

Yenegoa: The Challenge of a Developing City in the Niger Delta, Nigeria

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Abstract

Yenegoa became a state capital when Bayelsa State was created in 1996 out of the old Rivers State, south of the deltaic region of Nigeria. Until it became a State Capital, it was a local community wearing the status of a local council headquarters. As an administrative urban center it was a picture of deprivation, misery and poverty. In terms of infrastructure it was empty, economically it was backward yet it was part of a geographical region that contributes significantly to the revenue of the Nigerian oil economy. The city having been overseen by four military administrators and four civilian governors, and after existing for eighteen years, the greatest challenge of the government is still how to develop a befitting State capital that will compete with other cities in the world. The challenges confronting the city are too numerous: ranging from a difficult geographical terrain, an ever increasing human population which the city is not ready for in terms of housing provision, physical and economic infrastructural availability which are needed for decent living in a city. The prime purpose of this paper is to look at these challenges in a clinical dimension. To achieve this objective, a research frame work has been designed. A survey instrument is designed and used to collect the necessary data from the field. The analysis of the field data helped to make this study a success. Literature relevant to this study also contributed greatly.

Keywords: Rural, City, Yenegoa, Niger Delta, Development.

1. Introduction:

The area which is today known as Bayelsa State with Yenegoa as its capital was formally a part of Rivers State, a major oil producing State in the Deltaic region of Nigeria. Oloibiri, the rural community from where oil was first discovered in commercial quantities in Nigeria in 1958 is located in this area. Today, although the oil well at Oloibiri had stopped flowing, more oil wells have been discovered in this geographical area thus qualifying it as one of the richest areas in oil in the deltaic region. Despite the contributions of this area long before it was carved out of the old Rivers State, the area had not benefited much from the oil wealth of Nigeria. This oil wealth is what has placed the Nigerian State in the world map as one of the richest nations in the business of oil exploration. The huge concentration of economic and social infrastructure in Port Harcourt, the only city in the old Rivers State meant that the other areas (predominantly rural communities) scattered across the State were left bare in terms of infrastructural development. The disparity in living condition between the city and the rural areas is so well pronounced (Moro, 2009. Onyegun and Akpogomeh, 2009). Developing the rural areas to reduce this gap through the introduction of various policies and programmes by successive government yielded little or no positive impact. The reason being that while each of the successive rural development programme and policy had harped on the need to improve the standard of living of the rural population, most of these programmes never endured beyond the government that initiated them (Ogidefa, 2010. Onuorah, 1986). Secondly, most of them were initiated without the participation of the rural people in the design and implementation stages thus most often the objectives of such projects were miles away from the felt needs of the people (Igbokwe and Ajala, 1995). Rural development programmes were initiated out of the context of the prevailing ideology and strategy of rural development in the country which is urban oriented (Ukeagu and Agunwamba, 1995). These programmes were simply initiated and developed on behalf of the rural people by their educated urban elites. The introduction of the local government reforms in 1976 was a step towards reducing the disparity in living conditions between the city and rural regions (Eboh, E. 2010. Federal Government of Nigeria, 1976). This was because the local government structure as established is to ensure effective interaction between the headquarters and the territorial units for the purpose of allocation and spread of public goods to the rural region (Owusu, 2005). With statutory grant from the Federal and State government, it was expected to ensure service delivery to the rural population. The local government headquarters were expected to serve as growth centres from where growth could diffuse to the hinterland. But several years after this reform, the local governments are still miles away from meeting this responsibility thus raising several questions among development scholars (Orewa and Oduwuni, 2001). As at the creation of Bayelsa State out of Rivers State, all the local government headquarters designated as urban centres in the old State were grossly underdeveloped. These local government headquarters put on a measurement scale today could go for nothing but "glorified" villages. They are still bare in terms of economic and social infrastructure needed to stimulate growth in the surrounding rural settlements. Thus while

