

Urbanization and Urban Development

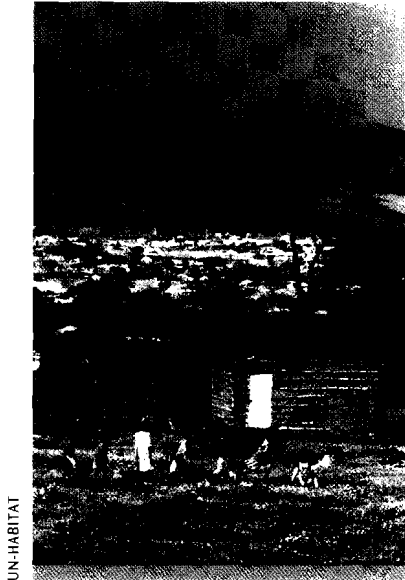
Urban systems affect access to essential social services.

Professor Mabogunje's work reflects the traditions in urban and human geography that evolved during his long career. This chapter examines urbanization and urban development, major themes in his writings. He addresses a wide range of issues, including urbanization in Nigeria and throughout Africa, urbanization's impact on economic development, urban management, housing and housing finance, and the relationship between industrialization and urban development.

He began his academic career when the quantitative and theoretical revolutions, which were the handmaidens of the spatial analysis paradigm, were taking hold in geography. His early work on *Urbanization in Nigeria* was characterized by the theoretical and analytical rigour associated with the spatial analysis perspective. The book examines the role of cities in generating or hindering development; housing and finance policies; the impact of mortgage finance; low-income housing; public-private partnerships; urban land-use; institutional frameworks for city management; urban governance; and socially integrated and inclusive cities.

The theoretical orientation of his work means that he "... does not see the urbanization process in Nigeria as unique in any way but tries to show that it reflects the operation of much of the same forces as have led to urban growth and development in other parts of the world" (Mabogunje 1968, pp. 26–27). This thinking is one of the hallmarks of the spatial analysis approach. The spatial organization of society, including cities, is seen as the product of general processes that presumably produce the same outcomes everywhere or, to quote him, "in other parts of the world."

This quest for theory led him to make several assumptions, some of which are no longer valid. One is that national boundaries provide natural economic barriers. Another is that cultural differences have no effect on economic behaviour. In recent years, the



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Children from Kibera slum in Nairobi, Kenya

rise of globalization and transnational corporations has diminished the significance of national borders. There is also increasing evidence that constraints on behaviour affect economic behaviour. Essentially, he employed central place theory and theories of urban structure as backdrops for his analyses. This is also evident in his papers on African cities and urban land use in Nigeria.

Professor Mabogunje's works on urbanization and urban development address socially important and topical issues. To this extent, they reflect aspects of the critical perspective. Of particular importance is the role of cities in economic development, which he addressed from a variety of conceptual perspectives. Although analytical, the papers discussed in this chapter emphasize the need for practical solutions to pressing urban problems. In addition, some of his works are characterized by eclecticism, one of the attributes of postmodernism, in that they address specific subjects, such as traditional systems of housing finance.

The relationship between urbanization and economic development is well established in the literature. The more developed countries tend to have higher levels of urbanization than those that are less developed. However, this does not mean that urbanization causes economic development. Some lesser developed countries have attained levels of urbanization that are close to those of the advanced economies. For example, Libya and Saudi Arabia are more than 80 percent urbanized—the same level as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany—but their levels of development are not commensurate with their urbanization.

The expectation that cities are centres of innovation, industrialization and modernization shaped Professor Mabogunje's thinking on their role in economic development. Most of his works are an extension of his work on urbanization in Nigeria. Even though the radical paradigm was already being recognized in human geography, Professor Mabogunje's works on development and the role of cities do not take into account the broader context of the political and economic system within which the process unfolds. Clearly, the ability of cities to promote development depends on the structure and operation of the capitalist world economy (Okafor 1995). While he makes a passing reference to the capitalist mode of production, it was not central to his analysis.

His works presage contemporary concerns, such as regional integration. For small African countries, industrialization and urbanization have limited prospects of promoting development, because domestic markets are small. In such circumstances, economies of scale are limited and cities cannot attract manufacturing and other productive activities. One solution is to create larger markets through regional integration. With appropriate linkages, industries and cities can stimulate growth in regional and national economies, including rural areas.

AFRICAN URBANIZATION

Professor Mabogunje's works on *African Cities and Some Theoretical Underpinnings in Urban Geography* and *Urbanization in Nigeria* consider African urbanization as an outgrowth of the same processes that produced cities in other parts of the world. He notes that urban systems affect access to social services. His concern about the role of cities in regional development, urban environmental problems, housing and housing finance, and the weak administrative capacity of municipal governments continues today—an indication that his academic and policy agendas were set back in the 1960s. Another important publication under this rubric argues that urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa is nothing more than the backwash effect of failed development policies.



Curt Carnemark/World Bank

Typical market scene in Accra, Ghana

African Cities

His paper on African cities¹ examines them within the context of the central place theory. In his words, "If the central place theory has any validity at all, it should have some universal application. Especially in Africa where the environment is tropical rather than temperate, where the culture looks far removed from that of Europe and where the people are so racially different, it should provide some insights for understanding the pattern of urbanization which we find in this area" (p. 171). He was in the vanguard of the spatial analysis paradigm in Nigerian geography and his theory is in keeping with both the spatial analysis tradition and the scientific method in geography. In this

paper, he acknowledges the benefits of using the conceptual and analytical tools emanating from recent theoretical developments.

A brief review of central place theory establishes the link between the order of central cities, the types of goods and services found in them, the travel-willingness and travel-frequency of consumers, and the spacing of cities. For example, lower-order goods and services, such as groceries, are demanded on a daily basis. For this reason, they have a high travel-frequency since consumers are generally unwilling to travel long distances for them. Central places, such as small towns, which offer lower-order goods and services, tend to be ubiquitous and are more closely spaced. On the other hand, higher-order goods and services, such as television sets, cars, and jewelry, are demanded much less frequently and have a low travel-frequency. Therefore, consumers are generally willing to travel longer distances to purchase them. For this reason, higher-order cities and large towns are not ubiquitous and are more widely spaced. As a result, central places form a hierarchical system, with higher-order central places at the top and lower-order central places at the bottom (see Box 2.1). This paper highlights the importance of distance in the spatial organization of central places.

This paper shows that pre-industrial or pre-colonial cities existed in some parts of Africa (see Figure 2.1), and that these cities constituted a

hierarchical system, “. . . based on the status of trading contacts which the urban centres enjoyed.” In addition, the hierarchy was associated with the organization of occupational guilds. He provides evidence from Hausaland supporting his claim and concluded that “clearly then, these pre-European towns and cities, although when viewed from the vantage point of our times may not appear particularly impressive either in their size, their building or their layout, were organized within some hierarchical framework” (p. 176). He argued that the spatial organization of cities in Europe is not different from the situation in Africa and cited historical studies by Dickinson (1932) in East Anglia and Germany to support this assertion. With regard to East Anglia, he observed that “what is remarkable about Dickinson’s study of towns in East Anglia in medieval times was the very close similarity of the spatial pattern which he found to be similar to that which we have described for Northern Nigeria” (p. 180).

It is important to remember that Professor Mabogunje’s concern for welfare is implicit in his analysis. “. . . In order that these urban services may be made available to the populace in general at the minimum possible travel cost we shall expect to find numerous small towns at short distances apart” (p. 183). The promotion of human welfare and human well-being is a common thread that runs through most of his works.

