

**EVALUATION OF COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES USED IN THE
FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY ABUJA RESETTLEMENT SCHEME**

BY

JACOB SANANU

NSU/MA/DVC/0011/17/18

MASTERS OF ARTS (MA) DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

JULY, 2021

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**A DESERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES,
NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY KEFFI, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS (M.A) IN
DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION**

JULY, 2021

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation titled “**Evaluation of Communication Strategies Used in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja Resettlement Scheme**” is undertaken by me in a bid to contributing my quota to knowledge and has never been submitted for any degree. The study was under the supervision of Dr. Sunday Igbaba Ogbu and Dr. Onochie Bridget. All information sources have been acknowledged by way of references.

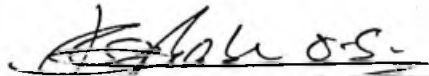
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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “Evaluation of Communication Strategies Used in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja Resettlement Scheme” meets the requirements and regulations governing the School of Postgraduate Studies, Nasarawa State University, Keffi for the award of Master of Arts (MA) in Development Communication and is approved for its contribution to knowledge in Development Communication.


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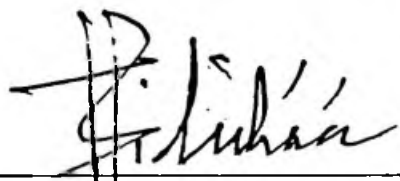
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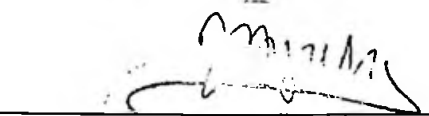
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the Lord Almighty for His love and providence. I also dedicate this study to my loving mother, Mrs. Asibi Jacob, who would not want to eat until she is sure I have eaten and unto my beautiful and loving wife, Mrs. Rejoice Agbada Sananu.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i
Certification	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ii
Dedication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii
Acknowledgement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iv
Abstract	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1.2	Statement of the Research Problem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1.3	Research Questions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1.4	Aim and Objectives of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1.5	Significance of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.6	Scope of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1	Conceptual Framework	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
2.1.1	Resettlement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
2.1.2	Principles of Resettlement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10

2.1.3	People's Participation -	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
2.1.4	The Incidence of Involuntary Resettlement in FCT	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
2.1.5	Concept of Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
2.1.6	Sustainable Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
2.2.1	The Imperatives of Participatory Approach in Development-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
2.2	Benefits of People's Participation in Development	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
2.2.2	World Bank's Reasons for Community Participation in	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	Development Projects -	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
2.3.1	Theoretical Framework	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
2.3.2	Empirical Studies on Resettlement and People's Participation	-	-	-	-	-	-	31

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Methodology -	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
3.1.1	Area of Study -	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
3.2	Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
3.3	Methods of Data Collection	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
3.4	Validity and Reliability of the Instruments	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
3.5	Method of Data Analysis	-	-	-	-	-	-	36

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1	Data Analysis and Presentation	-	-	-	-	38
4.2	Discussion of Findings	-	-	-	-	60

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.1	Summary	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
5.2	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
5.3	Recommendations	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
5.4	Limitations of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	68
	References	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
	Appendices	-	-	-	-	-	-	72

ABSTRACT

This study brings to limelight the non-involvement of resettlement communities in planning and implementation as the bane to resettlement logjam in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The idea of people's active participation in developmental projects is recently garnering momentum. This is not unconnected with the realisation of the numerous benefits the approach has in engendering effective and sustainable development. The advocacy for people's inclusion in development projects has been shouldered by numerous development proponents and scholars over the years. In fact, people's participation has even been added as a fresh component of development. Development that is fair to the present and the future is the development that is effective and sustainable. It is this backdrop that this study discusses the place of people's active participation in resettlement schemes as a paradigm that would engender effective and sustainable development. This study evaluates the communication strategies used in the resettlement schemes by the Federal Capital Territory Administration. Mixed research methods comprising qualitative and quantitative are used in this study. The study embraced Democratic Participant Media Theory and Theory of Justice because of their suitability in enhancing social inclusiveness. This investigation found out that there is nonchalant attitude by the Federal Capital Territory Administration towards deploying participatory strategies in planning and executing resettlement schemes in FCT. This study however, recommends that for there to be effective and sustainable resettlement schemes in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja, the FCTA has to appreciate deploying participatory communication approaches.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Over the years, there have been concerted efforts of huge and small developmental initiatives and intervention programmes aimed at uplifting the impoverished communities and nations from abject poverty and backwardness but the outcomes have not been anything to write home about. Most of the so-called elephant projects meant to change the narratives of the impoverished nations recorded partial or total failures shortly after such projects are executed and handed over to the beneficiaries. If development initiatives had in the past achieved their purpose of developing the poor communities, the impacts would have been more felt than what is obtainable today.

Due to the ineffectiveness of most development programmes in engendering effective and sustainable development, many development scholars emerged with so many development theories in a bid to bring about desirable development in the society. Some of these theories include modernization, structuralism, dependency, neoclassical amongst other theories. All these emerged as a result of series of attempts to finding lasting solutions to the nagging development challenges amongst the impoverished societies of the world. With all of these efforts, there are still lots of development challenges that are left unattended to. The approach to engendering the development that is effective and sustainable remained a serious challenge to the development interventionists.

However, with the recent realizations that active participation of project beneficiaries in all stages of development processes (i.e. from problem identification, needs assessment, planning, execution and monitoring) is incumbent to the success of any project initiative and its sustainability, the narrative is gradually changing. Participatory Communication strategies

communities marked for the resettlement do not see the policy as a good one hence they see it as a simple ploy to forcefully seize their land, give it to others who are more powerful or richer, thus depriving and impoverishing them.

It is incumbent to propose that the remedy to this development stalemate is to actively involve the affected communities in all the processes of the resettlement in order to earn their trust and buy-in the resettlement policy of the FCTA which is also going to be in conformity with the best global development practice. It is however lamentable to see that most of these original inhabitants who have sacrificed their ancestral lands for nation building are grappling with abject poverty as some of them have to be sub-letting parts of their houses for rent, while others take to doing menial jobs in a bid to making ends meet (Musa & Adeiza, 2017).

Horizontal communication, which is also known as participatory communication seeks to make people graduate from being mere project beneficiaries to drivers of development initiatives in their communities hence the ability to influence project design and direction with a view to improving their well-being. Resettlement does not just take place needlessly. Usually, it is necessitated by a number of developmental factors. Urban development like housing, rail and road constructions, dams, factories amongst others usually prompt displacements and thus, resettlement. Two things should be paramount while driving this development; the affected people and the project.

The relocation of the Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja emerged as the major drivers of displacement and resettlement. Musa and Adeiza (2017), explain that the first major policy statement made by the Federal Government in 1976 when it decided to relocate the Federal Capital of Nigeria from Lagos to Abuja, the central part of the country, the Federal Government made it obvious that the inhabitants of the then Abuja would be relocated from FCT to a new settlement. This was to avert any litigation and conflict arising

from the relocation but much later, this policy was thought to be unwise, expensive and un-realisable by the then Supreme Military Council under General Murtala Muhammed hence the reversal of resettlement outside the FCT to resettlement within the Federal Capital Territory.

Following this, the resettlement policy took a new dimension with the redesigning of the policy to be undertaken in phases, starting with the total evacuation policy scheme of 1979 where some few settlements were affected, followed by Kubwa resettlement policy of 1980, then the integration policy of 1991 and currently, the new resettlement policy of 2005. The new policy involves moving the original inhabitants outside the FCT and any other area marked for development. A total of 12 communities have been earmarked for resettlement and the four resettlements were marked for the first phase; Apo which has 460 hectares within the Abuja Municipal Area Council meant for Garki, Apo and Akpajanya villages respectively; Galuwyi-Shere which has 900 hectares in Bwari Area Council. Galuwyi-Shere Resettlement Scheme is to accommodate Utako, Maje, Zhilu, Mabushi, Jabi-Samuel, Jabi-Yakubu and Kpadna communities. It is rather very unfortunate that for over 45 years of commissioning of the physical development plan, there is very little or nothing heard about the resettlement schemes but rather, it is the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and the Nigerian Police Force that are now most occupants of resettlement schemes while the original inhabitants are adamant to moving to those new sites.

Conversely, resettlement is different from displacement and the only way the people would understand and view government's intension in good light is by duly consulting and carrying them along in needs assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases and their priorities captured. The United Nation High Commission for Refugees estimates that the number of people displaced due to development from 1980 to 2000 is within the range of 200 million and the increasing number continues to be in the neighbourhood of an

additional 10 million annually. There is a glaring need for alternative communication approaches if government must succeed in engendering resettlement without the risk of impoverishing the FCT aborigines.

Some records reveal that Resettlement Taskforce of the Federal Capital Development Authority in 1990 recommended three resettlement options which are Comprehensive Resettlement (resettlement within the capital territory with buildings and infrastructural facilities for the people being resettled with full compensation packages), Partial Resettlement (settling the aborigines with new lands, money and buildings and livelihood assets to give room for development) and Integration Option which entails the development of a settlement within the FCT to conform with the general development plan of the FCT without necessarily relocating the people and their assets. However, the above 1990 resettlement policy of the FCTA though looks fascinating, yet the policy did not take cognizance of the need for the policy implementers to evolve participatory approaches as a way of engaging with the various communities affected hence the availability of the conventional top-bottom channels. In the global best practices, the spirit of fair play and project's sustainability, integral developments such as resettlement ought to be influenced by the beneficiaries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In spite of the claims by the Federal Capital Territory Administration of engaging with the affected communities in the resettlement and the huge amount of money usually expended on resettlement schemes, the people are not properly consulted or carried along in the implementation of the resettlement schemes. The five areas marked for resettlement schemes are; Apo, Kubwa, Anagada, Shere-Galuwyi and Wasa Resettlement Schemes. To date, only Kubwa and Apo resettlement areas could be said to have recorded some levels of success in terms of relocating the aborigines while the remaining three schemes have been abandoned.

The resettlement policy has not brought anything good to the people but rather worsened their condition of living as their lands and homes were taken forcefully without providing them with sustainable alternative livelihoods. The recent ejection approach got the indigenous Akpajanya community in AMAC waylaid by 4am while they were still asleep, properties and buildings were completely brought down.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. To what extent are the original inhabitants of Abuja involved in needs assessment, planning and implementation of resettlement policy undertaken by FCTA?
- ii. How transparent and engaging is the FCTA resettlement committee in resettling the affected communities?
- iii. Is FCTA resettlement policy in conformity with the best global practice of resettlement?
- iv. At what stage were the original inhabitants of Abuja involved in the resettlement processes?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to evaluate the communication strategies deployed by the FCTA in planning and implementing resettlement schemes. The specifics, the objectives of the study are:

- i. To examine the extent of the original inhabitants of Abuja involvement in the planning and implementation of resettlement policy being undertaken by FCTA.
- ii. To determine the stage of involvement of the original inhabitants of Abuja in the resettlement processes.
- iii. To ascertain transparency and the FCTA resettlement policy conformity with the best global practice of resettlement.

- iv. To examine whether participatory communication approach could effectively address the challenges associated with resettlement.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study provides an ideal resettlement paradigm that would engender effective and sustainable development which would be acceptable and enjoyed by both the original inhabitants of Abuja and the FCTA. This study is critical at redeeming time, energy and scarce resources in undertaking the FCTA resettlement schemes. It is also a means of averting the perpetuation of impoverishment occasioned by inapt communication strategies. It is aimed at enhancing the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. It is also very significant to development and policy makers in a bid to avoiding embarking on projects that are ineffective, inefficient and unsustainable. Significantly, it would contribute to the body of knowledge and potential researchers who intend to carry out further studies will find it useful.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is premised on evaluating the communication strategies deployed by FCTA in resettling the original inhabitants of Abuja. The scope of the study are the selected communities meant to move to; Apo Resettlement Scheme (with over 460 hectares in AMAC), Shere-Galuwyi Resettlement Scheme (with 900 hectares in Bwari), Wasa Resettlement Scheme (with 700 hectares in AMAC) and Anagada Resettlement Scheme (with over 2,519 hectares situated in Gwagwalada Area Council).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Conceptual Framework

In this section, searchlight is beamed on major concepts of the study and meanings of the concepts in relations to the study. The variables in this study are; resettlement, participatory communication and sustainable development.

2.1.1 Resettlement

Resettlement simply refers to the process of helping someone move to another place to live or the act of moving to another place to live. World Bank (2004), links resettlement with construction which is usually a pre-requisite for sustained socio-economic growth which often requires the acquisition of land, and therefore, the physical relocation and economic displacement of people. These impacts collectively put together characterise the involuntary resettlement. Resettlement is seeing as involuntary hence the intension to relocate was birthed by circumstances and not necessarily borne by the affected people. No one ordinarily desires to be moved from his original location to another location if not necessitated by something, thus urban development is amongst factors that usually attracts resettlement. Other situations that could attract displacement of a people is emergency situations such as disaster or calamity, however, this study beams its light on resettlement heralded by urban development as it is the case with the Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

According to Musa and Adeiza (2017:15):

Resettlement is a relocation based on previous plans and consultations with the affected persons which is usually accompanied by adequate support mechanisms in the new place of residence covering the cost of physical detachment from original home where loss of home-based resources of sustainability are compensated for by the support received in the new location.

