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From Central City to Periphery: Resettlement and the Production of Spatial Marginalization in Abuja, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the spatial consequences of resettlement in Abuja, Nigeria, focusing on accessibility, mobility, livelihoods, social connectedness and spatial marginalisation among relocated households. A cross-sectional household survey involved 460 households selected from 9,200 households through multistage sampling. Data were collected using structured questionnaires and analysed using descriptive statistics, paired-samples t-tests, categorical association tests, McNemar's test and multiple linear regression. Mean travel time to employment increased from 0.75 to 2.40 hours ($t(459) = 18.72$, $p < .001$, $d_z = 0.87$), while access to healthcare, education and reliable water declined significantly ($p < .001$). Employment decreased from 68.0% to 49.6%, while unemployment increased to 50.4% (McNemar's $\chi^2(1) = 54.17$, $p < .001$). Low-income households increased from 35.2% to 63.7% ($\chi^2(2) = 96.41$, $p < .001$), while neighbours trust declined from 4.20 to 2.75 ($t(459) = -17.06$, $p < .001$, $d_z = 0.80$). Workplaces were the most distant destinations (18.5 km, SD = 7.4). Regression analysis explained 55.1% of variance in spatial marginalisation ($R^2 = .551$, $p < .001$), with distance to the city centre showing the strongest positive association ($\beta = .48$, $p < .001$). The study concludes that resettlement is associated with multidimensional spatial marginalisation and recommends integrated transport, services, livelihoods and social infrastructure in resettlement planning.

Keywords: Resettlement; Spatial Marginalisation; Accessibility; Spatial Justice; Livelihoods; Urban Periphery.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Abuja's development as Nigeria's federal capital was a major state-led urban project intended to establish a politically neutral national centre based on modernist principles of spatial order, planned land use, infrastructure hierarchy and controlled urban growth. Its development was influenced by domestic political objectives as well as wider geopolitical and economic processes (Nor, Razak, & Gajiga, 2020). However, the creation of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) transformed an already inhabited territory, altering established patterns of landholding and settlement and involving the relocation of indigenous communities from areas required for the new capital (Oruwari, 1988). This historical restructuring remains relevant to contemporary Abuja. Ismail et al. (2024) identify the FCT Act of 1976, Land Use Act of 1978, Abuja Master Plan of 1979 and the attempted demolition of Mpape in 2012 as critical institutional junctures that continue to shape informal settlement, land rights and tenure insecurity. Abuja has consequently developed through interaction between formal planning structures and residents'

responses to housing, livelihood and spatial needs (Abubakar, 2014; Akinkunmi & Matsubara, 2026). Abubakar (2014) identifies rapid growth, housing shortages, infrastructure constraints and social exclusion as continuing challenges, while recent research demonstrates that metropolitan expansion has generated complex land-use and planning pressures across the Abuja city-region (Enoguanbhor et al., 2021).

These conditions make displacement and resettlement important dimensions of Abuja's urban transformation. Displacement is not limited to the physical loss of a dwelling; relocation can change households' access to employment, services, transportation, livelihoods and social networks. In Nigeria, infrastructure-related displacement has been associated with competing interpretations of public interest and unequal relationships between implementing institutions and affected populations (Onyebueke et al., 2020; Walker et al., 2020). Resettlement consequently cannot be assessed adequately from the provision of replacement housing alone. Evidence from Ahmedabad, Chennai and Johannesburg shows that peripheral relocation can reshape physical and socio-economic mobility (Williams et al., 2022), while Alberts et al. (2016) demonstrate that transport accessibility is central to livelihood reconstruction among households relocated to the urban fringe. A review of 203 resettlement cases similarly found that improvements in physical housing conditions may coexist with deterioration in social, financial, human, natural and cultural livelihood outcomes, particularly where access to livelihood assets, compensation, cultural resources and meaningful participation is inadequate (de Sherbinin et al., 2019).