these local government headquarters have been deprived of the basic amenities needed for descent existence, their surrounding rural communities have been nothing but a pictures of poverty, deprivation and human misery. It was evidently clear that despite the huge benefits derived from the area by the Nigerian State not much has been given to the people in return in terms of physical development. The various rural development policies and programs introduced by successive government were even outside the control of the rural people. Such programmes were always initiated and implemented on their behalf by the educated urban elites whose interest is in the city thus they were always urban bias in their decisions(Akor,1987). When Bayelsa State was created in 1996, Yenegoa, one of the “glorified” villages in the old Rivers State was chosen as the new State capital. The choice was not surprising; it was the only local council headquarters that was easily accessible by road among the local council areas that were ceded to the new State. The joy of a new Ijaw State from old Rivers State was overwhelming but most development scholars knew that the task of developing Yenegoa into a befitting modern State capital was the beginning of another nightmare in the Deltaic region considering the revenue sharing formula of the Nigerian State, the ecological characteristics of the new State capital and the misery of poverty among the rural population it was inheriting from the old Rivers State.

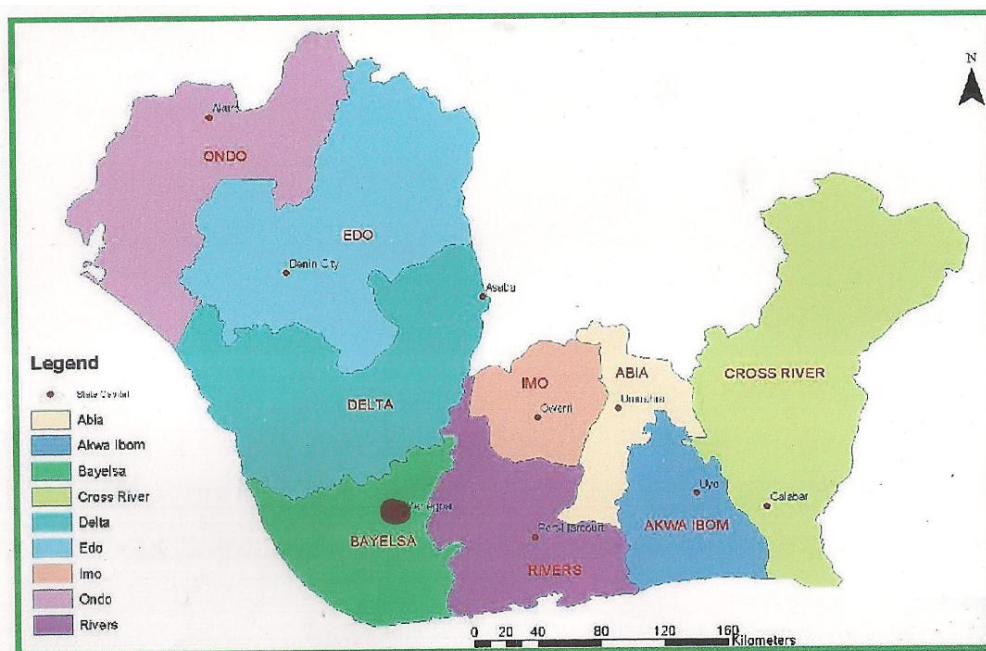


Figure 1. Map of Niger Delta, Nigeria showing Yenegoa the Bayelsa State capital

2. Method and Techniques

Both primary and secondary data were obtained for this study. The primary source was made possible with the aid of structured questionnaire. For the purpose of questionnaire administration, a listing of the localities in the city was made. A total of 16 localities were identified. Both stratified and simple random sampling techniques were employed. The 16 localities were segmented into two zones; North and South because of the peculiarity of their spatial characteristics. Three localities out of nine in the South and two out of seven in the North were randomly selected for the study. Our target population was heads of households and government officials responsible for controlling physical development and sanitation in the City. A set of questionnaire was prepared for each. From the 2010 projected population of the City, there are 5292 households in the five localities picked for the study(National Population commission,2010). To determine our sample size, approximately 30% of the household population was selected which stands at 1585 households. A total of 1585 questionnaires were therefore evenly distributed in the five sample localities. To ensure systematic distribution of questionnaires, the adjoining streets from the Mbiama-Yenegoa road in each locality was used. After the first street, an interval of two was used to pick the next street. In each street, the first residential building was picked for our first respondent selected randomly after which an interval of three was used for our next building and respondent. All questionnaires administered were returned successfully. The data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistics. The aim is to find out the response of all the respondents to our questions. Cross tabulations and charts are used to present the frequency of occurrences of responses to individual question.