An ideal resettlement goes beyond just erecting beautiful edifices for the affected people devoid of their participation and means of livelihood and support system. Sustainable resettlement enjoys the participation of the people in all facets of the resettlement planning and executions accompanied by an alternative means of livelihood.

While involuntary resettlement is unarguably associated with diverse risks and costs ranging from; landlessness, joblessness, emotional disturbances, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of common property and services, political and social disarticulations, which if not identified and handled meticulously, some of the already vulnerable populace are likely to be further impoverished and disempowered, thereby undermining the principles of sustainable development which abhors catering for the present while impairing the ability of the future to meet her needs.

World Bank sees people's participation in intervention projects and execution as critical and has over the years advocates the recognition, integration and the involvement of the people in the scheme of resettlement. This, it is believed, would enhance not just the project success, but would also go a long way to improving the living standard of the affected populace. Participatory approach in resettlement has the strategies and potentials of enhancing and improving the wellbeing of the resettled, thus making them come out better off than they were before the resettlement. Resettlement could become very empowering and acceptable if only its outcomes were influenced by the beneficiaries.

Resettlement and Social Audit (2016) decries that the Nigerian Land Use Act of 1978 has remained the basis for all land management and administration both in States and the Federal Capital Territory which range from land acquisition expropriation and compensation. This policy is found to bestowing too many rights on the government while depriving affected persons' fair hearing, entitlement and grievance redress. The reports further contends that the

scope of category of persons entitled to compensation according to the Land Use Act is limited to Customary Right Holders and thus, undermines the users, renters and squatters whose livelihoods are depended on the land being acquired. This approach forms an outright deviation from the World Bank policy which provides that all projects affected persons irrespective of land-holding rights are entitled to one form of compensation or the other in order not to be economically worse-off as a result of the development activities.

More so, it is observed that the Nigerian Land Use Act also differs from the World Bank policy in the principle of equity in assets valuation and entitlement which according to the Bank's policy in the principle of equity in assets valuation and entitlement ought to be based on the current market rate for replacement of project affected items. For instance, the rate received in 2006 by the project affected persons that lost farm crops and economic trees reflects the fixed asset compensation regime as contained in the Land Use Act as at 1978, thus failing to take into cognisance, the current market price of the assets or cost of replacement. Additionally, in terms of community engagements, the Land Use Act is obscure on the description of how the project affected communities shall be consulted in the process of involuntary resettlement. The Act only unclearly provides that "there shall be a public notice so that those who have interest in the affected land will indicate their interest" (Resettlement and Audit, 20015).

2.1.2 Principles of Resettlement

Just as other development programmes have their respective guiding principles, resettlement also has principles or philosophies which if meticulously adhered to, would go a long way to minimizing tendencies where the resettled are further exposed to impoverishment and other unpleasant risks. The International Finance Corporation (2002) provides that people affected by resettlement should be consulted and involved in resettlement planning to ensure that mitigations and benefits are appropriate and sustainable.

Involuntary resettlement should be conceived as;

- i. An opportunity to improve the livelihoods of the affected people and undertaken accordingly.
- ii. Original land owners should be compensated fully and fairly for lost assets.
- iii. It should be avoided where not too necessary.

Depending on the approach, resettlement project is a very delicate and integral development process capable of exposing people to risks or opportunities that could either improve or mar their livelihoods and thus survival. Therefore, the emphasis on people's participation to engendering effective and sustainable development cannot be over-emphasised. Hence resettlement entails both the physical displacement of people and the disruption of their livelihoods, development communication experts ought to work together with project developers to ensuring consistent and pragmatic applications of the best principles and guidelines toward contributing to the mitigation of psychological, environmental, economical and social risks.

To engender effective and sustainable resettlement according to Musa and Adeiza (2017), the resettlement scheme ought to comply with the United Nation's viewpoint which categorically states that "no resettled person should emerge from the resettlement scheme worse off than he was before displacement". This implies that enhanced and sustainable livelihood and comfort for the resettled ought to be the guiding principles of every resettlement scheme. It is however very lamentable to always observe that most resettled populace suffer breach of agreements, loss of livelihoods, poor and substandard provision of housing, basic amenities and exposure to various degrees of social risks for having agreed to relocate or surrender their ancestral lands to the government or companies for development purposes.

The Ministerial Committee on Facts Finding and Way-Forward on Apo Resettlement (MCFFWFAR, 2012) as aptly captured by Musa and Adeiza (2017) in their assessment study of the livelihoods of the Apo Resettlement, identified a number of sustainability challenges facing the scheme which include; the non-inclusion of the natives in the design of the houses, the rooms are so small and unfit for human habitation, the resettlement site lacks space for expansion, some persons entitled to houses were allocated plots; allocation of houses meant for resettlement to non-indigenes or to non-beneficiaries, outstanding compensations claims with respect to farmlands which were acquired in the implementation of the resettlement scheme are yet to be addressed and encroachment on the Apo Resettlement Site particularly, the neighbourhood centres, public facilities and flood plains by the Land Department and the Abuja Geographical Information System (AGIS) amongst others. The above challenges still subsist, thus, the reason for some of the natives selling off their properties and relocating elsewhere.

In dominant paradigm, bureaucratic establishments assume or even believe they know what is good for the people, thus the use of top-down approach. Ijere (1990), as cited in Ayuba (2015), identifies the Protectionist Approach and the Top-down Approach as the dominant approaches the development and governmental agencies deploy over the years in formulating and implementing development programmes.

This approach is dominant in most bureaucratic settings where things are done for the people and not with the people. Protectionist Approach believes that development intervention or initiative could be initiated and executed on behalf of the intended beneficiaries as the beneficiaries are not valued enough to participate on development issues that affect them. More so, the top-down approach can be seen as a strategy used for passing down to the people, certain policies and directives from the governing

bureaucracy which sometimes, would require the application of force and oftentimes mixed with propaganda to achieving a particular result. These kinds of approaches have in many situations, occasioned dissatisfaction thus leading to community or people's resistance to government's programmes. This is the scenario playing out in FCT between the original inhabitants and the government. The engagement approach in resettlement planning and implementation has not changed from being the usual top-down approach thus resulting to a lot of stalemates on resettlement issues. Available reports have it that it is government officials who carry out planning and also the implementations of the resettlement exercises, most times with very little or no inputs at all from the affected communities.

2.1.3 People's Participation

There is now intensification on the awareness in the development circles that people's participation in development initiatives and interventions is very instrumental to project's success and its sustainability. World Bank has defined participation as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affected them" (World Bank, 1996:13). Paolo Freire, a renowned development scholar has advocated for the beneficiaries of development projects to have a stake in the entire development phases that is from analysis, planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation as this would no doubt engender sense of project ownership leading to its success and sustainability. Paul (1993) sees participation as an active process by which beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of a development with a view to improving their wellbeing. No one can influence anything except he is involved or consulted and it is that act of involvement that a development direction can be influenced.

It is incumbent to add that people's participation on its own is not limited as a matter of right, but it is obvious, it possesses the power of eliminating suspicion in project planning and execution. The truth remains however that, it is hard for any community intervention or initiative projects to be truly transparent, successful and sustainable without the deliberate engagement of the project beneficiaries from beginning to the end. People's participations now guide development of projects toward sustainability worldwide.

Over time and even now, many avenues are sought after by those executing projects for communities to cut corners and thus shortchange the entitlement of those communities. Testimonies abound also in most resettlement schemes where government officials amassed huge number of houses and plots for themselves and friends at the detriment of the real beneficiaries. It is assumed that the non-inclusion of beneficiaries in the resettlement design and implementation is deliberate hence their inclusion would enable the beneficiaries know where there are compromises and breaches and thus, oppose them. It could be true that government officials often hide under the top-down and non-inclusive approaches to perpetuate their personal interest against the beneficiaries of projects. Participatory unlike the top-down approach is highly democratic, people-friendly, transparent and opened, devoid of unnecessary secrecy and suspicion.

2.1.4 Involuntary Resettlement

It is imperative to know that it was not the original inhabitants of Abuja that applied to the Federal Government for relocation. The incidence of resettlement of the Abuja aborigines came to limelight with the declarations by the then Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed for the need to relocate the capital of the nation to a more central and secured region. Some of the reasons marshaled by General Murtala on the need to secure a more central location to house the capital of Nigeria in 1976 were; to facilitate easy access from all parts of the country be it by road, rail and air which would facilitate the

administration of the country and to also serve as a symbol of the country's unity and greatness; to place the capital in a more secured place due to security reasons, i.e sea-borne attacks from external aggression, to enhance administrative convenience owing to the fact that Lagos was functioning as a dual capital; Lagos and Federal Capital thus a lot of congestions were inevitable.

Musa and Adeiza (2017), reveal that the development of Nigeria's new Federal Capital Territory (FCT) project at Abuja, covering up to 8000 km² is the largest and most bulging development project in recent times that stirred massive population displacements. Over the years, the Abuja resettlement scheme has undergone some kinds of policy summersaults due to several challenges that weakened the initially adopted policies. The first major policy statement made by the government in 1976 when it decided to move the seat of the nation's capital from Lagos to Abuja preferred complete relocation of the entire aborigines of about 150,000-300,000 people) outside the new Federal Capital Territory. Having attempted resettling communities like Wuse, Karu, Nyanya, Maitama amongst others outside the FCT, the cost implication discovered by the Supreme Ruling Military Council was huge and it was later resolved that the resettlement would henceforth be within the FCT so that the government would use the available funds in developing the capital city instead of just spending it in carrying out resettlement projects

In the new implementation policy, a total of 12 communities were ear-marked for resettlement in the first phase and sequel to this, four resettlement sites were identified which include; Apo Resettlement Scheme (460 hectares in Abuja Municipal Area Council), Galuwyi-Shere Resettlement Scheme (900 hectares in Bwari Area Council), Wasa Resettlement Scheme (700 hectares in Abuja Municipal Area Council) and Anagada Resettlement Scheme (2,519 hectares in Gwagwalada Area Council).

It is important to note that at this level, the implementation of the Abuja Master Plan was now redesigned to take place in sequential stages where one segment is completed before the next is begun and that at every phase, the aborigines would be resettled elsewhere within the FCT for ease and completion of physical development but unfortunately, for over forty-five years of commissioning of the physical development plan, there are yet in sight, holistic and workable resolves and paradigms to remedying issues that are impairing the sustainability of the Abuja resettlement projects. Deployment of coercion and propaganda of many kinds have neither helped the matter hence there is now an increase in people's rights awareness especially amongst the Abuja original inhabitants, civil societies too have been on the watch against human rights violations amongst others. Indeed, the era for deployment of coercion to gaining compliance is no longer viable.

Aside the inconsistency in government policies, the major factor that has impaired the success of resettlement in FCT is the communication approaches deployed by the Department of Resettlement and Compensation. For instance, in an interview conducted by the Leadership Newspaper of June 19, 2018 edition,, the Village Head of Jabi-Samuel (one of the communities earlier ear-marked to move to Galuwyi-Shere Resettlement Scheme) Chief Samuel Yabusa revealed that they were not consulted or carried along regarding the issue of resettlement and as such, are not even aware of any alleged resettlement of their community to anywhere. In another interview conducted by same Leadership Newspaper dated 19th June, 2018, the Village Head of Jabi-Maje, Chief Adams Jatau also revealed that they were not informed about the proposed relocation exercise to anywhere and in fact, they do not want to be moved to anywhere anymore. More so, even the FCT Ministerial Fact Finding Committee and the Way Forward (2012) to probe resettlement failures amongst other things identified that the affected original inhabitants were not carried along in the resettlement processes and the committee also

spotted sharp practices and compromise of trust amongst its officials handling the resettlement processes.

International organisations like the United Nations, World Bank and International Finance Corporations advocate people's participations in their development affairs not just as part of their rights, but also a sure way to project sustenance. The best global practice as envisaged by development drivers is that people affected by involuntary resettlement should not just be consulted but should be involved in the resettlement planning and executions to ensure that mitigation and benefits are appropriate and suitable. Involuntary resettlement is to be seen as an opportunity to improve the living standard of the affected populace but such has not always been the case in developing nations.