The implications are particularly important where resettlement produces peripheralisation. In this study, spatial marginalisation refers to a multidimensional condition in which relocated households experience reduced or unequal access to employment, essential services, transport, mobility and social networks as a consequence of changes in residential location and spatial connectivity. It is therefore distinguished from poverty or peripheral residence alone. Abuja's continuing metropolitan expansion has produced increasingly complex relationships between the planned capital, satellite settlements and peripheral areas (Abubakar, 2014; Enoguanbhor et al., 2021). Iranmanesh and Kamalipour (2023) demonstrate through GIS and Space Syntax analysis that access networks in emerging settlements around Abuja change as settlements expand and can become less intelligible over time. This suggests that spatial disadvantage cannot be established from distance alone; connectivity, travel time, transport availability and proximity to employment and essential services are also relevant to understanding how relocation affects every day urban participation.

The livelihood and social consequences of relocation further reinforce this concern. Established neighbourhoods may provide access to informal employment, markets, information, childcare, credit and social support, meaning that relocation can disrupt resources that conventional housing assessments may not capture. Williams et al. (2022) identify disruption to socio-spatial networks as part of peripheralisation, while Alberts et al. (2016) show how relocated households develop mobility strategies to reconnect with employment and livelihood opportunities. de Sherbinin et al. (2019) similarly emphasise livelihood assets, vulnerability, cultural considerations, compensation and participation in assessing relocation outcomes. These findings connect resettlement to the right to the city, understood in terms of residents' practical capacity to access, use and participate in urban space. Bose (2021) demonstrates that residents of a peripheral resettlement colony in Delhi negotiate place-making through land, mobility and everyday social practices, while Tsavdaroglou (2020) links displacement and unequal access to urban space with spatial justice and the right to the city. Uwayezu and de Vries (2020) further show, from Kigali, that resettlement associated with expropriation involves procedural, recognitional, redistributive and intergenerational dimensions of spatial justice rather than housing provision alone.

These perspectives are directly relevant to Abuja because its contemporary spatial conditions remain connected to the historical relationship between state planning and resident adaptation. Ismail, Adu-Ampong, & Aceska, (2024) demonstrate that Abuja's informal settlements reflect path-dependent interactions between state and non-state actors, while related research shows that residents facing displacement employ social, material and political strategies to maintain place and tenure security (Ismail et al., 2024). Akinkunmi and Matsubara (2026) extend this understanding by examining how residents

adapt to imposed modernist spatial orders, demonstrating that Abuja's contemporary urban form reflects interaction between formal planning arrangements and everyday spatial practices rather than implementation of the master plan alone.

The existing literature has established important dimensions of Abuja's urban transformation, including its modernist planning origins, institutional history, informalisation, land-tenure conflicts, displacement, resident resistance and metropolitan expansion (Abubakar, 2014; Nor et al., 2020; Ismail et al., 2024). Nigerian studies have also examined displacement, eviction and competing interpretations of public interest (Onyebueke et al., 2020; Walker et al., 2020), while international comparative research has established relationships among peripheral resettlement, mobility, livelihoods, accessibility, social networks and spatial justice (Alberts et al., 2016; Bose, 2021; Williams et al., 2022; Uwayezu & de Vries, 2020). Nevertheless, these strands of scholarship have not been sufficiently integrated to explain the post-resettlement spatial condition of affected households in Abuja. In particular, limited empirical attention has been given to examining accessibility, travel time, employment, income, essential services and social connectedness together as interconnected dimensions of spatial marginalisation.

