CSDP was established as a poverty reduction strategy, with the intention of reducing unemployment, health risks, gender discrimination and food insecurity. It was also meant to improve illiteracy and environmental degradation. In all, these are meant to support one of the pillars of the Vision 2020 strategy (refer to textbox 1, in chapter one of this thesis).

8.3.3 Institutional arrangements for CSDP

The CSDP is organised to operate at two levels: national (federal) and regional (state). However, the state (regional) coordinates two other levels within it. The levels directly coordinated by the state are the local and community levels. With this institutional arrangement, it can be said that the CSDP operates within an institutional arrangement that connects four levels of operation: national, regional (state), local (municipal) and community.

Each level is made up of various kinds of personnel within institutions with specific power for implementation. At the federal level, for policy coordination and project approvals are handled. The national planning commission to align with national interest does this. The FMARD also helps in introducing rural enhancements to this role. Here the World Bank works as partners with the federal government of Nigeria in facilitating technical inputs and funding. At the state level, the proposed project is coordinated by the State Agency Boards, in consultation with other line ministries to contribute in aligning regional policies to favour approvals from the federal and facilitate adequate monitoring. These various levels are identified, and their steps are shown in figure 22.

Figure: 22: Institutional arrangement of CSDP



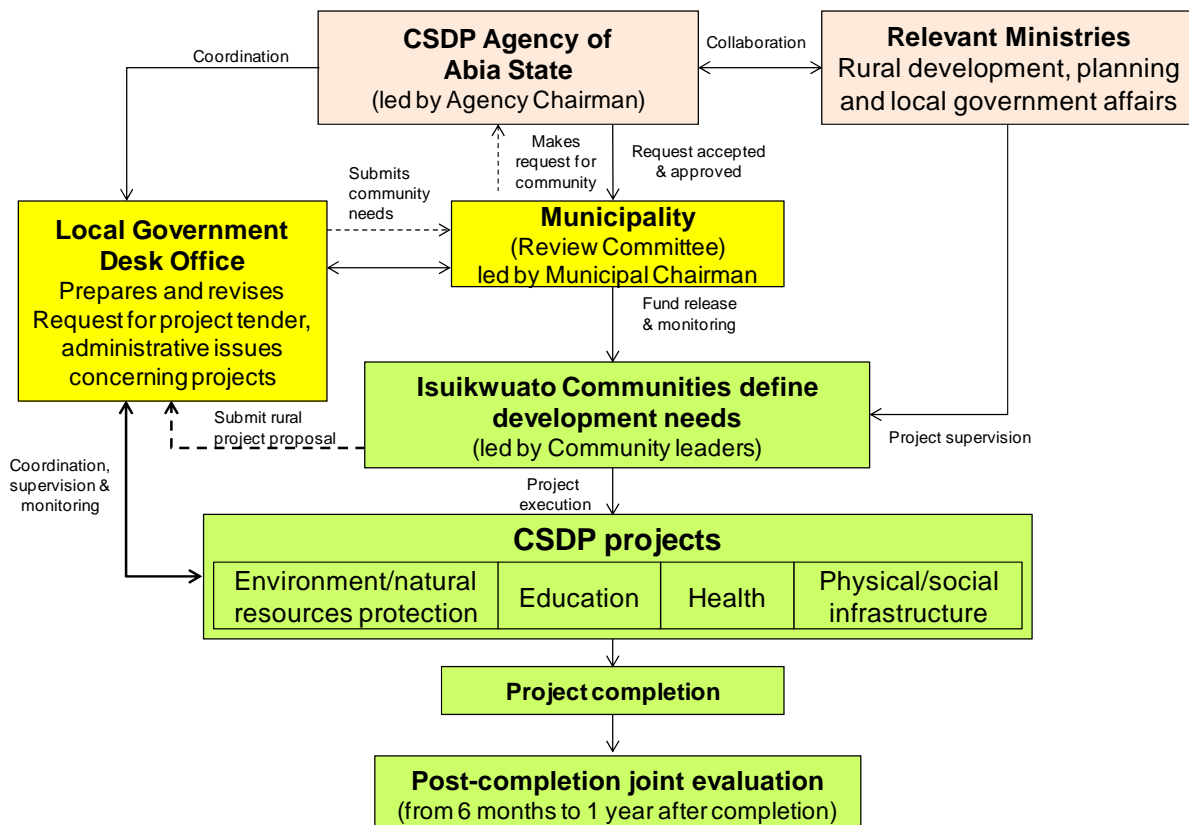
Source: author (based on field findings; ASG, 2011; World Bank, 2012b)

Figure 22 (following previous explanations above) show direct and indirect controls from a top-down structure. There are the four levels. The regional level (through its agencies) coordinates and monitors the activities of committees set under it at the local and community level. The major role of the state agency is funding community development plans proposals, along with the necessary awareness/sensitisation, training, and supervision of community subprojects, etc (World Bank, 2012b). Such plans come from the local government review committee who handle or deal with community-driven activities of the project management committee. In general, the focal point of CSDP work lies with the state agencies that statutorily support the “process of strengthening the capacity of local government and administrations and accountability vis-à-vis local communities” (World Bank, 2012b).

8.3.4 Action plan for actualising CSDP objectives

Despite this, the World Bank has the responsibility to ensure that its standards are complied with. However, implementation is done at the regional, local and community levels (see figure 23). The CSDP gives power to the regional level to deal for project coordination within states.

Figure 23: Implementation of CSDP



-----> Line of requests State/regional Municipal/local Community

Source: author (based on field findings and Akpokodje, 2006: p.40)

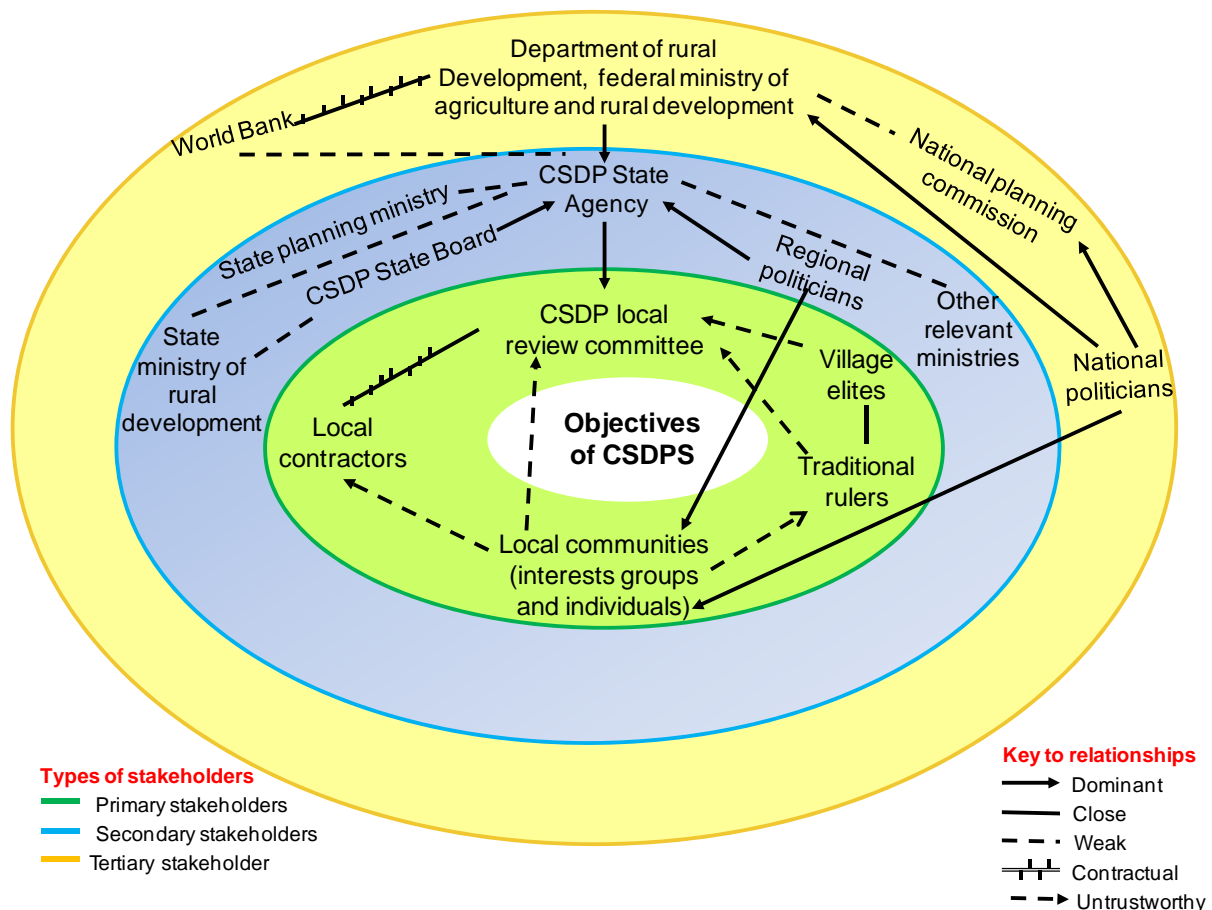
As shown in figure 23, the implementation is on top-down bureaucratic processes. Usually, the state agency is given the opportunity to coordinate. Hence local chiefs, politicians and local interest groups decide the needs of the communities. It is then submitted from the community to the local government desk office, which passes it to the local review committee, who then passes it to the state agency for approval. At any point, requests may be rejected for reasons of poor documentation, lack of funding or a break in protocol. In such cases, the request begins afresh.

After approval, it comes back to the local review committee. It is then funded for project execution at the community level. This does not mean that the community carries out the project; the local government desk office assists and coordinates projects. Relevant ministries (such as ministries for rural development, planning and local government affairs) supervise projects. When a project is completed, the World Bank requests for a joint evaluation between 6 to 12 months of completion.

8.3.5 Stakeholder and actors situation: participation in CSDP

According to UNEP (2001), stakeholders are people, groups, or institutions, which are likely to be affected by a proposed project (either negatively or positively). They can also be those who can affect the outcome of the project. Issues concerning consultations, collaboration (or partnerships) and ownership empowerment are some of the opportunities the stakeholders take advantage of in the course of a project (ibid). Some of the stakeholders are active (actors) while others are passive (non-actors). In the case of CSDP, in identifying the stakeholders in the CSDP, data was sought concerning the beneficiaries, other people whom it affected, the supporters (and opponents of the programme and the relationships shared by these people. As a joint donor/government programme, no specific opponent was found to have opposed the programme at the on-set. However, several actors were identified to have played roles in the programme. The stake-holding situation and relationship is illustrated in figure 24.

Figure 24: Visual representation of stakeholders and their relationships



Source: author (based on field findings)

As shown in figure 24, three types of stakeholders were identified: primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary stakeholders were village elites, traditional rulers, local contractors, the CSDP Local Review Committee and political representatives of Isuikwuato communities. Secondary stakeholders were the CSDP Agency, CSDP state Board, regional politicians State Planning and other relevant ministries. Such relevant ministries include ministries in charge of agriculture, information, health, education, environment, local government, culture and tourism, works, lands, rural development and poverty reduction, transport, etc. Tertiary stakeholders include the federal government (represented by its ministry of agriculture and rural development), national planning commission, national politicians (legislators), and the World Bank.

Using arrows, figure 24 presents the five types of stakeholders' relationships that exist in the programme: dominant, close, weak, untrustworthy and contractual relationships. The absence of arrows implies the non-existence of a relationship. A lot of untrustworthy relationships exist at the local level. Local communities, traditional rulers share untrustworthy relationships with the CSDP local review committee. In fact, those interviewed believe that this committee is non-existent. Local communities also do not trust contractors. The local government review committee plays a dominant role within the local and community level, but shares a contractual relationship with contractors. Regional politicians and CSDP board exercise a dominant relationship over the state CSDP Agency, who is dominant over the local government review committee. At the tertiary level, an individual contractual relationship exists between the federal ministry of agriculture and rural development and the World Bank. Apart from the national politicians who exercise dominant relationships over the agencies established at that level, all other relationships were weak. The FMARD link the secondary stakeholders through a dominant relationship over the state CSDP Agency. However, the village elites and traditional rulers share a close relationship. National and regional politicians have dominant relationship over the FMARD and the CSDP State Agency respectively.

The actors in the programme can be summarised based on their duties. These duties relate to capacity building, planning and monitoring at all levels. They are divided into four main groups: foreign partners, national government, state government and local government's actors. The World Bank assists in upper level capacity building and provides external funding. The federal government, through its ministries, initiated the programme and coordinated at national level. The National Planning Commission provided logistic supports. The Abia State government, through its Agencies do monitoring mechanisms at the regional level. The local government, through its Committee implement projects at Community level.

Figure 25: Main roles of actors identified in the CSDP



Source: author (based on field findings)

As already explained, figure 25 showcases responsible areas of participation. Beginning with funding and capacity assistance to planning and monitoring (at national and regional levels), then to implementation. There is a forward reporting and backward feedback procedure involved at all aspects. In addition, the World Bank, having resident officials in Nigeria, means that they can visit projects; however, they do not do this as a direct leader at the local level.

8.4 CSDP evaluation: projects and outcomes

The World Bank and the participating States (through the Federal Government of Nigeria) co-financed the CSDP project (in the Isuikwuato case). On the part of the Abia state, it contributes ₦100 million (about €492,936.61)²⁶ yearly to the project. The state has made this contribution for the 2010, 2011 and 2012 years. Concerning the overall amount spent in

²⁶ Calculated based on the Euro to Naira exchange rate at the time of research.

Isuikwuato projects, such data is either speculative or non-existent. For the CSDP in Isuikwuato, identified priority areas for projects were carried out by the Abia CSDP agency through the Local Government Review Committee of Isuikwuato. It was believed that by tackling the priority areas would lead to the reduction of poverty in Isuikwuato. Six priority areas of action were focused on (capacity building, education, health, environment, publicity and infrastructural provision). They were selected based on perceived needs of the local people. These consisted of concerns for environment, infrastructural provision, education, health, agriculture and publicity of CSDP to citizens.

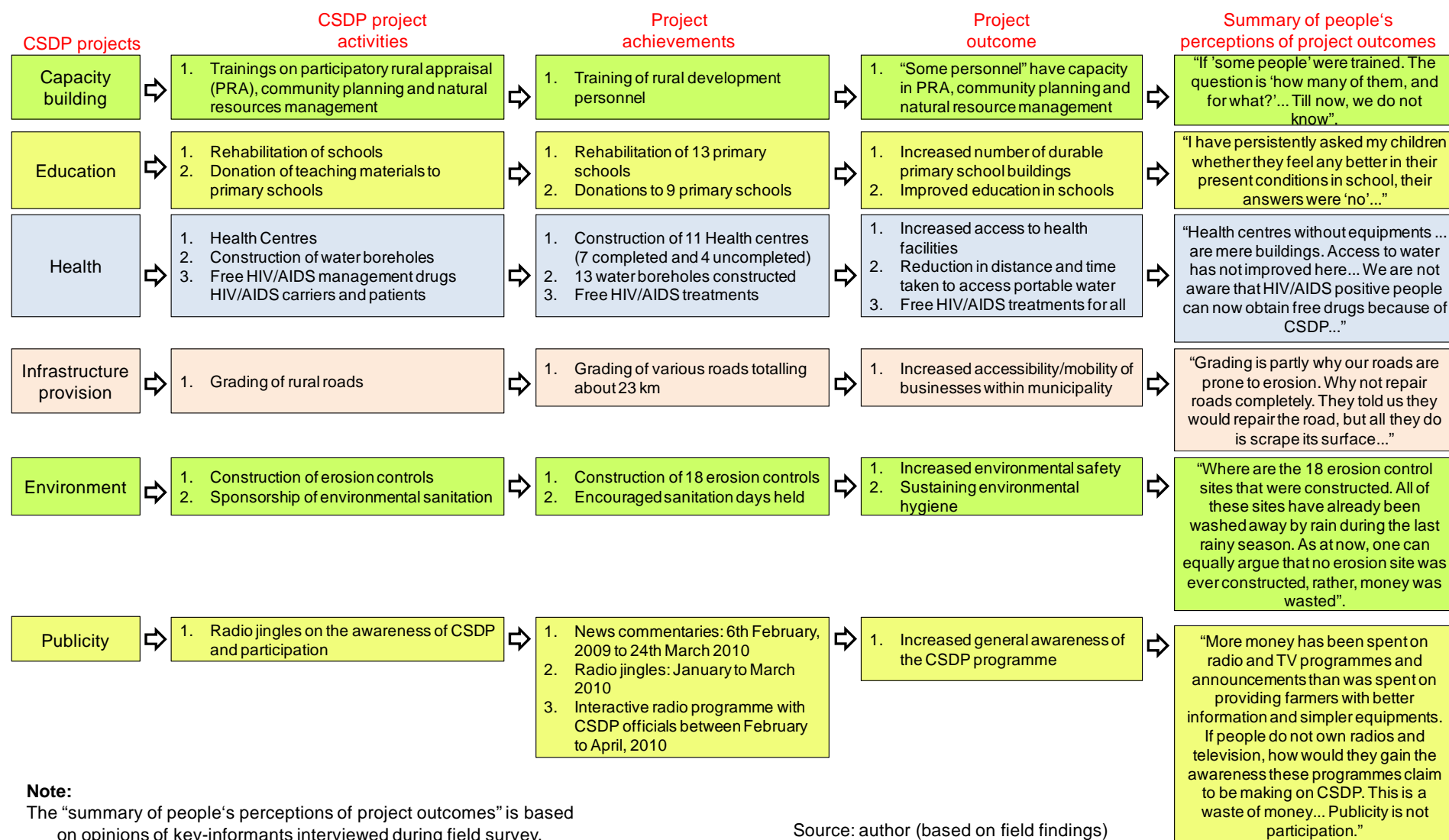
It was not possible to evaluate the impact of the projects because such should be done years after CSDP completion. More so, the CSDP is not a wholesome programme, it involves fragmentations of various projects. According to EENRD (2010), outcome evaluation adds information for understanding the immediate suitability or unsuitability of a project or programme or an approach to a programme. This makes it important for deducing information necessary for recommending a new approach, if necessary. It helps to learn about functioning processes; gives ideas on decision-making; reveals information on accountability and policy formulation (ibid).

Figure 26 provides a summary of the current outcome of the CSDP programme. The outcomes and perceptions of citizens were based on findings from field survey. They represent the general perception held by most local people. Various projects have been undertaken under the set priority areas. As can be seen, not much has been done in relation to agriculture within the CSDP. Concerning education, there have been rehabilitations in primary schools with positive outcomes. However, the research could not find evidences to support the kinds of donations made to 9 primary schools. An informant (local head teacher) interviewed in one of the primary schools noted that most of the achievements in education were *“mere documentations”*. This informant noted that:

“Most of the donations claimed to have been made are either fictitious or largely exaggerated, and in the case of donations to primary schools, my school did not receive any of such donations, be it monetary or equipment. I have not come across any other head of school who received any monetary or material donations as a result of CSDP...”