The dominant communication paradigm which has always being in operation by bureaucratic establishments and which oftentimes has not been effective is the top-down or the vertical communication approach. In this approach, policies and decisions are formulated and passed down to the affected communities. Here, the government agency acts as sole chief planner and implementer of the development scheme. It must however be clarified that the occasional or casual involvement of community leaders in discussions at later stages of project's implementations cannot be called participation. Genuine community participation must see potential beneficiaries of project having a stake in the entire processes and phases which include; needs assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

2.1.5 Concept of Development

Development as a concept has numerous definitions and entails many things to different people. Some see development as a situation where local communities are provided with

basic amenities such as electricity, water, schools and health facilities. Others view it as a process where people are provided with job opportunities and are able to cater for their immediate families. Surely, development transcends the idea of being provided with good houses, schools, or hospitals only.

Development, aside being accompanied by the provision of those basic amenities also has to do with enabling people to be fit to take charge of opportunities and even challenges around them. Amodu (2007) is of the view that development is the process of positive socio-economic change in the quality and level of human existence which is aimed at raising the standard of living, the quality of life and human dignity. For Amodu, development has to do with a change from negative to positive or from bad to an improved living tailored towards improving the lots of humanity. For Oladipo (1996) in Soola (2003), development in general is a process of economic and social advancements which enables people to realize their potentials, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment. It is a process aimed at freeing people from evils of wants, ignorance, social injustice and economic exploitation. The above understanding about what development entails succinctly encompasses that development is not just an economic, political or social prosperity, but a means of enabling people realize their potentials and to be able to maximized it so as to lead an improved life hence it is not a development for people to be provided with basic amenities yet living under perpetual infringement of their rights as citizens. Seers (1979), elucidates development as:

The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to employment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one of two of these central problem has been growing worse, especially if all three have, it will be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capital income doubled.

The argument by Seer simply entails that if there is serious decrease in a country's poverty, unemployment and inequality rates, such country could be said to be experiencing development. The primary purpose of development is to reduce poverty and enhance living. Therefore, development should not just be understood only on tangible perspectives but should be approached holistically. Suffice to say that it is very possible for a country's economy to experience growth but without the country actually being developed especially if there still exist gross issues of inequalities.

Sen (1999) as cited in Nafziger (2005:1) also holds similar view on what should constitute development. He summarises that "the essence of development should be to reduce deprivation or broadening choice". Deprivation according to him represents a multi-dimensional view of poverty that include hunger, illiteracy, illness and poor health, powerlessness, voicelessness, insecurity, humiliation and lack of access to basic infrastructure. When people are humiliated and not enabled to voice out their feelings or pains, no matter their economic or infrastructural status, they cannot be said to be developed hence development encompasses both tangible and non-tangible features.

In their own views, Laín Mclean and McMillan (2003) in Ayuba (2015) explain that development is a normative concept referring to a multidimensional process. They argue that it must be relative to time, place and circumstance. Adding further, they maintain that increased economic efficiency, expansion of national economic capacity and technological advancement are generally accepted as necessary conditions, if development is to be sustained. It is to be noted from the above that if development is said to be relative to time, place and circumstance, it therefore beholds that there is a need for a shift in the dominant development top-down communication paradigm constantly in use by the bureaucratic establishments hence flexibility in communicating development would be more feasible. The need for flexibility is hinged on the fact that the

development formulas used in United Kingdom for instance might have worked for UK but may not necessarily yield same results in Nigeria hence our peculiarities. Thus, the development models earlier espoused as a pathway for the less developed nations to follow and become developed failed substantially to yield the expected results owing to some peculiarities. Participatory communication has the strategies of harnessing and harmonizing these peculiarities amongst communities and nations toward engendering effective and sustainable development.

Development studies show that the concept of intervention and development projects as it is obtainable globally today, had its lineage just after the World War II. According to Macekura (2013), intervention and development projects were birthed in 1949 during the inaugural address of President Harry S. Truman where he proclaimed new American Foreign Policy to include redressing the economic backwardness and political instability that plagued underdeveloped regions of the world. The new Foreign Policy was for America and her strong allies to key into fighting the poverty that had swamped a larger population of the earth. It was a kind of development renaissance aimed at assisting poor economies sprout up at same time advocating the democratic ideals globally.

While discussing the outcome of a meeting of experts who were at the forefront of participatory communication then, Ashcroft and Masilela (1994) in Ayuba (2015) observed how participation was still ill-conceived, neglected and further viewed development aids from a vertical perspective, rather than horizontal, and then said the poor countries are responsible for their plights. Ayuba (2015) observes that the period of Cold War made development more or less, battle-field fought with the various developments models and approaches however, having capitalist system dominantly shaping the international boundaries of development.

2.1.6 Sustainable Development

The term 'sustainable development' is likened to more or less, a trending song in the mouths of development drivers. However, it must be said that it is one thing to initiate and drive development and it is another thing to make the development sustainable. Sustainable development, according to International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), (1990) is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. IISD suggests that one of the ways of attaining sustainable development is by improving quality of life comprising social, cultural and economic dimensions. The concern of sustainable development is not all about meeting the present needs only, but about also enabling or allowing the future to be able to cater for herself. Thus, what is happening to the culture of a people, their economy and social life now and tomorrow ought to be of utmost importance. The future's development ability must not in any way be impaired or compromised while taking care of the present.

World Bank Policy Research Department, Public Economics Division (1994) succinctly captures the following as what sustainable development entails:

Sustainability is defined as a requirement of our generation to manage resource base such that the average quality of life that we ensure ourselves can potentially be shared by all future generations. The notion 'quality of life' is meant to include everything that influences the situation in which people live. Hence, the notion includes much more than consumption. Extending the requirement of sustainability to future generations yield the following definition of sustainable development: Development is sustainable if it involves a non-decreasing average quality of life and places the following requirement on our generation: our generation's management of the resource base is sustainable if it constitutes the first part of a feasible sustainable development. This is the interpretation of sustainability.

From the perspective of sustainable development, it therefore beholds that no development, be it resettlement or whatsoever should be done with the intentions of meeting the needs of the present only while jeopardizing future's ability to meet her

needs. When people are resettled for instance, they should be enabled to have the prospects of developing themselves in the future. They should not be impaired or denied their potentials of self or future development. When only adults from ages 18 and above are enumerated for houses or plots allotments during resettlement, what would now become the fate of the un-enumerated children when they finally grow up? Participatory strategy is at the heart of engendering a non-decreasing average quality of life and which is devoid of injustice.

2.2.1 The Imperatives of Participatory Approach in Development

The benefits of deploying participatory strategies in driving development are enormous. The benefits of participatory approach in project or development programmes ranges from reducing development cost, increasing perceived and actual benefits and increasing awareness amongst the populace on the project's use and benefits. Other benefits include the approach's ability of mobilizing relatively cheaper local manpower and resources, the facilitation of a hitch-free project which would birth the project's sustainability. The success of every project is not just in its successful completion but is tied to its ability not to compromise the future's ability of development. It also entails the project's ability to outlive the presence of the initiators (Rondinelli, 1993:2).

While emphasizing on the importance of participation, a renowned development scholar, Stirratin Chehhtri (2013) observes that such is the popularity of the concept that it is now difficult to find a rural-based development project which does not claim to adopt a participatory approach involving bottom-up planning acknowledging the importance of indigenous knowledge and local people. Kurian (1997) has opined that participation has been added as fresh ingredient of development. This is to say that for

there to be a meaningful and sustainable development, people's participation remains indispensable. The realisation for need of participatory approach is gradually on the rise over the years.

Participation means many things to many people. Some even see it as elusive concept both in literatures and on the field. However, participation is an alternative development paradigm and approach that engenders effective and sustainable projects through a strategic involvement of the targeted beneficiaries in needs assessment, planning, monitoring and implementations. It is an approach that has proven to serve the masses effectively and efficiently over the years and it is now the emerging paradigm most international donors now look up to any time they want to implement projects.

Participation is a collective sustained activity for the purpose of achieving some common objectives, especially a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development (UNESCO 1979). Burkey (1993) in Chehtri (2013:3) in agreement with UNESCO's stance on participation, remarks that participation is an essential part of human growth, development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility and cooperation. Participation is so enriching to both the project initiators and beneficiaries hence it creates room for the both to learn certain things hitherto unknown to them. There are certain local knowledge and contexts that project initiators would not have or know but the local people know and equally, there is a lot that the community people stand to gain in the participation activity. It is generally believed that projects built by participation usually create room for learning and sustainability, in fact, it sometimes leads to economic empowerment where new trades are acquired amongst the local populace.

In a related definition of participation, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (1979) views participation as a means of particularly those currently without power, to redistribute both the control of resources and power, in favour of those lived by their own productive labour. This definition sees people's participation in project planning and implementation as a means of empowerment, when new knowledge or technical know-how is acquired about a process, it serves as empowerment.

Paul (1993) in Chehhtri (2013) forwarded brief but apt understanding of his orientations of the concept of participation. He views participation as an active process by which beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values as they cherish.

Participation in simple terms means the deliberate involvement of project beneficiaries from needs assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring through evaluation phases. This is done with the view to having their stakes on the project, leading to buying-in and subsequently project's sustenance. Another hallmark of participation is transparency.

2.2 Benefits of People's Participation in Development

Chehhtri summarises the following as benefits of people's participation in development projects:

- i. People's participation in development projects bring effective social change rather than impose an external culture on a society.
- ii. Community participation in the design and management of a project greatly enhances the likelihood of project success due to improved goodness fit and increased sustainability.

- iii. Participation in planning and implementation of programmes can develop the self-reliance necessary among rural people for accelerated development.
- iv. People participation can increase the efficiency of development activities in that, by involving local resources and skills, it can make better use of expensive external costs.
- v. Participation helps to build local capacities and develop the abilities of local people to manage and to negotiate development activities.
- vi. The decision-making without people's participation is ineffective and no development project can do without it.
- vii. Participation can often help to improve the status of women by providing the opportunity for them to play a part in development work.
- viii. Participation can lead to better targeting of benefits to the poorest via the identification of key stakeholders who will be most affected by the activities.
- ix. Participation can increase coverage when local people are able to assume some of the burden of responsibility and thus help to extend the range of activities of a development activity.

Chehhtri has however outlined one of the disadvantages of people's participation to include cost of time and money as it is essentially a process with no guaranteed impact upon the product. He argued further that participation can greatly add to the costs of development activity and therefore its benefits have to be carefully calculated.

2.2.2 World Bank's Reasons for Community Participation

World Bank is one of the international agencies at the forefront of advocating for people's participation in development programmes owing to the benefits accruable therein. Below are some of the reasons for community participation in projects:

- i. That the local people have a great amount of experience and insights into what works, what does not work, and why.
- ii. Involving local people in planning projects can increase their commitment to the project.
- iii. Involving local people can help them to develop technical and managerial skills and thereby increase their opportunities for employment.
- iv. Involving local people help to increase the resources available for the programme.
- v. Involving local people is a way to bring about social learning for both planners and beneficiaries.

Of all the pathways to development, it must be realized that it is the failure of the top-down approach that has paved way for the bottom-up approach.

The salient focus is on people-based development that is effective and sustainable. It must however, be noted that bottlenecks faced in development efforts have brought the realization that genuine peoples' participations in development initiatives engenders a sense of co-ownership, project success and sustainability. There is this sense of inner joy and commitments amongst people if their opinions and contributions are respected and captured in project design. It is common that humans, irrespective of their class loved being valued and respected.

2.3.1 Theoretical Framework

The emergence of the various development theories were attempts by development scholars to find feasible solutions to the development challenges bedeviling most of the poor societies of the world. However, most of those theories yielded small or inconsequential results. The reasons are not far-fetched from approaches and the belief that the impoverished societies can actually become developed by simply adapting Western Worlds' development models. By adapting Western nations'

development models, it therefore means that driving development ideas would be top-down which is vertically inclined.

It is in light of this that Todaro and Smith (2003) in Solomon G. Anaeto (2010) opined that most of these theories hinged their beliefs that backward nations can attain economic development by simply accessing foreign aids and by paying attention to investments and savings. It is interesting to know that instead of appreciating and harnessing cultural dynamics and people's participation as ladders to attaining effective and sustainable developments, most early development theories rather perceived culture as impediment which must be dismantled and thus paid less attention to people's participation and peculiarities in driving development or needed change. Traditional societies and their cultural practices were seen as what must be jettisoned in order for them to attain modernity. Due to the approaches of those early theories, the needed changes yearned for could not still be attained.

However, relentless search for viable models that could engender sustainable development and improve the well-being of the poor societies heralded Democratic Participant Media Theory which this study premised on as a guide. With the world gravitating towards democratic governance that encourages people's participation in the acts of governance, Denis McQuail (1987) birthed the Democratic Participant Media Theory which advocates horizontal flow of communication as against the dominant vertical or top-down communication approach obtainable amongst the earlier development theories. Democratic-Participant Media Theory acknowledges how germane the audience is in communication and development process. McQuail proposes that the needs, interests, and political society has to do with the right to relevant information; the right to use the means of communication in small-scale settings of community, interest group, sub-culture amongst others.