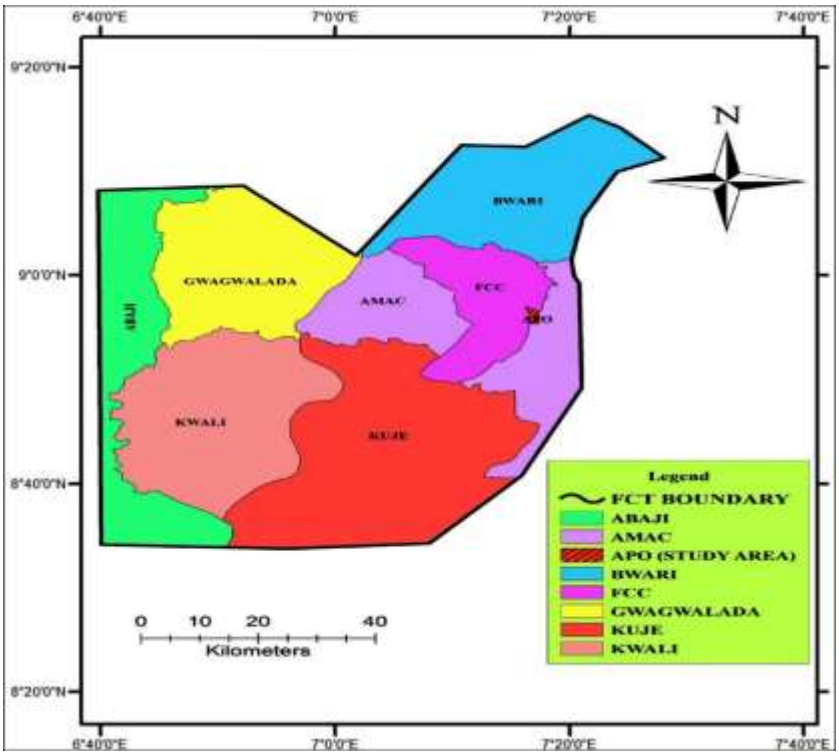
This gap is significant because the effectiveness of resettlement cannot be established from the physical provision of alternative housing alone. If relocation separates households from employment, services, transport networks and social support, the intervention may alter rather than eliminate the disadvantages associated with displacement. Conversely, where adequate connectivity and opportunities accompany relocation, the spatial consequences may differ. The critical research question is therefore not simply where households have been resettled, but how relocation has changed their spatial relationship with the opportunities and resources of the wider Abuja metropolitan system.

The present study addresses this gap by examining spatial marginalisation as a multidimensional outcome of resettlement. It investigates changes in households' access to employment and income opportunities, essential services and transport; examines travel requirements and social connectedness; and considers the spatial relationship between resettlement locations and urban opportunities. By integrating household-level evidence with spatial accessibility analysis, the study connects Abuja's specific history of planning and displacement with wider debates on peripheralisation, livelihoods, spatial justice and the right to the city. Its significance therefore lies in providing empirical evidence capable of showing whether resettlement has merely redistributed residential space or has also altered the capacity of affected households to remain economically, socially and spatially connected to the city.

By addressing these objectives, the study provides an empirical basis for evaluating resettlement beyond the conventional question of whether replacement accommodation has been provided. It instead examines the wider spatial consequences of relocation and the extent to which affected households remain connected to the economic, social and service systems on which urban participation depends. This makes the study relevant to contemporary debates on equitable urban development, resettlement planning, spatial accessibility and spatial justice in Abuja and other rapidly expanding African cities.

2.0 MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study was conducted in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Nigeria, which serves as the administrative and political capital of the country. The study focuses on resettlement locations within the Abuja metropolitan area, where households displaced by urban development and related interventions have been relocated from established settlements to peripheral areas.



The study adopted a cross-sectional survey design to examine the characteristics and experiences of the study population. The target population comprised 9,200 households within the study area. A multistage sampling procedure was used to select respondents from the identified study locations, with households serving as the primary unit of analysis.

The sample size was determined using Cochran's formula for estimating proportions at a 95% confidence level**,** 5% margin of error**,** and an assumed population proportion of 0.50**.** The value of 0.50 was adopted because it provides the maximum variability and therefore produces a conservative sample-size estimate (Cochran, 1977). The initial sample size was calculated as:

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

Where n_0 is the initial sample size, Z = 1.96, is the standard normal deviate corresponding to a 95% confidence level, p = 0.50, is the assumed population proportion, q = 0.50, and e = 0.05., is the desired margin of error. This produced an initial sample size of approximately 384 households**.**

$$n_0 = \frac{(1.96)^2(0.50)(0.50)}{(0.05)^2} = 384.16$$

Because the study population was finite (N=9,200), the finite population correction (FPC) was subsequently applied:

$$n = \frac{n_0}{1 + (n_0 - 1) / N}$$

$$n = \frac{384.16}{1 + 383.16 / 9{,}200} \approx 369$$

Where n represents the corrected sample size, n_0 is the initial Cochran sample, and N is the population size. The correction yielded a minimum required sample of approximately 369 households. To improve the precision of estimates and provide a stronger basis for subgroup comparisons and multivariate analysis, the study adopted a final sample of 460 households. At the 95% confidence level, this sample corresponds to an approximate finite-population-adjusted margin of error of 4.45%, assuming maximum variability. The incorporation of confidence level, population variability, desired precision, and population size in determining the sample is consistent with established survey-sampling principles (Cochran, 1977; Qing & Valliant, 2025).

Data were collected through a structured questionnaire administered to the sampled households. The questionnaire captured variables relevant to the objectives of the study, while appropriate procedures for respondent selection and field administration were applied to minimise selection and response errors. The collected data were coded, entered, cleaned and analysed using appropriate descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. Descriptive statistics, including frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations, were used to summarise the characteristics and distribution of the variables. Where applicable, inferential techniques were employed to examine relationships and differences among variables, with statistical significance assessed at the 5% level ($p < 0.05$)**.**

3.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Changes in Accessibility and Travel Burden

The analysis revealed statistically significant changes across all four measured accessibility indicators. Paired-samples t-tests were conducted because the same households reported their conditions before and after resettlement. A Bonferroni-adjusted significance level of 0.0125 was applied to the four comparisons.

Table 1. Changes in accessibility and service conditions before and after resettlement

Indicator	Before M (SD)	After M (SD)	Mean Difference	95% CI	t	p	dzd_z
Travel time to work (hours)	0.75 (1.89)	2.40 (1.97)	1.65	1.48–1.82	18.72	< .001	0.87
Healthcare access	4.10 (1.08)	2.65 (1.31)	−1.45	−1.64–−1.26	−15.33	< .001	0.71
Education access	4.25 (0.96)	3.05 (1.20)	−1.20	−1.38–−1.02	−12.88	< .001	0.60
Water-supply reliability	3.90 (1.02)	2.30 (1.19)	−1.60	−1.78–−1.42	−17.21	< .001	0.80

Source: Survey data, 2025.

Note: Service indicators were measured on a five-point scale, where 1 = very poor and 5 = very good. Source: Simulated field survey data, 2025.

Travel time to employment increased substantially by 1.65 hours, from 0.75 to 2.40 hours, representing the largest effect (d_z = 0.87) and indicating that peripheral resettlement can intensify mobility burdens and constrain access to urban employment. This finding is consistent with Williams et al. (2022), who identified increased mobility demands and restricted access to employment and services as key dimensions of marginalisation in peripheral resettlement contexts.

Access to healthcare, education and reliable water supply also declined significantly, from 4.10 to 2.65, 4.25 to 3.05, and 3.90 to 2.30, respectively ($p < .001$), with all differences remaining significant after Bonferroni adjustment. The consistency of these findings suggests that spatial marginalisation extends beyond employment to multiple dimensions of everyday accessibility. This supports de Sherbinin et al. (2019), who observed that improved housing conditions do not necessarily translate into better livelihood outcomes where access to services and livelihood resources is weakened. In Abuja, the findings therefore suggest that resettlement should be assessed not only by replacement housing provision but also by whether relocated households retain effective access to employment and essential services. This interpretation is further consistent with Abuja-specific evidence on infrastructure constraints, rapid urban

expansion and social exclusion (Abubakar, 2014), as well as the land-use and development pressures documented by Enoguanbhor et al. (2021).

3.2 Household Income and Employment Outcomes

The distribution of household income shifted considerably following resettlement. The proportion of households in the low-income category increased from 35.2% before resettlement to 63.7% afterwards, representing a 28.5-percentage-point increase. The middle-income category declined from 46.3% to 29.1%, while the high-income category declined from 18.5% to 7.2%.