Box 2.1 The Central Place Theory (CPT)

- A *Central Place* is a settlement that provides one or more services for the population living in and around it.
- Simple basic services (e.g., grocery stores) are said to be of *low order*, while specialized services (e.g., universities) are said to be of *high order*.
- Having a high order service implies there are low order services in the central place, but not vice versa.
- Settlements that provide low order services are said to be *low order settlements*. Settlements that provide high order services are said to be *high order settlements*.
- The *sphere of influence* is the area under the influence of the Central Place.
- The minimum population size required to profitably maintain a service is the *threshold population*.
- Factors that affect a fall in the threshold population include decreasing population,

changing tastes, and the introduction of substitutes. Christaller (1933, trans. 1966—Walter Christaller—proponent of Central Place Theory) in formulating his theory made a number of assumptions that all areas have:

- An isotropic surface
 - An evenly distributed population
 - Evenly distributed resources
 - Similar purchasing power of all consumers
- The theory points out that the hexagon shape prevents overlaps or gaps in spheres of influence.
 - The *breaking point* is where the consumer is equally far from two or more centers.

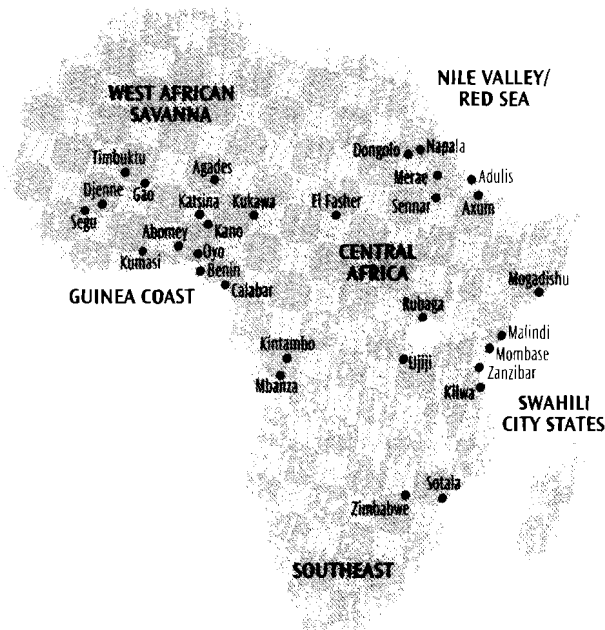
The formula to calculate it is $d_{jk} = d_{ij} / (1 + \sqrt{P_i/P_j})$ where d_{jk} is the distance from j to k , d_{ij} is the distance between two towns, P_i/P_j are the populations of j and i and i is the bigger town.

Urbanization

*Urbanization in Nigeria*², which is cited in earlier chapters, was published in 1968. This 353-page book is an extension of his doctoral study of the urban geography of Lagos, the Akinola doctoral study of Ibadan in 1963, and other works on African cities. His goal was to

provide the first conspectus of traditional and modern urbanization in Nigeria (p. 5). It uses central place theory and the theories of urban structure as well as sophisticated quantitative analyses. As he states, “The present study . . . has a strong theoretical orientation. It does not see the urbanization process in Nigeria as unique in any way, but tries to show that it

Figure 2.1 Pre-colonial Cities in Africa



reflects the operation of much the same forces as have led to urban growth and development in other parts of the world” (pp. 26–27). The trend of urbanization has continued in many African countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria has the largest share of rising urbanization (see Table 2.1 and Figure 2.2).

In the first section of his book, Professor Mabogunje examines the pattern of both pre-

European and “modern” urbanization in Nigeria. He acknowledges that there is no formal theory of urbanization. However, the concept of functional specialization provides useful insights into the origin of cities and he argues that “for functional specialization to give rise to urban centres, there must be a surplus of food production with which to feed the class of specialists whose activities are now withdrawn from agriculture” (p. 35). He lists other conditions, including a ruling class able to guarantee peace and stability and a class of traders and merchants to facilitate the work of the specialists.

Professor Mabogunje uses central place theory to analyze the patterns of urbanization in Nigeria, with particular emphasis on the concepts of range and threshold. The range of a good or service is the maximum distance consumers are willing to travel in order to purchase it. Range defines the catchment area (or market area) of a central place. On the other hand, the threshold is the minimum population or market needed to make the sale of a good or service profitable. If this condition is not met, the goods or service will not be offered.

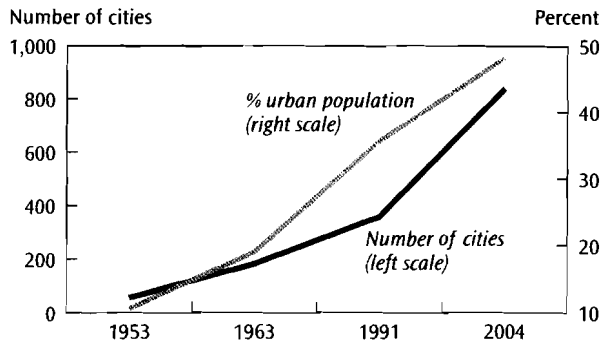
He concludes that “the idea of an ordered system among goods and services leads naturally to the conception of an ordered system among the urban centres which provide them” (p. 139). Urban systems in northern and western Nigeria were not substantially different from a central place system, because they were

Table 2.1 Population Growth Rates and Levels of Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa and Other World Regions 1950–2015

Country or region	Total population 2001 millions	Total population		1950	Level of urbanization		
		1985–2000	2001–2015		1975	2001	2015
Benin	6.4	2.8	2.6	3.3	21.9	43.8	53.5
Burkina Faso	12.3	2.8	2.8	3.0	6.3	17.4	23.2
Cote d'Ivoire	16.1	2.7	2.0	13.2	32.1	44.0	51.0
Gambia	1.4	3.7	2.2		17.1	26.1	27.8
Ghana	20.0	3.0	2.6	14.5	30.1	45.0	51.1
Guinea	8.2	2.7	2.3	5.5	16.3	34.5	44.2
Guinea Bissau	1.4	2.2	1.9		15.9	33.2	43.5
Liberia	2.9	2.4	3.2	13.0	30.4	44.9	55.5
Mali	12.3	2.3	2.6	8.5	16.2	31.6	40.9
Mauritania	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.3	20.3	60.5	73.9
Niger	11.1	3.2	2.9	4.9	10.6	21.6	29.7
Nigeria	117.8	2.6	2.1	10.1	23.4	45.9	55.5
Senegal	9.6	2.6	2.4	30.5	34.2	48.9	57.9
Sierra Leone	4.6	2.9	3.2	9.2	21.4	38.1	47.6
Togo	4.7	2.8	2.5	7.2	16.3	34.5	42.3
West Africa	231.5	2.7	2.5	8.3	20.8	38.0	46.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	669.0	2.5	2.1	n.d.	21.0	34.8	42.8
Africa	784.4	2.5	2.1	15	25	37.9	46.5
Europe	728.9	0.2	-0.1	52	67	74.8	78.6
Asia	3,682.6	1.6	1.1	17	25	36.7	44.7
Latin America	519.1	1.7	1.3	41	61	75.3	79.9
North America	309.6	1.2	0.7	64	74	77.2	80.9
Oceania	30.4	1.4	1.1	62	72	70.2	71.2
World	6,055.0	1.5	1.1	41.8	54	47.0	53.4

Sources: UN-HABITAT, 2005b, UNDP, 2002

Figure 2.2 Relationship between Population Growth and Rise in the Number of Urban Centers in Nigeria 1950–2004



based on trade. By the beginning of the colonial period, these urban systems “had evolved some order of importance among themselves. Such an order was based on the favourable location for international and interregional trade or on levels of political pre-eminence or on both. The various kingdoms in the country had their metropolitan centres and their subsidiary towns, which were organized in a descending order of importance” (p. 142).

Professor Mabogunje uses factor analysis to identify the important dimensions of the urbanization process in Nigeria. From 32 variables, he obtained seven factors that account for 84.3 percent of the total variance in the original data. Chief among them are urban

economic function and north-south differences in the urbanization process. His novel analysis of Nigerian cities revealed interesting characteristics of urbanization that are usually embedded in masses of data.

City Structures

The second part of his book examines the internal structure of Nigerian cities against the backdrop of leading theories of urban structure (see Figure 2.4). These include the concentric zone theory, the sector theory, and the multiple nuclei theory. His review concludes that the multiple nuclei theory “is fundamental in understanding the nature of Nigerian cities” (p. 179). Two cities of totally different character, Ibadan and Lagos, were selected for the study.