This theory discourages situations where communication is primarily left in the hands of a very few people while the rural poor are in dire need of relevant information that could empower them; thus, the need for decentralization of the media. This theory sees people's access to relevant information as not just pertinent but also a right. Information to engender change is not what should be appropriated by a few but amongst all strata of the society. It is pointed earlier that where there is participation, there is learning or acquisition of new trade birthing economic empowerment. This is just part of the relevant information (learning) some populace need to be empowered. There is mutual learning in participation.

Participatory Model of Communication holds that stakeholders' participation in their development affairs has the potency to guarantying success and sustainability of projects. This theory is integral to this study of appraising the communication strategies used by the FCTA in carrying out the resettlement of the indigenous communities of the Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

The Participatory Model of Development holds that the ideal way to attaining sustainable development is through people's participation birthing empowerment. This is achieved by a shift in paradigm where people who were hitherto passive recipients of development now become active drivers in development strides. The participatory concept sees people as competent enough to be involved and to contribute their best in the issue of development even as it affects them. Ashcroft and Masilela (1994) contend that "if peasants do not control or share control of the processes of their own development, there can be no guarantee that it is their best interest that is being served". This therefore entails that beneficiaries must have a stake in whatever affects them before they see themselves as co-owners of such

development. It is incumbent to note that people's participation in projects has the potency to attract their commitment which simply stimulate into their buying-in of such projects. It is important to say that people's active participation should be seen and regarded as an essential and indispensable development component.

In a bid to making development more participatory and people oriented, Soola (2003) in Solomon G. Anaeto (2010) emphasises that "Development must be of the people, by the people and for the people. It must permeate the entire spectrum and strata of society, touching on the lives of the poorest of the poor, lifting them up as it were from the abyss of poverty, ignorance, disease, squalor, human right abuses and similar deprivation".

The above emphasises that for development to be sustainable, there must be active participation of the intended beneficiaries and their views and perception must be allowed to influence the development processes and outcomes thus, projects or developments must not just be for the people, but should be by or with the people. More so, ideal development also boils down to freedom from all forms of injustices, human abuses, ignorance, discrimination, deprivation amongst other things. People must be enabled to lead improved lives. It is pertinent that people's views and perceptions are adequately captured in the development planning and execution to enhance sustainable development.

Participatory approaches delight in assigning greater roles and involving the intended beneficiaries in all the project cycles which are needs assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. More so, participatory approach in decision making process sees indigenous and people's perception as important as

academic knowledge and scientific information (Chambers, 2007). The approach places premium on project beneficiaries.

Even though it must be mentioned that participation of stakeholders is not just the single components or strategy for project success and sustainability as there are other factors however, it remained an indispensable strategy hence it has severally been demonstrated over time and is proven to be viable and veritable strategy towards project success and sustainability.

This study is also guided by the Theory of Justice by John Rawls (1971). This theory attempts to proffer solution to the problems of distributive justice in the society. Thus this theory believes that society should pursue the greatest good for the greatest number, not just for the powerful or rich, but for everyone. The theory is opposed to the idea of the tyranny of majorities over minorities. The theory argues that members of the society who have surrendered their privileges (as it is the case with the original inhabitants of FCT) to those who govern their affairs should in turn enjoy the protection and maintenance of their social rights. The theory of justice advocates further that every member of the society should be made to enjoy equal rights and opportunities be them economic, social or political without discriminations. However, Musa and Adeiza (2017) lament that psychologically, the resettlers are often times not satisfied because of their belief that the development induced projects are not directly for their own benefits but for the benefits of privileged few especially the rich. The original inhabitants of Abuja have over the years lamented their marginalisation and losses of means of livelihoods to the development induced projects and have always asked if they were not also Nigerians. Bala (2006) as cited in Musa and Adeiza (2017) identifies eight risks affecting displaced people to include: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality,

loss of access to common property and services and social disarticulation. To have a just and egalitarian society, the theory believes there must be equal distribution of justice to the members of the society.

The theory also holds that it is even ideal that the least in the society should access more benefits and also that the economic inequalities should be reorganized in such a way that no one is hindered from occupying any position or office irrespective of ethnicity or even social background but in FCT, there have been persistence cries of marginalization and deprivation under the guise of State of origin.

Owing to the many benefits accruable in participatory approach, qualitative and quantitative methods and tools are deployed in conducting this investigation. Even though some scholars have pointed out that qualitative approach could be so slow, time consuming and complicated when large number of people are involved, yet it remained ideal in this kind of investigation.

2.3.2 Empirical Studies

Attempts are made to evaluate some studies done on resettlement. Musa and Adeiza (2017) conducted a research on “An Assessment of the Sustainability of Resettlers Livelihood Assets in the Apo Resettlement Scheme of Abuja” it was discovered that planning and implementation of the resettlement schemes and compensation did not adequately involve the people to be resettled which resulted to many of them feeling unsatisfied, cheated and shortchanged.

On whether there was enhancement package for the affected individuals, the study found that there was no livelihood enhancement programme or package in the resettlement scheme, in fact, none was even given grants or training to enhance their

livelihood in order to build resilience, thus compelling some of them to resorting to personal livelihood adaptation strategies which include; restructuring their buildings to hire tenants, sales of buildings and returning to their yet demolished settlements, changed occupation to petty trading and wage employment amongst others.

The study also discovered that there is a significant difference between the lost and compensated livelihoods assets of the resettlers. The resettlers lost assets across the human, natural, financial, physical and social capitals, and that only two physical assets i.e plots and buildings were restored to the resettlers in the compensation scheme with zero livelihood packages. The study assessed that the completed resettlement projects so far has impaired the livelihoods of the Abuja aborigines, deprived them of opportunities and space for future expansion and thus made them worst off than they were before resettlement. This is not in tandem with the best global practice of driving development.

In another study by Ayuba Maje Luka (2015), a study on “Critical Analysis on Communication Strategies of Selected Development Projects in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja” it is discovered that Fadama III Integrated Agricultural Project at Kekeshi Community in Abaji Area Council deployed bottom-up and participatory methods leading to attaining not just projects’ success but also projects’ sustainability whereas, the Millennium Development Goals Water Scheme and that of the resettlement of Garki Village aborigines to Apo Resettlement Scheme came under failure hence the use of the top-down communication approach. The study found out that government was the chief planner of all the processes as the inputs of the affected community were never a matter of priority. The study discovered further that the houses were very small with no provisions for future expansion. The study also

discovered that there was no any training or empowerment programme to enable the affected people (resettlers) enjoy sustainable life in their new residence.

To remedy the resettlement impasse and avoid unnecessary depletion of the scarce resources and impoverishing people, the two studies proposed people's participation in project planning through implementation. Any development project that desires to be effective and sustainable must deploy participatory approach which is bottom-up approach hence project's success and sustainability are tied to people's participation. Stakeholders participation usually engenders sense of commitment and belonging which metamorphose to sense of co-ownership and sense of co-ownership usually bring forth project's success thus guarantying its sustainability. Projects that ignore stakeholders' participation like the two scenario discussed above would find it difficult to get stakeholders buy-in into the project and is liable to suffer all forms of sabotage and rejection from community. It must be recalled that the joy of every project is in its acceptance, completion and sustenance. With the increase in awareness on the benefits of participation, communities now feel shortchanged if their participation on development that affects them is ignored. This act has the latent impact of affecting the project buying-in.

It is worth saying that if the essence of development is primarily to fight poverty and improve the livelihood of a people, no agency should therefore ignore participatory approach while driving development. It is quite disheartening to see development that is supposed to secure people's future, empower and improve their wellbeing rather risking them for further impoverishment. The implementation of the Abuja Master Plan through resettlement should not in any way be handled in such a way that the affected inhabitants are made worse-off than they were for agreeing to sacrifice their ancestral land to become the seat of the Federal Capital.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists the research methods deployed in gathering data on the Federal Capital Territory Administration's communication approach in resettling the original inhabitants of Abuja following the relocation of the nation's Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja.

3.1 Methodology

The research design adopted in this study is mixed research methods which were used for the collection of data. Questionnaire, interview and Focused Group Discussion were used to collect both quantitative and qualitative data for this research. According to Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008), mixed method involves collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data. The design is relevant to the study in collecting data using both questionnaire and interview.

3.1.1 Area of Study

The area of study is the Federal Capital Territory Abuja and most importantly, the Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) where most communities are affected by development leading to resettlement.

3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Technique

Random sampling is usually taken from an investigated population. In random sampling, each subject or unit in the investigated population stands the equal chance of being selected (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). The Abuja Municipal Area Council is the most disturbed area with displacements and resettlements issues hence it houses the main administrative areas for the federation. 2006 Census projected its population to 776, 298. The surrounding villages are predominantly farmers, hunters,

traders and civil servants. The predominant tribe here is Gbagyi. Other indigenous tribes found here are the Gwandara, Gade, Koro and Hausa. Almost every other tribe found in Nigeria is resident in this Area Council hence it is the administrative headquarters of the nation.

Sample size entails the number of participants or subjects involved in an investigation. This study randomly selects 130 respondents from ten communities under Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) essential to this study. Some of these communities are actually very close to each other thus the ease. These communities are; Mabushi, Jabi, Zhilu, Utako, Maje, Kpadna, Jabi-Samuel, Jabi-Yakubu, Durumi and Garki earlier resettled at Apo Resettlement Scheme. Mabushi, Jabi, Zhilu, Utako, Maje, Kpadna, Jabi-Samuel and Jabi-Yakubu are slated to be resettled at Shere-Galuwyi in Bwari Area Council while Durumi (I) and (II) amongst other communities are billed to be resettled at Wasa Resettlement Scheme situated in Abuja Municipal Area Council. A total of 130 questionnaires were structured and distributed to the respective respondents in the aforementioned communities all under AMAC, 100 questionnaires were successfully filled and retrieved while the remaining 30 could not get back to the researcher.

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

The method used in collecting data is mixed method using questionnaire, interviews and Focused Group Discussion as instruments of collecting quantitative and qualitative data. Mbachu (2011) refers to the questionnaire as a list of questions designed to elicit information from respondents by filling in the answers in spaces provided for the purpose. For purpose of making the exercise very simple for the respondents, structured questionnaire with open-ended and closed ended questions to enable the respondents freely express themselves were systematically structured. The

questionnaire was organized into different sections. The first part contained the respondents' bio-data and research questions.

The Focus Group Discussion and interview schedule helped in capturing the views of some stakeholders comprising youths socio-cultural group and leaders of the communities affected by the FCTA resettlement policy.

According to Delnzin and Lincoln (1998), interview is one of the most commonly used methodological techniques while (Seidman, 1998) adds that it is used to understand the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. The proceedings of the Focused Group Discussion and the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. The researcher contacted the interviewees, through a one-on-one talk and conducted the interviews at a time and venues that were convenient to the respondents. Data from the interviews and Focus Group Discussion were recorded on the schedules by the researcher and presented in Chapter Four.

3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

The reliability or validity of the measuring instrument to measure what is supposed to measure in this research followed the collection of data from the respondents which is scrutinised to ascertain if the data collected can answer the questions this research seeks to provide answers for.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The data is analyzed using descriptive statistics method of analysis. This involved calculating the frequencies and percentages. The data collected was edited and coded. The data collected was collated, analysed and presented in tables. Simple Percentage was used in analysing and presenting data.

The researcher used Yamane (1967) statistical formula in the selection of the respondents who were involved in the study. This formula was used to select the sample population and calculate the data based on simple percentage of the respondents.

$$\frac{NR \times 100}{TR \times I}$$

Where NR = Number of respondents

TR = Total number of response

100 = is the percentage

I = is constant

Therefore, a sample of 100 respondents, proportionately distributed across the affected communities by the relocation policy of the FCTA.

The interviews were transcribed, analysed and presented in thematic form based on the variables in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is consisting data analysis and presentation. The chapter is divided into two; the bio-data of the respondents and presentation of answers to the research questions thrown to the respondents.

4.1 Data Analysis and Presentation

Table 1: Sex of the Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	58	58
Female	42	42
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

The table above depicts the composition of both sexes in the study. Females have 42% while their male counterparts have 58% thus the majority.

Table 2: Age of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18-30	10	10
30-40	16	16
40-50	27	27
50-60	29	29
60 and above	18	18
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table illustrates that 10% of the ages of respondents fall between ages 18-30, 16% fall between ages 30-40. 27% has the age brackets from 40-50, 18% are those within age 60 and above while ages 50-60 has 29% and forms the majority in this sample population.

Table 3: Ethnic Background

Ethnic Background	Frequency	Percentage
Gbagyi	65	65
Gwandara	11	11
Koro	8	8
Hausa	10	10
Others	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

The above table clearly shows that the Gbagyi ethnic group represents the majority in this sample study hence their 65% ranking. This is followed by Gwandara representing 11%, Hausa 10%, Koro 8% and others 6% respectively.

Table 4: Respondents Educational Background

Educational Background	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Primary	22	22
Secondary	41	41
Tertiary	21	21
None	16	16
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above indicates that 22% of the respondents educated only to primary school level while 41% attended secondary school, 21% tertiary institutions while 16% did not acquire

formal education. The above shows that larger numbers of the sampled respondents are literate hence they can read and write.