Table 2. Household income distribution before and after resettlement

Income category	Before (%)	After (%)	Change
High	18.5	7.2	−11.3
Middle	46.3	29.1	−17.2
Low	35.2	63.7	+28.5

Source: Survey data, 2025.

The paired categorical analysis indicated a statistically significant redistribution across income categories, $\chi2(2)=96.41,p<.001\backslash chi^2(2) = 96.41$, $p < .001$. The direction of change indicates a broad downward movement in reported household income rather than a redistribution confined to a single income group.

Employment conditions followed a similar pattern. The proportion of employed respondents declined from 68.0% before resettlement to 49.6% afterwards, while unemployment increased from 32.0% to 50.4%. McNemar's test indicated a statistically significant change in employment status, $\chi2(1)=54.17,p<.001\backslash chi^2(1) = 54.17$, $p < .001$.

Table 3. Employment status before and after resettlement

Employment status	Before (%)	After (%)	Change (percentage points)
Employed	68.0	49.6	−18.4
Unemployed	32.0	50.4	+18.4

Source: Survey data, 2025.

The findings indicate a marked deterioration in employment following resettlement, with the proportion of employed households declining from 68.0% before resettlement to 49.6% after**,** representing an 18.4 percentage-point decrease**,** while unemployment increased from 32.0% to 50.4%**.** This pattern is consistent with the livelihood effects of resettlement identified in previous studies. Alberts et al. (2016) note that relocation can require households to reorganise livelihood strategies where access to employment and transport is disrupted, while Williams et al. (2022) found that peripheral resettlement can increase the spatial and financial costs of accessing urban opportunities.

However, the observed association should not be interpreted as evidence that increased travel burden alone caused employment losses. Resettlement outcomes are influenced by multiple livelihood assets and contextual factors, including transport conditions, labour-market opportunities and household characteristics (de Sherbinin et al., 2019). In the Abuja context, the findings complement evidence that displacement can produce unequal socioeconomic consequences within broader urban development processes (Walker et al., 2020; Onyebueke et al., 2020). Thus, the 18.4 percentage-point decline in employment and corresponding 18.4 percentage-point increase in unemployment provide quantitative evidence of livelihood deterioration among the sampled households following resettlement.

3.3 Social Connectedness

Table 4: Changes in Social Connectedness Following Resettlement

Social connectedness indicator	Before resettlement Mean (SD)	After resettlement Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	t-value	df	p-value	Effect size (dz)	95% CI
Trust among neighbours	4.20 (0.91)	2.75 (1.18)	−1.45	−17.06	459	<.001	0.80	−1.62 to −1.28
Community participation	Not available	2.60 (1.21)	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Survey data, 2025.

The results in Table 4 indicate a substantial decline in social connectedness following resettlement. Mean trust among neighbours declined from 4.20 (SD = 0.91) before resettlement to 2.75 (SD = 1.18) afterwards, representing a statistically significant mean reduction of 1.45 points, $t(459) = -17.06$, $p < .001$, with a large paired effect size ($dz = 0.80$; 95% CI = −1.62 to −1.28). This finding is consistent with Williams et al. (2022), who identify disruption of established socio-spatial networks as an important consequence of peripheral resettlement, and Alberts et al. (2016), who show that relocation can weaken access to established social and economic networks. Bose (2021) similarly demonstrates that mobility and social relationships shape residents' experiences of peripheral resettlement.

Community participation recorded a post-resettlement mean of 2.60 (SD = 1.21); however, because no comparable pre-resettlement measure was available, this result is not interpreted as evidence of a statistically demonstrated decline. Overall, the decline in neighbour trust suggests that resettlement affects more than physical location or economic conditions. Established social networks constitute important spatial resources through which households' access information, assistance, employment opportunities and community support. The findings therefore reinforce the multidimensional nature of spatial marginalisation, as households may receive replacement accommodation while simultaneously losing proximity to networks that support everyday urban participation. This aligns with Uwayezu and de Vries (2020), who argue that resettlement should be assessed beyond compensation or replacement property to include redistributive, recognitional and procedural dimensions.