Case Study 1: Ibadan

Ibadan is a pre-colonial city. The key factors affecting Ibadan’s growth during the colonial period were the introduction of railways and the expansion of cocoa cultivation. The latter, in particular, led to increases in rural incomes and commercial activity in the city.

Ibadan’s traditional and modern character was also highlighted (see Figure 2.3). As Professor Mabogunje observes, “today, and in spite of recent development, Ibadan remains a city with a dual personality. Its pre-European foundation constitutes a significant proportion of the city”

(p. 202). One interesting point is the preservation of the contrasting residential and nonresidential neighbourhoods. The traditional urban form, characterized by high density, poor sanitation, and poor environmental quality, continues to expand into new areas of the metropolis. He blames this on the weakness of the city's administrative machinery and the concentration of political power in the hands of traditional urbanites who are resistant to change.

Concerning Ibadan's internal structure, the idea of twin central business districts (CBDs) fits well with the needs of Ibadan and other traditional Nigerian cities. As he states, "... These cities today represent an amalgam of two different urban processes, each of which still has its centre of intense activity and both of which continue to flourish side by side" (p. 205). In Ibadan, Iba Market and Gbagi were the traditional and modern CBDs respectively. A variety of districts border them:

- The traditional city of older, low quality residential areas comprising the core region and the older suburbs.
- Newer residential neighborhoods of low to medium quality, which comprise the newer eastern and western suburbs as well as the post-1952 suburbs.
- High quality residential neighbourhoods comprising the Bodija Housing Estate and the Reservations.

Professor Mabogunje identified two problems stemming from the city's internal structure: "These are the problems of its slum areas and of easy circulation within the city. The former affects the comfort, aesthetic pleasure, and convenience of living in the city, the latter the efficiency with which the city performs its functions as a business and a future industrial centre" (p. 233). These problems remain in Ibadan today.

Case Study 2: Lagos

Although there was a small town on the site of present day Lagos in pre-colonial times, it was not a traditional city in the sense of Ibadan. Lagos is essentially a product of the Europeans. Its growth is the result of its coastal location

Figure 2.3 Modern and Traditional Sections of Ibadan

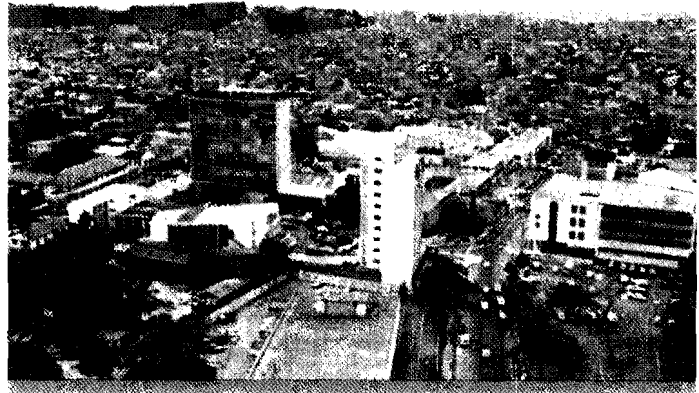
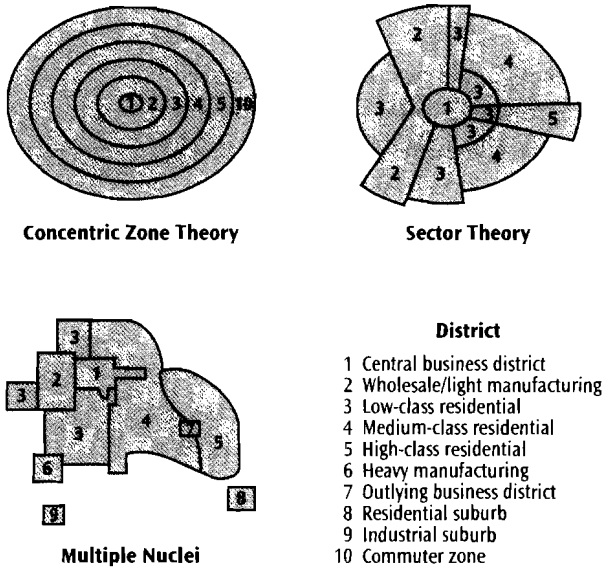


Figure 2.4 Three Generalizations of Urban Structure



Upper Left: Burgess' Concentric Zone Model; Upper Right: Hoyt's Sector Model; Bottom Left: Harris and Ullman Multiple Nuclei Model. *Graphic prepared by Department of Geography and Earth Sciences, University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

and political status as the seat of the colonial administration. It became a centre of commerce and industry, and the economic nerve centre of the country. As he states, "although less traditional than Ibadan, Lagos exhibits an internal structure which in part can also be explained in terms of the twin-centre concept.

Much of the differences between the two cities is due to the island situation of the initial settlement, the smallness of the traditional town and the fact that the major development of Lagos took place in the era of modern commercial expansion and industrial growth" (p. 274).

Types of Cities

The book highlights two types of cities in Nigeria, namely the traditional or pre-colonial city and the "modern" city. Its detailed description of the origin, evolution, and characteristics of the pre-colonial city is a significant contribution to the literature on pre-industrial urbanization in Nigeria and other African countries. As mentioned earlier, this book charts Professor Mabogunje's academic career in that his subsequent works on regional development, housing, urban management, environment and population, among others, appear to have emanated from his analyses and thoughts on urbanization in Nigeria and other parts of Africa. For instance, he argues that most Nigerian cities were parasites and were not stimulating or generating growth in the surrounding regions. He recommends an urbanization policy linked to regional development: "Such a policy must be based on the realization of the crucial role of urban centres for generating economic development within a given region. Thus, a positive urbanization

The single most important problem facing Nigerian cities is the lack of administrative and revenue-raising capacity.

policy must be part of a bigger conception of regional economic planning. . . . However, in order that the cities may perform efficiently their function as 'growth points' of the economy, it would be necessary to review the nature of their management" (p. 324).

Professor Mabogunje's concern for urban management issues is evident in his emphasis on the lack of administrative and revenue-raising capacity in Nigerian cities. He regarded this as the single most important problem, which continues today. City officials lack the knowledge to efficiently manage. Most Nigerian cities do not tap property rating, an important source of revenue. As he observed ". . . towns and cities are important generating centres for economic growth, and . . . their efficient management is as crucial to the rate of growth of the country's economy as is the management of any directly productive activity" (p. 325).

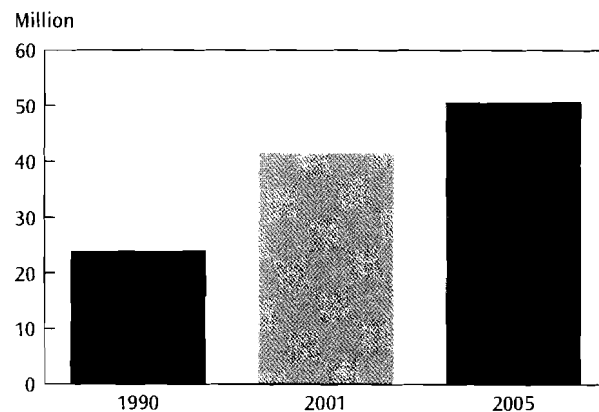
From this discourse, it is possible to see the link between over-urbanization and urban environmental and housing problems. Over-urbanization occurs when cities grow faster than jobs, urban infrastructure, including housing and water supply, and social services, such as health care and education. He notes that "this failure to create new employment opportunities fast enough to keep pace with the influx of immigrants has had a deleterious effect on the environmental and physical conditions of these cities" (p. 317).

With regard to housing problems, he gave the example of Lagos' spectacular growth. In his view, "demand for housing remains insatiable owing to a chronic shortage of housing finance. The result is overcrowding and a rapid rate of property deterioration in most parts of Lagos. In the older parts of the city this has led to the creation of indescribably squalid slums" (p. 320) (see Figure 2.5).