Table 5: Respondents Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Farmers	16	16
Company workers	19	19
Civil servants	38	38
Business	22	22
Others	5	5
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table demonstrates that 16% of the respondents are farmers, 19% company workers, 38% comprising civil servants while 22% are business men and women. Others make up the 5%. The civil servants in this sample study form the majority.

Table 6: When was the idea of resettlement conceived?

Year	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1976	71	71
2003	18	18
2006	9	9
Others	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Field data 2019

The table above proves that 71% of the respondents believe that the idea of resettlement was birthed in 1976 with the creation of the new Federal Capital Territory, 18% of the

respondents believed that it started in 2003 when they started experiencing some demolition exercises, 9% believe it was conceived in 2006 while 2% hold contrary opinions.

Talking about the resettlement incidence in the Federal Capital Territory, the paramount ruler of Garki Chiefdom who is also the Chairman, Abuja Municipal Traditional Council of Chiefs, His Royal Highness Alh. (Dr) Usman Ngakupi quickly zoomed to the memory lane, thus:

“Well, I can say categorically that the incidence of resettling the indigenous people of the Federal Capital Territory Abuja was birthed far back 1976 during the regime of Late General Murtala Muhammed, the then Head of State. It was actually upon the discovery that Lagos was unfit to house the Federal Capital of Nigeria partly due to its location, congestion and other security reasons. There were a lot of administrative inconveniences, coupled with the fact that Lagos is surrounded by waters with little or no space for expansion. These and other reasons prompted General Murtala to set up a seven-man committee known as ‘Aguda Panel’ to look for a suitable site for a new Federal Capital Territory and the area which is now called Abuja was earmarked covering about 8000 square metres. While announcing this, General Murtala said the original inhabitants therein would be resettled outside the FCT to their respective mother States. The States that were carved to pave way for the establishment of the new Federal Capital Territory were: Niger, Kwara, now Kogi State, and Plateau State now Nasarawa State respectively. The resettlement of the natives outside the FCT and back to their mother States was meant to avoid subsequent primordial claims by the natives.

It was rather unfortunate that barely some months after this declaration, he was assassinated in a coup and was succeeded by his Chief of Army Staff, General Olusegun Obasanjo. Gen. Obasanjo continued from where his predecessor had stopped and Aguda Panel came out with assessment and evaluation cost for resettling the entire original inhabitants of Abuja outside the new Federal Capital territory. I think the amount the panel arrived at was just two billion

naira, however, the Supreme Military Council felt that the amount was very huge hence there would not be enough money left to start developing the new capital. The government brought a new option that those who desire to leave could leave while those who want to remain could remain and that is why some of us are still here to date and are part of the new Federal Capital. Those that desired to leave left for their mother States i.e Niger, Plateau and Kogi. This is why you can hear of New-Karu, New-Nyanya and New-Kullo in Nasarawa State while the communities that moved to Niger are the; New-Wuse, New-Bwari amongst others. Since 1976, there have been policy summersaults regarding resettling the original inhabitants of FCT. Today, they would say they prefer integration; another government would come tomorrow and say they want total evacuation of the natives. This is how it has been”

On the engagements approaches, the paramount ruler said it is simply top-down approaches, a situation where they are called for meetings and are handed down the expectations of the government. They have little or no inputs on the kinds of houses to be built not even the negotiations of the means of their livelihoods. It is government that decides what they feel is okay for them. Because of my constant agitations for integration as against resettling my people elsewhere, I was nicknamed ‘Mr Integration’ and later dethroned by the then FCT Minister, Mal Nasiru El-rufai and sent on exile to Abaji. It was then he got the ample opportunity to carry out some demolitions in Karmo-Gwagwa, Apo and Nyanya amongst others.

Table7: Were you informed about the government's decision to resettle your community?

Information	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	74	74
No	20	20
Others	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table depicts how some respondents reacted on whether they were informed about resettlement, 74% said yes they heard of it, 20% represents those that said they were not informed about resettlement while 6% were undecided.

Whether they were duly informed about the resettlement, an elder statesman who was one time National Gbagyi Council (NGC) President and had also participated in some of the resettlement committees, Elder John Bawa Bezhinwa has this to say:

“To start with, the news of relocating the Federal Capital of Nigeria to Abuja came to our people through our traditional rulers, that is our chiefs and you must not forget that the only recognized chief then was the Emir of Suleija hence we were still under Suleija Emirate. Those days, Suleija used to be known and called Abuja. With the creation of the new Federal Capital having almost 70% of its composition from Niger State, the new Federal Capital was named ‘Abuja’ while the former Abuja is the one now called ‘Suleija’.

So if you are asking whether we were informed about the relocation, I can tell you yes but of course, this was how it worked; the Emir of Abuja was called and intimated about the proposed taking over of our land to become the new Federal Capital Territory. The Emir in turn summoned his lesser chiefs i.e the district heads, the village heads, and ward heads and

were notified of the Federal Government decision which was presented to them as a public overriding interest and were charged to go brief their respective subjects also. Since then, this is how it has always being; anytime they want to take over any of our lands, they summon our chief(s) and the chief(s) would in turn notify their subjects. But there are times also where we first got wind of the resettlement issue via the main stream media before our engaging with our local chiefs. There are also times that houses would be marked for demolition before some information would be taken down to our traditional rulers. The information flow is usually from the Department of Resettlement and Compensation –to our local chiefs- members of the community. We are educated enough to know that one of the ethics of planning requires the involvement of the affected persons, but here, we are often handed down what they feel is the best for us”

Table 8: How were you informed about the resettlement of your community?

Channel of Information	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Radio	18	18
Television	2	2
Traditional rulers	69	69
Town-hall meeting	11	11
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

From the above table, those respondents who said they received the news about their community resettlement through radio constitute 18% while those that consent they got their information via television constitute 2% from the sampled population. 69% is the majority that claimed they got informed through their traditional rulers, 11% went for those who said they get such information through the town-hall meetings.

Table 9: How did you feel upon the receipt of the resettlement news?

Reaction to Resettlement News	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very happy	6	6
Unhappy	68	68
Fairly comfortable	20	20
Very bad	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table demonstrates that only 6% of the respondents were very happy when the news of having their communities resettled greeted them, 68% were overwhelmingly unhappy such news, 20% were fairly comfortable with such news while those that felt very bad constitute 6%. This is a simple evidence that majority of the original inhabitant are not usually at ease each time they receive any resettlement news.

Table 10: Does your community enjoy good supply of basic amenities such as tap-water, electricity, healthcare and educational facilities?

Basic Amenities	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Not so much	63	63
So much	28	28
Not at all	9	9
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table shows that those who said they do not so much enjoy the good supply of basic amenities make up the largest percentage which is 63%. Those who are however enjoying the presence of basic amenities ranked up to 28% while those not enjoying good supply of the basic infrastructures are 9%. The 63% simply means they have the presence of some of these basic amenities but are not efficiently functional.

Table 11: What is your major challenge in your present settlement?

Challenges Faced	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Space for expansion	16	16
Access to farmland	15	15
Means of livelihood	17	17
All of the above	52	52
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above shows that 16% of the sampled population under study has issues with space for expansion, whereas 15% are concerned about their farmlands, 17% has challenge with livelihoods, 52% are of the view that space for expansion, access to farmlands and means of livelihoods are their major challenges.

Shedding more lights on major challenges faced by the FCT original inhabitants (both the resettled and yet to be resettled communities) the elder statesman, Elder John Bawa Bezhinwa reveals that:

“Government’s approaches and nonchalant attitudes towards our economic and social existence made us to write several protest letters through one of our socio-cultural groups I spearheaded those days. Government has failed to acknowledge the fact that when a traditional community is displaced, that it usually comes with spiritual, physical, emotional political and economic challenges. Most of our people now travel as far as Niger and Nasarawa to go buy land to farm. One other annoying thing is that in situation where our people are even privileged to be included in the resettlement committees, before you know it, they are disengaged, this is how we are shortchanged. This practice made some us press buttons in order to have our people included in the committee especially as regarding to selecting the kinds of buildings at Kubwa Resettlement.

Sometimes we only watch the government plan and start executing projects without really knowing how they arrived at such formulas. For instance, in New-Wuse where some of our people are resettled, it is lamentable to see that the so-called resettlement buildings are not solid, contractors not supervised, sub-standard materials were used in erecting those structures, in fact as it is, fear would not even allow you to sleep inside those structures for fear of collapse. Those who had means had to reconstruct new structures therein. Hence they were not also allotted farmlands in their new settlements, those who had money decided to acquire farmlands while those who could not afford purchasing any, resorted to feudal system. Due to poverty and frustrations, we lost many of our kinsmen therein.

Let me make it clear that if we in Durumi for instance are asked to go to the new proposed resettlement site at Wasa, I will say no. In Apo new resettlement for instance, buildings for the resettled are erected on 300square metres, 400square metres while those who are brought in to occupy our lands are allotted thousands of square metres. This will mean that our children would have to go somewhere else to look for land to buy so as to build. If my present ancestral house occupies more than 400square metres, how then do you expect me to be resettled for a far lesser structure and space? For these reasons, I have always said Abuja is sitting on a timed bomb.

Just see how our people in Wuse and Maitama were resettled during raining season on trucks like refugees without anything like disturbance allowances, the so-called Shere-Galuwyi Resettlement Scheme in Bwari meant to house some of our people from AMAC have severally been abandoned by the contractors, thus currently being occupied by some Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Similar story goes with the Wasa Resettlement Scheme while the one along Deidei has been taken over by the Nigerian Mobile Police Force as residential quarters hence those posted or transferred to Abuja usually have accommodation issues”.

Further lamenting on their non inclusiveness in the resettlement schemes, Elder Bawa adds that “the enumeration questionnaire ought to have been designed with our respective inputs, hence there were a lot of contending issues that we were not satisfied with. For instance, children below the ages of eighteen were not captured by the enumeration officers, those with more than two properties can only be captured once leaving the remaining properties, these and others made me to classify the entire exercise a flop, a deliberate attempt to further impoverish my people. This exercise grossly fall short of the best global practice of resettlement hence the ideal practice is to leave the resettled far better than he was before resettled”.

Table 12: How many times were you called to participate in community or town-hall meeting regarding resettlement?

Number of Meetings	Frequency	Percentage (%)
One time	66	66
Two times	18	18
Many times	7	7
None	9	9
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

From the table above, it can be deduced that those respondents who said they were invited for community meeting for only one time regarding resettlement are 66%, those who said they held meeting twice secured 18% while those that said many times got 7% and the none category of the respondents got the least, 9%. This is to show the extent of how government interfaces or engages with the communities but at the periphery.

Table 13: At what stage of the resettlement processes were you invited to participate in the meeting regarding the government decision to resettle your community?

Stage	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Before enumeration	70	70
After the enumeration	26	26
Not at all	4	4
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table vividly shows that the natives are usually invited to participate in a meeting just before the commencement of the enumerations, this sample ranked 70%. Those who said they are called for meeting after enumerations are 26%, those that said none represents 4%.

Table 14: Who decided the resettlement location and the building models?

Who Decided the Building Models and the Location?	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Joint stakeholders	7	7
The community	2	2
The government	91	91
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

In reacting to the choice of resettlement buildings and the location, 7% of the respondents revealed that it is decided by joint stakeholders comprised of government and the affected communities. Only 2% said it is decided by the community, 91% unraveled that it is solely decided by the government authorities hence their inputs on building types and even location choice are not usually sought for from them.

Table 15: Do you in any way feel your cultural heritage is threatened due to resettlement?

Threat to Cultural Heritage	Frequency	Percentage (%)
So much	70	70
Not so much	26	26
Not at all	4	4
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above shows clearly how 70% respondents affirmed that they feel their cultural heritage is being threatened due to the resettlement activities eliciting a lot of artifacts and cultural displacements. 26% did not feel much threatened while only 4% are in no way feeling threatened about the loss of their cultural heritage due to resettlement activities.

Table 16: What are the forms of community participation vis-à-vis the resettlement planning?

Forms of Participation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Project funding	1	1
To be notified of government's decision and action	90	90
No participation	9	9
Total	100	100

Source: Field data, 2019

The above table depicts the nature of community participations during resettlement processes, 1% stands for project funding as community participation, 90% stands for the community participation just by being summoned to be notified of government's decisions and actions and not to contribute in the process while 9% believes there is no participation of the community in the resettlement processes.

Table 17: If called to make a choice, would you prefer resettlement or integration?

Choice Between Integration and Resettlement	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Integration	95	95
Resettlement	4	4
Undecided	1	1
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above indicates clearly that the FCT aborigines prefer integration over resettlement, this is evident by the 95% respondents' view on its favour, and only 4% represents resettlement while 1% stands for the undecided.

Table 18: What do you think is responsible for the poor compliance of the natives to relocating to the new completed sites?