Two other heads of primary schools confirmed the above statement. It calls to question the reliability of some claims made by the municipality. A view of figure 26 provides a fuller perspective of the CSDP evaluation.

Figure 26: Summary of people's perceptions of CSDP project outcomes



Note:
The "summary of people's perceptions of project outcomes" is based on opinions of key-informants interviewed during field survey.

Source: author (based on field findings)

The opinions or perceptions shown in figure 26 provide a general representation of how the people viewed aspects of the CSDP programme. Each of the summaries of perceptions shown is culled from key-informant views that provide a wider representation of opinions in Isuikwuato. In general, the implications of these views are that the programme was not successful in “having any significant effect on their lives” (as one key-informant puts it).

8.5 Summary of CSDP findings and on the scope of territoriality

8.5.1 CSDP outcomes are neither effective nor efficient

The output was neither efficient nor effective. So far, it did not meet the core objectives fully. Despite some of its achievements, the implementation was neither effective nor efficient because of the following reasons:

- It did not envision the future of the community.
- It did not recognise diverse interests of the people.
- It did not build a sense of community within the people.
- There were no specific ways for monitoring and evaluating outcomes.
- It was complex for local people to understand.
- There was no accountability to the community concerned.
- There was misplacement of expertise because politicians played the role of experts (as contractors) and only delivered biased results rather than professional outcomes.
- Apart from the programme period (of 3 years), there were no estimated timelines and schedules for completing the various activities or components of the programme.

8.5.2 The CSDP programme was not territorial

An assessment of the main features of the programme shows that the CSDP was planned administrative from top-down. Although it gave room for community planning at the bottom, the ideas behind community needs were handed down by the Local Government Review Committee and influenced by top politicians. Its implementation lacked core characteristics of a territorial approach, as listed below:

- It was not based on any technical, area-based or local knowledge of rural needs.
- It lacked practical collaboration at the grass-root (no shared visions).
- It was sectoral in implementation without linkages between projects.
- Issues pertaining to identity, heritages were not integrated in the programme.
- The planning was neither place-based nor territorial based.

- The local authority did not have strong power in implementing the programme.
- Citizens' participation was not made a priority in CSDP visioning.
- Spatial enablement of the settlements (villages) was not integrated into it.

8.5.3 Achievements and failures of CSDP

One of the main challenges posed by the objectives of CSDP is that they do not fully align to the SMART²⁷ principle (Doran, 1981). Efforts have been focused to discern aspects of the CSDP objectives that are judgeable from local and expert interviews, as well as through field inspections. Based on the objectives of the CSDP, judgments (as to whether the objectives were achieved) were made from observations and interviews data collected during the fieldwork. Table 9 provides a summary of this.

Table 10: Achievements and failures of CSDP objective in Isuikwuato

Main Objectives	Main focus of objective	Detail of attainment of objective	Judgement
Empower communities to plan, part-finance, implement, monitor socially inclusive multi-sectoral micro-projects.	Institutional	Out of 17 communities with project sites, only 9 contributed lightly to finance, they participated through political representatives	Partially achieved
Increase Community/municipal partnership	Institutional	This did not increase. Locals remain sceptical	Not achieved
Increase capacity of municipality to implement and monitor CDD	Institutional	Locals do not feel in control of the planning process	Not achieved
Leverage government resources for CDD interventions	Institutional	Governments (state and federal) have been able to pool resources	Achieved

Source: author (based on field findings)

Table 10 is based from a rural perspective of the programme. Despite some achievements made at individual projects, it confirms that all the objectives of CSDP were of institutional nature. Out of the four objectives, two remain unachieved while the other two are either achieved or partially achieved. The CSDP focused mainly on institutions, hence, lacked integrated objectives. This is non-comprehensive for a large rural territory as Isuikwuato.

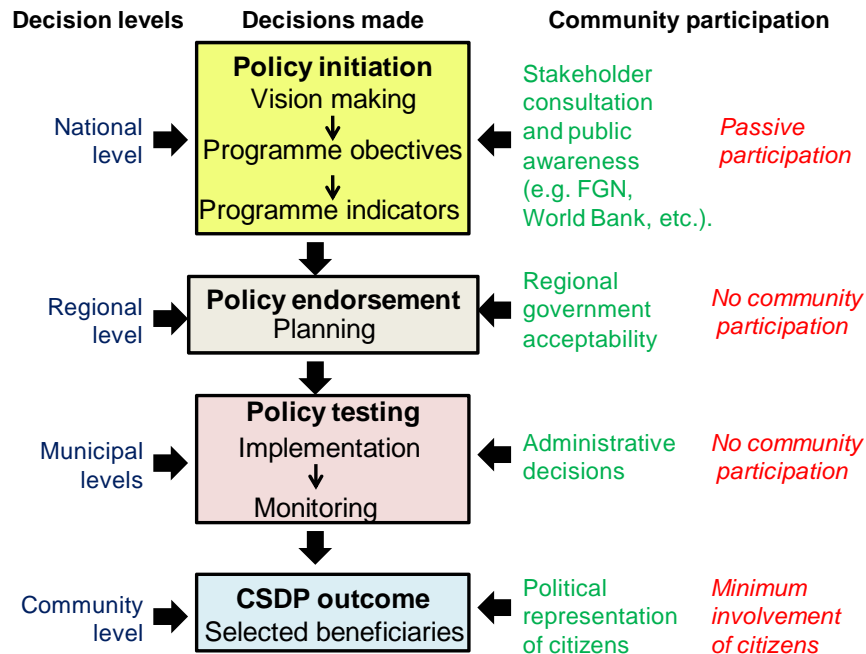
8.5.4 CSDP lacked public participation in implementation

The mode of decision making in the CSDP project provided little room for citizens' participation. At the grass-root (community) level, citizens' participation did not take place in

²⁷ SMART is a mnemonic for specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, and timely.

any form. Since many powers are concentrated at the top, participation is largely top-down (see figure 27).

Figure 27: Citizens' participation in the decision-making process of CSDP



Source: author (based on field findings)

Figure 27 (above) shows three columns –decision levels, decisions made and mode of decision making in CSDP. The decision levels are of four levels and the main decisions made are of four categories. They are: policy initiation, policy endorsement, policy testing and outcome. As shown on the left side of the diagram (community participation), there was passive participation at the national level and no participation at the regional and municipal levels. There was minimal participation at the community level. It is obvious that the local people were not involved in the visioning and brainstorm of ideas at all levels of decision making. The policy initiation carried out stakeholder consultations, but this was at the national level. Locals were not represented as core actors, even though it was part of the CSDP documented requirement for community people to participate as core stakeholders and actors. Only macro level stakeholders were present or represented at the top level. At the local and regional levels, no effort was made at gaining public acceptability.

8.5.5 Territorial potentials and challenges found in Isuikwuato

In terms of outcome, the CSDP approach did not integrate current agriculture, rural urbanisation and de-agrarianisation realities in development in Isuikwuato. Therefore, there

is need for a renewed approach to rural development in the municipalities. Doing this requires for a grasp of the core territorial potentials and challenges in the municipality. This is necessary in order to know what needs to be optimised or de-emphasised in any new development approach in the area. According to Damsgaard *et al.* (2009: p.9), territorial potential are numerous factors and include tangible assets (natural and human resources) and intangible assets (organisation, culture, social issues and governance). In addition, “Un-mobilised territorial assets constitute territorial potentials that may be realised through policies and actions at various administrative levels” (ibid). Therefore, the identification of these potentials would help in devising a new approach that might enable Isuikwuato to exploit them for rural development. Likewise, identifying the challenges potentials would help in understanding what may need scaling up in future. Figure 28 presents these data.

Figure 28: The main potentials and challenges of the Isuikwuato

	Territorial Potentials	Territorial Challenges
Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Efficient and effective community organisations for self-help projects. ▪ knowledge base for education due to the location of several educational institutions. ▪ Organised cultural/traditional leadership institutions that could facilitate participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inefficient and ineffective local government institutions. ▪ Absence of municipal territorial planning and development policies. ▪ The organised cultural/traditional leadership institutions are democratically instituted.
Social/culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Availability of some basic social amenities: education and health already exist. ▪ Huge population: high potentials for social development (i.e. participation). ▪ Constitutional recognition of municipal authority as agent of rural development. ▪ Common historical and genealogical origin (with similar culture) of all villages in the municipality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Human capital is still low: low literacy level, gender issues (with regards to optimising women as assets to development) are still not well tolerated. ▪ Quality of life is generally poor: basic infrastructures are either absent or inefficient. ▪ Unreliable political culture. ▪ Lack of cultural diversity: creates a fear for change.
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Scenic landscape and natural attractions ▪ Good water quality. ▪ Good climate for forest and agricultural production. ▪ No serious industrial pollution. ▪ Organic farming is still highly prevalent. ▪ Cultural norms exist for nature conservation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Poor environmental protection and promotion of culture. ▪ Shortage of water and absence of distribution system. ▪ Erosion and high rate of deforestation. ▪ Lack of nature conservation. ▪ Uncontrolled land use.
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mineral and natural resources. ▪ Social cultural activities have high economic values. ▪ Emergence of commercial clusters or nodes. ▪ Good inter-state road transportation makes economic activities possible with neighbouring municipalities. ▪ Functional internal market and competition exists ▪ Huge population: with about 115,000 people, there is high potentials for productivity and large economic markets . 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Absence of a navigable river: lack of sea food. ▪ Land tenure insecurity poses property market issues. ▪ Geographic location is not easily accessible. ▪ Poor internal transportation road network causes post-harvest for farmers. ▪ Economic environment is not profitable to households. ▪ Semesterly influx of students university workers cause high land demand, rents and prices. ▪ Huge population is a burden if not converted to human resource.
	Existing resources (to be improved)	Non-existing resources (to be put in place)

Source: author (based on field findings)

Figure 28 is self-explanatory and provides in-depth view of the future needs of the people. They are necessary for improving development. To do this, it would be important to reconcile the development potentials and challenges in the municipality. Improving these challenges and optimising the potentials would serve as a driver of growth, create opportunities and spur up development. It (figure 28) also shows the categories and list of the future needs of the people. They constitute of two perspectives. The first perspective comprises of local potentials (existing resources) that need to be improved, managed better or provided more. The second perspective comprises of liabilities (non-existing resources) that need to be remedied in order to create better quality of life for the people.

Further field findings confirmed that the Isuikwuato people consider their place as a geographical, social and administrative territory. From site visitations, observations and local interviews, it was possible to gather data on the potentials and challenges to development within the Isuikwuato territory. The administrators at the municipal office described the territorial potentials as *“those features that make their people, land, environment unique and different from their neighbouring Municipalities”*. The rural people viewed them as the *“characteristics that make others envy them in their place”*. The territorial potentials that were identified constitute assets identified in the municipality. These assets present opportunities for development. The territorial challenges that were identified, on their own part, constitute of the liabilities or drawbacks to development in the municipality.

8.5.6 Availability of existing land use plan as a tool for territorial planning

Although current planning is merely based on administrative decisions in Isuikwuato, from field survey, the research found that a land use plan already exists. On the whole, only about 20 of Isuikwuato's 45 settlements fall within the planning boundaries of land use plan. 3 (out of 4) of its urban growth points (nodes) are located within this plan. However, the plan was made in 1987 and has not been adequately administered due to lack of political will and inability to put the plan into effect. As a result, changes in land use have not been updated and the people are unaware of the need to accept actions to keep to the plan. This partial land use plan, specifically prepared for the northern part of the municipality, could provide a reference point for new plans. It could serve as a starting point for territorial planning for attaining rural development in Isuikwuato. Map 3 is the land use plan of Uturu, the university community in the north of Isuikwuato. Uturu consists of about half of Isuikwuato population and number of settlements.

Map 3: The partial land use plan of Uturu (northern part of Isuikwuato only)



Legend



Source: Monier Construction Company Nigeria (1987)

The existence of a land use plan in Isuikwuato (in map 3) is an indication that physical planning measures have been considered as a means of development in the past. This means that infrastructural provision and local level governance exist. What is needed at this point is to reinvigorate or revitalise the awareness and interests for both the communities and municipalities to work together for using them in their development efforts. A key informant noted that *“despite the plan being out-dated, it is still being used by the authorities of the university located in Isuikwuato, but only in very loose applications”* within and around the Abia state university location, in Uturu. Local natural resources governance, conservation of forests, cultural heritages community and municipal commitment to socioeconomic and environmental development will be strengthened through a plan based on the existing one.

8.5.7 No concrete rural development plan was found

This research found that there was no concrete plan for rural development at the local level in Isuikwuato. Findings at the national and regional levels also revealed that, in general, Nigeria has no concrete rural development plan. The Urban and Regional Development Act 1992 of the country posits that rural areas conduct subject plans at the local level. It goes to define such plan as any “changes by development, redevelopment, or improvement”. It makes rural planning a very vague issue, hence; rural municipalities probably lack understanding of what this entails. Due to this, no approaches to rural development are dependent on any specified planning framework.

This situation has two possible effects on rural development –a positive and negative one. The positive effect is that (since the law empowers them to make plans at local levels) it could enable rural municipalities to engage in providing their own specific area-based plans for their development. The negative effect is that, it leaves the municipalities without any idea of where to begin in terms of making concrete plans for their places. This is mainly because of the lack of technical capacity for planning. Unfortunately, the general scenario has left negative impacts on rural development practice in the country.

8.6 Refuting or verifying the research hypothesis

As a transition to the next chapter, there is need to specifically answer the question whether territorial rural development is the suitable way to go in Nigeria. To do this, it is necessary to analyse the hypothesis of the research in order to refute or verify it. To do this, it becomes important to identify the relationship that exists among the core issues (variables) being investigated in this research. From several responses received from interviews, a hypothesis was generated. The generation of this hypothesis enables the collected data to be

systematically viewed from several angles, so as to employ subjectivity in answering the main research questions. It will also play the role of providing an organising structure for the final analysis concerning the applicability or inapplicability of territoriality in rural development in Isuikwuato municipality. With reference to analyses in chapter 7 and the earlier sections of this chapter, the following hypothesis is posed to be refuted or verified in this section. The hypothesis posits as follows:

“Nigeria has legal and institutional opportunities for comprehensive improvements of rural areas through territorial development. However, due to the absence of concrete rural development plan and area-based rural development strategies, this has not been materialised”.

From a qualitative research perspective, the above hypothesis consists of four main variables. The independent variables are: *legal and institutional opportunities; incessant structural changes in its political history; and policy negligence*. The dependent variable is *comprehensive rural improvements through territorial development*. To refute or verify this hypothesis, its component assumptions are subjected to data accumulated from fieldwork. From a deductive logical process, the hypothesis consists of two propositions:

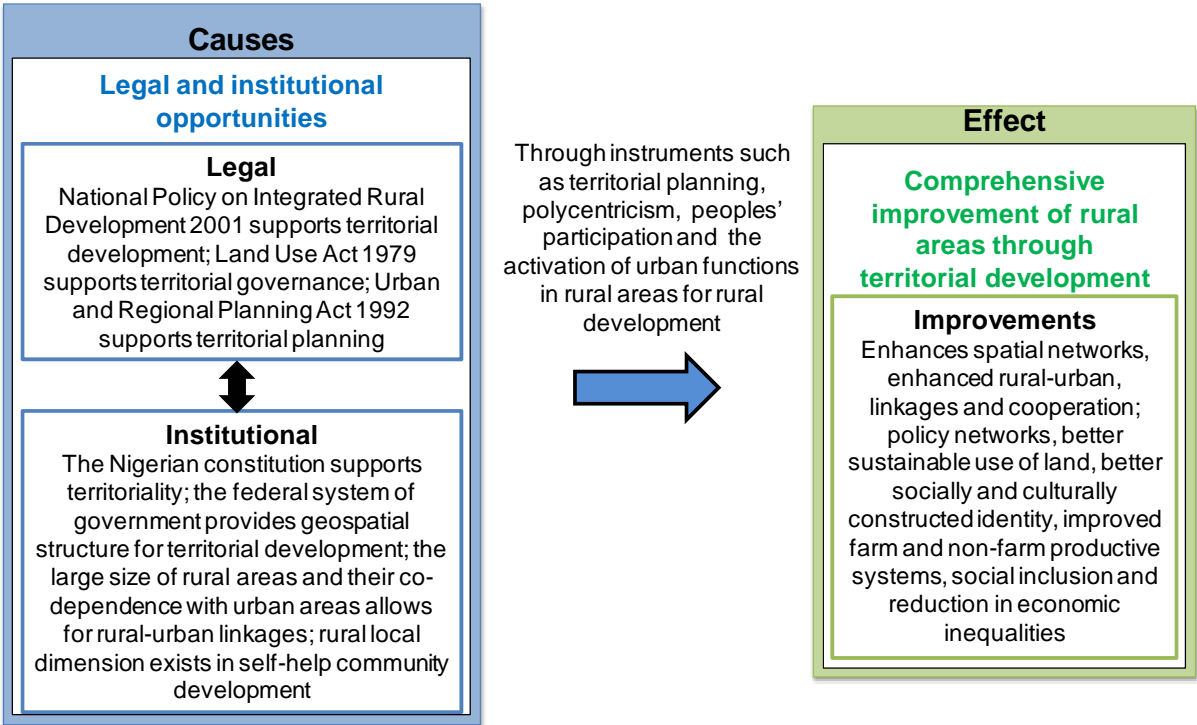
1. Legal and institutional opportunities that can lead to comprehensive improvement of rural areas through territorial development exist in Nigeria (*positive proposition*).
2. However, due to the absence of concrete rural development plan and area-based rural development strategies, this has not been materialised (*negative proposition*).

By sequentially refuting or verifying the two different propositions (sub-hypotheses), a factual conclusion was made on the research hypothesis.

8.6.1 Legal and institutional opportunities for territorial development exist

Legal and institutional opportunities that can lead to comprehensive improvement of rural areas through territorial development exist in Nigeria. The Nigerian constitution and its rural development policy (NNPIRD) provide institutional opportunities for territorial development. Other key legislations affecting rural development provide flexibility for measures capable of improving life in rural areas within a territorial perspective (see sections 7.4 and 7.5 and table 9 in this thesis). This provision is in the sections 3.4 to 3.5 of NNPIRD. The research findings support the first (positive) proposition of the research hypothesis (see figure 29).