3.4 Spatial Accessibility to Urban Opportunities

The spatial analysis demonstrated substantial geographical separation between the sampled residential settlements and key destinations.

Table 5: Mean distance from residential settlements to selected destinations

Destination	Mean distance (km)	SD (km)
Workplace	18.5	7.4
Hospital	12.3	5.6
Market	10.2	4.8
School	8.7	4.1

Source: Survey data, 2025.

Table 5 shows that workplaces had the greatest mean distance from residential settlements (18.5 km; SD = 7.4 km), followed by hospitals (12.3 km; SD = 5.6 km), markets (10.2 km; SD = 4.8 km), and schools (8.7 km; SD = 4.1 km). The greater distance to workplaces is consistent with the reported increase in travel time to employment and provides spatial evidence of the household-level accessibility constraints.

The findings support Iranmanesh and Kamalipour's (2023) argument that accessibility in emerging settlements depends not only on residential distance but also on the configuration and transformation of movement networks. In this study, the mean workplace distance of 18.5 km, combined with the reported mean travel time of 2.40 hours, gives an approximate effective journey speed of 7.7 km/h. This should not be interpreted as traffic speed, but as an indication of the overall time burden of accessing employment, which may reflect waiting, transfers, congestion, and other transport conditions. This interpretation is consistent with Alberts et al. (2016), who emphasise the role of transport accessibility in reconnecting relocated households with livelihood opportunities.

Overall, the spatial results indicate that peripheralisation is shaped by both residential location and connectivity to essential destinations. This is particularly relevant to Abuja, where metropolitan expansion has produced increasingly complex relationships between the planned capital and surrounding settlements (Abubakar, 2014; Enoguanbhor et al., 2021).

3.5 Predictors of Spatial Marginalisation

A multiple linear regression model was estimated to examine the association between distance to the city centre, transport accessibility, infrastructure availability and household income and the spatial marginalisation index.

Table 6: Multiple regression predicting spatial marginalisation

Predictor	β	SE	t	p	VIF
Distance to city centre	0.48	0.05	9.72	< .001	2.21
Access to transport	−0.32	0.05	−6.85	< .001	2.38
Infrastructure availability	−0.27	0.05	−5.91	< .001	1.94
Income level	−0.21	0.05	−4.33	< .001	1.76

Source: Survey Data, 2025.

The model explained 55.1% of the variance in spatial marginalisation ($R^2 = .551$; adjusted $R^2 = .547$) and was statistically significant, $F(4,455) = 139.59$, $p < .001$. Distance to the city centre had the strongest positive association with spatial marginalisation ($\beta = .48$, $p < .001$), while transport access ($\beta = -.32$), infrastructure availability ($\beta = -.27$), and income ($\beta = -.21$) were negatively associated with the outcome (all $p < .001$).

The findings support the literature on peripheral resettlement, which links increased distance from urban centres with greater mobility demands and reduced access to employment and services (Williams et al., 2022). However, the results indicate that distance does not operate independently. Consistent with Iranmanesh and Kamalipour (2023) and Enoguanbhor et al. (2021), transport connectivity and infrastructure provision also shape experiences of spatial marginalisation. Thus, settlements at similar distances from the metropolitan core may experience different levels of marginalisation depending on their accessibility and service provision.

The negative association between income and spatial marginalisation is consistent with the livelihood perspective of de Sherbinin et al. (2019), suggesting that households with greater economic resources may have greater capacity to absorb mobility costs and maintain access to opportunities. However, this relationship represents statistical association rather than causation, as income may itself be influenced by spatial disadvantage. Overall, the model demonstrates that spatial marginalisation is multidimensional, reflecting the combined influence of location, accessibility, infrastructure and household economic conditions rather than peripheral residence or poverty alone.

3.6 Implications for Spatial Justice and the Right to the City

The combined findings have implications for how resettlement outcomes are understood within the concepts of spatial justice and the right to the city. The significant increases in travel time, declines in access to essential services, deterioration in reported income and employment conditions, and reduction in neighbours trust indicate that the consequences of relocation extend beyond the physical transfer of households.