Table 1. Localities, household population, sample size and questionnaire administered

| Locality | Household population | Sample size | Questionnaire completed |
|--------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Amarata | 1244 | 317 | 317 |
| Onopa | 1193 | 317 | 317 |
| Yenezua-gene | 820 | 317 | 317 |
| Swali | 971 | 317 | 317 |
| Okaka | 1064 | 317 | 317 |
| Total | 5292 | 1585 | 1585 |

3. Historical Background: Yenegoa Before the Creation of Bayelsa State.

Yenegoa, the present capital of Bayelsa State has existed for couple of centuries. Oral source has it that the town was founded by some defeated soldiers of Benin Empire several hundred of years ago. The Oba of Benin in those days was known for his insatiable passion to conquer more territories to add to his kingdom. Driven by this passion he was known for dispatching his troops regularly to attack other territories. He had one slogan for his warriors "CONQUER THE ENEMIES AND TAKE OVER THEIR LAND AND RESOURCES". There was however a rule that any division of his army that was defeated by the enemies should not return home. For such, the penalty was execution. Though the Oba's army had been winning, in one of the wars, they were utterly defeated. Being aware of their fate back home, they choose not to return home. They decided to settle around the Isoko and Urobo community. After several years they left that location and came to settle at Aguobiri, in Ijaw land. The conflict that erupted later between the natives and the people forced them to move out of Aguobiri to the present location. In other to maintain the name of their former settlement, the place was called Iyeniogio which was Aguobiri in their own original tongue. Mr. Joshua John, one of our respondents, a native of the town has it that the name Yenegoa was giving to it by the Europeans who came to West Africa for trade and commerce. They found the native name difficult to pronounce and named the place Yenegoa which is a corruption of the native name.

Iyeniogio therefore metamorphosed into Yenegoa. Till date they still share the same customs with the Benin people. Yenegoa is no longer the same homogenous community it was in the beginning, several communities had come under the umbrella name Yenegoa since the creation of Bayelsa State, though it is clear that these communities still maintain their traditional identities and customs.

Yenegoa before 1996 was a typical rural settlement made up of farmers, fishermen and canoe-builders. Though trading was also part of their occupation it was merely practiced as a secondary occupation. The major agricultural products commonly found in the area are, plantain, cassava and cocoyam. Before it became a State capital, it was a local government headquarters. As a local council headquarters, its setting was merely rural: it was lacking in most of the regular features that would have qualified it as a growing urban center. There was just one main road that gave access to the town and a nightmare to the few motorists that plied the road. The town was mostly a transit point for those travelling to the interiors of Ijaw land. The only outstanding development was the residence of the local council chairman.

4. Yenegoa as a State Capital.

With the creation of Bayelsa State on 1st October 1996, Yenegoa was chosen as the capital of the new State. A military administrator was appointed to oversee the affairs of the State. On arrival, the young Phillip Ayeni was ushered into the local government chairman's residence that was to serve as his official residence and office. Access to his office and residential quarters was even difficult because the road connecting it was in a horrible state of repair. The picture of the new State capital was a summary of the aged long rejection and marginalization which this region of the Niger Delta had suffered from the Nigerian State despite its contribution to the economy of the nation. It is an area very rich in oil deposit but spatially backward in terms of infrastructural development. The history of poverty was clearly written on the faces of the natives that lined up the only road to welcome the military administrator to the new State capital. Beyond Yenegoa are hamlets and villages scattered across the creeks and swamps. As a local council headquarters it was designated as an urban centre but in reality it was miles away from the touch of urbanization. By the local government reforms of 1976, Yenegoa as a local government headquarters ought to shoulder the responsibility of effectively delivering service to the rural population within the local council. It ought to be a rallying point, a concentration of social and economic benefits and the attraction of infrastructure. It is an accepted conclusion from some development scholars that basic amenities and service if centrally located at local council headquarters will serve as growth

centre from where growth would diffuse to every nook and cranny of the surrounding hinterland(Mobalaji and Wale,2012). Services such as health, education, water supply, roads etc. are strong ideas of development but as at the time Yenegoa was elevated from a local council headquarters to a State capital, it was a picture of typical rural settlement without any notable industrial and infrastructural development. Because of its geographical location in this part of the Deltaic region, it merely enjoyed the status of a trading post for the peasant famers and craftsmen from the interior of the region across the creek, swamps and ocean characterized by deprivation, illiteracy, ignorance and disease.