Figure 29: Findings in support of the positive proposition



Source: author (based on research findings)

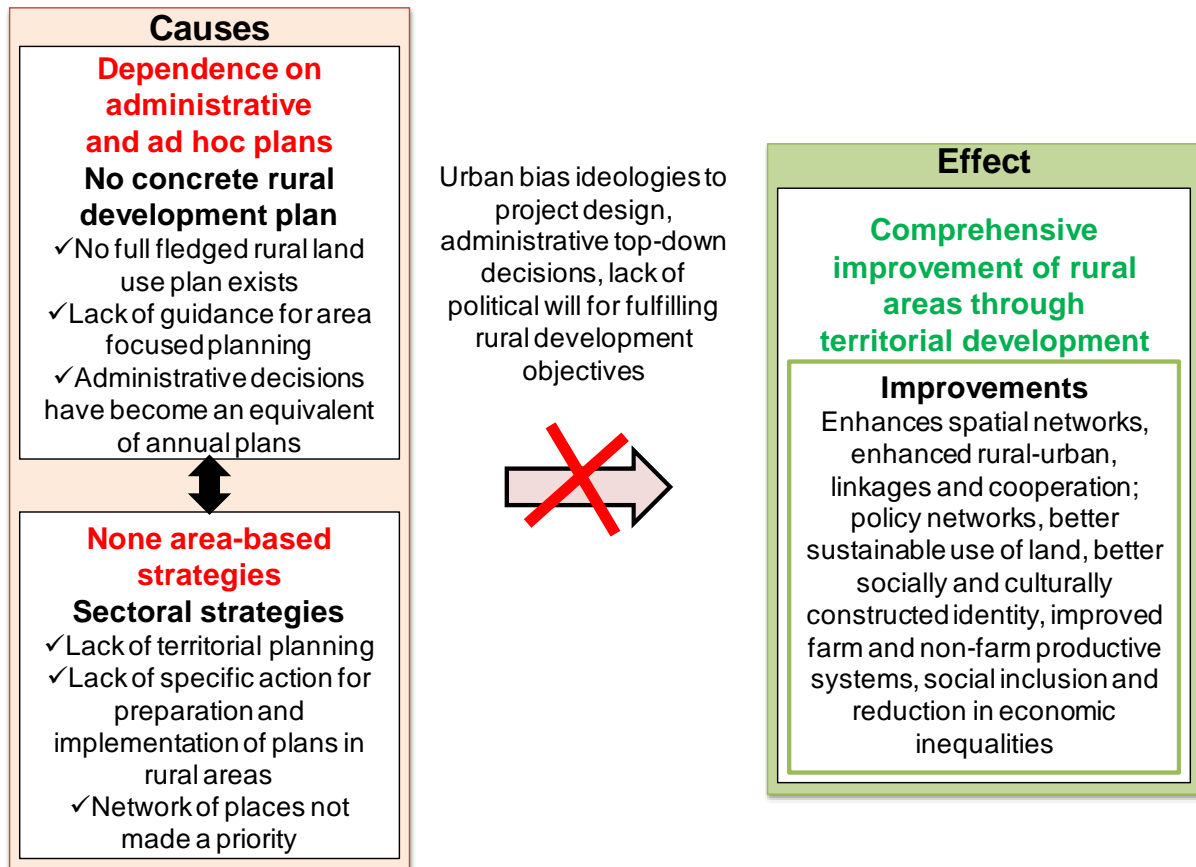
The first proposition in the research hypothesis is factual in Nigeria, as shown in figure 29. With availability of legal and institutional opportunities, comprehensive improvements in rural areas through territorial development are possible. What is important in this proposition is that, the legal and institutional framework does not constitute a hindrance, but rather, opportunities. Legal and institutional issues found by the research have a cause-and-effect relationship with achieving territorial development.

8.6.2 Concrete rural development plan and area-based strategies do not exist

From the national and case study analyses of rural development approaches and policy, the research found that despite the opportunities provided by available legal and institutional frameworks for territorial development, the absence of concrete rural development plan and area-based rural development strategies militate against it. Although the Urban and Regional Planning Act of Nigeria 1992 provides a general framework for planning for the whole country, this is merely strategic in the rural context. Although concrete plans exist for urban areas (such as Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Minna and Kaduna), the rural areas have no concrete plans for their development. More so, strategies adopted for development in rural areas are

none area-based or place-based. This is the case with past rural development approaches in Nigeria (refer to table 8). It is also the case with the CSDP in Isuikwuato (see sections 8.5.1-8.5.4 of this thesis). Land use plans are either none existent or partially in use (see section 8.5.6). The research findings, therefore, support the second (negative) proposition of the research hypothesis (see figure 30).

Figure 30: Findings in support of the negative proposition



Source: author (based on research findings)

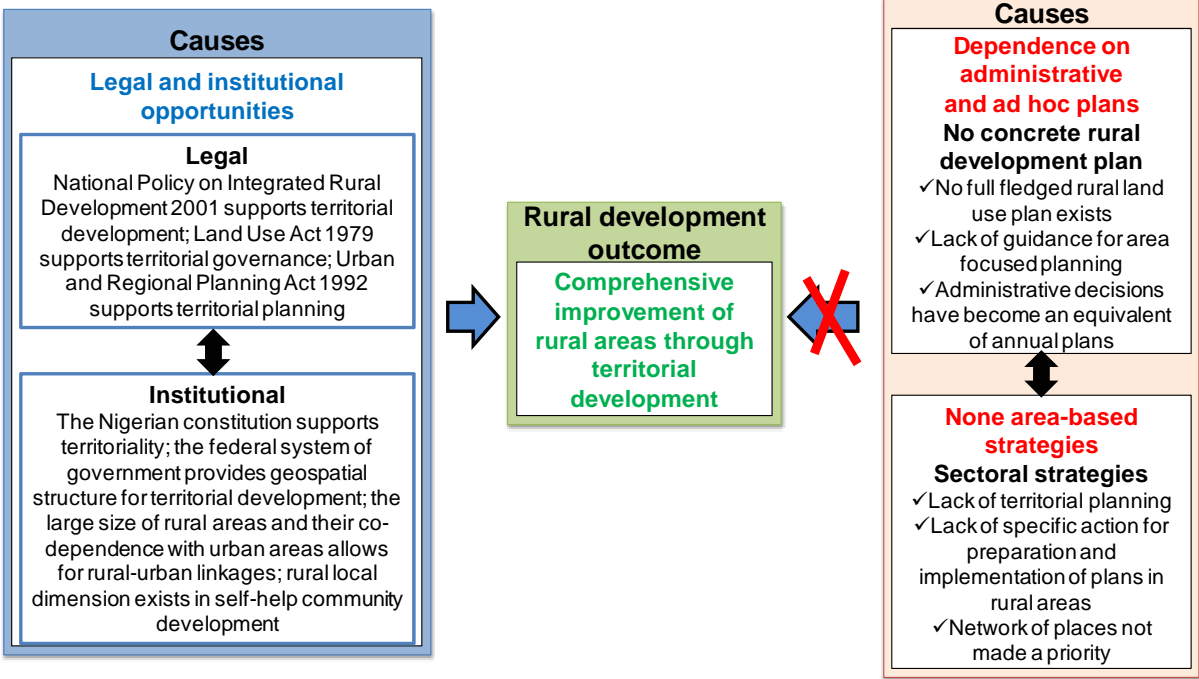
The second proposition in the research hypothesis is also factual in Nigeria, as shown in figure 30. There is no concrete plan specifically devoted to rural development at the local level in Nigeria. This is evident in the CSDP implementation (refer to section 8.3.4 of this thesis). Every programme tends to produce its plan without attaching any reality to the situation of the people within the place of development. Rural development does not adopt area-based strategies; hence, they lack territorial or specific place-based planning and do not cater for network of settlements within places. This is obvious considering the major issues not covered in the NNPIRD (refer to section 7.8 of this thesis). From these, the second premise of the hypothesis is also factual. It has *positive relationship* for sectoral rural

development, hence, a *negative relationship* for comprehensive improvement of rural areas through territorial development.

8.6.3 The research hypothesis is verified

Considering that available data and evidences show that legal and institutional opportunities in Nigeria can support comprehensive improvement of rural areas through territorial development in Nigeria, it is only possible to conclude that the first component of the research hypothesis is *true*. Also, considering that available data and evidences show that due to the absence of concrete rural development plan and area-based rural development strategies, this has not been materialised, it is only possible to conclude that the second component of the research hypothesis is *true*. With these two propositions in the hypothesis proven true based on research findings, the hypothesis is *verified* (see figure 31).

Figure 31: A diagrammatic representation of the verified research hypothesis



Source: author (based on the full statement of hypothesis)

As can be seen from figure 31, while institutional and legal opportunities can lead to rural outcomes through territorial development in Nigeria, this is not complemented by the nature of plans and strategies applied in the country. Since the two causes produce different effect, territorial development is basically hindered.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the case study areas, analysed a formal rural development approach. It described processes involved in the most recently concluded rural programme in Isuikwuato. It evaluated this approach and identified the various potentials and challenges in the municipality. It found that the scope of territorial approach to rural development in the case study areas is nonexistent. It assessed the potentials and challenges for a renewed approach in the municipality; and from the data presented; there are lot of potentials for adopting a territorial approach. The last part of this chapter, using available data, verified the research hypothesis. The next chapter takes a spatial approach towards analysing the case study area. Based on findings, it will lay the foundation for devising an appropriate approach for rural development in Nigeria.

Chapter Nine: Towards a New Approach to Rural Development in the Study Area

9.1 Introduction

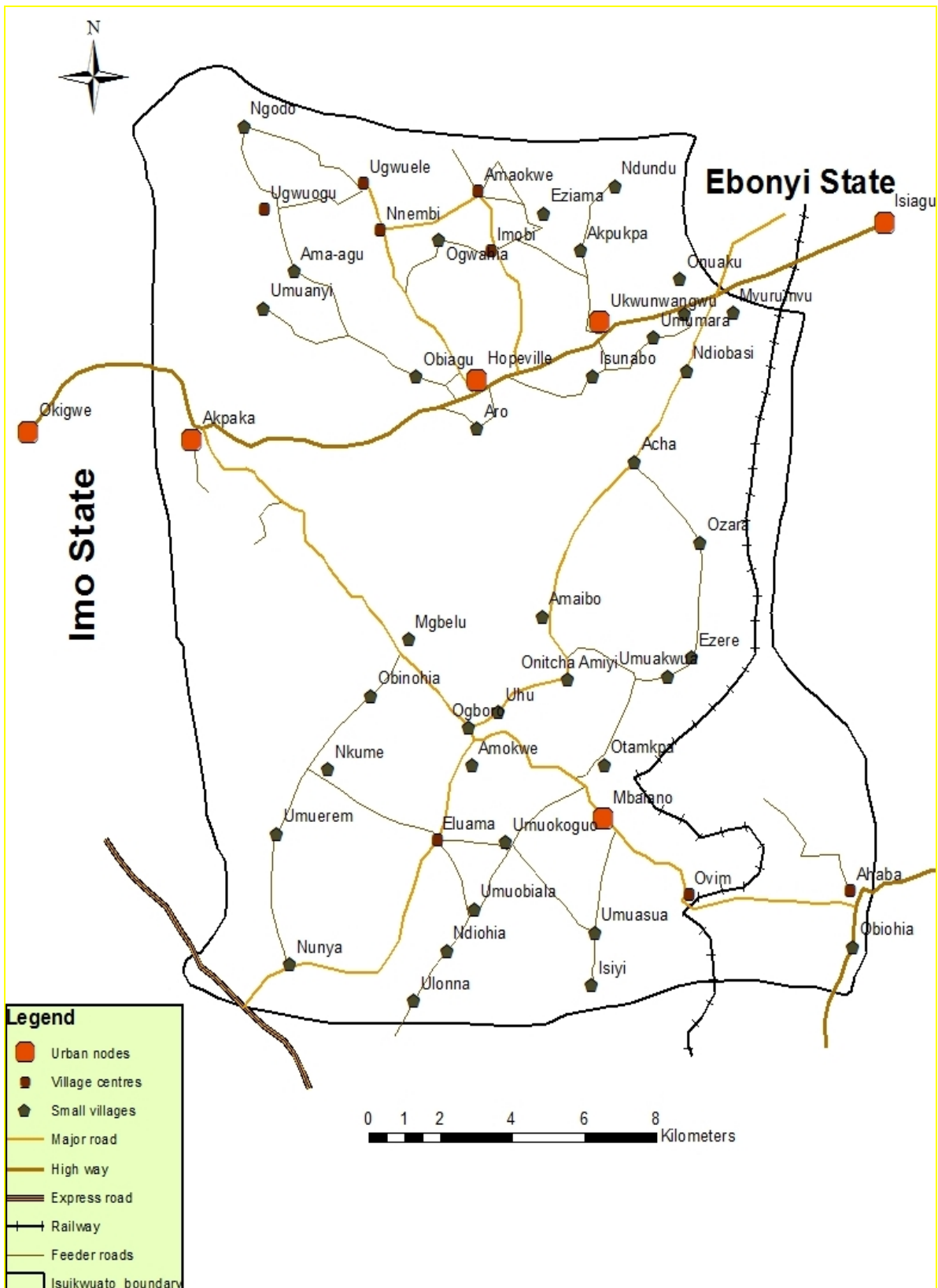
This chapter is a direct search for a new approach to rural development in Nigeria, using the Isuikwuato case study. It mixes conceptual, descriptive and empirical tones in analysing the current spatial situation of Isuikwuato, in its search for a new approach to rural development. It is conceptual because it applies relevant theories and concepts. These are necessary for building a new rural development approach. It is empirical because it continues to use data collected from the fieldwork as guidance for building a new approach to rural development.

The approach to the analysis in this chapter is twofold. Firstly, it presents the result of the assessment of the spatial situation of the study area. This involves presenting its current situation of polycentricism by identifying the development of important development centres from both urban (rural towns) and rural (village) contexts. Understanding the features of these settlements would aid practicality of territorial development within the study area. Since Isuikwuato has an unmapped terrain, the research re-characterised a specific descriptive map for the purpose of this research. Using *ArcMap 10.1* software, the researcher digitised and re-characterised the hand-drawn map (refer to map 2) based on key informants' information, observations and features from *Google images*. Secondly, it takes a critical view of the territorial networks of interactions of the identified settlements within the case study. Understanding the implications of these networks are vital for understanding the impacts one aspect of the territory has on another, and vice versa.

9.2 Overview of rural settlement in Isuikwuato

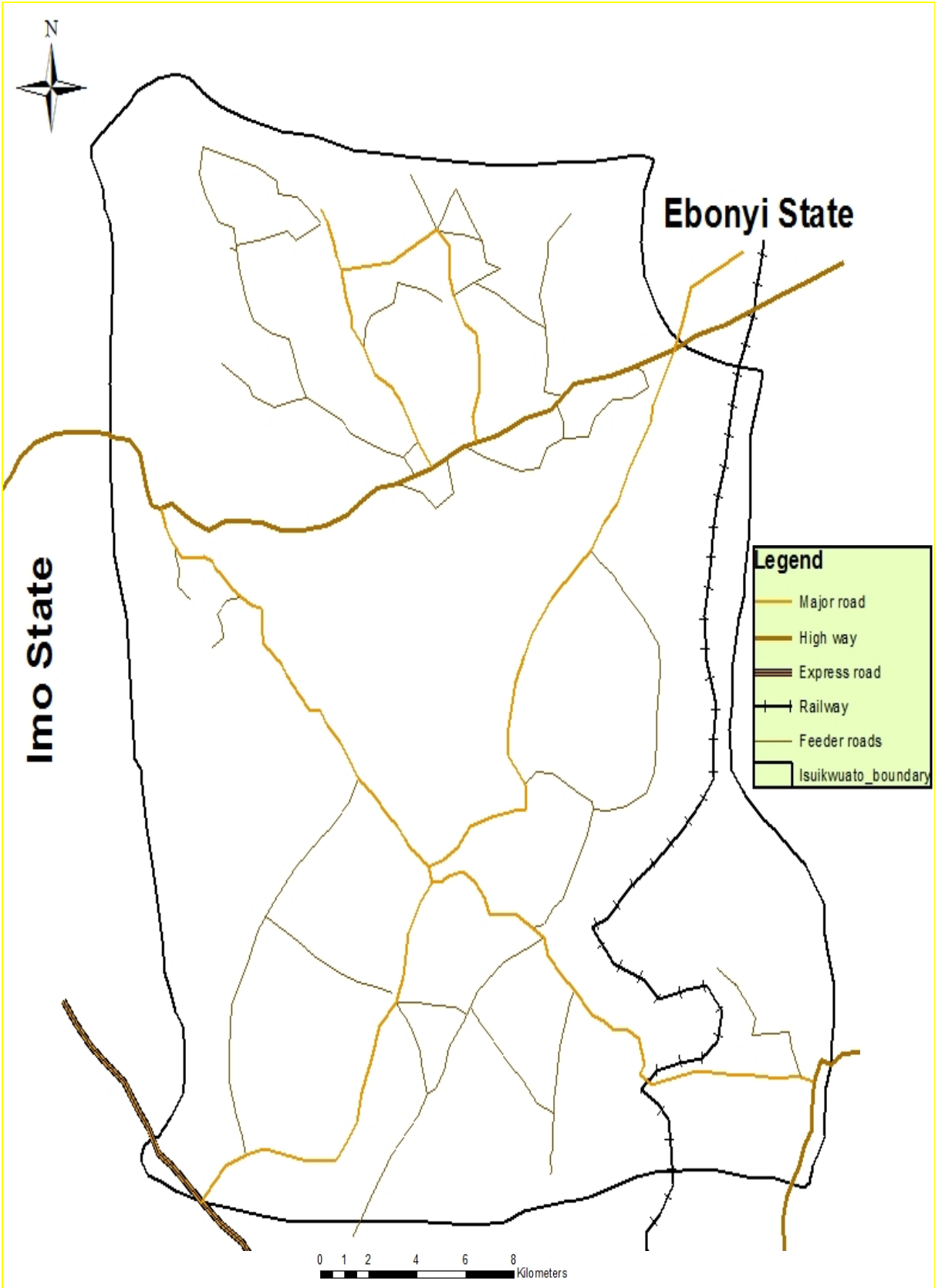
The nature and character of Isuikwuato settlements and spatial features reflect its spatial structure. Its structure of settlements over space means that some settlements are located at the borders, some at the centre and others in between the borders and centres. As an overview, this section provides a graphic idea of the placements of settlements within the Isuikwuato territory. Considering the focus of this research, this is for grasping the municipality and its development from a territorial perspective. Map 4 and 5 show some of the settlement features of Isuikwuato and its transportation network respectively. As territorial space, understanding these aspects of Isuikwuato is important for forging appropriate ideas on the best way to tackle its development.

Map 4: Isuikwuato territory (showing notable settlements features)



Source: adapted from Obasi (2005), Google images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1

Map 5: Transportation network of Isuikwuato as generator of development



Source: adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1

Map 4 provides an overview of some land use and settlement features of Isuikwuato. Current Isuikwuato spatial characteristics are not entirely a result of conscious planning. The research found that Isuikwuato has multi-nodal and spatially fragmented settlement structures –with mixed functions, road and street network and developments along major roads. Of all its nodes, four particular ones stand out because they have urban features. So far, there is no municipal-wide or general official land use plan of Isuikwuato. This is common with Nigerian rural municipalities. Map 5 (compare to figure 4) shows that these four urban nodes and the others (village centres and small villages) lay along transportation junctions. Of the four urban nodes, three lie along highway while one lies on a major road. In addition, the highway, express road and railway station that cut across the territory give the municipality national relevance.