Reasons For Poor Compliance	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Site uncompleted and unfit	25	25
Poor community engagements in the processes	30	30
All of the above	45	45
Total	100	100

Source: Field data, 2019

In the table above, 25% respondents feel the new sites are uncompleted and thus unfit for human habitation. 30% respondents represent views of those who feel it is due to poor communities' engagements in the planning and execution processes whereas, the overwhelming views represented by 45% believe that it is simply because the sites are uncompleted and unfit and also poor community engagement processes in the planning and execution of the resettlement scheme.

Table 19: Asides of allotting houses and plots of lands to you, was there any special empowerment provisions to cater for your livelihood and sustenance?

Special Empowerment Package For Sustenance	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	10	10
No	84	84
Not sure	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above shows that 10% agreed there was a special empowerment package to help boost their livelihoods after resettlement, 84% affirmed that there was no any special empowerment package provided to cater for their livelihoods and sustenance after being resettled hence some of them had to even embark on subletting their houses so as to enable them survive the new environment, 6% remained unsure.

Table 20: Were there feelings of secrecy and distrust in the handling of the resettlement processes by the FCTA officials?

Issues of Distrust	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	32	32
Very much	66	66
Not at all	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

In the above, 32% respondents show that there were feelings of secrecy and distrust in the way and manner, the FCTA officials were handling the resettlement processes. 66% has stronger affirmations to the feelings of secrecy and distrust amongst the officials of the FCTA while 2% believe such notion of secrecy and distrust did not exist.

The Youth Chairman of Garki-Pyeyi, Mr Emmanuel Danbeki Gora who is resettled and now lives in Apo Resettlement shares his experience on the aspects of community engagements and FCTA's transparency in carrying out resettlement projects.

"Well, having been briefed about the resettlement of our community to Apo Resettlement, we quickly went ahead to constitute community committee that would be interfacing with that of the FCTA. The committee selected individuals from Garki-Gbagyi, Garki-Hausa, Akpajanya and Apo. Permit me to say that unlike FCTA's resettlement committee, ours were very transparent to us whereas that of the FCTA only worked for themselves.

Let me shock you that the lands and properties that some of those FCTA committee amassed for themselves in this resettlement, not even our paramount chief has a half of it. In fact, I can even point out their houses and those plots they have sold out already. Let me quickly correct the wrong information going viral that Gbagyi are selling their lands and houses given them by the government, excuse me, how can we sale what we do not have? Seventy percent of those houses sold were owed by non-indigenes because they belonged to the resettlement committee, they decided to swindle us. The Resettlement Committee takes joy in shortchanging the real beneficiaries. At this juncture, let me advise that, anytime there is need for resettlement even not just in Garki, it should be by head count. Whatever a headcount is entitled for should be multiplied by three, this would help our children. What transpired in our community should not be allowed to be repeated elsewhere if we must secure and guard our future”.

Table 21: What are your likely subsisting fears regarding resettlement?

Factors Responsible For Fear of Getting Resettled	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Loss of cultural heritage and inconveniences associated with resettlement	28	28
Disarticulation of family ties and fear of impoverishment	30	30
All of the above	42	42
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The table above, 28% represents the views that the loss of cultural heritage and inconveniences associated with resettlement are the major subsisting fear amongst the FCT

natives. 30% fears that the disarticulation of family ties and fear of further Impoverishment are the subsisting cause of fear of resettlement by the natives. 42% in this study believe that loss of cultural heritage, inconveniences associated with resettlement and disarticulation of family ties and fear of impoverishment are all responsible for the fear of getting resettled by the FCT natives. This is partly as a result of the experiences earlier learnt from their fellows who were resettled earlier elsewhere.

Table 22: Do you still have access to your farmlands?

Access to Farmland	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	11	11
No	71	71
Very little	18	18
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

11% of the respondents from the table above agreed they still access to their farmlands, 71% said they lack access to farmlands while 18% consent that they still have very little access to their farmlands. By this, it can be deduced that majority of the natives are being deprived of their farmlands due to the development of the FCT.

Responding to question regarding the livelihood of his people, Chief Aminu Esu Akuyi, the Chief of Mabushi makes this known:

“My son, if we had access to our farmlands as it used to be, you would not have met any of us here by this time at home, we would have all been very busy now on our farms. But you see, our farmlands have all been taken by the government for development purposes. In fact, some of our farms are now estates, ministries, barracks, schools amongst others. We now have to be travelling some far distances before accessing farmlands, sometimes it is even outside Abuja. Life would have been more unbearable for us if not because of the little

money we make from our local houses. We use part of this money to feed and to also send our wards to school. Let me quickly adds that we are not longer interested in moving out to anywhere, we have seen what befell our brothers who were earlier resettled at New Wuse, houses were not properly built, no allotment of farmlands, no disturbance allowances and no secondary school. How do you now want us to leave seeing how our brothers in Wuse and Maitama were treated? We prefer urban renewal or if you like call it integration. Those who want to come take over our ancestral land are ordinary citizens like us, we ought to be given equal treatment please”

Table 23: What is your present source of livelihood?

Means of Livelihood	Frequency	Percentage (%)
By subletting part of my house for rentals and traveling far distance to farm	53	53
Private business	27	27
Civil servant	20	20
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The means of livelihood of the population sampled according to the table above is thus: Those that live by subletting part of their houses for rentals and traveling far distance to farm represents 53%, those that earn their living doing private businesses is represented by 27% while 20% goes for those who are civil servants.

Table 24: In your view, how can you rate the FCTA performance and engagement approaches in terms of planning and executing resettlement in your community?

Performance and Community Engagements Evaluation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very successful	12	12
Very poor	60	60
Partial success	28	28
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

In the table above, 12% of the sampled respondents in the study are of the view that FCTA's performance and its community engagements approaches are very successful, 58% differ in their view and insist the performance and the approaches of engaging with the affected communities are very poor owing to the realities on ground. 30% on the other hand believe FCTA's performance and community engagement approaches are partial success.

Table 25: In what way(s) do you think FCTA can make her resettlement approach more participatory to the affected communities?

Ways of Engendering Community Participations in Resettlement	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Genuinely engaging stakeholders from needs assessment to execution of the resettlement project	73	73
Calling them to notify them of the outcome of government's decisions only	7	7
Engaging only their traditional rulers	20	20
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

To engender community participation in resettlement, 73% are of the opinion that genuine engaging community stakeholders from needs assessment to execution of the resettlement project would go a long way in ensuring community participation. 7% are of the hold that calling community stakeholders alone to notify them of the outcomes of government's decisions is the way forward whereas 20% are those respondents that believe engaging with their traditional rulers is the sure way for community participations.

Table 26: How do you think resettlement scheme by FCTA can be repositioned to achieving the desired development and also ensuring sustainable livelihood of the affected communities?

How to Attain Effective Resettlement	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Honest community participation and transparency	67	67
Application of force	2	2
Good housing only	31	31
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data 2019

The above table as graphically represented is an attempt by the study to source for ways to reposition FCTA Resettlement Scheme towards effective and sustainable resettlement. According to 67% respondents' opinions, they believe that genuine community participation and transparency would contribute in no small measures toward repositioning development

challenges arising from resettlement activities. 2% represents those who believe that to reposition resettlement scheme for effective delivery, application of force is the way to go. 31% respondents hold the view that by only providing good housing for the resettled, resettlement problems would be solved.

Focus Group Discussion at the Garki-Apo Community Townhall with seven participants who happened to be officials of the Garki-Apo Youths Development Association on why resettlement schemes in FCT seem not effective, the participants unanimously opined that it is partly due to poor engagement strategies and shrouded practices of most government officials saddled with the responsibility of carrying out the resettlement project. They decried not being carried along in the scheme of things such as the choice of resettlement destinations and also in the choice of house design. Exclusion of under-eighteen children during enumeration, non provision for future expansion and very poor livelihood enhancement packages amongst other things as being responsible for the resettlement impasse in FCT. On how best to attain sustainable resettlement, the participants are of the view that resettlement should take place only where it is unavoidable. And that if it must take place, affected people ought to be carried along in the scheme of things such as needs assessments, choice of resettlement destinations, housing models, adequate livelihood enhancement packages, provision for future developments, inclusion of the young ones that are below ages eighteen hence they would grow up/someday to demand for space to erect their own buildings, transparency amongst FCTA officials handling the resettlement schemes. The group however decried the deliberate exclusion of one of the inhabitants by FCTA into the committee whom they knew is highly knowledgeable in the resettlement processes and requirements. The group revealed further that it would cost an individual close to fifty million naira to be able to erect a structure on the allotted plots hence some of those plots are situated on hills and mountain tops. They added that even at that, there has been a new disturbance or

proposal such as the passage of high-tension cables across the allotted plot and new proposed road networks to pass across the said allotted area. The participants however opined that due to longtime policy summerraults and the inability of the previous governments to undertake resettlement earlier, only houses affected by vital or public infrastructures such as railway, hospital, school etc should be resettled while the rest should be integrated.

4.2 Discussion of Findings

From the information on Table 1, it shows that majority (58%) are male partly because they are the representatives of their households while their female counterpart represents 42% of the sampled population.

Table 2 presents the age variations of the sampled respondents used in this study which shows that majority of the sampled respondents used in this study are within the ages of 50-60 as they represent 29%, followed by age 40-50 constituting 27% . Those within the ages of 60 and above are represented by 18%. On the ethnic background of the sampled population (table 3) the investigation shows that Gbagyi ethnic group (65%) constitutes the majority in the sampled population followed by Gwandara ethnic group that represents 11%, Hausa 10%, Koro 8% and others 6% respectively.

Information on table 4 proves that respondents representing 41% are secondary school graduates and forms the majority in the sampled population while those that attended only primary school represents 22%, those with no formal education represents 16%. More so, table 5 depicts majority of the respondents (38%) to be civil servants hence their literate ability to read and appropriately to the questionnaires. Businessmen class makes 22%, company workers 19% and farmers' composition in the sampled population is represented by 16%.

Table 6 shows that majority of the sampled respondents (71%) believe that the idea of resettlement of the original FCT inhabitant came to limelight in 1976 when the then Head of State, General Murtala Muhammad made a declaration concerning the creation of the new Federal Capital Territory and made a demand that the original inhabitants of the area would be resettled outside the FCT. 18% believe it was conceived in 2003, 9% 2006 while others believe it came about in 2006. This therefore entails that majority of the literate class know exactly when the journey of resettlement was birthed.

On whether the original inhabitants are usually informed about the government's decision to resettle them, table 7 proves that 74% are in affirmation that they are usually informed, 20% said no, and others indecisive 6%.

On the channels they usually receive information about their resettlement, majority of the respondent (69%) on table 8 reveals that it is usually through their traditional ruler(s), 18% said through radio, 2% television while 11 said townhall meetings. This is simply a proof that traditional channels if well explored and maximized, is still very veritable even in this modern era, the traditional institutions can be repositioned for effective community participation on developmental issues.

Expressing how they feel each time the news about resettlement gets to them, 68% respondents on table 9 bare that they are usually unhappy with such news, 20% said well, they are fairly comfortable while those very happy and those unhappy rates 6% respectively.

Rating the presence and supply of basic amenities in their communities, 63% on table 10 indicates that it is not so much as there are still hitches with good the supply of water, electricity and functional health facilities. 28% however maintains that they are so much enjoying the presence and supply of basic amenities in their respective amenities. Those not enjoying any constitute 9%. Discussing what they see as major challenge in their settlements,

table 11 showcases the challenge of space expansion, access to farmlands and means of livelihood as the major challenges facing them. Talking about the number of times they were called to participate in community meetings' regarding the issue of resettlement, table 12 shows 18% representing those that said they participated only once, while 46% represents two times.

Table 13 shows that just before the enumerations of their houses begin, they were informed by their traditional leaders via the established community channels, 70% confirms this, those that say after enumerations stands for 26%, not all 4%. On the resettlement location and the building design, table 14 (91%) reveals that it is solely the government that does it, 17% believes it is a collaborative decision. And on whether their cultural heritage is threatened due to resettlements, table 15 reveals 70% respondents saying yes, that their cultural heritages are threatened so much, those saying not so much represents 26% while those that feel unthreatened 4% only. Resettlement does not only lead to the risk of homelessness, landlessness, joblessness, increased morbidity and mortality, it also leads to social disarticulation and loss of cultural artifacts and sites (Bala as cited in Musa et al, 2017).

On the forms of community participation in relations to resettlement, table 16 indicates 90% respondents revealing that the form of their participation even at the community meetings is just to be notified of the government's decisions and actions. 9% agreed no participation at all. On whether they would prefer integration over resettlement, table 17 shows that 95% of the sampled respondents opted for integration while just 4% prefer to be resettled.

Table 18 shows that poor community engagements and unfit houses are bane of poor community compliance to moving to those sites completed. Asides of house and plot allotments, table 19 through 84% show that there was nothing like enhancement package to aid their survival.