The Nature and Process of Urbanization in Africa

In Backwash Urbanization³ it is argued that urbanization in Africa is not a product of economic development, but one of the negative

Figure 2.5 Magnitude of the Slum Population in Nigeria





Curt Carnemark/World Bank

Teeming market in Ibadan, Nigeria

consequences of failed development policies, particularly the disarticulation of rural economies that fueled rural-urban migration. In his view, “. . . the failure of the (urbanization) process to seriously improve the lot of the majority of the population either in the urban or in the rural areas calls for a re-examination and a deeper insight into the nature of the complex social forces which urbanization represents in the particular circumstances of the African continent today” (p. 3). In this regard, the post-colonial

political economy of African states adversely affected rural economies. There was an urban bias in public expenditure and the consequent neglect of rural areas. In addition, higher urban wages attracted unskilled labour away from the rural/agricultural sector.

In the cities, the migrants are incorporated into the urban informal sector in which rural social relations and modes of production prevail. Professor Mabogunje observes that “current urbanization trends must thus be seen as

the backwash effect of an inappropriate set of economic policies in many of these countries, policies which continue to destroy the vigour of their rural areas and to suffocate their cities with the excrescences of the human casualties resulting there” (p. 25). Among other things, this situation has resulted in the “peasantization” of African cities “not only in the sense that most of the people involved are of peasant or rural origins but that they continue to use ‘peasant-type’ strategy to survive albeit within an urban environment” (p. 29). The proliferation of squatter settlements, poor environmental conditions, and the peasantization of cities are among the many outcomes of backwash urbanization.

URBANIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This section will examine the following works by Professor Mabogunje: *The Economic Implications of the Pattern of Urbanization in Nigeria*; *Urbanization in Nigeria: A Constraint on Economic Development*; *Cities and Social Order*; *Prolegomenon to Urban Poverty in Nigeria*; *Poverty, Environment and Income Generation for the Urban Poor*; *Cities and African Development*; and *Issues in Nigerian Urbanization*.

These papers address a wide range of issues, including mortgage finance as an option for sustainable housing production, property rates

as a viable source of local government revenue, and urban management problems resulting from weak administrative and professional capacities in city governments. He argues for selective infrastructure investment in cities that have the capacity to stimulate regional development. He also believes that lack of access to resources is an important dimension of urban poverty and is affected by urban systems.

Economic Implications of Urbanization

Professor Mabogunje’s paper on the economic implications of urbanization in Nigeria⁴ draws heavily on the country’s Six Year Development Plan, in which the federal government proposed to spend at least 60 percent of its capital resources on infrastructure. Infrastructure investments accounted for no less than one-third of regional governments’ budgets and Nigerian cities are the main beneficiaries. He examines “how well they are placed to help in generating further economic growth or, on the contrary, how much they can be said to be ‘parasitic’ in the system” (pp. 9–10). Since some cities do not have the capacity to generate growth in their regional or national economies, he believes that infrastructural investment should be selective and should favour cities that have the capacity to stimulate growth in their surrounding regions.

The functional specialization and the central place theories provide the analytical framework for the paper, which bears the hallmarks of Professor Mabogunje's works of the 1970s through the 1980s. He derived four hypotheses:

- The size of an urban centre is a function of the number of people engaged in non-agricultural activities.
- There is a direct relationship between the size of an urban centre and the number of "foreign" or "non-local" elements in its population.
- In a developing economy, the size of an urban centre is directly related to the proportion of adult males and inversely related to the proportion of adult females, children, and the aged.
- The size of an urban centre is related to its accessibility within the system of cities.

He tested the hypotheses using data from the 1952 census. Data revealed that three factors accounted for about 80 percent of the variation in the original data set. Not all the four hypothesis were explicitly tested in the study. However, in general, he obtained some interesting results from his analysis, including:

- Size was not an important factor in the levels of urbanization in Nigeria.
- In many towns, there was an inverse relationship between the number of adult males and children.

- The development of transportation networks, especially railways, had a major impact on cities' spatial organization.

As he observes, "irrespective of their size, traditional urban centres which were not on the rail-line or on other major routes found themselves shunted into the backwater of economic decadence . . ." (p. 16). They lost many able-bodied young people to the growing cities. They also lost their traditional craft industries to competition from imported products.

Professor Mabogunje concludes that "although theoretically urban centres are important generators of economic growth, the history of their development in Nigeria and the more recent process of adjustments going on among them point to the need for circumspection in decisions as to the location of major investments" (p. 19). He also stressed that the choice of investment criteria should strike a "balance between criteria important for economic growth and those necessitated both by political expediency and the need for regional and national cohesion . . . the need to channel scarce resources to those areas of the country where their contribution to economic growth can be decisive is urgent and immediate" (pp. 19–20). He rightfully argues that investment decisions must be realistic and take into account political expediency and the need for national cohesion in investment decisions.

Urbanization and Economic Development

The objective of his papers on urbanization as a constraint on economic development⁵ is to assess the implications of urbanization for the economic development of Nigeria. Although urbanization and economic development are closely linked, the relationship is more complex than is portrayed in the literature. Professor Mabogunje provides a historical narrative of pre-colonial urbanization in Nigeria (especially northern Nigeria and Yoruba land) and the economic conditions that brought it about. Trade was the primary driving force and the trans-Saharan trade, in particular, had a major impact on cities in northern Nigeria.

The introduction of new transportation systems, such as the railways, had a profound impact on pre-colonial cities. Cities bypassed by the railways declined. At the same time, new urban centres were established to serve the colonial economy. As he observes, “with its fast and more efficient transportation system as well as other economic institutions and technological innovations, developed its own critical nodes, notably at the ports and at a number of centres on the railroad or on major roads leading to the rail line” (p. 420).

Using factor analysis, he concludes that the urbanization process in Nigeria is complex, culture is an important influence in different



Aerial view of Maputo, Mozambique

Maputo City

parts of the country, and variations in the demographic structure of Nigerian cities are a reflection of the economic opportunities they offer. Regarding the government’s policy of providing infrastructure investments to cities, he appears to favour the use of economic criteria rather than equity concerns. His position on this issue follows:

“The danger about this (and this is the main contention of this paper) is the absence of any objective criteria for deciding which towns and cities should have these investments, criteria which pay some attention to the ability of urban centres to use such investments for generating growth in the economy. It may be argued, however, that equity and national

cohesion are more important factors to be considered in making such decisions, and this, in fact, seems to be the attitude of the government in the matter. It is thus precisely for this reason that it is necessary to stress the growing body of opinion that economic development would progress faster, if, at least in the initial stage, the economic advantages of growing centres were maximized even at the expense of further depressing the viability of declining centres" (p. 436).

His believes that government should favour growing or generative cities in its infrastructure investment decisions, at least in the short run. Spreading infrastructure investment thinly across all cities, regardless of potential, will be ineffectual. He states that "not all centres with high total population have the capabilities or locational advantages to turn any social overhead investment to a useful and generative purpose" (p. 438). It is in this sense that the pattern of urbanization in Nigeria was seen as constituting a constraint on economic development.

Urbanization and City Systems

Cities and their role in enhancing or inhibiting access to resources was the theme of Professor Mabogunje's inaugural lecture⁶ at the University of Ibadan in 1974. He began by noting the paradigm shift from regional approaches to spatial analysis in human geography. In his

words, "... the difference between my concern today and those of my predecessors is the product of fundamental changes in the objectives and methodology of the subject, especially since the end of the Second World War" (p. 2). These changes include the quest for theoretical explanations of geographical phenomena, widespread use of quantitative methods in geographical analysis, and the quest for social relevance.

He argues that the social order in Nigeria aspires to derive from national objectives, which include establishing the country as "a just and egalitarian society, a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens . . ." (p. 5). In his view, accessibility to facilities and opportunities is central to the achievement of the desired social order, since the main goal is distributive equity. As he observes, "variation in the accessibility of individuals to educational, health and employment opportunities can generally be appreciated as important determinants of life chances" (p. 7). Because towns and cities are the repositories of essential social services, utilities, and other opportunities, urban systems directly affect the structure of accessibility.