9.2.1 Transportation detects flow of development in Isuikwuato

With reference to map 5, field observations and available spatial data show that the main generator of development to its current level in Isuikwuato is the transportation network facilities. As a rural municipality, the quality of transport in terms of services is low. Buses (few public, but mainly private) and taxis are available only on highways and major roads, covering all the urban nodes and village centres.²⁸ Commercial motorcycles serve most of the feeder roads between village centres and small villages. The village centre of *Ovim* lies along a national train station. Feeder roads cover the rest of others. This system of transportation (though not well developed) has detected the distribution of urban nodes and village centres and economic activities over the territory. Map 5 shows how transportation networks converge to create hub junctions that detected Isuikwuato's current multi-nodal spatial form.

9.3 Existing hierarchal settlements development

The research also found that Isuikwuato settlements feature hierarchically arrangements, though not based on any form of conscious planning. This reflects in the people's cultural perceptions of their place. According to a key informant:

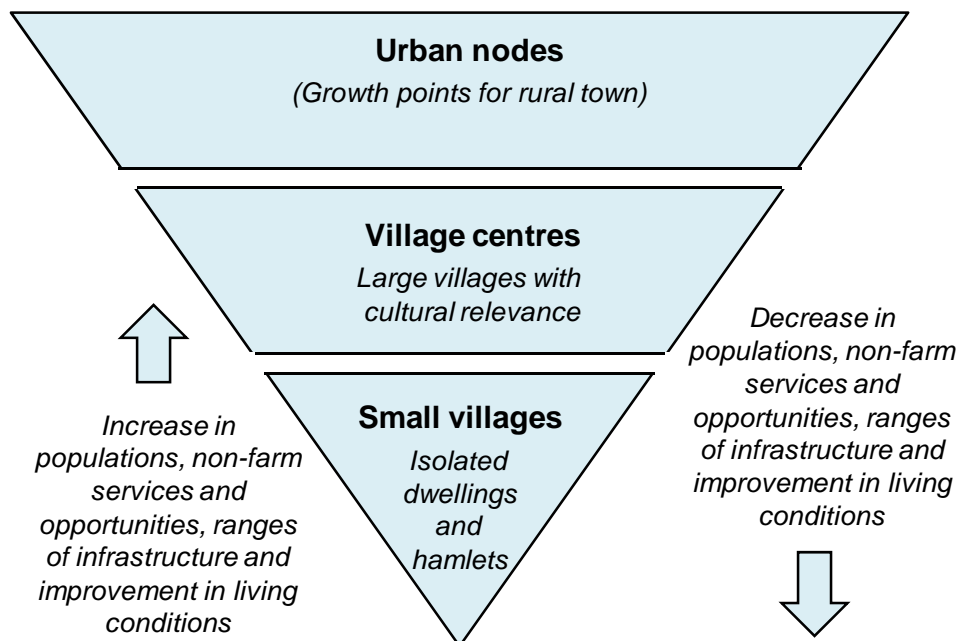
“The first group of people to arrive in that area were a group of nomadic farmers... they found the place rich with good soil, so, they began to inhabit the area in order to

²⁸ Exception is the village centre of *Ugwuogu*, which is covered by feeder road. This is the only exception because the village has archaeological relevance, so is regarded with high cultural relevance within and outside the municipality. View photos of urban nodes in appendix 5.

farm and survive from the food they farmed... they all lived in their. As time progressed, they shared spread further by occupying more land due to increase in their households, this led to the formation of hamlets and villages... today, and we have small villages, bigger villages and even township villages..."

The above statement, though based on oral heritage, fit into Christaller's (1933a) ideas on the evolution of settlements. The statement also shows that the basis of Isuikwuato's current settlement pattern is derivable from its land use patterns over the period of its existence. It also confirms Magel and Wehrmann's (2006) assertion that the basis of development is "all about land". Following this thinking, the research categorised the identified settlements in Isuikwuato into three main types: urban nodes, village centres and small villages. The criteria for categorising the settlements were levels of population, existing non-farm services and opportunities, availability of ranges of infrastructure and the general improvement in living conditions. Figure 32 illustrates this settlement hierarchy.

Figure 32: Hierarchy and criteria of classification in Isuikwuato



Source: author (based on research findings)

The figure 32 represents the current hierarchy of settlements in Isuikwuato. Development improves towards the top (urban nodes) of the inverted pyramid. The inverted pyramid illustrates that despite that the small villages are rural; they form the basis of development for the territory due to their agricultural production capacities. On the other hand, the urban nodes have largest frequency of development factors, which are very important for rural

development. The village centres play a middle role between the urban nodes and small villages. At the lowest part of the inverted pyramid (small villages) are the least developed areas. The up and downward arrows show the criteria for making these categorisations. The categories include:

- **Urban nodes:** the main characteristics of these spatial areas are that they have population of above 10,000 people. This population is an agglomeration of non-native population and culture. They have high mixed-use of land (institutional, commercial and residential). They largely provide non-farm services and employment opportunities to surrounding settlements; and have least or no agricultural practices. Such places are accessible by highest quality of transit and transport paths. In general, they are the urban points in Isuikwuato. Four urban nodes currently exist in Isuikwuato (i.e. *Mbalano, Akpaka, Hopeville and Ukwunwangwu*). Two others exist outside its administrative boundaries (i.e. *Okigwe and Ishiagu*) but have some influence on the ones within. In general, they have urban characters, which are of importance for rural non-farm development of Isuikwuato.
- **Village centres:** the main characteristics of these spatial areas are that they have a population of between 3,000 to 10,000 people. These areas have low mixed-use of land (commercial and residential). They have services and opportunities for employment, retail and education at lower level than the urban nodes. These services or employments are a combination of agricultural and non-farm activities. There are eight village centres identified. They include *Ahaba, Ovim, Eluama, Ugwuogu, ugwuele, Nnembi, Imobi and Amaokwe*. In general, they constitute of rural cultural centres, which are of importance for socio-cultural development of Isuikwuato.
- **Small villages:** these consist of points of isolated dwellings and hamlets. The population of these places are usually less than 3,000. They have the most basic and rural settlements of the municipality. Agriculture is the predominant source of livelihood in these places. They have the least or no range of services and opportunities for non-farm employment or education. They also have least level of access to public amenities and infrastructure. Thirty-six small villages identified include: *Ngodo, Ama-agu, Umuanyi, Obiagu, Aro, Isunabo, Umumara, Mvurumvu, Onuaku, Akpukpa, Eziama, Ndundu, Ogwahia, Obiohia, Isiyi, Umuasua, Ulonna, Ndiohia, Umuobiala, Umuokoguo, Amokwe, Nunya, Umuerem, Nkume, Obinohia, Mgbelu, Ogbo, Uhu, Onitcha-Amiyi, Otamkpa, Umuakwua, Ezere, Amaibo, Ozara, Acha and Ndiobasi*.

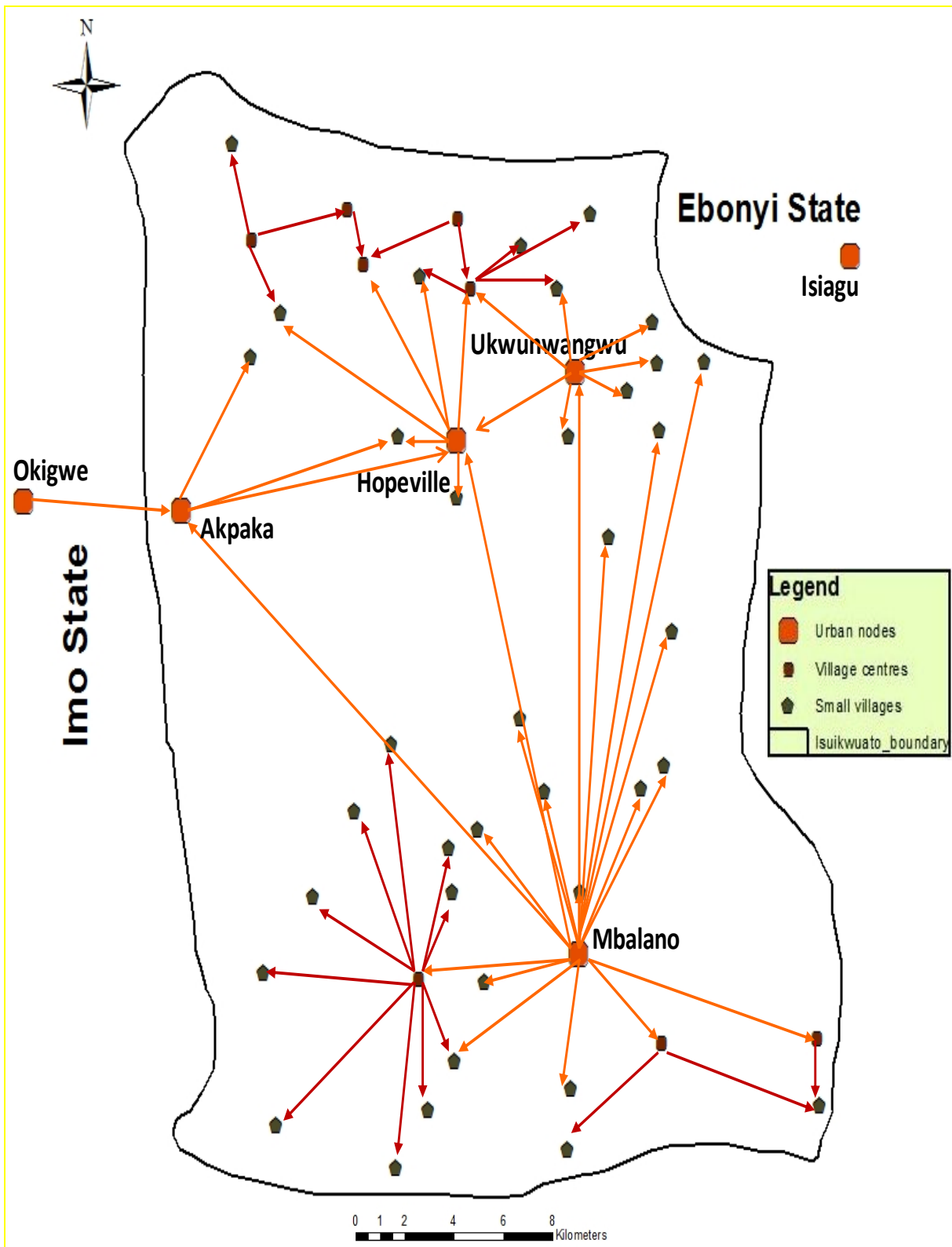
9.3.1 Existence of hierarchical settlement networks

Basing it on the transportation linkages between settlements and the perception of the level of economic activities amongst settlements, a hierarchical network is evident between settlements in Isuikwuato. The existence of (at least) four individual nodes surrounded by smaller village areas gives Isuikwuato a polycentric appearance. Polycentrism is usually associated with a more even size distribution of urban centres in a given area (Hall *et al.*, 2006). In this case, there is a “prevalence of multidirectional flow patterns, as opposed to mono-directional flow patterns” (Lambregts, 2009: p.11). As a result, this research argues that Isuikwuato is polycentric in nature. Map 6 (refer to map 4 for names of settlements) is an illustration of the current situation. The territory comprises of 4 urban nodes. These urban nodes form the main determinant factors for social, economic and institutional development of Isuikwuato. However, the municipality gives different levels of priority to them. In their order of priority, an expert key informant (a planner) on Isuikwuato municipality noted that:

“Mbalano, being our local government headquarters, gets utmost priority for development. We consider Akpaka second in our priority because it is a regional university location. As such, the regional government brings in resources for its development. In this order, we consider Hopeville and Ukwunwangwu third and fourth respectively because of their various importances to private investment and community culture”.

The above statement represents other opinions expressed by major decision-makers within the municipality. From this description of the priority given to the urban nodes, it is inferable that most political decisions to develop are concentrated in these nodes –as centres of existing opportunities for development. As a result, this research considers this as evidence of hierarchical polycentrism. Considering that polycentrism is primarily about the creation of synergies, from local assets through linkages or partnerships between spatial units (Hall *et al.*, 2006). In this case, the idea of polycentrism relates to its structure of transmission of development from one settlement to another, throughout the entire territory. With reference to Map 6, Isuikwuato’s polycentric hierarchy is observable. In general, its polycentric system consists of dissipative structures at two levels (the urban nodes and village centres). At the first level, there is high aggregation of population or concentration of functions (growth poles). This results to a disaggregation of population or de-concentration of functions to the small villages, with the village centres (second level) serving a middle function.

Map 6: Polycentric hierarchical character of Isuikwuato territory



Polycentric illustrations are based on field findings

Source: map adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1.

Map 6 (refer to Map 4 for names of settlements) shows the connection between *Okigwe* (from outside the municipality and state) with *Akpaka*, whereas this sort of connection does not exist between *Ukwunwangwu* and *Isiagu*. These trans-boundary connections exist for historical reasons. *Abia*, *Imo* and *Ebonyi* states previously constituted of one state (see map 1), before their political re-delineations in 1991. *Mbalano* is an administrative centre, so has very strong political importance. It is the core in *Isuikwuato*'s polycentric structure. The other urban nodes (*Akpaka*, *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu*) have institutional, spatial centrality and commercial importance respectively.

9.3.2 Current polycentric networks

The research found that in the development of *Isuikwuato*, networks issues have never received any professional or conscious planning attention. In responding to a question concerning this issue, another expert key informant said:

“Despite that we give different levels of priority to the main development points in this municipality, we do it for obvious reasons... some of them have more social-cultural, economic or political importance than others... There has never been a time when we examined the spatial characteristics, networks or interactions between the various settlements in our municipality. It is an issue that has never been brought up in any of our policy discussions. As an idea it is worth trying”.

The research infers, from the above statement, that despite the existence of polycentrism in its spatial formation, a polycentric-based approach to its development is absent. The municipality has not made any efforts towards this. A key-informant noted that the reason for this –is that *“they do not know how to put a strategy in place...”* These statements stress on the need to introduce or try out such an approach. Doing this will call for identifying and analysing polycentric networks that *Isuikwuato* settlements can contribute to rural development (see table 11).

Table 11: Potentials for polycentric networks

Development sectors	Dominant characteristics
Urban economy	Non-farm jobs, high land-value investments, shopping facilities, etc.
Rural economy	Farm/agricultural opportunities, forest provisions, fresh food markets
Mobility	High public transport options, mobile reception
Administrative	Political (decision making) relevance
Living (infrastructure)	Health, public housing, education, town-hall, hotels, post-office, etc.
Tourism	Natural attractions, leisure (hotels and lodging) and cultural facilities

Source: author (based on field findings)

As table 11 shows, the connections shared by Isukwuato settlements are identifiable within five sectors: economy (rural and urban), mobility, governance, living and tourism. These sectors constitute the dominant activities that contribute to the development of the territory. Settlements are like people, they have relationships with each other and interact with others, and so, understanding their basic relationship with one another is vital to understanding how best to make development decisions that affect people (Getis *et al.*, 2004). This is important because infrastructural location decisions and mobility issues are all spatial decisions that are necessary for improving lives of people within any rural territory. To do this, the research examined network interactions between the nodes. This is necessary in order to understand the various connections and the barriers to interactions between nodes. Understanding these issues helped in arriving at ideas that promote accessibility, infrastructure/services sharing.

9.3.2.1 Administrative networks between settlements

Evidences show that, with regards for municipal administration of settlements, the urban nodes are generally closest to power than the village centres and the small villages. However, the administrative connections between the nodes show variations in political relevance. Map 7 shows the current administrative networks in Isukwuato. About administrative roles, *Mbalano* maintains 100% role. All other settlements are under the influence of decisions made in *Mbalano*. There is a decentralisation of political wards, represented by elected councillors from about 16 political wards. Through their roles in local government byelaws, they can influence their wards and villages.

9.3.2.2 Rural and urban economies networks

The network that exists between the rural and urban economies in Isukwuato is such that urban influences are concentrated around the urban nodes, while the rural centres go further beyond their surrounding villages. As map 8 shows, there is a trans-boundary linkage between *Okigwe* and *Akpaka*. This linkage appears mutual because these settlements exchange urban functions. However, *Akpaka* supplies urban functions to *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu* (which though urban nodes, have less urban amenities than *Akpaka*). *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu* share mutual relationships, but supply to surrounding villages in the northern part of the territory.

Mbalano supplies urban functions to surrounding areas in the south. Apart from its political role, it serves no significant urban function to settlements in the northern part of the territory. Most settlements in the northern part rely heavily on *Akpaka*, *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu* for non-farm employments (see appendix 5 for photos of these urban nodes).

As per the rural economy, there appears to be trend of exchanges within this sector. However, despite serving as suppliers to village centres, the small villages also directly supply the urban nodes in many respects. This trend is possible because of rural markets which urban and village centre dwellers patronise for their fresh agricultural and forest products. In addition, most part-time farmers who live within the urban and village centre areas also have a second home (their ancestral origins) in the small villages for farming (refer to appendix 5 for photos depicting aspects of rural economy).