5.The Challenges of the New State Capital.

On assumption of office, the state government did not need anyone to announce to it that the major task confronting it was to develop a befitting State capital out of Yenegoa and the surrounding villages lying forlorn in the creeks. These are villages neglected by the Nigerian State for a long time but which now share in the status of oil rich State capital. The circumstance of her geography was another challenge to spatial development that the government knew it had to contend with. In its eighteen years of existence, several billions of naira had entered into the coffers of successive governments or administrations meant for development of the state. Each administration from that of Chief Diepriye Alamiyesigha to the present government of Hon. Seriake Dickson, the main challenge has been the development of a model capital city for Bayelsa State. At the embryonic stage there was the absence of spatial plan to control physical development. Thus transforming Yenegoa into a model city with appreciable beauty and modern



Figure 2. A typical slum in the growing city where environmental standards are absent

facilities without a physical plan became the first major challenge. This led to the preparation of the Yenegoa City Strategy Plan in 2004 by Harcourt Aduke and Associates with the expertise of a German firm, Albert Speers. The zeal to transform Yenegoa into befitting city was renewed when Dr Goodluck Jonathan became the governor of the state. In line with this, the Yenegoa City Strategy Plan was adopted in 2007. The first phase of the plan was to end in December 2009, while the second phase was to commence in January 2014. The top agenda in the master plan was modern infrastructural development. With the establishment of the Capital City Development Authority as a legal Authority the platform was prepared for the realization of the contents in the master plan. The master plan covers 15 kilometer radius from the city centre bordering on Ogobiri in the west, okoloibiri in the north, Otuogori in the south and Otuasega in the east(Bayelsa State Government,2007). The first phase of the master plan comprises the development of the necessary physical infrastructure which are essential to the take off of the Yenegoa Central Business District(CBD). To achieve this it was clear that some existing physical structures must be demolished to make way for the plan. Though the current Executive Secretary of the Capital City Development Authority claimed that the government has made money available for payment of

compensation for houses on recognized land, those affected claimed that the compensations are hardly enough to put up another structure considering the geography of the state and the escalating prices in the land market. The infrastructural projects that made the list in the first phase of the master plan include the Musa Yar'Ada International Cargo Airport, Tower Hotel and Glory Drive, East-West Igbogene Road, Oxbow Lake Resort, Four Star Hotel, Ekoli Bridge, Yenegoa Zoo, Chief Melford Okilo Hospital, International Conference Center, Central Business Center, Glory Land Castle. While Governor Timipre Sylva did not do much, the government of Hon. Seraki Dickson has shown so much commitment in this direction in his first tenure. Some of these projects have been completed or near completion. One of the major problems confronting the government is the revenue strength of the state. The Central Business District is estimated to be in the range of 100 billion naira. The State is hugely dependent on revenue allocation from the centre with internal revenue drive not yielding much when compared with other states in the Niger Delta. For instance, while Rivers State generates close to 10 billion naira monthly from internal revenue generation drive, Bayelsa generates less than 1 billion naira. The situation is even made worse by the fact that most of the multinational oil companies operating within the shores of the State had refused to open their operational offices in the state. This would have helped in internal revenue generation and job creation. While the government is desirous of transforming Yenegoa into a city that could compete with other world class cities, the astronomically rising population in the city is presenting another serious challenge to the government.



Figure 3. Traffic congestion is a daily feature along the Mbiama-Yenegoa road. At some points during the peak hours, the road could be locked for hours thereby increasing travel time and cost.

In its eighteen years of existence, public housing provision has never been included in the “priority list” of the different administration that had governed the State. What this means is that the public have to depend on the private sector for shelter. Home ownership in the city is a herculean task because of its difficult geographical terrain (most of the land are lying under water). Raising a standard physical structure in the city is more expensive when compared with what obtains in some other cities in Nigeria (See table 2). This has also affected cost of rental accommodation in the city(see table 3).