He notes that "the main thrust of the argument is not aggregate growth of urban population but the pattern of their distribution and its implication for the social order" (p. 11). He continues that "in areas of sparse population, distances to urban centres are great and hence

access to services and opportunities are correspondingly constrained” (pp. 13–14). There is empirical evidence supporting his argument that the distribution of urban centres affects access to a wide range of opportunities. For example, states with urban centres tend to have few post-primary educational institutions. The same is true of employment opportunities, among others. He concludes that “whether we think of welfare services or employment opportunities, the urban system in Nigeria today is already proving inadequate as a means of achieving the type of social order that the country desires” (p. 29).

Urban Poverty

Lack of access to resources and opportunities is an important dimension of urban poverty. As he argues, poverty is not all about income. His paper on urban poverty in Nigeria⁷ “. . . attempts to examine urban poverty as a special case of the general condition of poverty in a country, to consider the processes that help to generate it, to relate these processes to the historical evolution of Nigerian cities, to identify the various indices that can be used to characterize it, and to indicate some policy measures for coping with the urban manifestation of poverty in Nigeria” (p. 2). He defines poverty “. . . in terms of rights to command scarce societal resources. On this basis, a poor man is,

thus, someone whose rights to command these resources are very limited” (p. 3). This phenomenon has a spatial dimension, since the urban poor tend to be segregated in shantytowns and urban slums.

Professor Mabogunje argues that location is vital, because resources are not available everywhere in the same quantity and quality, and accessibility is an important component of the ability to command resources. Although he did not mention it explicitly, low income urban neighbourhoods are disadvantaged because they lack the capacity to maximize positive externalities or to attract the resources and facilities that bring them about. Privileged groups and neighbourhoods manipulate the distribution of externalities to gain income advantage.

Using Ibadan as a case study, he identified two types of urban poor: the *poor indigenes* and the *unemployed migrants*. The poor indigenous population lived in the traditional city and did not benefit from the railway system and the railway station that were outside the old city. Much of the traditional city is characterized as slum as are the other parts of the city inhabited by poor migrants. The poorer neighbourhoods had limited access to potable water. In fact, the pattern of poverty he identified in Ibadan can be characterized as one of multiple deprivations. He proposes policy measures to deal with poverty in Nigerian cities, including

capacity building and the need to be cognizant of the distributive effects of location. In his words, “an important policy measure to deal with urban poverty in Nigeria therefore requires the strengthening of all those agencies concerned with locational decisions within cities and their fuller appreciation of the redistributive effects of their decisions” (p. 20).

Poverty and Environmental Quality

Professor Mabogunje’s paper examines why the poor are indifferent to environmental concerns and whether this attitude can be mitigated through the expansion of income generating activities. For the poor, physical survival often takes precedence over concern for the environment. The defining features of poverty include lack of assets (both land and human capital) and limited access to income generating activities because of low education and skill levels. Poverty is particularly acute among women. The problem is compounded by the fact that cash income is “needed for virtually any services and goods that are required for everyday existence” in cities (p. 3). This is in sharp contrast to the situation in rural areas where family relationships ensure that access to some goods and services is not based on cash.

Poverty alleviation strategies should emphasize employment, access to credit, and skill development. Nine case studies of the Mega

Cities Project are used to illustrate how income generating opportunities can be created for the urban poor in the process of improving environmental conditions. The paper concludes that “the nine case studies clearly indicate that poverty alleviation strategies can be structured around environmental improvement activities in low-income and slum neighbourhoods of cities” (p. 18).

Cities and African Development

Professor Mabogunje’s *Cities and African Development*⁹ addresses the significance of urbanization for economic development. He explores the origin of pre-industrial cities, highlighting their association with trade and pre-industrial empires. West Africa and North Africa were the epicenters of pre-industrial urbanization. Their internal structures conformed to the inverse concentric zone model, with the elite residing in the city centre. In addition, the neighbourhoods were organized along occupational lines. Because the cities were comparatively small in population size, and transportation infrastructure was rudimentary, the market was limited. This, in turn, produced limited activity.

The modern industrial cities in Africa were largely the products of colonialism. For example, port cities thrived because of the external orientation of the colonial economy. These modern

industrial cities triggered substantial rural-urban migration, which led to urban population growth rates higher than national growth rates. The cities were also instruments of modernization and social change. New social institutions, especially ethnic and town unions, helped integrate new migrants into urban society.

Most of the problems faced by African cities stem from the fact that urban populations are growing faster than urban economies. The problems include unemployment, inadequate housing, traffic congestion, and inadequate urban management. Professor Mabogunje proposes solutions to unemployment, including adoption of an industrialization policy that emphasizes small-scale, labour intensive industries, and rural development to stem the tide of rural-urban migration. He suggests a participatory approach to urban management, including effective city administrators who can tap potential urban financial resources, such as property rates.

For African cities to generate economic development, industrialization should be based on the use of local raw materials. This would provide industries with linkages to other sectors of national economies, create markets for producers, and stimulate economic growth. He also recommends regional integration as a means of creating larger markets for industrial products. Finally, he appears to move away from purely economic arguments for the spatial allocation of investment that is evident in some

of his previous works.

In his view, “the more even distribution of cities, by reducing regional inequalities, could be an invaluable means of maintaining national cohesion” (p. 48). Urbanization and industrialization poli-

cies should be part of a programme of urban and regional planning. Thus, he brings into focus the need to balance economic, social, and physical concerns in development planning.



Aerial view of Tinubu Square, Lagos, Nigeria

Critical Urbanization Issues

Professor Mabogunje’s publications on urbanization, including the selection discussed in this chapter, attempt to raise big picture issues¹⁰ rather than address the existing situation of urbanization in Nigeria. These issues include data collection and measurement, employment and income distribution, rural pauperization and regional development, housing and living conditions, levels and pricing of urban services, and management and institutional frameworks.

Data Problems

Serious data problems and the dearth of information about Nigerian towns and cities are

recurring themes in Professor Mabogunje's works. Nigeria's inability to conduct an accurate population census prompted him to write in 1977 that "the last time we had census information on Nigerian towns and cities was 1952" (p. 2). In 2006, for the first time, the census contained data on housing and population. While he applauds this progress, he also stresses the need for data on production, distribution, employment, transportation, and other social and economic factors. He recommends "... a complete and thorough reorganization of the basis of data collection and presentation in the country" (p. 3).

Employment and Income

Data problems also cloud analysis of employment and income distribution in Nigeria. The shift in industrial strategy from valorization to import substitution led to some expansion of employment opportunities in cities, with port cities the major beneficiaries. But as he points out, the creation of states has ensured the redistribution of industrial activities and employment opportunities. Many state capitals became centres of industrial development. While jobs did not grow rapidly, the urban informal sector did. Today, many cities have a dual economy with formal and informal sectors and significant income disparities between them.

Rural Poverty

Rural poverty is in large part the result of urban industrial enterprises, which do not stimulate growth in rural areas. Another factor is the shift in urban food preferences, which affects the demand for agricultural products. There is also the problem of adverse trade between manufactured products and agricultural products. Finally, comparatively high urban wages attract workers away from agriculture. Professor Mabogunje proposes a program of agro-allied industrial development within a regional planning framework to stimulate growth in rural economies.

Housing

The housing problem is directly linked to the rapid growth in urban populations. Government housing policies have focused on rent control and increasing housing supplies, especially for low income groups. He argues that such policies are misconceived. He asserts that government housing is known for its poor quality and high price. The focus instead should be on site development. As well, many low income housing estates are located at the fringe of cities, far from work places, thereby increasing the burden of transportation costs for the poor. He concludes that "providing more extensive mortgage facility would have

Mortgage finance is an important way to facilitate home ownership.

been a more realistic and effective means of dealing with the housing problem” (p. 12).

Level and Pricing of Urban Services

The level and pricing of urban services is another issue he addresses. Some services, such as water and electricity, can be metered and priced, but others, such as fire protection and waste disposal, can not. One method of deriving returns from these services is through property rating that enables urban communities to become self-supporting and self-reliant. Unfortunately, “up till now very few Nigerian cities are availing themselves of this major source of revenue for maintaining and up-grading the services they provide” (p. 13).