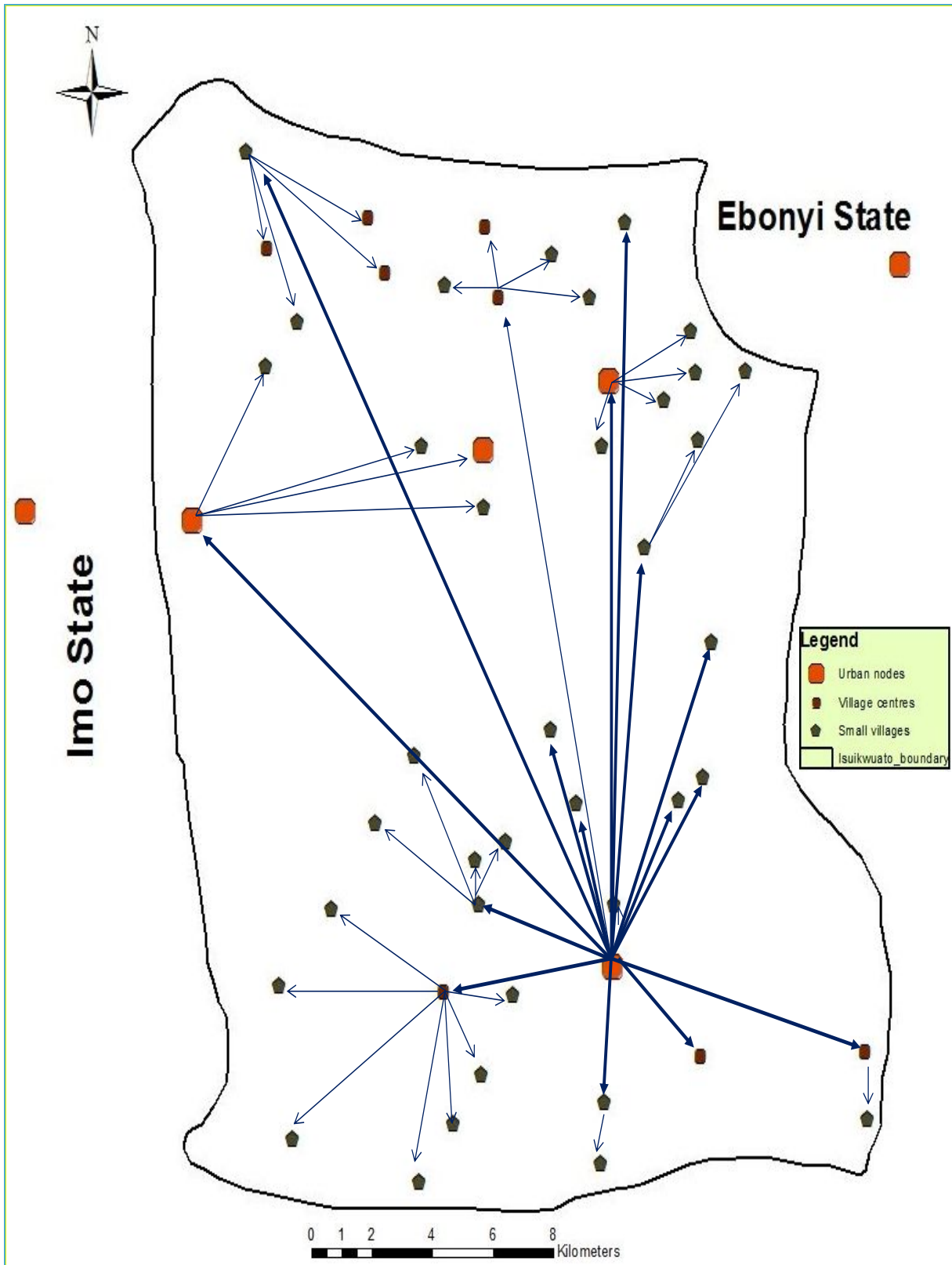
9.3.2.3 Living, tourism and mobility networks

Between living infrastructures, tourism activities and mobility issues, the existing networks are observable in map 9. Map 9 (refer to map 4 for names of settlements) illustrates the importance of living infrastructures, tourism and mobility network in Isukwuato. In terms of quality of life, the situation is more decentralised only within the urban nodes. *Akpaka*, *Mbalano*, *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu* tend to serve as suppliers to neighbouring settlements. While *Hopeville* tends to have privately funded facilities, *Akpaka* and *Mbalano* have publicly (local and regional) funded facilities. In this respect, small villages are disadvantaged because they have to travel long distances to access these facilities, which are available mainly within the urban nodes. Some photos of living aspects of Isukwuato are in appendix 5.

Concerning mobility (including ICT), mobile receptions cover most of Isukwuato territory, but the best receptions are located within the urban nodes and neighbouring environment. This is because the locations of most mobile phone reception towers are in the urban nodes. Mobile phone companies consider it more profitable this way. Transportation networks favour the urban nodes (see appendix 5 for photos of some transport facilities).

About tourism, the availability of natural attractions, leisure (hotels and lodging) and cultural facilities tend to concentrate mostly in *Akpaka*, *Hopeville* and *Ukwunwangwu*, which share a symbiotic relationship in this regard. Village centres like *Amokwe*, *Ugwuele*, *Ugwuogu* and *Nhembi* have some of these attractions too. Unfortunately, the small villages that have many natural attractions are not very accessible with good roads. As a result, the village centres and urban nodes dominate this aspect. Examples of natural attractions found in these places include caves, sacred forests, hills and valleys, cold-water springs, etc.

Map 7: Administrative networks

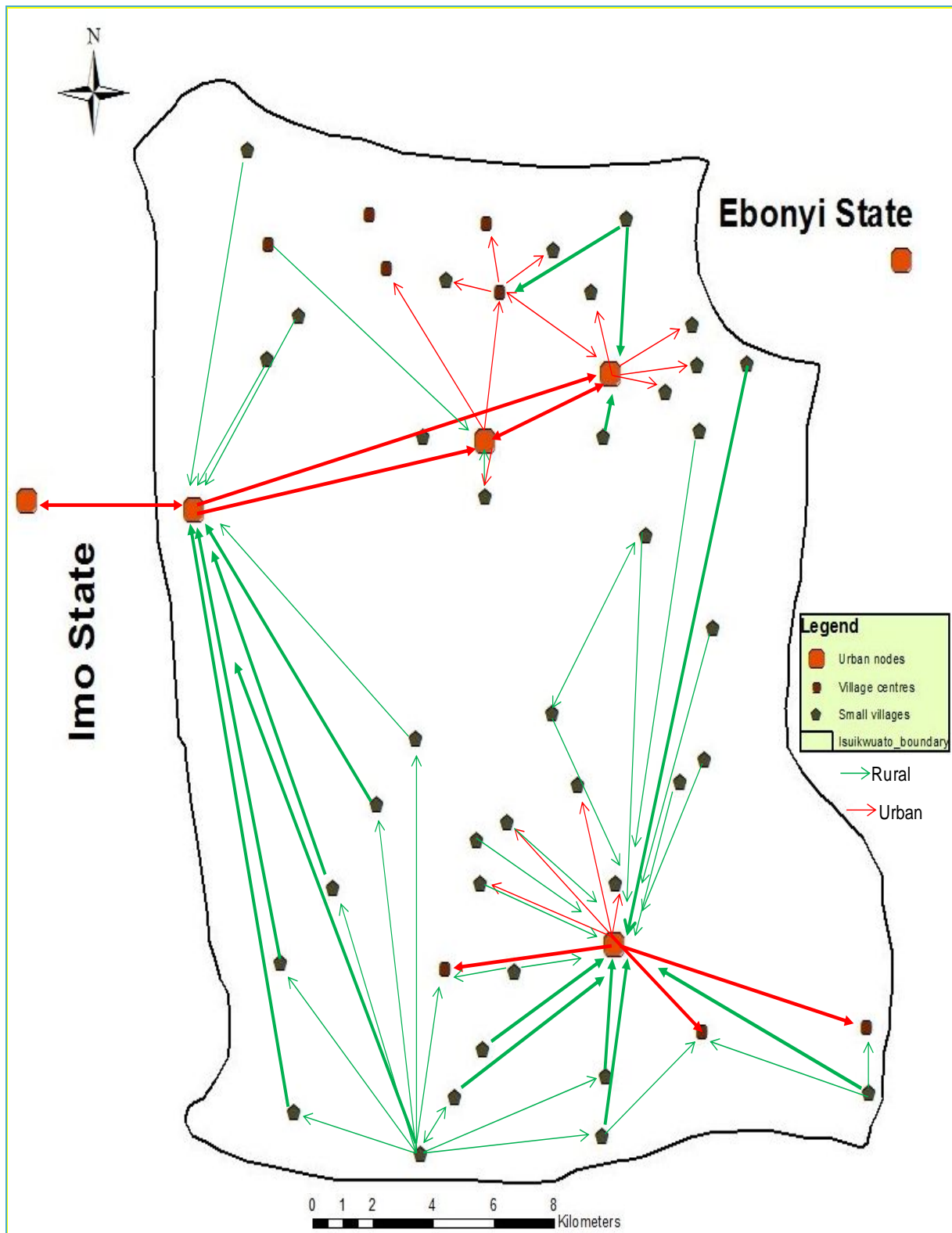


Illustrations are based on research findings.

Thicknesses of arrows represent level of influence –light arrows show low level of influence while the thick arrows show high levels of influence. The absence of an arrow (connection) means that the connection is negligible.

Source: map adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1.

Map 8: Rural and urban economies networks

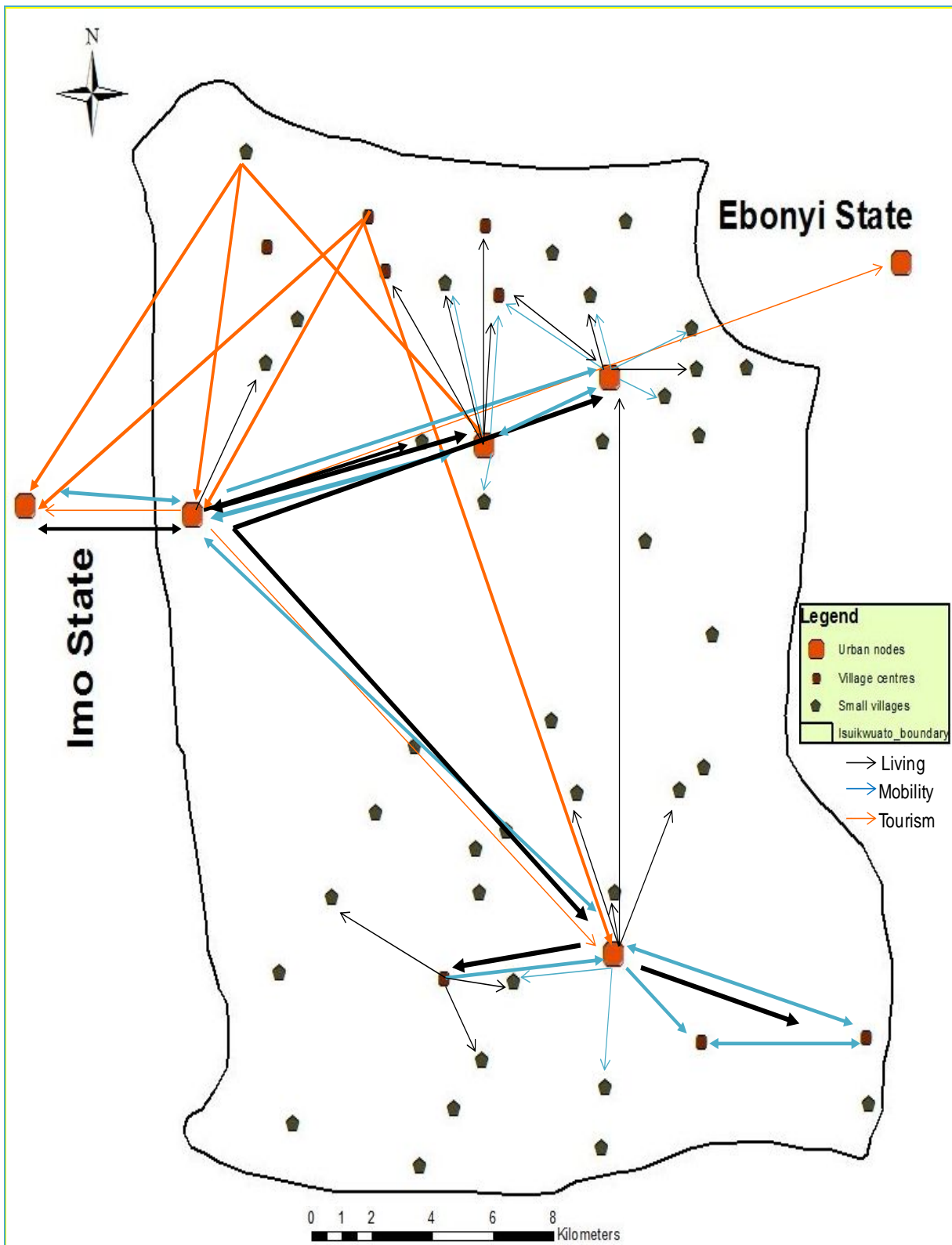


Illustrations are based on research findings

Thicknesses of arrows represent level of influence –light arrows show low level of influence while the thick arrows show high levels of influence. The absence of an arrow (connection) means that the connection is negligible.

Source: map adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1.

Map 9: Living, tourism and mobility networks



Illustrations are based on research findings

Thicknesses of arrows represent level of influence -light arrows show low level of influence while the thick arrows show high levels of influence. The absence of an arrow (connection) means that the connection is negligible.

Source: map adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1.

9.4 Implications of the current networks situation of Isuikwuato

The current network situation, though not very effective in terms of promoting even developed of territorial units, presents a good foundation for improved rural development in Isuikwuato. This is mainly because what is needed are policy decisions necessary for instituting functional roles for different units (urban nodes and village centres) that will benefit the whole territory. The current trend of networking encourages wastage of resources. As it currently stands, the strategic importance of village centres are not optimally used. Small villages do not know the potential importance of village centres around them, so their farmers travel long distances to urban nodes to sell their agricultural products. According to a rural development expert (a key informant of this research) in the municipality, this results to “*high transaction costs, post-harvest waste... also, the situation does not encourage easier transmission of information between settlements*”. Issues like these create limitations to municipal wide development. The limitations noted these settlement networks have various dimensions and are major issues that territorial development can alleviate (see table 12).

Table 12: Limitations to effective network of settlements in Isuikwuato

Linkages identified	Expected generators of networks (linkages)	Constraints to polycentric or main limitations to municipal wide development (i.e. improvements in urban-rural context).
Physical	Major roads and railways	Limited major roads connections between; railway lacks local use (mere national transit); bus stations run only on the highway (this is not convenient to most village centres and small villages); feeder roads are in very unsafe states.
Economic	Flow of goods, finance and services	Reliable banks are located outside municipal boundaries; accesses to farms are hindered by unsafe feeder roads; specialised services are only located in urban nodes.
Population movement	Migration and commuting patterns	Population movement is one directional; urban market is concentrated in <i>Akpaka</i> and <i>Okigwe</i>
ICT and technology	Shared technological systems	Mobile phone coverage does not cover small villages; lack of general internet coverage; lack of irrigation facilities.
Social interaction	Leisure facilities	Community halls, churches are decentralised; inadequate sports facilities, cinemas, restaurants; tourist attractions are undeveloped.
Service delivery	Energy, education, health, commerce, etc.	Health services are concentrated in <i>Mbalano</i> ; education services are decentralised; there is lack of technical services pattern; commercial services are decentralised.
Governance	Informal and political decision	Administrative institutions are concentrated in <i>Mbalano</i> ; political participation does not favour settlements far from <i>Mbalano</i> .

Sources: author (based on field findings)

Table 12 highlights various forms of constraints posing difficulties to polycentric network in Isuikwuato. Listed in the table are the main factors militating against balanced network development. Despite various linkages identified, it is observable that current development in Isuikwuato does not promote balanced networks at rural-urban scales. Where linkages exist,

they do not supply socioeconomic needs of the people. As a result, the population tend to move towards urban nodes in search of satisfaction. This is because they cannot access the advantages provided by these nodes from their various *village centres* and *small villages*. The reason is largely due to the non-complementary distribution of functions (and conscious cooperation or partnerships) amongst settlements.

In terms of governance, there is no presence of interconnectivity between organisations and institutions in the various settlements. *Mbalano* (the headquarters) has high concentration of institutional and political services whereas *Akpaka* has high regional concentration of educational and related services. Yet, there is no sort of cooperation between organisations located in these two settlements. More so, municipal policies focus merely around the urban nodes. There is an inadequate effort made to connect the several small villages and village centres to policy implementations. Cross-border policies are merely none existent. All these have core negative implications on the state of rural development. Access for everyone to services and opportunities across the municipal territory is not practicable under these conditions. This is because efficient use of existing infrastructure is difficult to attain under the current situation. In order to meet the various needs of the people for infrastructure and accessibility across the municipality, it is important to develop complementary functions between the urban nodes and village centres. An approach that supports rural development based on the complementarity of settlement functions is what this thesis proposes for *Isuikwuato* (in particular) and other related municipalities in Nigeria (in general).

9.5 Conclusion

Previous chapters of this research have focused more on showing what the challenges are in *Isuikwuato*. This chapter went further to outline some of these challenges and opportunities from a spatial perspective. Having presented these issues, the next part looks at what outcomes (output of research) that are recommendable for improving the situations identified. The achievements of this chapter presents a foundation for the next chapter, which deals mainly on recommending a more comprehensive and effective approach for rural development in Nigeria, based on the *Isuikwuato* findings.

Chapter Ten: General Conclusions and Recommendations

The previous chapters provided critical case study analyses of rural development situation in Nigeria. Based on findings from the previous chapters, the current chapter builds a practicable idea for undertaking territorial development as an approach to rural development in Nigeria. It draws a general conclusion for the study (within the context of the research objectives and questions). It makes recommendations for improving the rural challenges in Nigeria. It also discusses the implications of the recommendations.

10.1 General conclusion

10.1.1 Rural development approaches in Nigeria

With the overview of rural development approaches in Nigeria, it is obvious that most of the approaches practised have failed. They have not been able to produce sustainable results in rural areas; so, rural development situation has worsened. There is evidence that, despite calls to embark on it (Onokerhoraye, 1978), territorial development approaches (or related approaches) have not been considered. On-going and future programme-based approaches can be made to follow or adopt territorial development principles for them to become more result-oriented and innovative approaches. Spatial issues can no longer be ignored in Nigeria because they play vital roles in the attainment of societal cohesion and development. The best way to tackle rural problems is to focus on improving the capacities available in their territory –people, place, politics and needs. This is what territorial development focuses on.

10.1.2 Potentials and constraints of territorial development in Nigeria

It is noteworthy that, as shown in the case study, Nigerian rural people view their place as ancestral heritages with natural uniqueness. This notion makes the development of their territories important. The research found that potentials and constraints for territorial development exist therein. The potentials for adopting territorial development out-weigh its constraints. The main potentials are legal frameworks and decentralised political structure. Constraints are the lack of full-fledged rural development plans (land use plans) and participation.

10.1.3 Confirmation of hypothesis

The research hypothesis was confirmed. Any improvement to the types of rural development approaches adopted in Nigeria must adopt workable contexts (in general and local

perspectives). Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to the issues raised by the research hypothesis. The research posits that a territorial rural development approach serves a more comprehensive option for this. This means that it is capable of taking advantage of the legal and institutional opportunities for territorial development are needed. It also implies that it must adopt concrete rural development plans and area-based rural development strategies.