Table 2. Average cost of foundation for a 3-bedroom detached bungalow in some cities in Nigeria

| City | Cost of Foundation(in Naira) |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| Port Harcourt | 650,000 |
| Owerri | 450,00 |
| Yenegoa | 1,100,000 |
| Ibadan | 300,000 |

Source: Authors field work

The inability of successive government to provide public housing and the soaring cost in rent in the few available dwelling units has promoted the proliferation of slums. Residents have thrown away the term standard in their search for residential accommodation for just anything that has “four walls and a roof”. Most of the buildings put forward by the native land owners to raise money from strangers are sub-standard yet very expensive in rent. Household facilities such as kitchen, bathroom and toilet are absent in some residential buildings especially in the high density areas of the city.

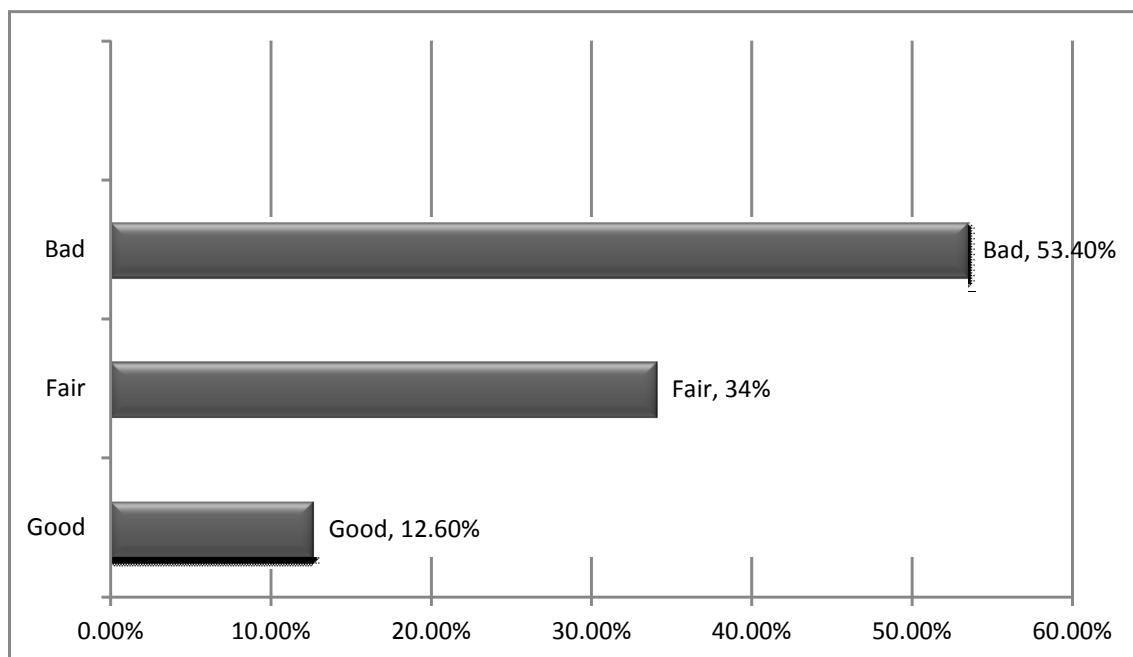
Table 3 Cost of residential accomodation in medium density areas in selected cities in Nigeria(in naira)

| City | A 3-Bedroom Apartment | 1-Bed Room Apartment | A 2-Bedroom Apartment |
|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Yenegoa | 450,000 | 280,000 | 350,000 |
| Port Harcourt | 400,000 | 250,000 | 300,000 |
| Owerri | 250,000 | 150,000 | 200,000 |
| Ibadan | 120,000 | 70,000 | 100,000 |

Source: Authors field work

Where they exist, they are hardly adequate for the household population in that dwelling unit. Along the Mbiama road, that gives access into the city, derelict houses form walls on both sides thus giving the city a picture of decay. Physical development control tool is very weak in the city. Most buildings were erected without approval from the relevant authorities. The natives are not ready to be subjected to the process of plan preparation and approval. The practice is alien to them and the financial involvement is not something they are ready to accommodate. Attempts to force them to comply with the existing building regulations had often receive unfriendly reaction. Secondly, the Ministry and other agencies in charge of planning matters in the State are short-staffed and under funded thus placing a question mark on the enforcement of planning laws in the city. About seventy five per cent of the buildings picked for the study were constructed within the last ten years. Out of this number, only twenty five per cent have approval from the relevant authorities.