Urban Management and Institutional Frameworks

He argues that effective urban management and efficient institutional frameworks are critical. Orderly management requires that cities have planning departments, which is not the situation in Nigeria. A Federal Ministry of Housing, Urban Development and Environment was created and the Federal Housing Authority incorporated into the ministry. However, he concludes that the Ministry does not appear to be implementing a far-sighted and comprehensive urban policy, because it

defines its most important function as the provision of housing.

HOUSING AND HOUSING FINANCE

Housing and housing finance are priorities for Professor Mabogunje and the subject of many lectures, conference presentations, and keynote addresses throughout his career. His papers on these topics include: *Lessons of Experience in Housing Low-Income Groups in Sub-Saharan Africa*, *Policy Outlook on Housing Development in Nigeria*, *The New Housing Policy and Sustainable Housing Finance in Nigeria*, *Mortgage Finance Institutions and the New Housing Policy in Nigeria*, and *Prospects for Public-Private Partnership in the Implementation of the National Housing and Urban Development Policy in Nigeria*.

He regarded mortgage finance as an important way to facilitate home ownership, the production of sustainable housing, and the success of Nigeria’s new housing policy (see Box 2.2). He also saw it as a means of promoting public-private partnerships.

Low Income Housing

Professor Mabogunje’s work on housing low-income groups¹¹ derived from the insights and

BOX 2.2 Goals of National Urban and Housing Policies in Nigeria

Goal of Urban Policy

“... To develop a dynamic system of urban settlements, which will foster sustainable economic growth, promote efficient urban and regional development and ensure improved standard of living and well-being of all Nigerians.”

Goal of the National Housing Policy

To ensure that all Nigerians own or have decent, safe and sanitary housing accommodations at affordable cost.

perspectives gained as Chair of the Presidential Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development in Nigeria. In this capacity, he helped to put in place a new strategy for housing development, which defines low-income groups as not only the poor, but also young employed people who do not have the means to own their homes. He cites a UN-HABITAT study that identifies the constraints to home ownership as inability to obtain credit, location, and problems securing land tenure. Many low-income households operate in the informal sector. Even when they have sufficient income to repay long-term loans, they do not satisfy the formal criteria for credit-worthiness. Thus,

mortgage finance is virtually non-existent for them.

He blames housing problems on the failure to align housing policies with free market economics. This alignment would require the commodification of land and other factors of production to ensure that registration and title deeds establish unequivocal ownership and facilitate access to mortgage finance. In his words:

“Within the framework of the free market economy, the basic mechanism for financing housing development is through the mortgage finance system. Such a system requires that house owners should have a title to the land on which they build and should be able to mortgage this over many years to raise the funds with which to build or buy the house” (p. 10).

Commodification enables landowners to use their land to raise capital for home ownership and to promote productive activities. It also facilitates the emergence of private sector real estate development companies, such as those in Ghana and South Africa.

Professor Mabogunje supports commodification even though it implies that access to land is based on ability to pay rather than kinship or communal ties. He notes that special

arrangements must be made to enable the poor to overcome their income disadvantage.

He believes that centralization is part of the problem. He recommends decentralization as a means of improving the social and economic conditions of the poor. For him, decentralization “. . . can foster a greater consultative and participatory role for all classes in African cities. . . . Decentralization is, indeed, a very practical way of promoting civic engagement and directing it to the resolution of local issues such as housing and urban development” (p. 14).

Housing Policy

His paper on housing development in Nigeria¹² touches upon sensitive issues, such as mortgage financing under the country's new housing policy. He states at the outset that the private sector has not played a leadership role in providing housing and the bulk of residential housing stock is the result of the efforts by private individuals to meet their shelter needs, mostly from personal savings. On the other hand, the public sector has dominated the provision of organized housing, although the stock is exceedingly limited in relation to the need. The first attempt to address Nigeria's housing needs saw the establishment of Housing Corporations by the regional governments in the 1950s and 1960s, and enactment of the Federal Housing Authority. Unfortunately, these

efforts had limited impacts because of a lack of funds and technical personnel. For example, the Federal Government's Housing Programme in the Third National Development Plan recorded only 13.3 percent success.

The failure of these programmes did not abate the influx of people into Nigerian cities. Slums and squatter settlements proliferated, signaling a looming urban and housing crisis. This prompted a number of government initiatives, which led to establishment of the Presidential Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development and a new Housing and Urban Development Policy. The policy's main thrust is “. . . that henceforth mass housing provisioning for Nigerians will now be the domain of private sector real estate developing companies, whilst the role of government will be to provide the enabling environment for this to happen” (p. 3).

Professor Mabogunje argues that the Land Use Act of 1978 “makes it difficult for an effective mortgage finance system to emerge in the country without a significant amendment to the Act” (p. 4). That review process is now under way. The federal government should provide the necessary funds for mortgage financing through the creation of secondary mortgage institutions, at least in the initial phase. It is anticipated that mass housing production would have multiplier effects in the economy.

Housing Finance and Mortgage Institutions

His work on Nigeria's new housing policy and sustainable housing initiatives¹³ focuses on conventional and mortgage-based housing finance. Although most Nigerians use their personal savings to purchase housing, some civil servants have had access to housing loans since the colonial period. Segments of the organized private sector have adopted the practice and the government-owned Housing Corporations also provide mortgage finance. The country's first formal mortgage finance institution was the Nigerian Building Society, which today is the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria.

Unfortunately, these government initiatives, including the National Housing Fund, did not adequately address Nigerians' housing needs. Professor Mabogunje attributes some of the failures to external causes. For example, he notes that the efficient performance of the National Housing Fund was constrained in part by "... the difficulty of collateralizing loans from the Fund because of long delays by State Governors in granting the consent to mortgage as required by the Land Use Act of 1978" (p. 2). He believes that the Fund "remains the best bet for most workers to access the necessary mortgage finance to become homeowners" (p. 3).

He identifies a potentially serious problem in the Land Use Act's mandate to set up mort-

gage banking institutions in Nigeria. In his words, "this Act fails to be explicit on the issue of foreclosure for failure to meet the monthly obligations of mortgage repayment" (p. 7). Obviously the majority of those who will fail to meet these obligations will be the low income people.

The private sector will play a dominant role under the new policy, making adequate and efficient mortgage finance even more important. Loans will be obtained through primary mortgage institutions in every state, which are owned by private enterprises or by state and local governments. The federal government will no longer provide primary mortgages and the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria will serve as the national secondary mortgage finance institution.

In conclusion, Professor Mabogunje calls for the creation of an enabling environment to stimulate the emergence of a dynamic housing market. State governments should expedite the process of approving mortgages and issuing certificates of occupancy that guarantee secure tenure. He stresses that "without an expeditious mechanism for issuing these Certificates or registering the numerous transactions in land, even the availability of sustainable finance will not make the housing market blossom as it should" (p. 4). The capacity of poor Nigerians to take advantage of the housing market and mortgage finance appears to be taken for

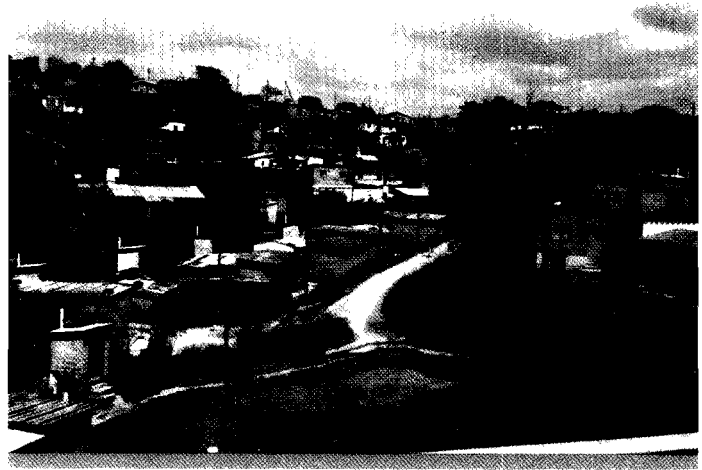
granted. Eligibility criteria, which are often biased against the poor, are not addressed in the new policy.