The table above shows that 10% agreed there was a special empowerment package to help boost their livelihoods after resettlement, 84% affirmed that there was no any special empowerment package provided to cater for their livelihoods and sustenance after being resettled hence some of them had to even embark on subletting their houses so as to enable them survive the new environment, 6% remained unsure.

On whether there was suspiciousness and distrust amongst the FCTA Resettlement Committee, table 20 indicates that 66% affirmed 'very much' that there was suspiciousness and distrust amongst those government officials handling the resettlement project. This position agrees with the displeasure made known by Garki-Pyeyi Youth Chairman, Mr Emmanuel Danbeki Gora when he said during an interview that even their paramount chief cannot boast of having the houses and properties the members of the resettlement committee have amassed for themselves. He said those men worked only for their own interest.

On what constitute their likely fears regarding resettlement, table 21 reveals loss of cultural heritage, inconveniences associated with displacements, disarticulation of family ties and fear of further impoverishment as their major fears.

On whether they still have access to farmlands, 71% forming the majority from the sampled respondents on table 22 said they do not longer have access to their farmlands anymore as most of their farmlands have been taken over by the government and some of them now serve as offices, estates or barracks amongst others. 18% said they still have but very little, 11% responded that they still have. The position of the majority agrees with the position of the Chief of Mabushi, Mall Ibrahim Esu who lament during interview session that their farmlands have been taken over and they now have to be travelling far distance to farm.

Investigating the source of livelihood of the affected natives, table 23 shows that the majority of the respondents live by subletting part of their houses for rentals and travelling far

distances to farm, this response is represented by 53% while those doing private businesses rate up to 27%, civil servants 20%. In rating the engagements approaches by the FCTA, table 25 shows 60% respondents scoring the participation approach very poor, 28% says partial success, 12% says very successful.

Table 25 represents majority (73%) who are of the opinion that FCTA can make their approaches community participatory if they genuinely engage community stakeholders from planning to execution of the resettlement project. On attaining effective and sustainable resettlement, table 26 shows that transparency and genuine community participations from planning to implementation phases of the resettlement can engender resettlement success and sustainability, this view is represented by 67% respondents. Only good housing and or application of force are not sufficient in themselves to guaranteeing project success and sustainability.

The interface with the Focused Group Discussion participants traced poor community participation, shrouded practice by some FCTA officials handling the resettlement project, poor livelihood enhancement packages and corruption as the bane for the resettlement stalemate in the FCT. The overwhelming stance amongst the participants on the way forward is for the FCTA to avoid resettlement where it is avoidable and try to evolve a more participatory and engaging approaches where the affected populace could adequately be reached and carried along in the scheme of things. Those who have agreed to sacrifice their ancestral lands for development should be given a sense of belonging in whatever thing that is planned for them if the government does not want to be wasting resources arising from rejection of her resettlement schemes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter is divided into four components; summary of findings, conclusion, recommendations and limitation of study.

5.1 Summary

The increasing failures of development projects especially the incidence of ineffective and non-sustainable resettlements schemes in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja since inception is one of the salient socio-economic issues FCTA and the original inhabitants have been contending with over the years. It is over forty-five years now since the relocation of the Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja yet, there is very little or no tangible outcome to showcase as a sustainable resettlement scheme. The livelihoods of those earlier resettled are a serious source of concern. This development impasse has been traced to the faulty communication paradigm usually deployed by the successive FCTA administrations which sees little or zero need for the inclusion of the affected communities in needs assessments, planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation. This study advocates that people's active participation in project planning and execution especially as regards resettlement cannot be downplayed if effective and sustainable development is the main goal.

5.2 Conclusion

With the proclamation for the need to relocate the Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja in 1976 to date, a lot of concerted efforts and policies have been made towards resettling the original inhabitants of the new Federal Capital Territory Abuja yet birthing only inconsequential outcomes. The three resettlement options earlier envisaged by the successive Federal Capital Territory's Administrations and which

have been inconsistent are; the Comprehensive Resettlement which proposes resettlement within the Federal Capital Territory with buildings and infrastructural facilities for the people being resettled and with full compensation packages, the second option is the Partial Resettlement which proposes partial resettlement by settling the aborigines with new lands, money and buildings and also livelihood assets to give room for development. The last one which is the Integration Policy entails the development of a settlement within the FCT to conform to the general development plan of the FCTA without the relocation of the people and their assets. It is imperative however to say that neither of these resettlement policies can be effective nor sustainable if there is little or poor stakeholders' participations in needs assessments, planning, implementations and monitoring. Many studies have proven that if people do not become leading actors in their own developments, such development initiative, no matter how beautiful or giant it might be, its success and sustainability cannot be guaranteed. Participatory communication is at the forefront of enabling and empowering project beneficiaries from ordinarily being recipients or consumers of already-made development package to becoming generators and drivers of their own developments.

Participatory communication remained the ideal alternative communication paradigm for government and Non-Governmental Organisations should they desire delivering effective and sustainable projects. It would be recapped however that relative to best global practices, the implementation of the previous resettlement programmes by the FCTA were marred with flawed process, inadequate community engagement, poor asset valuation and under-compensation thereby resulting in trust deficit and hostility by the project communities.

5.3 Recommendations

In order to attain effective and sustainable resettlement, policy makers of the Federal Capital Territory Administration should take into cognizance the following recommendations;

- i. There is an urgent need for FCTA to value deploying participatory approaches in planning and implementing resettlement schemes hence the approach has proven to be effective and sustainable in community projects delivery over the years.
- ii. People's participation should not just be at the middle, tail-end or periphery, but should be genuine and sustained from beginning through the end as this would engender not just project success, but would also bring about project's sense of ownership. Sense of co-ownership of project would engender its acceptability and sustainability. The Kubwa and Garki resettlement scenarios where it was even the community members that struggled to be admitted into the resettlement committees and were later schemed out along the line should totally be avoided.
- iii. People's livelihoods should be given better attention if they must not risk impoverishment shortly after they are resettled. It is not enough to provide them with modern houses but without a plan of enhanced livelihood packages and trainings for their adaptation and sustenance in their new abodes.
- iv. There should be provision for future expansion in the resettlement plan even for children not up to age eighteen at the time of enumeration hence they would grow up and desire a space to develop.
- v. The commitment and priorities of the affected aborigines could best be captured if they are genuinely involved in the needs assessment, planning and implementation. FCTA should stop assuming it knows it all by planning and executing resettlement projects which has serious implications on the peoples' survival

- vi. Hence resettlement activity affects people physically, psychologically, culturally, financially, socially, emotionally and politically, FCTA should either train its staff or hire the services of participatory communication experts to help interfacing with the affected communities in a bid to mitigating adverse consequences. Use of threats and force should be avoided in all ramifications.
- vii. Participatory approach should be appreciated by FCTA hence it is relatively cheaper and popular amongst the people. It engenders acceptance to innovation with more ease.
- viii. Since it is ideal for fighting social exclusion, mitigating poverty and giving voice to the voiceless, participatory approach should be deployed in development and resettlement programmes by the FCTA.
- ix. There should be a redress mechanism to cushioning the extant grievances due to poor compensations which has continued to agitate the project affected communities and which also poses a threat to sustainable resettlement.

5.4 Limitation of the Study

The followings are some of the constraints to this study;

- i. Unwillingness to provide certain information by some key stakeholders i.e some local chiefs for fear of sanction or reasons best known to them.
- ii. It was stressful moving from one point to another to administer questionnaires and get them retrieved.
- iii. Booking interviews and having the audience of some critical stakeholders was not easy as some, having kept the researcher waiting, would simply say “please kindly go and come back next week, next month” etc.
- iv. Since there was no project financier, money and transport means constituted a challenge.

- v. Some respondents who could neither read nor write had to be guided.
- vi. It was not easy having the required number to hold Focus Group Discussion vis-a-vis the individual's convenience.

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APPENDIX A

School of Postgraduate Studies,
Institute of Strategic and
Development Communication,
Nasarawa State University, Keffi.
29th November, 2019.

Dear Respondent,

Completion of Questionnaire

I am a Postgraduate student from the above named institution undertaking a research titled
**“Evaluation of Communication Strategies Used in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja
Resettlement Scheme”** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of
Arts degree in Development Communication.

Kindly note that every information provided would be handled with utmost trust and
confidentiality and also, it is mainly for the purpose of this study.

Thank you for your understanding and cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Jacob Sananu

NSU/MA/0011/17/18

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly respond to the questions below by simply ticking () on the appropriate box. Be however, assured that every detail given by you is safeguarded and meant to be used for this study only. Thank you.

1. Age

18-30 () 30-40 () 40-50 () 60 and above ()

2. Sex

Male () Female ()

3. Ethnic background

Gbagyi () Hausa () Bassa () Koro () Gwandara () others ()

4. Educational background

Primary () Secondary () Tertiary () None ()

5. Occupation

Farmer () Company worker () Civil servant () Business () Others ()

Section B: Understanding, experience and views of the respondent in relation to the issue under study.

6. When was idea of resettlement conceived?

1976 ()

2003 ()

2006 ()

Others ()

7. Were you informed about the government's decision to resettle your community?

Yes ()

No ()

Others ()

8. How were you informed about the resettlement of your community?

Radio ()

Television ()

Traditional ruler ()

Town-hall meeting ()

9. How did you feel upon the receipt of the resettlement news?

Very happy ()

Unhappy ()

Fairly comfortable ()

Very bad ()

10. Does your community enjoy good supply of basic amenities such as tap-water, electricity, healthcare facilities and educational facilities?

Not so much ()

So much ()

Not at all ()

11. What is your major challenge in your present settlement?

Space for expansion ()

Access to farmland ()

Means of livelihood ()

All of the above ()

12. How many times were you call to participate in community or town-hall meeting regarding resettlement?

One time ()

Two times ()

Many times ()

None ()

13. At what stage of the resettlement processes were you invited to participate in the meeting regarding the government decision to resettle your community?

Before enumeration ()

After enumeration ()

Not all ()

14. Who decided the resettlement location and the building models?

Joint stakeholders ()

The community ()

The government ()

15. Do you in any way feel your cultural heritage is threatened due to resettlement?

Not so much ()

So much ()

Not at all ()

16. What are the forms of community participation vis-à-vis the resettlement planning?

To be notified of government's decision and action ()

No participation ()

17. If called to make a choice, would you prefer resettlement or integration?

Integration ()

Resettlement ()

Undecided ()

18. What do you think is responsible for the poor compliance of the natives to relocating to the new completed sites?

Site uncompleted and unfit ()

Poor community engagement in the resettlement processes ()

All of the above ()

19. Asides of allotting houses and plots of lands to you, was there any special empowerment provisions to cater for your livelihood and sustenance?

Yes ()

No ()

Not sure ()

20. Were there feelings of secrecy and distrust in the handling of the resettlement processes by the FCTA officials?

Yes ()

Very much ()

Not at all ()

21. What are your likely subsisting fears regarding resettlement?

Loss of cultural heritage and inconveniences associated with resettlement ()

Disarticulation of family ties and fear of impoverishment ()

All of the above ()

22. Do you still have access to your farmlands?

Yes ()

No ()

Very little ()

23. What is your present source of livelihood?

By subletting part of my house for rentals and travelling far distance to farm ()

Private business ()

Civil servant ()

24. In your view, how can you rate the FCTA performance and engagement approaches in terms of planning and executing resettlement in your community?

Very successful ()

Very poor ()

Partial success ()

25. In what way(s) do you think FCTA can make her resettlement approaches more participatory to the affected communities?

Genuinely engaging stakeholders from needs assessment to execution of the resettlement project ()

Calling stakeholders to notify them of governments decisions only ()

Engaging only the traditional rulers ()

26. How do you think resettlement scheme by FCTA can be repositioned to achieving the desired development and also ensuring sustainable livelihood of the affected communities?

Honest community participation and transparency ()

Application of force ()

Good housing only ()

APPENDIX C

This section presents respondents' views in relation to their participation in the resettlement processes. Date of interviews: 3rd and 15th of December, 2019 respectively.

Meet you Sir:

Yes, my name is His Royal Highness, Alh. (Dr) Usman Ngakupi, the Sape'yi of Garki and the Chairman, Traditional Council, Abuja Municipal Area Council.

When was the idea of resettlement birthed in FCT?

Well, I can say categorically that the incidence of resettling the indigenous people of the Federal Capital Territory was birthed far back 1976 during the regime of Late General Murtala Muhammed the then Head of State. It was actually upon the discovery that Lagos was unfit to house the Federal Capital of Nigeria partly due to its location, congestion and other security reasons. There were a lot of administrative inconveniences, coupled with the fact that Lagos is surrounded by waters with little or no space for expansion. These and other reasons prompted General Murtala to set up a seven-man committee known as Aguda Panel to look for a suitable site for a new Federal Capital Territory and the area which is now called Abuja was earmarked covering about 8000 square metres. While announcing this, Gen Murtala said the original inhabitant therein would be resettled outside the FCT to their respective mother States. The States that were carved to pave way for the establishment of the new Federal Capital Territory were: Niger, Kwara, now Kogi State, and Plateau State now Nasarawa State respectively. The resettlement of the natives outside the FCT and back to their mother States was meant to avoid subsequent primordial claims by the natives.