10.2 Recommendations for territorial development in rural Nigeria

10.2.1 Application of territorial rural development approach in Nigeria

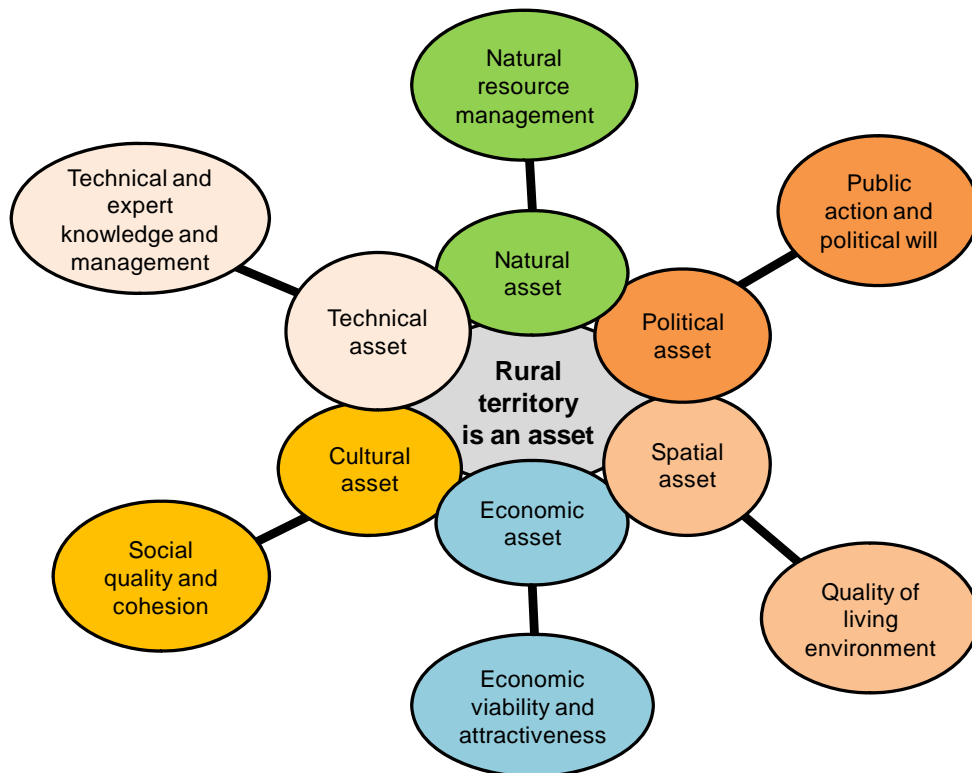
To propose a new approach for improving rural conditions, some critical questions arise. Are existing instruments in place to regulate people and their land activities? Are there existing urban-rural settlement cooperation? Is the legal framework for doing this sufficient and adequate? Is the municipal set-up adequate with clearly defined duties and responsibilities? These highly important questions detected the path taken in the course of proposing a new approach for Nigeria. Answering these questions helped focus on country and local specific context of the situation. Concerning the first question, the research found that national laws and local byelaws exist. These constitute a starting point for a new approach. Nigeria's *Constitution 1999*, *LUA 1978* and *NNPIRD 2001* (refer to chapter 7 of thesis) provide these instruments from the national down to the local level. At the case study level, existing byelaws are in place to regulate people and their land activities. Such byelaws and regulations include environmental regulations, land use regulations and local penal practices (all derived from national laws). On the question of whether there is existing rural-urban settlement cooperation, they exist as a matter necessity, rather than as an outcome of planning. Concerning whether there is sufficient legal framework for a territorial approach, there is legal framework provided by the *NNPIRD 2001* and *Urban and Regional Development Act 1992*. However, additional local creating byelaws can help institutionalise cooperations between settlements. Introducing such a byelaw is not compulsory, but it is necessary. It will require political will from local representatives to make it. With these in place, sufficient and adequate legal framework would exist. Concerning whether the municipal structure has clearly defined duties and responsibilities, there is, but it needs to be improved. This calls for introducing adequate local planning. From answering these questions, the research drew the inference that any proposal for a territorial approach must include sub-proposals for a shift from the current form of polycentrism (settlement linkages between urban nodes and village centres). It must also involve a change from sectoral planning to territorial planning, including the introduction of territorially supportive byelaws in the municipality. These steps are core proposals towards a territorial approach in Nigerian rural territories or municipalities (see list below).

10.2.1.1 Redefining the rural territory as a starting point

In rationalising a territorial rural developing model for Nigerian territories, one of the major issues to be born in mind is its rural status. Figure 28 showed that as a territory, the case study area has various potentials and challenges. To translate its potentials into development realities, as well as convert its challenges to development opportunities, there is need for a redefinition of the territory based on its functionality. The approach of this research towards doing this involves viewing the rural territory as an asset for development. It is an asset because it is the most precious estate that rural people share together (see figure 33).

By re-defining the territory with focus on optimising all advantages to the benefit of the environment (territory) and the people, a widely integrated approach to rural development would emerge. The research therefore conceptualises the rural territory as a package consisting of natural, spatial, economic, cultural, technical and political assets. The natural asset demands for natural resource management. The political asset calls for leadership and public action. The spatial asset involves making decisions that cater for the quality of life, living and the environment. The economic asset releases economic viability and attractiveness. Cultural asset deals with social equality and cohesion between various populations (i.e. urban and rural population).

Figure 33: The rural territory as a package of overlapping assets



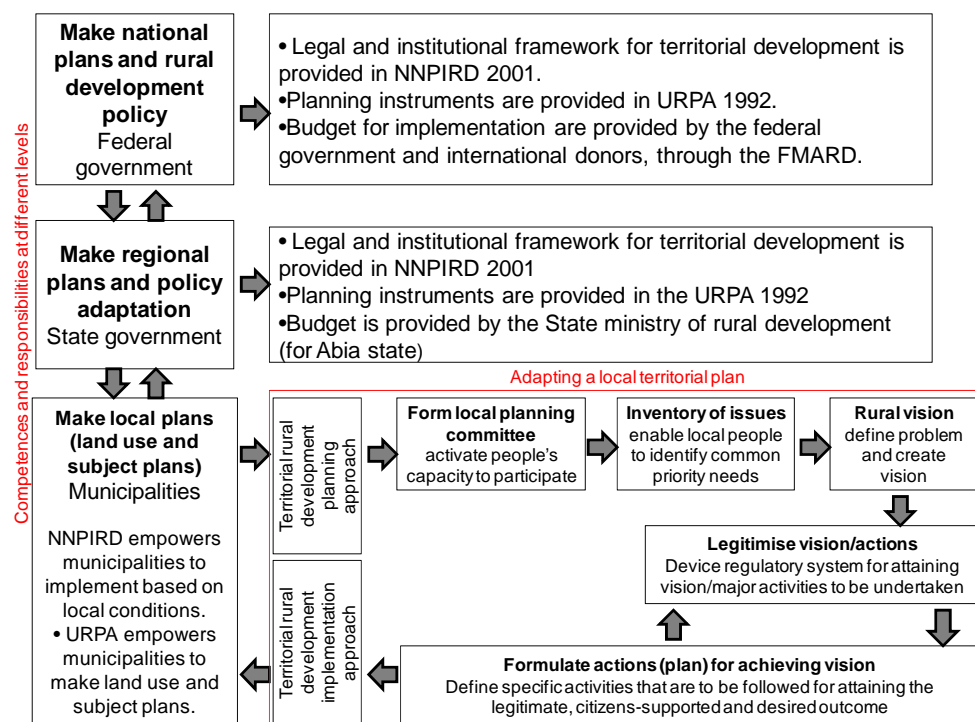
Source: author

The technical asset links local knowledge to practical life applications (education, etc.). It is connected to human resources, local knowledge and technical issues involved in managing processes of living and development. These ideas are the guiding principles for adapting territoriality in the context of rural development. From most definitions of rural areas in Nigeria, it is obvious that there is negative attitude attached to the conception of such territories. This can change by adopting the above proposal (figure 33).

10.2.1.2 Levels of competences and adaptation of territorial rural development plan

Rural territories need, as a basis for rural development, land use planning. This is very important because of the difficult choices faced by rural people –in terms of moving their economy from dependence on agriculture to more diversified options. This means improving local policies to encourage other sources of income and employment such as rural manufacturing, entrepreneurial and investment options. Planning at the local level is important because it is a legitimate role of the local authorities and people. The Nigerian Federal and State governments have often neglected the role of local authorities (especially rural authorities) in planning frameworks that support rural socioeconomic development. Figure 34 shows behind a proposal for local territorial rural plan for rural territories in Nigeria.

Figure 34: Levels of competences and adaptability of local territorial plan in Nigeria

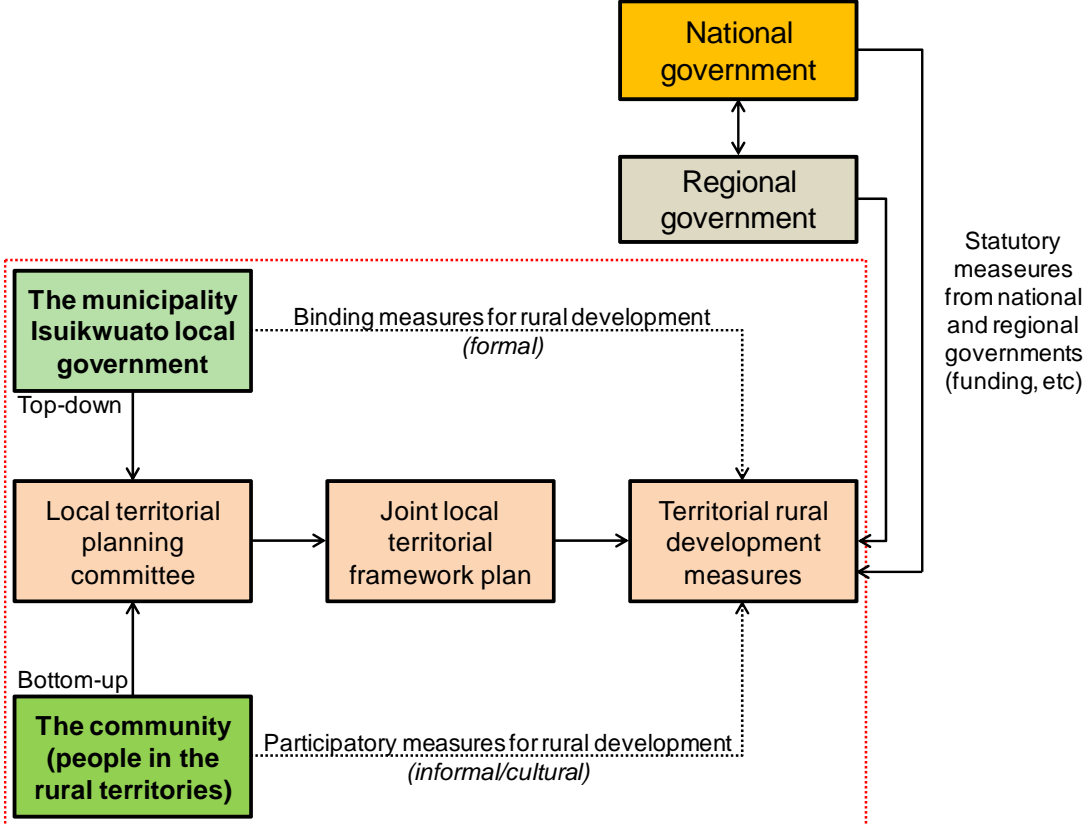


The research suggests the steps enclosed in the red box. All other aspects of the figure already exist in Nigeria.

Source: author

Figure 34 reflects that, based on the statutory competences of the three levels of government in Nigeria, federal and state frameworks already support the making of rural development plans by local authorities. To attain local territorial development at this level this research posits that a territorial plan is necessary. Such a plan needs to be set into motion by forming local planning committee that encourages people’s willingness to get involved in the development process. The local government can initiate this. Furthermore, it is necessary to make an inventory of local issues in order to identify common needs of the people based on priority. This can help local people identify their strengths and weaknesses; as well as the main opportunities and threats to their development. With such understanding, defining a realistic rural development vision is possible. Then there is need to devise a regulatory framework to legitimise the vision as well as actions that may lead to its realisation. Local authority should also actively encourage planning processes in a way that they are translatable into actions. This means the creation of a participatory and legally binding plan, of which implementation must follow a territorial development approach. Planning phases can take bottom-up and top-down approaches as illustrated in figure 35.

Figure 35: Planning phases for territorial rural development in Nigerian rural territories



The red box highlights the core recommendation.

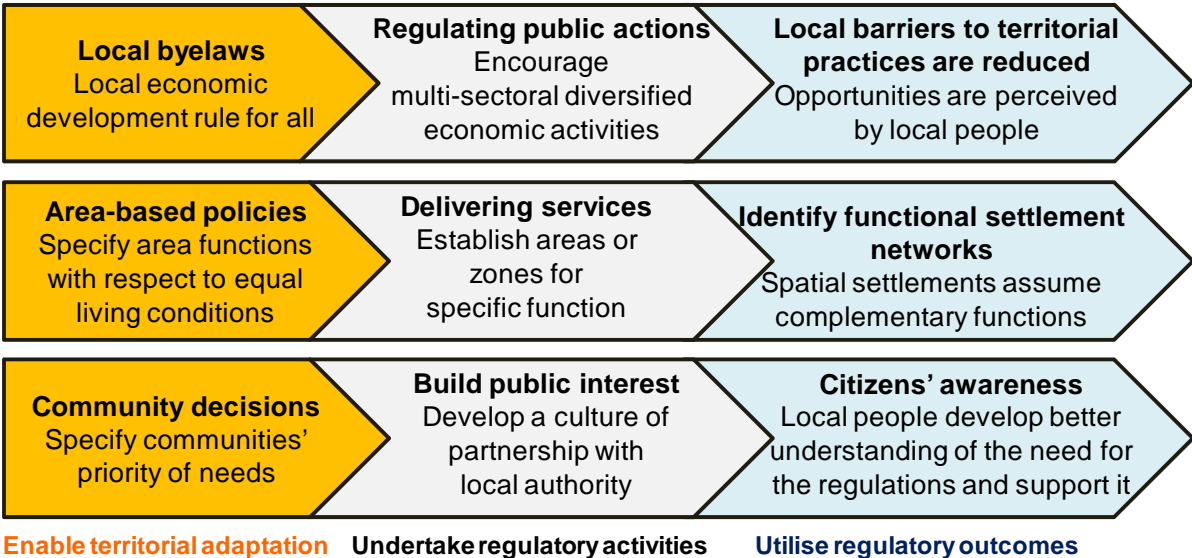
Source: author (ideas from planning phases of rural policy in Germany)

Figure 35 presents the idea on how Nigerian municipalities can introduce a local territorial planning. It calls for bottom-up inputs from the local community and top-down inputs from the municipality. They can (together) form a local territorial planning committee, which will result to joint output of a local territorial plan, in which all can participate in. Such a plan should spell out measures necessary for rural territorial development in the municipality. Communities have a chance to bring in territorial measures, informal or cultural elements that preserve territorial identity. On the other hand, the municipality can bring forward formal measures of rural development to make the plan more sustainable. The regional and national governments (if necessary) can contribute to the plan but should not interfere in local committee matters. In such a situation, the regional and national governments should come in at the level of improving measures or to legitimising it (nationally or regionally) if need be.

10.2.1.3 Introducing local territorial regulatory system

Here, the research focuses on improving legal frameworks for rural development at the local level because they already exist at the national and state levels. Although the same set of laws (the Constitution, URPA, LUA, NNPIRD, etc.) also empowers local authorities to act in rural matters, this has not been the case. What has been lacking in Nigerian municipalities is the capacity of local authorities to introduce a regulatory system that enables it to act (politically) on rural matters. As a way forward, this research proposes a territorial regulatory system that can support territorial development plans and implementation (see figure 36).

Figure 36: Proposed local territorial regulatory system for Isukwuato



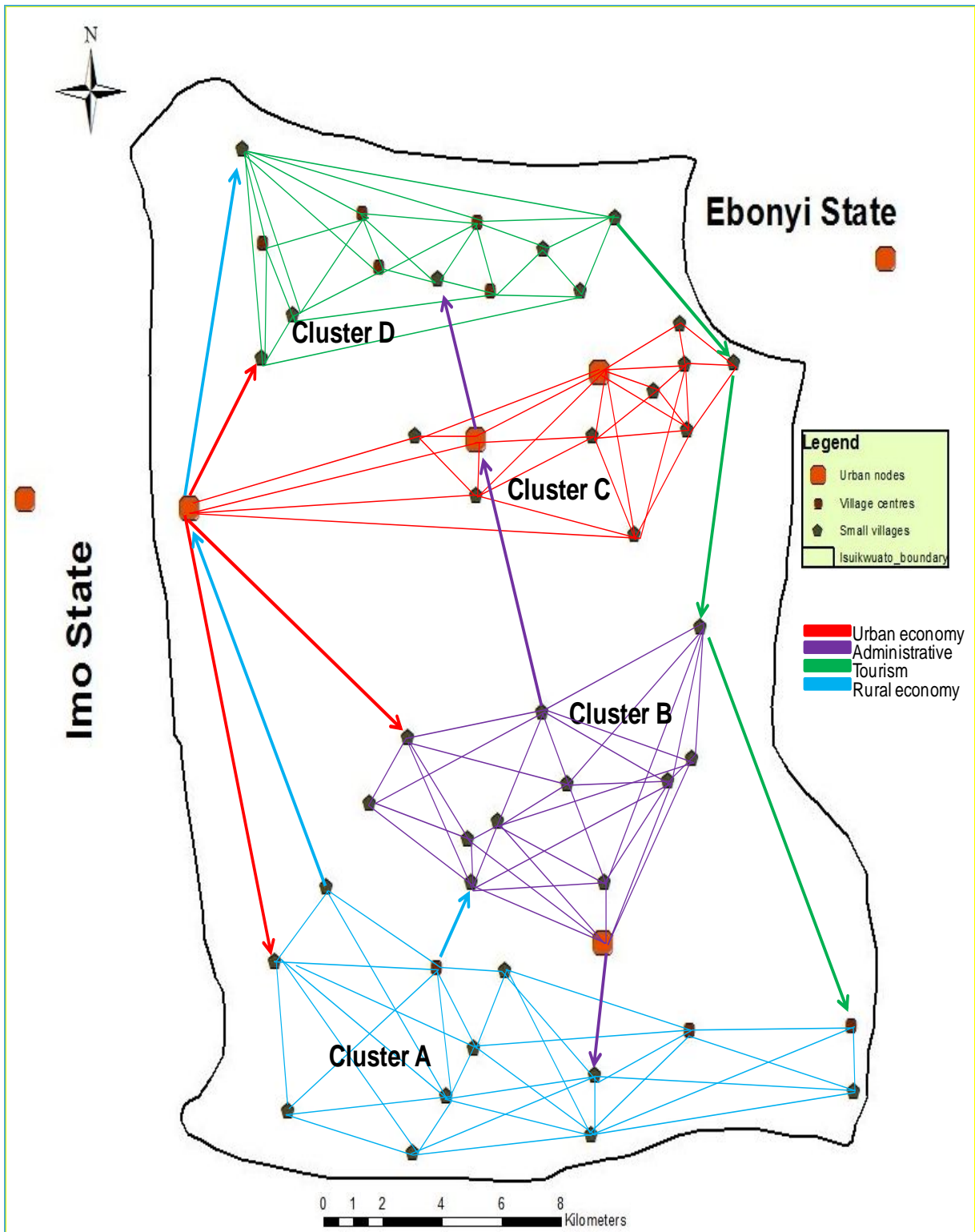
Source: author

Figure 36 illustrates the idea of instituting a regulatory system that would support territorial approaches. This may involve three major processes: adapting to a territorial enabling environment, undertaking regulatory activities and obtaining appropriate outcomes. To enable territorial adaption (i.e. an environment that sustains territorial development) local byelaws, area-based policies and community decisions are important. Local byelaws would lead to regulating public actions, which would lead to reducing barriers to territorial development. Introducing area-based policies would help in delivering services based on area-based functions (i.e. the urban nodes, village centres and small villages), then would lead to identifying networks between settlements. By basing situations on community decisions, public interests would build around local authority activities. When well publicly supported, citizens' awareness would emerge and result to better understanding territorial issues. With such a regulatory scenario in place, municipalities can embark on directly making decisions that will affect physical changes and development, such as shifting from hierarchical polycentric structure to a complementary type.