Figure 4. Physical Condition of Selected Buildings in the Five Localities in the City



The daily influx of people and commerce into the city is making movement in the city difficult. Driving through the Mbiama- Yenegoa road has been more of a nightmare than pleasure especially during the peak hours. A journey from Agudama-Epie to Swali that ordinarily would last for about twenty five minutes can take up to an hour or more during the peak hours. The government of Timipre Silva spent heavily on road construction as a way of providing solution to the suffocating traffic congestion in the city but most of them were hurriedly constructed without regard



Figure 5. The pains of developing a home in a city under siege by persistent flooding

for standards. Most of the adjoining streets are just mere miles stretch of sandy paths that runs into the creeks, without adequate side drains and are often flooded during heavy rainfall thereby subjecting residents to further nightmare. The width and thickness of some of these roads also places a question mark on planning standards. Streets are too narrow to even permit one sided on-street-parking.

Access to portable drinking water in the city is almost non-existent. Public water supply is not in the programme of government. Residents are left at the mercy of private borehole operators. For some of the residents staying close to the swamps, it has become another source of water for domestic activities.

Electricity supply in the city is very epileptic. This does not mean well for a state whose government says it is committed to the creation of an enabling environment for rapid economic growth. Business enterprise had to depend mostly on private power plants. The worst hit is the middle and low income business units. Depending on private generator for a larger part of the day, to stay alive in business means increase in running cost. The implication is that the city is steadily becoming one of the most expensive cities in Nigeria to live and do business.

Table 4 Public power supply in the sample localities in Yenegoa

| Name of Location | Power Supply (Daily Average) |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| Amarata | 13hours |
| Onopa | 10hours |
| Swali | 11hours |
| Yenezua-gene | 9hours |
| Okaka | 10hours |