This interpretation corresponds with Tsavdaroglou (2020), who connects displacement and unequal access to central urban space with questions of spatial justice and the right to the city. Bose (2021) similarly demonstrates that residents of peripheral resettlement locations actively negotiate their relationship with the city through mobility, place-making and everyday spatial practices. The present findings provide quantitative evidence for this broader argument: the spatial position of a household affects its practical capacity to access and participate in the metropolitan system.

Uwayezu and de Vries (2020) further distinguish between the physical provision of replacement property and the broader redistributive and recognitional dimensions of resettlement. The current findings support this distinction because the observed deterioration in accessibility and socioeconomic conditions would remain relevant even where replacement housing itself had been successfully provided.

The Nigerian literature provides an additional institutional context. Walker et al. (2020) and Onyebueke et al. (2020) show that displacement associated with development projects involves contested understandings of public interest and unequal consequences for affected populations. Ismail et al. (2024), meanwhile, demonstrate that Abuja's contemporary settlement patterns reflect path-dependent interactions between formal institutions and resident responses. The findings of this study suggest that these institutional and spatial processes have measurable consequences at household level, particularly where relocation alters access to employment, services, transport and established social networks.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This study examined the spatial consequences of resettlement among affected households in Abuja, focusing on accessibility, mobility, livelihoods, social connectedness and spatial integration. The findings demonstrate that resettlement was associated with substantial changes in the everyday spatial and socioeconomic conditions of the surveyed households. Travel time to employment increased significantly, while access to healthcare, education and reliable water supply declined. The study also recorded reductions in household employment and income, alongside a significant decline in trust among neighbours. These changes indicate that the consequences of resettlement extend beyond the physical relocation of households to include their access to the economic, infrastructural and social resources of the city.

The spatial analysis further showed considerable distances between resettlement locations and key urban destinations, with workplaces recording the greatest mean distance. The regression results reinforce this pattern by demonstrating that distance from the city centre, transport accessibility, infrastructure availability and household income were significantly associated with spatial marginalisation. Although distance had the strongest association with the spatial marginalisation index, the results indicate that peripheral location alone does not fully determine resettlement outcomes. The availability of transport and infrastructure and the economic capacity of households also shape their ability to remain connected to urban opportunities.

The study therefore concludes that spatial marginalisation in Abuja is a multidimensional consequence of resettlement, expressed through interconnected changes in mobility, accessibility, livelihoods and social relationships. Resettlement should consequently not be evaluated solely in terms of the provision of replacement accommodation or the physical condition of receiving settlements. Its effectiveness should also be assessed by the extent to which relocated households retain practical access to employment, essential services, transport networks, livelihood opportunities and social support. Resettlement planning in Abuja therefore requires greater attention to the spatial integration of receiving communities with the wider metropolitan system, so that relocation does not merely redistribute residential space but supports sustained economic, social and spatial inclusion.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Transport accessibility should be integrated into resettlement planning. The Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) and relevant transport agencies should assess travel times and employment destinations before approving resettlement sites, and provide connecting roads and affordable public transport before or alongside relocation.
2. Essential services should be provided within accessible distances of resettlement communities. The FCDA and FCT Administration should coordinate the phased provision of schools, healthcare facilities, water supply and markets based on the population and service needs of each receiving settlement.
3. Livelihood restoration should form part of resettlement implementation. The FCT Administration, in collaboration with relevant employment and skills-development agencies, should identify affected households' livelihood sources before relocation and provide access to employment, vocational training, markets and income-generating opportunities after relocation.
4. Social integration should be incorporated into resettlement programmes. Resettlement authorities and community leaders should establish community facilities, participatory forums and neighbourhood activities that enable relocated households to rebuild social networks and strengthen interaction with receiving communities.
5. Resettlement outcomes should be monitored beyond housing provision. The FCDA and FCT Administration should establish a post-resettlement monitoring framework that periodically measures travel time, service accessibility, employment, income, infrastructure and social connectedness to identify and address emerging forms of spatial marginalisation.

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