10.2.1.4 Shifting from hierarchical to complementary polycentricism

In this aspect, the research introduces a proposal for improving network (based on the case study area) for rural development. Priorities based on the needs of the people should build around improving existing networks and processes. Efforts should be made towards prioritising development around nodes (or settlements) in order to boost the general quality of liveability and environment. This is a step for the preparation of a suitable territorial rural development approach, which is the main objective of this research. The idea here is to introduce consciously settlement networks that can enable balanced development within the territory. To achieve it, this research suggests a shift from current hierarchical polycentric structure to a complementary one. As map 7 shows, the polycentric structure of the case study area is not complementary because *Mbalano* and *Akpaka* dominate the structure. With a complementary structure in place, none of the urban nodes would dominate in terms of their capabilities to provide access to more development functions. In addition, a closer partnership would emerge between the settlements. This research approaches this situation through the application of a clustering system to settlement structures. This means that settlements of closer proximity or those with similar characteristics can merge to form bigger functional units (clusters). Places with similar potentialities and challenges can unite (clustered together) to produce specific functionality that others can benefit from. The concept of clustering recommended here is an integrative measure. It is not a divisive measure. The concept of *development clusters* can be made part of the administrative decisions (planning) or structural process. Map 10 represents the idea.

Map 10: Complementary polycentrism based on clustering settlements



Illustrations are based on research findings
 Internally, not all nodes (or settlements) are connected. For external (cluster connections), selection of nodes (or settlements) are not based on any criteria. *Mobility* and *living* were not clustered because they are considered as public goods that should be distributed between all settlements.
 Source: map adapted from Obasi (2005), updated with images and digitised with ArcMap 10.1.

Map 10 shows how the arrangement of complementarity in polycentric development, through clustering, can become effective within a territorial context (refer to map 4 for names of settlements). Clustered settlements should constitute of priority areas (comprising of one or more other types of settlements) of development for improved living conditions and continuous rural sustainability. By way of illustration, the research divided the territory into four clusters (clusters A to D) and common functions, as described in table 13 (below).

Table 13: Classification of nodes (settlement) for complementary polycentrism

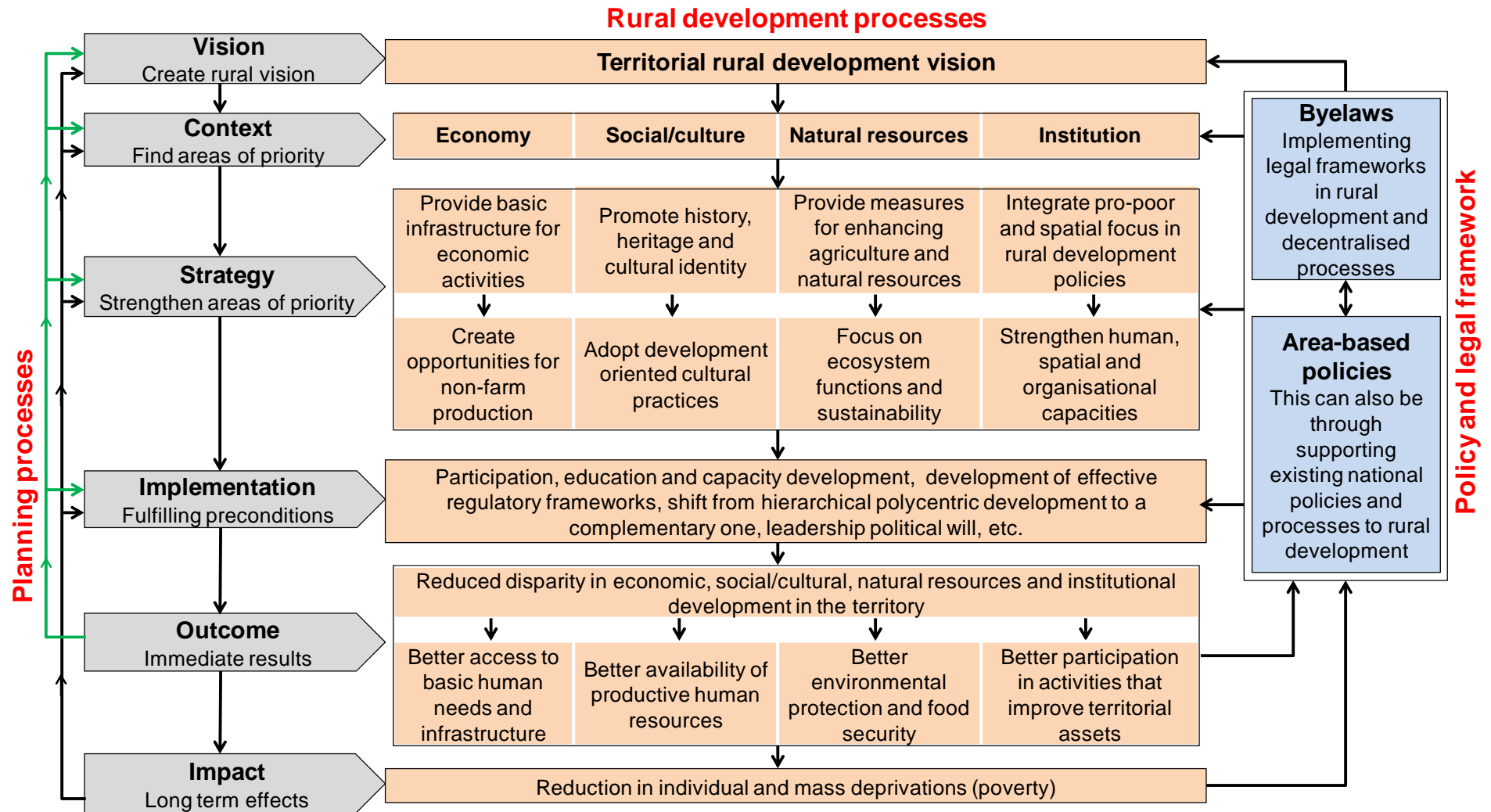
Clusters	Settlements within the cluster	Dominant features	Expected contribution towards improving rural development
A	3 village centres and 10 small villages	Rural economy	Better agriculture production for food security and rural identity
B	1 urban node and 11 small villages	Administrative	Provide wider focal point for political and administrative duties that will benefit other clusters
C	3 urban node and 9 small villages	Urban economy	Provide facilities and economic vitality to check migration of citizens to other cities in Nigeria
D	5 village centres and 7 small villages	Tourism	Provide touristic functions, due to its natural attractions. It will maintain both an agricultural and semi-rural economy
Common functions	All nodes and settlements within the territory	Mobility and living	Better general standard of living through accessibility

Table 13 (refer to map 10) shows that improving networking can activate functional rationality of all settlements within the territory. It suggests that all nodes (or settlements) within each cluster should have their own separate linkages (internally) while the clusters share external linkages. Cluster A represents *rural economy*, cluster B is *administrative*, cluster C is *urban economy* while cluster D is a *tourism* area. No cluster has been specifically assigned to *mobility* and *living* because they are considered here as common goods for the whole territory. This is supportable with a policy of “equal living conditions” (Magel, 2009) as part of its framework of operation. Furthermore, interactions between trans-boundary nodes would depend on what complementary function they can offer to development clusters. Efforts towards reducing the influences that trans-boundary settlements have within the municipalities are necessary. Other Nigerian municipalities must follow these steps in order to establish a balanced polycentric spatial structure.

10.3 New model: territorial rural development approach

Having presented the steps outlined in section 10.2.1 (of this thesis), the research recommends a new model (territorial rural development approach) in figure 37.

Figure 37: Territorial rural development approach at the local level in Nigeria



Source: author

Based on the several challenges analysed in this research and the concept framework of the research, figure 37 is the recommended new approach to rural development in Nigeria. It presents the main ideas and actions needed for achieving development at a territorial level in rural areas. It consists of three major parts: planning, legal measures and processes for improving rural areas. The planning activities are measures taken to ensure what and how people take actions for achieving development within the territory. The policy/legal measures fortify rural institutions so that rules and regulations focus on how people behave in the course of their involvement in rural development. The rural development processes consist of activities taken in order to cause improvements in rural areas. These three aspects work together towards attaining sustainable results (poverty reduction). The following sub-sections explain each of these aspects as part of the territorial rural development approach.

10.3.1 Planning processes

The planning processes should begin creating a rural development vision. This can be done by making diagnosis of opportunities and priorities for development within the territory. An inventory of challenges, opportunities and needs would determine what sort of vision to be adopted by the community. In this case, an effort towards developing a formal rural development vision is necessary. It should focus on the territory as a common good of the people. This should be contextualised to align with economic, social, natural resources (environment) and institutional aspects of the development process. It should lead to formulating strategies that strengthen areas of priority. If necessary preconditions are fulfilled, immediate outcomes would lead to long term impacts. In the entire planning process, it is important that local people lead the way through participation because they are the ones who live on the territory (land) and interact with it. It is their development vision that would best help in instilling a common identity, as well as facilitate the realisation of any strategies used in implementing rural development projects. Whatever their vision is, it needs to be an open vision that is known and understandable to all. The municipality should pursue the same vision as the community. The vision should be one that views the territory (land) as a common good of the people. It should also view the territory as an object and a subject of physical, socio-cultural, economic and environmental development.

10.3.2 Policy and legal framework

From another angle, legal frameworks measures should support area-based policies. Together they would legitimise actions that cause the functionality of spatial units within the rural territory. This can be by means of new local laws (byelaws) that do not contradict existing regional or national ones. Alternatively, it can enable existing policies (whether

national or regional) at the local level to uphold relevant rural development processes that focus on the territory. These could enable the territory to become a focal point for development. This will make the vision for rural development support functional rationality of spatial units as rural development process.

10.3.3 Rural development processes

The rural development processes are categorised in four main aspects: economy, social/culture, natural resources (environment) and institution. The research argues that the economic aspect should focus on providing basic infrastructure that activates economic activities (e.g. road, electricity and the institutional capacity to manage these things). These basic needs are more important at the earlier stages of the rural economic development process because they set the foundation for the sustainability of the rural system. Doing this leads to creating opportunities for non-farm production (e.g. setting up hair and barbing saloons, craft shops, repair shops, trading shops, accessing markets, etc.). This will also make economic data more accessible for planning and research needs. The implication is that the productivity of marketable products and services will improve. From a social/cultural perspective, focus on territory would make people become aware of their territory (its history, their heritages) and their identity. This is best promotable by adopting only cultural practices that improve development. It also means that local social conditions become important to all aspects of rural development. The natural resource (environmental) perspective calls for providing measures for enhancing agriculture and natural resource productivity. This is possible by focusing on ecosystem functions and sustainability. This way, specific environmental issues (e.g. climate change) and general environmental issues (erosion, pollution, etc.) are reducible. Key rural natural resource issues (e.g. increased agricultural production, etc.) would become achievable from the perspective of territorial improvement. From the institutional perspective, pro-poor and spatially focused rules or policies on rural development are necessary. This is practicable by strengthening human, spatial and organisational capabilities. Such steps can improve service support and access to technology. In general, the processes activate the fulfilment of preconditions for territorial development. The outcome has a tendency to reduce the various deprivations rural people suffer at both individual and community levels. By this, poverty will be alleviated. A less poor rural community would be motivated to stick to or reformulate rural development visions, as well as keep focus on their territory as a common good for all. The general scenario would be more effective if Nigeria can follow a general concept of spatial planning, such as is practised in Germany. Under the German system, “growth and innovation; ensuring of services of public interest; conservation of resources, shaping of cultural landscapes” are priorities

(Magel, 2010). This is lacking in Nigeria. If adopted, it can build strongly into the concept of spatial development that would make territorial rural development highly effective.

10.3.4 Preconditions for the application of territorial rural development approach

The successful application of the new approach recommended by the research demands for a systematic application of rural development measures. However, specific preconditions can provide the enabling platform for its success.

- Capacity to define territory and develop a vision: the municipality and community should have the capacity to redefine their territory from the perspective of being a core asset to their development (as shown in figure 33). This is currently possible because Nigeria operates a decentralised governance structure that provides for local government authorities to make decisions (with local people) at the local level. It also means that they should make a realistic development vision to guide their affairs.
- Participation: municipality and community can participate in planning and implementation for rural development (as shown in figure 34). This means following planning processes that bring innovations without conflicting with the national and regional perspectives for development (as shown in figure 35). Active involvement of citizens is mandatory for achieving results.
- Effective and efficient local rules and regulations: municipality and communities must have the capacity to make local territorial regulatory frameworks (as shown in figure 36). It is important for creating local enablement for territorial development to thrive. Issues of funding and policy integration apply here.
- Shift to complementary polycentric spatial structure: policies should consider clustering (refer to map 10) as a central to the polycentric process. This will lead to enablement of wider networking between spatial units, institutions and people. It would result to better infrastructural access, mobility and living.
- Leadership and political will: development oriented leadership and political will is needed in all aspects of the territorial rural development process. Purposeful leadership is necessary for achieving a territory-wide and multi-sectoral development strategy in rural areas. Leadership is necessary for identifying, making decisions and managing the barriers to structural, social and economic improvements. In Nigeria, rural development is incomplete without achieving poverty reduction. This situation applies to all rural municipalities in Nigeria. Achieving poverty reduction demands for leadership and the political will to act appropriately.

10.4 Emerging issues concerning the new approach

New approaches to rural development are importantly needed in Nigeria and elsewhere. This research provides the opportunity for a new approach in Nigeria. The emerging concerns of the newly proposed approach for rural development call for some begging questions. What is the policy implication of this approach in Nigeria? How generalisable is the Isuikwuato case to the other rural area in Nigeria? What about the urban areas in Nigeria, can the new approach apply to them? What does the new approach hold for existing poverty reduction strategies being applied in Nigeria? All of these are some important questions that have been answered in this section.

10.4.1 Generalising the case study in Nigeria

From a conceptual perspective, the territorial rural development approach is generalisable to other parts of Nigeria, including urban areas. The logic being that, there is bound to be improvement in local conditions if spatial units are made to complement each others functions within their territories –backed my other preconditions. However, in practical terms, it is difficult to assert that every aspect of this research is generalisable in Nigeria. This is because spatial units (both rural and urban) have some differences in terms of development needs, opportunities and challenges. They also have different capacities to coping with any sort of approach to their development. Though factors may change from place to place in Nigeria, the situation is generalisable where the necessary preconditions are met.

10.4.2 Implications in designing rural development programmes in Nigeria

The new approach has some implications in the design of rural development programmes. Considering that rural development strategies in Nigeria are typically programme based, it is important to emphasis the main impact the territorial rural development approach can play in this aspect. It will generally influence programmes in three major ways: spatial networking, area-wide focus (territorial) and heritage protection. These three aspects of rural concern are currently not integrated in rural development programmes in Nigeria. Future rural development programmes should give more focus to them. The new approach relies on spatial networking and focus on territory as its core element. In addition, due to emphasis on place, it has the potential to work towards heritage protection in rural areas. This situation has proved to be practicable in Germany, where the various regions are different, yet apply varying types of strategies under one strategic platform. A good example is the *Landesentwicklungsprogramm* of Bavaria (Germany). According to Magel (2010), in the

Landesentwicklungsprogramm central places are developed so that they can sustainably fulfil supply-chain and interconnection tasks. Similar approach is necessary for Nigeria.

10.4.3 Policy implications of the new approach

Through the NNPIRD, all rural areas in Nigeria have been placed at the heart of socioeconomic development. One of its main goals (NNPIRD) is to reduce inequalities across the 744 municipalities in Nigeria. One of the reasons for conducting this research was for it to have evidence basis for influencing policy directions, wherever it is applied. Although NNPIRD would support this approach from national and regional levels, there is still need for municipal authorities adopting it to support its implementation with new local-based rural policy. It also calls for renewed trends in local people's participation in rural development processes. The approach poses a major conceptual challenge to local policymakers in general, as there is need to redefinition of rural municipalities as territories of common good to all. As a result, concerned rural stakeholders need to come together for a common purpose. This means that there is need for institutionalisation of citizens' participation as a social culture. Subsidiary principles need to be followed to ensure that the lowest level of government have the strongest duties in tackling rural challenges. This is important because they are the closest to the people. Fulfilling this in practice means that national and regional agencies of rural development must view rural municipalities as having such powers. At the local level, the municipalities must have the political will to effect changes that adhere to territorial development demands.

In addition, the proposed approach to rural development adds value to the *Vision 2020* project of the Nigerian government (refer to textbox 1). The *Vision 2020* envisions the achievement of significant investment in rural electrification and alternative energy technology. It also envisions boosting rural employment and general infrastructure; and reducing rural-urban migration rates (in the long term). The recommended approach of this research serves a direct vehicle of implementation for achieving these *Vision 2020* objectives. The approach is stretchable to a regional level as a competitive tool for development. According to BfN (2007) and BMELV (2008) cited in GIZ (2011), a good example is the "large-scale conservation projects and rural development" or "*idee.natur*" that was jointly initiated by Germany's BMU and BMELV. The new approach also calls for introducing innovations in rural development management and processes from the state. According to StMWIVT (2008) cited in GIZ (2011: p.32) "from as early as the mid-1990s, Bavaria has been supporting and overseeing more than 30 regional management initiatives at different levels under its state development policy". This has become "one of the two pillars of the Bavarian state government's initiative, *Allianz Bayern Innovative*, the other pillar

being a cluster approach” (ibid). Nigerian municipalities can learn from these Bavarian (German) experiences by embracing a territorial approach to development in rural development. They can indulge in international networking with Bavarian municipalities for knowledge transfer, capacity building and experience sharing.

10.4.4 Implications of the new approach on rural poverty reduction

Poverty reduction or alleviation needs a holistic view. The clustering system used for spatial development in the territorial approach provides accumulation of subsector assets. The increasing diversification of non-farm and farm sources of employment creates a strong market and opportunities for the rural poor. The linking of village centres (and small villages) with urban nodes creates exchange dynamism for improved accessibility of infrastructure. These have positive effects on rural people's lives. It helps to reduce spatial inequalities, as well as, directly influence reduction in individual and mass deprivation of all kinds. It can also influence decisions of framers in their land-based activities (Willy, 2013). Also, territorial sub-sectors' accumulated growth can help to boost tourism, natural resource, economic and social development. All these accumulated growths lead to increase in per capita income and its distribution among the rural population. The polycentric networking system helps in creating various levels of exchanges, which can improve employment opportunities.