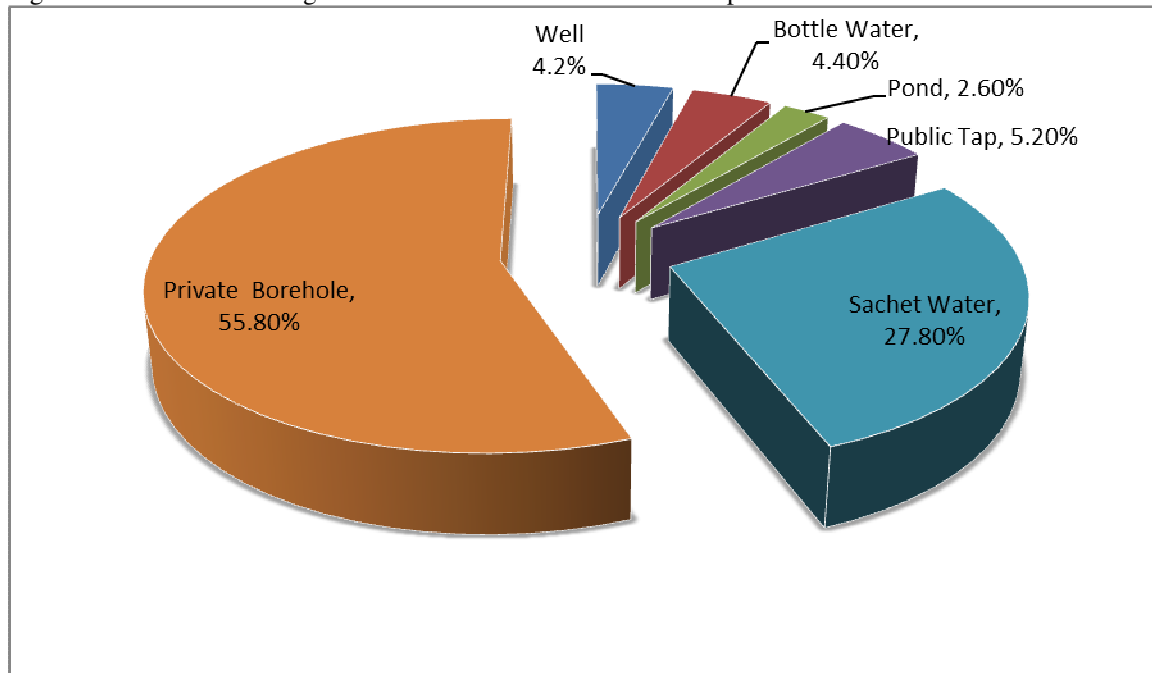
Source: Author's field work

Recently there had been mass demolition of houses in the city to control the opening of canals, control flooding and create space for the needed infrastructural development. From the explanation of Chief Ibora, the Executive Secretary of the Capital City Development Authority compensation were only paid to landlords on recognized land. This is creating another social problem in the city as the government has no answer to the question of "displaced tenants". The implications are clear; some of them had relocated to the periphery of the city where land is less desirable to put up "a roof over head" thus increasing the size and geography of slums in the city of Yenegoa.

It cannot be argued that the Amnesty Programme being implemented by the Federal Government of Nigeria has brought relative peace to the State once noted as a hot zone in militant activities in the Deltaic region, crime rate

is still high in the State. Most of the local youths are uneducated and jobless and are deeply swimming in the misery of poverty inherited from their parents. Oil bunkering which was one of the major sources of income for these youths has been reduced by the military who are winning the war against oil theft in the region. The business of hiring thugs to settle political scores is no more as popular and lucrative as it used to be. The government of Hon. Seriake Dickson is operating a tight budget largely focused on service delivery. Much cash is not flowing from the Government House except within members of the close kitchen cabinet.

Figure 6. Source of Drinking Water in Selected Households in Sample Area



Most of the political godfathers of these youths are barely managing to survive thus much crumbs is not falling from the masters table as it was in the past. The instinct to survive has made some of these boys restless. Some of the major roads and streets have become “terror by day and night” to residents. The Nigeria police have been putting up a spirited fight against criminality in the city but the geography of the city has made some section of the city “den of thieves”. Areas in which these thieves have some advantages over the police are those areas lying low within the creeks, characterized by slums and where accessibility is very difficult.

Most of the roads in these areas swerve and turns into the swamps from the main Mbiama- Yenagoa road. In some of these areas, it will be suicidal to walk alone in the early evening and early morning; Obele, part of Nikton area, Amarata, Yenezua-gene and part of Swali area. These areas are characterized by dingy shanties that give cover to the hoodlums to carry out their criminal activities

5. Conclusion/Recommendation

Yenagoa is widely regarded as a “Civil Servants City”. Industrial development is taking place at a snail speed because the socio-economic infrastructure needed to attract private investment is grossly inadequate. It is clear fact that today there is a high level of competition among cities for people and investment. For any city to be successful in this competition it must have the enabling business environment. The absence of such enabling environment is partly to account for the reason why most multi-national oil companies operating within the shores of the State are shying away from locating their operational offices in the city as it is the case in the other oil producing Deltaic States in the country. The effort of the current government in the State to address this problem through its determination to implement the city’s master plan with passion has been regarded as a step in the right direction. The primary vision of the current governor, Hon. Seriake Dickson is to develop Yenegoa to a level where it can compete with other world class cities in the world but this could also be regarded as a tall order considering the paucity of funds flowing into the State coffers from the federation account monthly. Since

governance is a continuous process the governor should understand that some of these projects in the master plan are long term project which cannot be completed within his tenure. His determination to complete these projects within his tenure would mean neglecting or depriving other sectors and areas of adequate attention. The governor should give greater attention to those short term projects that has direct and immediate bearing on the socio-economic life of the people. The government sustainable development strategy which is focus at creating wealth and also empowering the people is a good vision but this cannot be achieved on the pages of newspaper. There is still excruciating poverty among the local populace therefore any programme targeted at creating wealth among the poor should not be left in the hands of the urban elites without strict supervision but should be structured to benefit those at the lower rungs of society directly. Studies have shown that such programmes in the past had only succeeded in making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The springing up of more derelict house and expansion of slums is an indication that the city is not winning the war against poverty. The provision of constant electricity is an indirect way of creating wealth in the city. At least it will ensure that small and medium scale business which dominates the business environment in the city survives. The two Rolls Royce, 20MW Gas Turbine in Kolo Creek inherited by the Bayelsa State Electricity Board is no longer reliable due to old age. A total upgrade of the power turbine and the Olympus gas generator together with the eighteen years control system in the State is totally needed if the city is to enjoy steady power supply.