Sir, how were you and your people carried along in the resettlement processes?

On our participations, the approach was simply from up-down. We were usually called for meetings and handed down the expectations or decisions of the government. At first, the said resettlement committee wanted working with our community committee but along the line, our local committee members were schemed out. Permit me to say that we have little or no

inputs on the kinds of houses to be built not even the negotiations of the means of our livelihoods. It is government that decides what they feel is okay for us.

Why has the resettlement not been effective all this while?

Well, I can say it is partly due to inconsistency in government policies on resettlement for instance, the 1976 initial plan was total evacuation of the natives outside the FCT but when the Aguda Panel carried out evaluations and the cost to be incurred in achieving this, the Supreme Military Ruling Council saw it as very huge project to be surmount hence there was urgent need for funds to building the new capital city. They resolved later that only those who are directly affected by development projects would be resettled. Another reason for the ineffective resettlement is the way and manner our fellows who were earlier resettled were handled, government was the chief planner and executor of everything. The state of their livelihoods is nothing to write home about. The resettlement has not been made attractive. My son, history about the new Federal Capital Territory would not be complete if we are all moved out, there is a need for historical background that some people were met here.

Do you prefer resettlement or integration policy?

In fact, it was as a result of my constant agitations for integration as against resettling my people elsewhere that resulted to my dethronement. I was sent to Abaji on exile by Mallam Nasiru El-rufai, the then Minister of FCT. His exiling me got him the ample opportunity to carry out some demolitions in Karmo-Gwagwa, Apo and Nyanya amongst others. We have always insisted that we are not against resettlement but let us be resettled only where there are major development projects like school, hospital or railways, we do not just want to be removed and other fellow Nigerians like us are brought in. we have always said that if they are not okay with our local settings, they can embark on urban renewal system, they should simply come and renew our houses or empower us to do so.

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What can you say about the living standard of some of your subjects resettled at Apo Site?

House and plots are inadequate, no place for future expansion and I wonder where they want our children to go. Imagine 400 square metres is the average plot given out whereas outsiders who have come inheriting our ancestral lands are allotted 1000 square metres, is this not outright injustice? There were no compensations, no disturbance allowance, no alternative provisions for livelihood which is farming amongst other things. When you resettle people without empowering them, they would one day resort to indulging in criminality in a bid to earning living hence it is said an idle mind is devil's workshop.

Do you think the FCTA resettlement approach meets the best global practice, if no, what is the way forward?

The approach is very poor thus falling short of the standard of the best global practice of community engagement which requires that no resettled should ever be made worse off than he was before he was resettled. There are those who could not afford living in the new area and they decided to go elsewhere hence no means of livelihood. The way to go is for the government to ensure community inclusions and comprehensive accommodations and plots plans for our future developments. There should be adequate compensations for loss of lands and properties, there should be alternative provisions for livelihoods especially farmers if we must rid our society of criminality. More so, there should be a Niger-Delta like commission to facilitate and address the plights of the FCT natives and above all, there should be proper awareness or orientations of the natives before, during and after the resettlement exercise so as to enable people adapt and face the challenges and opportunities in their new locations.

Can you introduce yourself sir?

My name is Honourable John Bezhinwa Bawa, the Sarkin-Yakin (Warrior) Durumi and the erstwhile President, National Gbagyi Council.

How were you communicated the information of resettlement?

The usual practice has been that the paramount chief would be summoned and briefed and subsequently, he would brief the lesser chiefs of the Federal Government's decision to carry out resettlement. The chiefs would in turn summon ward-heads to brief them. The information always flows from the top to the ordinary masses.

How can you assess the FCTA resettlement scheme and the people's participation?

As you might know, the ethics of planning requires the involvement of the affected persons but here in FCT, it is disheartening that none of us is usually represented in most decisions concerning resettlement, the news usually gets to us as government's overriding interest as there is usually hardly a room for suggestions or objections meanwhile, we ought to have a stake in this arrangement, it is us who would live there and not them. We are only required to comply with whatever decision they wrought on us. Take for instance, the selection of resettlement sites along Kaduna and Minna roads were all done solely by the government and later, we were asked to converge and were loaded inside tipper while it was raining to go see the newly cleared site. While at the proposed site, the Chief of Wuse was asked by government official if he would oblige to go convince his subjects to move to the new location and he said yes hence doing otherwise could amount to something else. Let me tell you that those of us that were bold and rejected the arrangements were punished for our stance.

How transparent were the government officials in engaging with the affected communities?

Did I hear you say transparent? These government officials tricked our uneducated fellows by arranging lesser denominations in bundles i.e N50 notes so that they think it is huge money. The whole exercise was a flop.

Why do we have New-Nyanya, New-Karu, New-Wuse, New-Rubochi, New-Gawu?

These are communities that were affected by the first resettlement policy and were resettled however, seeing that there was no money to continue with the resettlement, the federal government later gave option that those who wants to be resettled should indicate and those who want to remained should equally indicate interest, we indicated that we wanted to stay and that is why we are still here, not everyone was resettled.

How can you compare the living standard of those earlier resettled with those of you still here?

The only advantage they have over us is that they have a place to claim as Local Government or State Government which is not applicable to us here hence we here do not have second tier of government. The resettlement schemes can best be described as shambles. Some houses were even built with mud blocks. Clay soil without cement was used for plastering therefore making the houses not to stand the test of time. Those with financial muscles later demolished those houses and rebuilt new ones to their taste. These people were deprived their farmlands here and were not allotted fresh ones in the new site, the only way forward was for those with little financial strengths to start acquiring farm lands from their host communities while those who could not afford buying resorted to serfs and feudal arrangements. The level of poverty and frustrations were much to the extent that many died from trauma. In New Wuse for instance, it was Wuse, Aso, Zugakuchi and Katempe communities that were resettled at the New Wuse Resettlement Scheme and were provided with just a single primary school.

The resettlement was never made attractive even for a day. The government reluctantly paid first disbursement and to date, second disbursement has declined coming. It is obvious that we that refused leaving are far better off than them that were resettled just that we here do not

enjoy second tier of government, we are more or less second class citizens in our ancestral land.

If this injustice persists, let me re-echo that FCT is just sitting on a timed bomb. In the history of resettlement and compensations, no FCT native has ever received up to a million naira, some came back those days from FCDA Field Base, Suleija (former FCDA location) with just N300 or N500 as compensations. In facts, up to 2003, it is 1976's compensation rate that was still in use by the Federal Government in resettling our people here, meanwhile the resettlement policy requires that review for compensation prices ought to be done after every three years but it is rather very unfortunate that we are still compensated with 2003 naira value.

At what phase were you involved in the resettlement process?

We are usually reached through our chiefs. To our surprise, when they engaged us in site selection, they later disengaged us from the resettlement committee for reasons best known to them, this happened during Kubwa resettlement. We are not refusing to be resettled but if we must be resettled, the government must comply with the best global practice obtained in other places, we are all Nigerians deserving to be treated equally and fairly too. It is annoying that we would just sit down watch them come out with building structures wondering how they really arrived at such models. Most a times, you do not even see contractors at sites, most times the building works are not even supervised thus leading to the usage of substandard building materials. Wuse was resettled during raining season but no disturbance allowance was given to our people. Shere-Galuwyi is poorly attended to and unfit for human habitation. It will interest you to know that some of our children who were above ages 18 were deprived allocations by the enumeration officers. Enumeration questionnaire were designed without our consent or inputs. Those with more than one property could not have more than one property captured for compensation and that kept us wandering if it is a crime for FCT

natives to own more than one property. Due to difficulty in accessing farmlands and constant theft of our farm produce, most natives now have to be travelling far villages and even neighbouring States to buy farmlands in order to farm, to this end, I reiterate that FCT is sitting on timed bomb, our children are going to school and their eyes are widely opened.

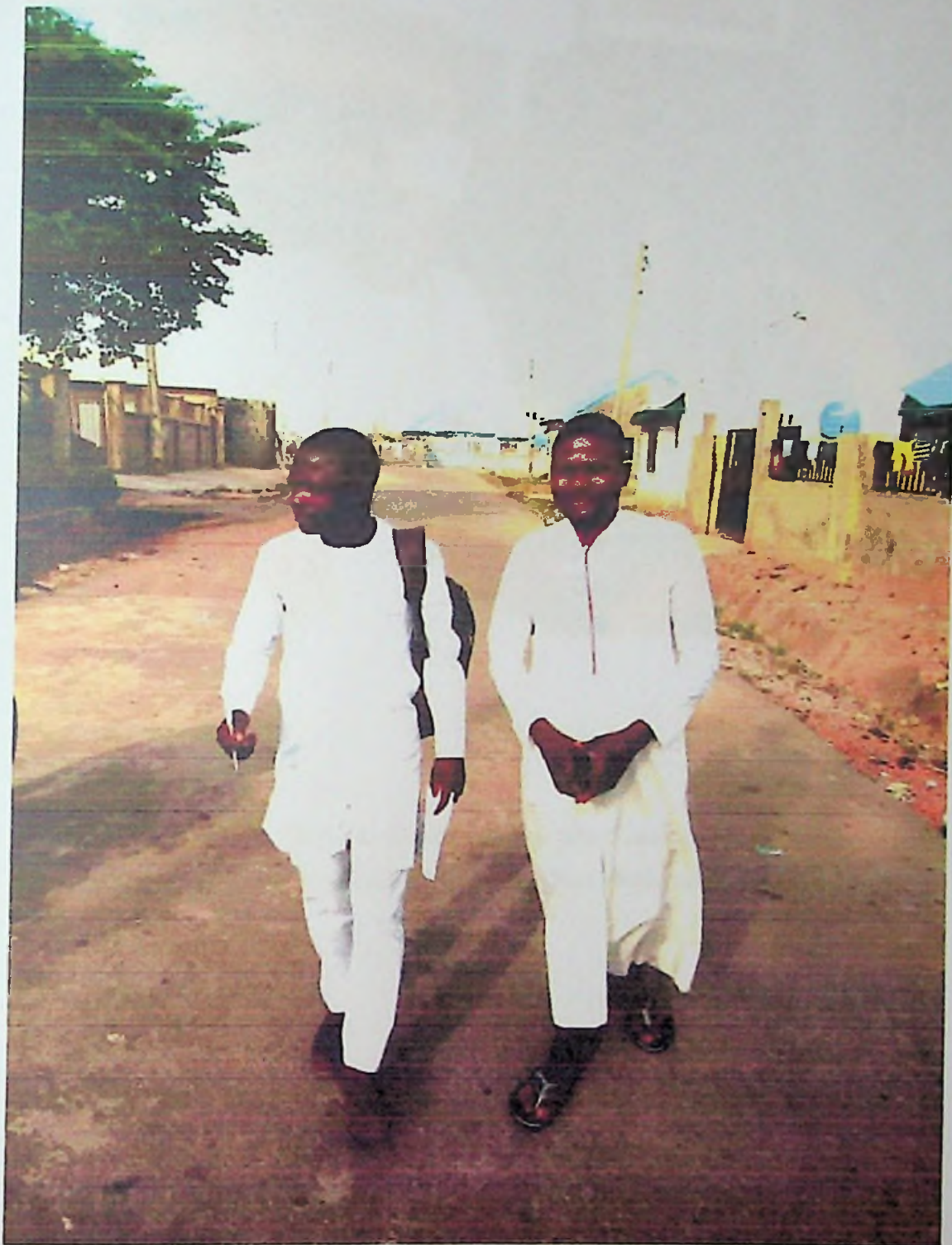
APPENDIX D

Interview Photos



Source: Field Data, 2019

Garki-Pyeyi Youth Chairman, Mr Emmanuel Danbeki Gora during an interaction with the researcher in his new Apo resettlement.



Source: Field Data 2019

Garki-Pyeyi Youth Chairman taking the researcher round the Apo Resettlement



Source: Field Data 2019

An interview session with His Royal Highness, Alhaji (Dr) Usman Ngakupi, the Sape'yi of Garki and Chairman, Traditional Council of Chiefs, Abuja Municipal Area Council in his palace, Garki-Abuja.



Source: Field Data 2019

The researcher in an interaction with the Chief of Mabushi, **Mallam Aminu Esu Akuyi** in his palace, Mabushi AMAC.



Source: Field Data 2019

The researcher in an interaction with an elderstatesman and one time resettlement committee member **Hon. John R. Rawa (Serkin Vak-in Durumi)** in his Durumi



Source: Field Data 2020

Focused Group Discussion with the officials of Garki-Pyeyi Youths Development Association at the community townhall. Apo



Source: Field Data 2020

After the Focused Group Discussion with the officials of the Garki-Pyeyi Youths Development Association at the Apo Community Townhall