Despite these reservations, he expects the new housing policy to have a positive socio-economic impact. It will encourage savings and discourage conspicuous consumption. It is expected to generate employment and deepen the country's capital market. Finally, it will stimulate the growth of small- and medium-size industries linked to the building industry. In his view, "the development of a thriving mortgage finance system in the country can thus be seen as a crucial mechanism for transforming an increasing proportion of Nigerians into individuals who can draw out capital from their landed property and change the economic circumstances of their lives" (p. 7). His faith in the ability of mortgage financing to solve Nigeria's housing problems is clearly evident.

Public-Private Partnerships in Housing

The new housing policy recognizes three critical stakeholders—the private sector, state governments, and the federal government. He argues that more collaboration and cooperation among the stakeholders is critical to successful implementation of the new policy. There is some evidence that partnerships are being strengthened. For example, the private

sector is increasingly involved in the delivery of urban services. However, he stresses that partnership should go beyond the private sector to include civil society organizations, local communities, community-based organizations, community and religious leaders, and women's groups, among others. Participation in decision-making should also be broadened and innovative partnerships created to ensure the provision of housing for more Nigerians than has been possible in the past. He concludes that public-private partnership is in tandem with Nigeria's approach to development and with its commitment to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).



Housing for the urban poor in eThekweni (Durban), South Africa

Cities Alliance

URBAN MANAGEMENT

Urban management problems derive in large part from the other problems confronting Nigerian cities. His works on this topic include: *The Problems of the Northern Yoruba Towns: The Example of Shaki*; *Urban Land-use Problems in Nigeria*; *Towards an Urban Policy in Nigeria*; *The Organization of Urban Communities in Nigeria*; *Cities for All: The Challenges for Nigeria*; and *Knowledge, Planning and Effective Urban Governance*.

Traditional Urban Centres and Cities

Professor Mabogunje's paper on northern Yoruba towns¹⁶ examines some of the problems of traditional cities in that region. Many of the pre-industrial cities in Yoruba were adversely impacted by colonialism. In this paper, he uses Shaki as a case study, applying the ecological (or regional) paradigm, which focuses on a descriptive rather than theoretical analysis.

He identifies three types of problems in Shaki: "the problem of changed locational characteristics, the problem of site, and the problem of an attenuated economic base" (p. 2). Shaki's location along an ancient trade route from the coast to the north was favourable in pre-colonial times. But construction of the railway, which bypassed Shaki, "ended

this locational advantage, as the railway and its trade importance was considerably reduced" (p. 3). The town is located on a hill, an advantageous site from a defense perspective. However, the hill is severely dissected and the topography rugged. Many of the houses are isolated from one another, and the topography makes movement between them difficult. The streams that dissect the hill on which the town is located are headwaters and contain very limited volumes of water. Thus, as Mabogunje observes, "adequate water supply remains a major problem for Shaki" (p. 7).

Shaki's economic base is also weak. Farming is not viable because of the physical environment. The Nigerian Tobacco Company introduced large-scale tobacco cultivation in the area, but it did not succeed because the soil was unsuitable. The local craft industries suffered from the influx of cheap, imported manufactured goods during the colonial period. The problems of Shaki can be attributed to its site and situational characteristics. However, Professor Mabogunje believes that the site characteristics can be put to good use through the promotion of tourism.

Urban Land Use Structure and Problems

Professor Mabogunje's paper¹⁷ on the internal structure of cities focuses on the pattern of urban

Houses in traditional cities are old and poorly constructed.

land uses in Nigeria and the problems associated with them. He discusses these issues against the backdrop of three urban structure theories: the concentric zone theory, the sector theory, and the multiple nuclei theory. In the literature, the concentric zone and sector theories are described as monocentric because they assume that cities have only one activity centre, the central business district. The multiple nuclei theory is described as a polycentric theory, because it assumes that cities have multiple activity centres. Although these theories propose different locational arrangements of different land uses (commercial, residential, industrial), the forces that produce these arrangements are essentially the same—accessibility and land values. However, he notes that “there are, of course, other factors such as ownership, zoning regulations and taxation as well as non-economic considerations of sentiment and satisfaction which enter into the matter” (p. 204).

Four factors affect urban land use patterns. They are the dual character of pre-industrial cities in Africa, the largely communal land ownership system, the weak institutional frameworks and low income levels, and transportation demands. Land use patterns in the pre-industrial cities approximate the inverse concentric zone model, with the elite living in and around the city centre. Outside the cramped and congested traditional city, the immigrant neighbourhoods are often laid out

in regular fashion. After World War II, town planning authorities were set up in an effort “. . . to guide, control and direct the pattern of land-use development in Nigerian cities” (p. 207). However, these institutions are largely ineffective in enforcing zoning regulations. Other weaknesses include the multiplicity of authorities dealing with land-use decisions and the lack of a system of property rating. The low income level of many city dwellers also adversely impacts the revenue base of city governments and hinders the capacity to provide urban services, including transport services.

The land use problems highlighted in the paper include central city decay and the emergence of shantytowns (see Figure 2.6). The problem of decay is especially evident in the traditional cities. Houses there are old and poorly constructed. In addition, “given the weakness of planning control and the virtual absence of a sewage disposal or drainage system, the resulting situation of congestion, the undirected flow of waste water, and the squalor, needs to be seen to be believed” (p. 208). Shantytown development is a result of inadequate housing finance as well as rapid industrialization and in-migration. Regarding commercial land use problems, the paper identifies poor sanitary conditions in market places and inadequate parking spaces, among others. A major industrial land use problem is the

Figure 2.6 Shantytown in Lagos

absence of an organized system of services and utilities, a problem that governments are beginning to address by creating industrial estates that are well serviced. A final land use problem is that of transportation. This problem is manifested in traffic congestion, which is blamed on narrow streets, poor traffic management,

and railway crossings. Professor Mabogunje concludes that “the greatest need of most Nigerian cities is efficient urban management” (p. 217). He recommends that capacity building and the strengthening of institutions, especially local institutions with which people are familiar, should be priorities.

His paper on urban policy¹⁸ analyzes Nigeria’s urban problems and offers policy recommendations. He categorizes the most important urban problems as “employment, livability, manageability and serviceability” (p. 86). Urban unemployment is much higher than the national average in both the growing industrial centres and the traditional cities. The problem of livability pertains to the worsening living conditions in Nigerian cities. This is manifested in environmental deterioration, transportation problems (see Figure 2.7), and inadequate urban services, including housing. He takes the position that Nigeria’s urban problems are a reflection of poor management and identifies three dimensions of the problem: “the administration of city activities, the ability to generate adequate resources for this purpose, and the capacity to anticipate future changes in their scope and magnitude” (p. 87). Other aspects of the failure of Nigerian cities include their inability to “serve” rural areas both in terms of providing social services and of stimulating increased rural productivity. The former is due to the inadequate spatial distribution of urban

centres, while the latter is due to the fact that urban industrial activities do not rely on rural areas for their raw materials.

Although there was a time when Nigeria had no urban policy, the country did have policies on industrialization and urban infrastructure, among others, which had a major impact on the urban areas. However, what is sorely needed is a coherent urban policy aimed at stimulating economic growth and employment opportunities in both urban and rural areas, enabling equal access to opportunities and social services, maintaining tolerable standards of environmental quality, providing housing and urban transportation, and bringing about an effective national urban system. A national urban policy should contain the following elements:

- A statutory definition of an urban centre
- Classification of urban centres to determine their capabilities, powers, and the amount of government assistance they can expect
- Designation of some cities as growth centres, which will qualify them for the location of industries that have significant linkages and can therefore generate growth and employment
- The emergence of a national urban system that will ensure that services are accessible to all citizens

Figure 2.7 Traffic Congestion in Lagos



- Improvement of the quality of the urban environment by addressing the problems of finance, urban management, service maintenance, and public order

This proposed policy should encompass both urban and regional development. This is justified because cities should generate growth and development, not just in and among themselves, but also in the rest of the national economy, including rural areas. Financial and legislative support by the federal government is indispensable to the success of a national urban policy.