Sand filling of the swamps to provide more land for physical development is a good option to avoid congestion but since this will not permit immediate development, it is suggested here that current physical development should be tailored towards the Otuasega and Imiringi axis of the city where land is suitable for physical development. The finances of the State, presently does not guarantee total slum clearance and redevelopment in the city. But where this must be done for developmental purposes, it should be carried out in phases and without causing more social problems. The government should move away from its present “peanut” compensation approach that encourages the springing up of more slums or derelict structures. Such compensation should be enough to erect new homes that are in line with modern architecture for the affected persons. The issue of “displaced residents” must also be given due consideration in such demolition exercises. The current practice of including only property owners during compensation is an indirect way of promoting the springing up of more slums. Studies have shown in other cities that majority of those who live in slums are those who are not able to pay for the high rental accommodation in the planned areas of the city(Kio-Lawson,2013). Provision of low income housing by the government should be given serious consideration. Where the revenue of the government cannot shoulder this task alone then it is recommended that it should be done in partnership with the private sector. The banking and oil sector should be brought in. Upon completion, public servants should be the first category to be considered during allocation. It should be outright sale to the beneficiaries. Cost of payment should be arranged in a manner that would not place much burden on their monthly income.

In its bid to enhance security, the Bayelsa State government has outlawed cultism, made kidnapping punishable by death, installed surveillance equipment and established control centre to co-ordinate activities of the various security units in the city. But the government is still far from winning the war against crime in the city. While the low density areas enjoy some amount of peace it is not the same for the high density areas. These areas are noted for frequent cult clashes, drugs, rape, murder, assault etc. About 75% of the residents interviewed in Swali and Amarata agreed that both areas are “territories of terror” at night. They claimed that both areas are infested with criminals and cultist who also functions as foot soldiers for most of the political heavy weights in the State. It is therefore difficult to arrest and prosecute them because of their political godfathers. In these and other high density areas police presence is hardly felt at night. Security at night in these areas is often kept by local vigilante made up of jobless youths who gets nothing in return. Since these youths have adequate knowledge of their local environment, the government should enroll some of them into its internal security network to fight crime in the city. With little remuneration from the government as allowances in addition to some minor security training from the police, the government could walk tall in the area of internal security in the city. Besides, the police should also increase its presence at night in these “territories of terror”. The current practice where check points are mounted at major roads at night for vehicular checks only does not show any seriousness in the battle against crime by the police.

The construction of the 27km road from Igbogene to Bayelsa palm and the expanding Elebele-Opolo and Opolo-Imiringi road intended to encourage spatial expansion of the city is a good step but the construction should be cemented with the provision of such facilities as electricity, adequate drainage system, water supply and security to lure development towards that direction. Some of the internal roads adjoining the Mbiama-Yenegroa express road constructed during the last administration should be revisited. Some of these roads where possible, should be expanded with adequate side drains provided to take surface water directly to the creeks during rainfall. Some of these roads if well redesigned and constructed can serve as by-pass or link roads to take away some vehicular traffic during the peak hour from the Mbiama-Yenegroa express road.

From the master plan the government is to preserve the original building pattern of the old Yenegoa town along the Mbiama-Yenegroa road for future generation. This is a sound idea but a major urban renewal should be

applied to the settlements. Property owners should be encouraged to add some improvement to their structures. Financial assistance were necessary should be given to some property owners but with strict supervision to ensure that such funds are used only for the purpose of improving on the quality of their buildings. A carefully planned urban landscape by the relevant government agencies in such areas will be a plus to the quality of the environment. One area in which further research may be necessary is; the geographical spread of slum and its implications for security management in Yenegoa city.

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