10.4.5 Implications on urban development in Nigeria

Although this research has rural development as its focus, it does have implications for urban development. The same approach devised for rural areas in this research can apply to urban areas in Nigeria. For instance, urban municipalities in the cities of Lagos, Port Harcourt and Abuja (in Nigeria) can utilize the same polycentric networking system to reduce urban poverty. The planning activities and legal measures that are used in the rural context can be applied within the urban context. So far, issues of vision are aligned to urban contexts this research can contribute beyond the rural.

10.4.6 Theoretical implications of the new approach

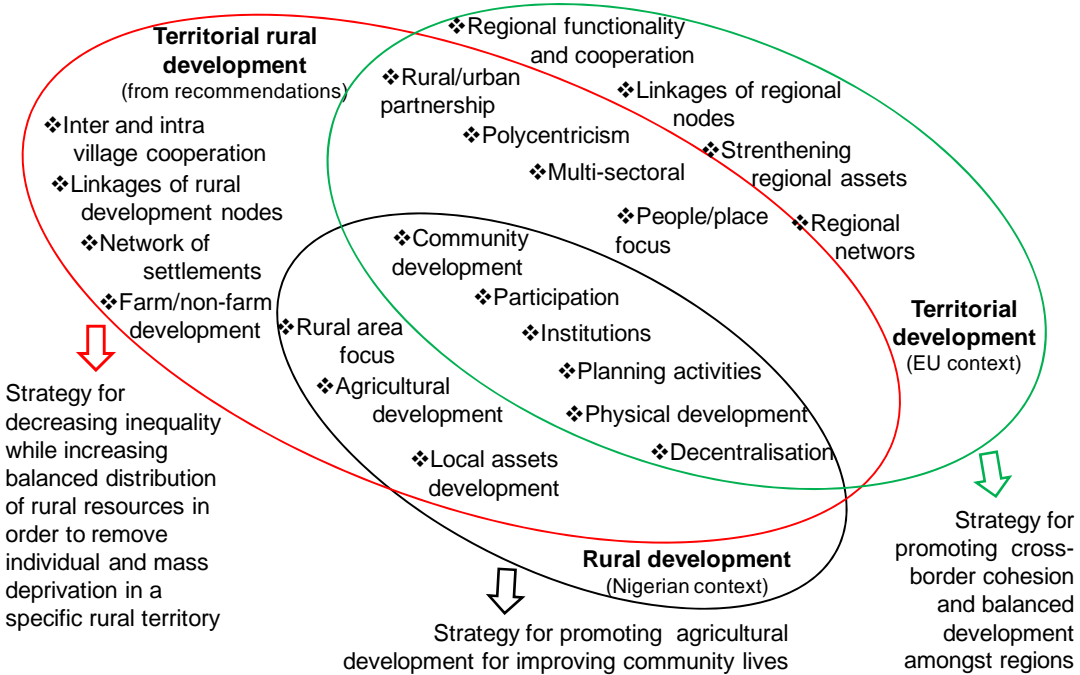
It is common to see deviations in the application of the central place theory in practice (see Lösch, 1940; Neal, 2011). Despite this, most of these variations in central place applications are focused on urban and regional studies. Attempts on applying the theory to rural areas have focused mainly on centrality measurement (Bracey, 1962; Clout, 1972; Freeman, 1978/1979; Mandal, 2001; Kharate, 2009; Lee *et al.*, 2013). No current research was found to have specifically used the theory to address rural development methods or approaches.

As a result, it is important to note that gaps emerged between the researcher’s use of the central place theory and the empirical studies presented here. Although the research adopted the central place theory as a base for its theoretical foundation for territorial development, its case study application deviated from a regional to a municipal stance. This research takes this approach because strict adherence to Christaller’s (1966) regionalisation approach to central places could lead to “unmanaged regionalisation” of services in Nigeria (Hassinger, 1994: p.18). The territorial approach, as suggested in this research, provides decentralised infrastructural options. What has been done in this research is to fit the theory into the reality of situation within the case study area. Doing this, it chose not to adopt the several assumptions upon which the theory is built on. Most importantly, it focuses on invigorating place prosperity and people (community) for development in the rural space (Bolton, 1992). It also views the central places, not from the perspective of hierarchy but from that of complementarity.

10.4.7 Defining territorial rural development in the research (Nigerian) context

The earlier chapters of this research based its definition of territorial rural development merely on the conceptual framework of the research. The concept was entirely framed from theories and experiences of the EU prior to the field study. However, based on the field survey findings, this research puts into context a definition which may be specifically applied in the context of Nigeria –and other developing countries around the world (see figure 38).

Figure 38: Defining territorial rural development



Source: author

Figure 38 shows the diagrammatical derivation of a definition for territorial rural development based on this research. It presents the idea of territorial development from the perspective of a bridging concept between territorial development and rural development. It combines necessary features of Nigeria's rural development context and EU territorial development context with recommendations of this research –leading to a definition of territorial rural development as:

A strategy for improving rural living conditions, by wholly focusing on place-based functions and assets; in order to increase balanced distribution of resources and decrease inequality; with the aim of reducing social/cultural, economic and natural resource deprivations.

The above definition can serve for the practice of territorial rural development in Nigeria, sub-Saharan African countries and other developing countries around the world. It also represents the idea expressed in figure 37.

10.4.8 Methodological limitations and directions for further research

In the course of this research, some limitations were encountered. These limitations affected the research directly or indirectly. The direct limitations concern issues that affected the design or methodology and influenced the interpretation of the research output. The indirect ones were limitations that were imposed directly on the researcher, which finally affected the research.

One of the methodological limitations faced in this research was its qualitative case study approach. Considering the big size of the territory under investigation, enormous data was gathered for the research. The large size of qualitative data meant that all the data may have been difficult to capture by the researcher. In another way, there was lack of quantitative and up-to-date cartographic data. For instance, the municipality of Isuikwuato has no detailed and reliable map. This may have affected the visualisation of situations in its most detailed forms.

Another limitation posed by the adopted research methodology is that of the generalisability of the research output. It is commonly known that qualitative case study research results are difficult to generalise to other cases. This calls for subjective application. Limitations that may have affected the way the researcher handled the entire process are issues connected to the time and resources available for the research. The research may

have tilted to the disciplinary bias of the researcher. Having acknowledged these possible limitations, all possible effort was made to reduce their influence on the research output. In fact, the lack of existing studies on issues concerning territorial development in Nigeria affected the foundation of this research. Consequently, its fundamental ideas were borrowed from practices within the EU.

From this perspective, the research has contributed strongly to literature on territorial development in Nigeria (from a rural perspective). However, for major milestones to be achieved in developing local knowledge on this issue, further researches are needed. Further researches are needed on how best to link poverty reduction strategies to territorial development in Nigeria. In addition, a nation-wide or regional research is needed for understanding the territorial cohesion of all territories in Nigeria. Having such data available would arm future researchers with necessary data for predicting how best to integrate rural areas into the mainstream of development in Nigeria.

Since this research has laid the foundation for a local level study, there is need to conduct regional level studies to enable broader understanding of the situation. In addition, trans-boundary linkages of settlements (that are located within different administrative units) will put more practicality to this research. This research did not explore these aspects.

10.5 Final remarks

Rural development practice needs varieties of alternative approaches that practitioners can depend on –in the course of delivering results. This research has argued that a comprehensive approach should be promoted and implemented in order to attain sustainable rural development results. It chose to argue in favour of territorial development rural development. This method of rural development delivery is new to Nigeria. Putting it into practice in Nigeria would provide a test to its effectiveness and efficiency, hence, may provide opportunities for improvement.

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Appedix 1

Interview Guide for Field Research

1 Expert Interviews

This part of data collection focuses on exploring and revealing opportunities for territorial development. This involved interviewing persons in the following expert categories:

- University lecturers: urban and rural planning
- Rural development researchers
- Planning consultants

Below are the questions which reflect the major aspects of collected information:

Expert interview questions

Compulsory

- How will you evaluate government policies in rural development? Do you think it has received enough attention?
- Do you think linkages exist between rural and urban development? If yes, what types?
- Do you think any of these linkages can benefit rural areas? If yes, how? If no, why?
- Do you think the government should give more attention to rural-urban linkages? What is your suggestion for policy maker?

Optional

- What is your idea of territorial development in a Nigerian context? In what ways can rural areas benefit through territorial development?
- Explain areas where research is needed in rural development in Nigeria, and why?
- “Nigeria has legal and policy opportunities for comprehensive development of rural areas through territorial approach. But due to incessant structural changes in its political history and negligence from policy level, this has not been materialised”. Do you agree with this statement –why?

2 Institutional Interviews

2.1 National Level

In this part of data collection, those interviewed include rural development actors at the federal level within the public, private and civil society sectors. The researcher gave interviews to persons from the following agencies:

- Representative of Federal Ministry for Agriculture and Rural Development
- Representative of Federal Planning Commission
- Representative of National Directorate of Employment
- Representative of Poverty Alleviation Programme (NAPEP)
- Representative of National Millennium Development Project

Below are the questions which reflect the major aspects of collected data

Interview themes	Interview questions
Policy Formulation (Isolated or Integrated)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the current policy thinking in rural development in Nigeria? Is it isolated or integrated? <p>If Integrated:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the current policy being addressed at the policy level (find out the agenda, objectives, social & economic development)? • Do you have sufficient background for its implementation (legal & institutional frameworks)? <p>If Isolated</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is it isolated? Do you think this approach is sufficient for achieving the rural development goals? • Do you think the government should give more attention to rural-urban linkages? What is your suggestion for policy maker?
Policy Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are you implementing (or intend to implement) the policy (changing legal & institutional frameworks, capacity building, inter-agency corporation, public administration, participation and stockholding nature, etc.)?

2.2 Regional (State) Level

Persons interviewed in this part include rural development actors at the state level within the public, private and civil society sectors. The researcher gave interviews to persons from the following agencies:

- Representative Agriculture and Rural Development
- Representative of Federal Planning Commission
- Representative of Planning
- Representative of Rural Development programme, etc

Below are the questions which reflect the major aspects of collected information for the research:

Rural Discussion Themes	Interview questions
Policy Formulation (Isolated or Integrated)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the current policy thinking in rural development in Nigeria? Is it isolated or integrated? <p>If Integrated:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the current policy being addressed at the policy level (find out the agenda, objectives, social & economic development)? • Do you have sufficient background for its implementation (legal & institutional frameworks)? <p>If Isolated</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is it isolated? Do you think this approach is sufficient for achieving the rural development goals? • Do you think the government should give more attention to rural-urban linkages? What is your suggestion for policy maker?
Policy Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are you implementing (or intend to implement) the policy (changing legal & institutional frameworks, capacity building, inter-agency corporation, public administration, participation and stockholding nature, etc.)?

2.3 Local Level (Municipal)

In this part of data collection, the researcher interviewed following persons:

- Mayor/deputy mayor
- Political opposition leader
- Traditional ruler
- Municipal councillor for works/development
- Municipal councillor for culture.

Below are the questions which reflect the major aspects of collected information:

Discussion Themes	Interview questions
General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the major rural development programme in your municipality? • Explain the process of its implementation? • Are participation, capacity development and rural-urban linkages in the implementation?
Participation	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What types of participation are implemented? • What's your evaluation of their success? • What elements are lacking and needs to be improved? <p>No</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the opportunities for improved participation? • Do you think people's participation is necessary? • If yes: what types of participation are needed? • If no: why is participation not necessary?
Capacity development	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What types of capacity development are implemented? • What's your evaluation of their success? • What elements are lacking and needs to be improved? <p>No</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the opportunities for improved capacity development? • Do you think people's capacity development is necessary? • If yes: what types of capacity development are needed? • If no: why is capacity development not necessary?
Rural/urban linkages	<p>Yes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What types of Rural/urban linkages are implemented? • What's your evaluation of their success? • What elements are lacking and needs to be improved? <p>No</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the opportunities for linkages? • Do you think linkages are necessary for rural development? • If yes: what types of linkages are needed? • If no: why are linkages not necessary?

3 Rural Residents' Interviews

In this part of data collection, the researcher interviewed following categories of persons:

- Farmers
- Small/medium traders
- Corporate business owners
- Unemployed persons
- Students (at different levels, from primary to university)

Below are the questions asked:

Rural Discussion Themes	Interview questions
General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the needs of your people? Do you think current rural development priorities in your sector reflect actual needs of the people? • What specific problems in your village/municipality cause poverty or retard agricultural productivity or increased income? • Do you think that the existing rural development programme is addressing your needs? • What are they not addressing?
Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What has been your involvement in rural development? • What do you need in order to be more involved?
Capacity development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What capacity are you lacking in rural development? • What capacity do you think most people need in order to be more involved in rural development in your locality?
Rural/urban linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main services you access in the urban areas (Focus on forward & backward linkages: education, health, market, services, etc)? • Do you or anyone in your family earn any sort of income from an urban area? What and how? • Do you have plans for migration to an urban area? Why? • What changes would you like to see in rural development in the next 5 years?

Appendix 2

Letter of Request for Authorisation for Fieldwork in Isuikwuato Municipality



Technische Universität München

Technische Universität München – Lehrstuhl für Bodenordnung und Landentwicklung
Arcisstrasse 21, 80333 München – Deutschland

C/o Sir Charles C. Azubuike
The Secretary
Uturu Development Association
PO Box 64
Okigwe, Nigeria.

Munich, 7th December 2011

Dear Sir,

Doctoral Research Field-study: Collection of Data in Uturu, Isuikwuato, Abia State, Nigeria.

I am Mr. Uchendu Chigbu, a doctoral researcher from the Technische Universität München (Technical University of Munich), Germany. I am writing with regards to conducting an aspect of my doctoral research in Uturu, Isuikwuato, Abia State, Nigeria.

My doctoral thesis titled, "Territorial Approach to Rural Development: towards a method for sustainable development in Southeast Nigeria" has reached the stage of data-collection. I have designated your locality, Uturu/Isuikwuato, as a principal case for my study and would therefore be travelling to collect relevant data from your community. Activities to be carried out during my time in Uturu would involve key-informant interviews, participant's observations and focus-group discussions on key development issues in your community, and with persons in your community.

As part of the formal documentation process for my research in Uturu; and as demanded from me by my institution; I would like your Association to confirm that my proposed research and activities involved therein (as listed in previous paragraph) is not against any norms within your community or town codes. If it is acceptable to you, I would request that you issue me with a letter of authorisation confirming that I am welcome to conduct my field-study in your community.

I can confirm that such a letter will only serve as a notice that my field-study activities in Uturu are known to a central authority in the town; and that my activities are neither clandestine nor against the norm, culture, tradition or ethics of the people of Uturu. This request is in accordance with the research ethics for conducting doctoral research abroad, at the Technische Universität München, Germany.

Hoping to gain the favour of your confidence,

Yours respectfully,

Chigbu, Uchendu Eugene



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Chair of Land Management
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Internet: www.landentwicklung-muenchen.de

Appendix 3

Letter of Authorisation from Isuikwuato Community



UTURU DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

HOME – BRANCH

Motto: Unity, Peace and Development

Office of the Principal:
Uturu Secondary School
Uturu.
P.O. Box 5, Uturu –
Isuikwuato L.G.A., Abia
State, Nigeria

Date: ...14/12/2011....

The Research Assistant
Technical University of Munich
Institute for Geodesy, GIS and Land Management
Centre of Land, Water and Environmental Risk Management
Chair of Land Management and Land Tenure
O. Univ.-Prof. Dr-Ing. Holger Magel.

Dear Sir,

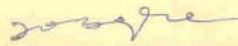
**DOCTORAL RESEARCH FIELD-STUDY: COLLECTION OF DATA IN UTURU,
ISUIKWUATO, ABIA STATE, NIGERIA: RE: MR. CHIGBU E. UCHENDU**

We have received your request to carry out some aspect of your research in Uturu and can confirm that none of the stated research activities in your letter is against the norms of our community. We therefore do encourage you to come to Uturu (in Isuikwuato, Nigeria) to carry out your proposed research on rural development.


We strongly believe that your research work will have a positive impact on our community in future especially in the area of environmental and educational development.

You are highly welcomed.

Signed


Elder Egbe John Okezuonu
Chairman

14/12/11


Sir Azubuike Charles
Secretary

EXECUTIVES

Elder, Egbe John Okezuonu
Chairman

Hon. Chief, Obike Felix-Kennedy
Vice- Chairman.

Sir, Azubuike Charles
Secretary

Mr. Okeoma Godwin

Elder, Ikpo Uche
Treasurer.

Deacon, Ukeje Friday
Welfare Officer

Chief, Obiaju H. K.
P.R.O

Chief, Goddy Uchendu

TRUSTEES

Chief Ejimofor S.I.

Chief Ibe I. Gregory

Chief Ogah Uche

Chief Ndubuisi George

PATRONS:

Surveyor Efiaka Emmanuel

Chief Mechie John

Appendix 4

Letter (From Doktor-vater) Authorising Researcher to Undertake Fieldwork



Technische Universität München

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Arcisstrasse 21, 80333 München – Deutschland



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Chair of Land Management
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<http://www.landentwicklung-muenchen.de>

To whom it may concern

Munich, 7th January 2012

Collection of Data for Doctoral Research by Mr. Uchendu Eugene Chigbu

Dear Sir/Madam,

I write to state that Mr. Uchendu Eugene Chigbu is a doctoral researcher under my supervision. He is still undertaking his doctoral research with focus on rural development in Nigeria.

I therefore strongly recommend that you grant him the necessary assistances he requires to enable him successful completion of his research.

If you need any further information, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely yours,

 O. Univ. Prof. Dr.-Ing. Holger Magel
Technische Universität München
Institut für Geodäsie, GIS und Landmanagement
Lehrstuhl für Bodenordnung und Landentwicklung
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O. Univ. Prof. Dr. Ing. Holger Magel

Appendix 5

Photos of some of Natural and Spatial features identified in Isuikwuato



A: Akpaka an urban node



B: Hopeville, an urban node



C: A major road with rural crafts shops



D: Market in Imobi, village centre



E: Ukwunwangwu, an urban node



F: New townhall, in Ukwunwangwu



G: A street in a village centre



H: Major road across village centre



I: Forest landscape of Isuikwuato



J: New Institutional development (private)



K: Gass station in an urban node, Hopeville



L: Feeder road linking a village centre and a small village



M: Residential development urban node



N: A farm in a small village



O: A bridge in a small village



P: Market in Imobi, village centre



Q: Light industry in Ugwuele quarry site



R: School and pupils in Akpukpa



S: Poor solid waste disposal in an urban node, Akpaka



T: A farm foot-path in small villages



U: Compound of a home in one of the Village centres, Imobi

Source: photos A-U were taken by the author during fieldwork in Isuikwuato