Community Mobilization

The central focus of Professor Mabogunje's work on the organization of urban communities¹⁹ is how to mobilize urban communities in Nigeria in order to promote development. He argues that successful mobilization depends on an understanding of how urban communities are organized. In pre-colonial times, kinship and ethnicity were the basis for social organization. With colonialism and the incorporation of Nigeria into the capitalist world economy, patron-client relationship became the basis for organizing urban communities. In his words, ". . . clientelism became the order of the day. Landlords and land owners became patrons helping their tenants or other tenants in the neighbourhood to gain access to resources and privileges."

The post-colonial period saw a greater entrenchment of capitalism and the ascent of what he calls the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" who dominated the economy. This period is also associated with increased social and income inequality, considerable polarization of the population, and social alienation of the working class. His analysis of the post-colonial situation and neighbourhood mobilization has a Marxist flavour, and he is of the view that "there is a sense in which the popular manifestation of . . . disaffection can be interpreted as reflecting some form of class struggle." He proposes neighbourhood councils or committees as a basis for mobilizing city residents, and an important pre-requisite is the identification

and mapping of urban neighbourhoods. One interesting observation about this proposal is that it does not derive from his radical analysis of the post-colonial situation in Nigeria. The proposal says little about the structures that produce and perpetuate social inequality and alienation in Nigerian cities.

A dynamic organization of urban communities will also encourage inclusiveness and social integration, important goals of urban development. How to achieve these goals was the theme of his paper on cities for all.²⁰ He raises three main concerns: the meaning of "cities for all," how far or near Nigerian cities are from qualifying for this category of cities, and finally what needs to be done to ensure that Nigerian cities belong to this category. The "cities for all" category refers to cities that are socially integrated, inclusive, safe, and participatory. They also guarantee economic security and equitable access to housing and other basic social services. Nigerian cities clearly do not belong to this category because of the poor condition of urban houses and surroundings, especially in poor neighbourhoods, the lack of basic sanitation and drainage, and the inadequate waste disposal services. Compounding the problem of poor urban management is the problem of unemployment, which accounts for the informal sector dominating the urban economy. These failures are partly blamed on the lack of recognition of civil society organizations and the social capital they represent.

How can Nigerian cities become “cities for all”? Professor Mabogunje proposes making Nigerian cities more democratic. But “democracy is not just about elections; it is more about effectively participating in decision-making and providing the resources and wherewithal to carry out the decisions. . . . Democracy is not just about choosing one’s representative in government; it is also about paying one’s taxes so that those representatives can provide us with the services we desire” (p. 8). This would require a review of the existing system of local government with the goal of expanding civil society participation and tapping additional funds from the capital market. He also suggests that more attention be paid to the quarter and ward systems in the cities, and that tenement rates should be introduced to enhance revenue generation for service provision. Cities also need to attract international finance and foreign direct investment.

Urban Management Institutions

Elsewhere,²¹ he argues that the goal of urban development can be realized if there is a paradigm shift in urban policy. The new paradigm should be “concerned with transforming indigenous institutions so that they will be compatible with the demands of a free market economy” (p. 192). These institutions, which belong to the informal sector, are relevant to the lives of most urban dwellers. The new paradigm

is based on what he refers to as “institutional radicalization,” a concept discussed in Chapter 3.

In the standard urban development paradigm, institutional development and capacity building often pertain to government departments and the formal sector of the economy. The need to nurture and promote indigenous capitalist institutions is not recognized. The new paradigm he proposes “. . . must go well beyond the present strategies and endeavour to bring these institutions into the mainstream . . .” (p. 195). This will enhance productive entrepreneurship among the petty producers who dominate the informal sector. These institutions meet their needs for credit, land, productive organizations, and improved technology, and should be identified and nurtured. The role of the state is important in this regard. Among other things, the state should legally recognize and legitimize these institutions, and facilitate the development of urban land markets.

The ineffectiveness of town planning establishments is the theme of Professor Mabogunje’s works²² on the poor state of Nigerian cities and the limited success of town planners in tackling the problems. He suggests that there is a strong connection between knowledge, planning, and effective urban governance. The knowledge in question is contextualized knowledge. As he notes, “to my mind, it is this type of social knowledge, that derives from the context of our own social realities that is critical for greater efficacy in our

planning effort and greater effectiveness of social action and socio-economic development in our society" (p. 3). This approach is in contrast to the current practice of using universal models and blueprints. He underscores this point with his observation that "... the failure to be really contextual has been a major factor in the limited success that we have achieved so far in effectively planning the Nigerian city and ensuring its better governance" (p. 4).

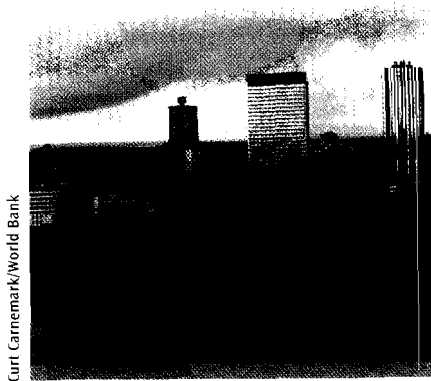
The social and economic realities of Nigerian cities include the very large number of low income earners and a preponderance of informal sector enterprises. From a planning viewpoint, many of these enterprises have no fixed location, or operate out of temporary structures in open spaces or illegal locations. Traditional planning

approaches are not appropriate in these circumstances, yet "... urban planners continue to rely on traditional master-planning approaches" (p. 6). This shows a disconnect between the planning profession and urban society, and "the only way to bridge this disconnect and make planning a lot more rewarding in Nigerian

cities is to strike out for an adaptive planning process that starts with a better knowledge and understanding of the Nigerian urban society..." (p. 7).

Effective governance must be built on the existing organization of urban communities. An important first step is "... the identification, boundary delineation, and mapping of the neighbourhood structures of Nigerian cities. . . . The neighbourhood structure . . . is also a crucial mechanism for facilitating greater participation of the populace in decision-making . . . a vital mechanism for mobilizing the necessary resources to provide . . . services in the quality and quantity desired by the community" (p. 11).

In 1990, Professor Mabogunje undertook a comprehensive overview of urban planning and the post-colonial state in Africa.²³ The review was "an attempt to survey the body of cumulative research on urban planning and policies and to note the major gaps in scholarly activities in these fields to whose resolution future research effort should be directed" (p. 124). In his view, the review is apposite for several reasons, including the gap that exists between the reality of African urbanization and the limited understanding of the processes shaping it, as well as the ineffectiveness of the policies and programmes designed to influence the processes. He commenced the review by focusing on the issues of overriding importance



View of Lagos across the marina

Curt Carnemark/World Bank

in African urbanization. These include the extent to which urbanization was indigenous to Africa, the impact of the European influence on pre-industrial cities in Africa, and the modernization, demographic change and social differentiation in African cities.

He assesses the physical, economic, juridical, and institutional elements of urban policy and their impact on cities. For example, policies regarding the development of transportation have had the most significant impact. As far as juridical and institutional policies, he observed that “the fiscal and budgetary weaknesses of urban administration in most African countries underscores the inadequacy of their juridical and institutional authority . . . few of the cities that emerged during the colonial era were treated as juridical entities with defined rights and privileges” (p. 159).

Professor Mabogunje concludes by discussing the current state of knowledge in urban planning and policy. Most African households are still engaged in the kinship mode of production, even in urban areas. An important area of research is the investigation of obstacles to the process of capitalist accumulation, and, indeed, the transformation to capitalism. Other potential research areas include the effects of the commodification of land and labour, and “the institutional mechanisms for effective revenue mobilization and urban fiscal autonomy”

(p. 171). He also recommends more focus on the “evaluative studies of the range of government functions and activities assigned to urban administration, how effectively these are being performed, and what constraints are encountered in the process of execution” (p. 173).

ENDNOTES

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