

Managing Explosive Urbanisation in Africa

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ABSTRACT For the period 2010-2050, African countries are predicted to record explosive urban growth rates that have not been seen in the region in the past. The purpose of this paper is to report the results of a study carried out in order to design an alternative schema for managing Africa's urban areas. Using contemporary literature and projections of urban growth from secondary statistics from various sources, the information is processed to isolate specific country -challenges linked to rapid uncontrolled urban growth. The results indicate an immediate mismatch between growth rates and general management systems. In spite of reforms since 1990, current systems of urban management may not be adequately designed to address the demands of such growth. The identified challenges are re-configured in the context of a set of assumptions into an alternative urban governance model that could offer fresh insights into better systems of urban management. It is recommended that restructuring management systems should be urgently initiated in those African countries where this has not yet occurred.

INTRODUCTION

Explosive urbanisation in developing countries is a major concern as it creates a set of constraints to general economic growth and development if the process is not well managed. Based on UN's projections, urban populations will grow to 4.9 billion by 2030. Sixty percent of the projected global population of 8.3 billion (UN 2002) will be in developing countries. The urban population of Asia and Africa is expected to double between 2000 and 2030. But since urbanisation is a global phenomena, searching for management interventions to minimize disorder typical in most cities and to provide sustainable livelihoods for urban populations becomes critical. For this to occur, an alignment of governance structures with planning, policy, inland revenue regimes and capital investment is required. Contemporary literature consistently highlight land use dynamics (Wu et al. 2012), problems of general urbanization (Thangphet 2007; UN-Habitat 2009), constraints to urban land access (Olujimi 2009; Miller 2012), impacts on the environment (Su et al. 2012; Crespo and Grêt-Regamy 2012), the structure of urban governance (Chaplin 2011), problems of urban infrastructure provision (ADB 2010), issues of service access especially social housing for low-income groups (Mafikudze and Hoosen 2009), inequality in service access and provision (Jones

and Corbridge 2010), urban poverty and management problems (Alaci 2010).

The actual explosion in urbanisation rates is reported in Alaci (2010) who concludes that although urbanization is progressing at a fast pace in Ethiopia like many Sub-Saharan countries, the benefits of urbanization have remained a mirage, as demonstrated by the multi-dimensioned challenges urban areas are faced with. Where the rate of provision of services, infrastructure and employment falls far short of current demand, then backlogs accumulate parallel to the growth of non-official activities as a livelihood strategy. Informal settlements and the breakdown in urban services is a common feature of cities in Africa. But a survey of contemporary literature on urbanisation in Africa hardly shows concern about the state of urban management systems and how this may offer alternative approaches in confronting the challenges of explosive urban growth. In view of rapid urbanization, managing the process is increasingly a major challenge in light of a predominantly urban future projected for African countries. Three objectives are advanced: (i) to survey the state of literature on rapid urbanisation in Africa; (ii) to identify a set of challenges that face urbanizing Africa and, (iii) to recommend an alternative management schema for Africa's towns and cities. The rest of part one of this paper addresses the state of literature. In part two, materials and methods

while in part three, results and discussion are presented. The paper rounds up with a conclusion and recommendations.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Data for this study is based on secondary statistics on African urbanisation. This provides information on population, rates of urbanisation, urban growth trends and projections up to 2050. The data is reclassified to generate sets of countries with the highest urbanisation level, countries with the lowest urbanisation level, growth trends for Africa and for urban areas in Africa and, a forecast of the fastest growing cities for the period 2010-2050. Using descriptive statistics, we compute means and standard deviation scores for different data sets to provide results on the characteristics of urbanisation. Additional information was retrieved from published sources using, “managing”, “explosive urbanisation”, “Africa” as key inputs in several internet search engines. The information is analyzed to identify a set of common aspects of urban governance, constraints at the level of individual cities and evidence of both urban policy and planning. This then provides a platform for designing an alternative schema for intervention in order to take control of the growth, direction and intensity of urbanisation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Rates of Urbanisation

In Table 1 the rates of population for Africa and for urban areas are presented. The rates of urbanisation across the continent are consistently higher for urban areas than for the rest of the continent. But a steady decline in actual rates is noted from 1980 to 2025. By 2025 growth rates for Africa in general will have fallen to a mean of 1.71% while for urban areas, the corresponding figure will be 2.87% (ADB 2010). A closer look at available statistics on urbanisation shows, however, that for quite a large number of African countries, this downward trend in growth rates in 2025 will still be relatively one of the highest in the world indicating that a stabilization in growth rates should occur after 2050.

In Table 2, cities are ranked in terms of the forecasted growth for the period 2010-2025. Note that the leading first five cities are in Eastern and Central Africa, a region that was late in its urbanisation surge compared to West Africa. According UN-Habitat (2010), a total of 227 million people in the world have moved out of slum conditions since 2000. Of these, 22 million were from the developing world as a result of slum upgrading. In spite of this progress, Sub-Saharan Africa has the largest slum population where 199.5 million (61.7%) of its urban population live

Table 1: Urban growth trends in different regions of Africa 1980-2030

<i>Growth Rate %</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2015</i>	<i>2020</i>	<i>2025</i>
	<i>1985</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2015</i>	<i>2020</i>	<i>2025</i>	<i>2030</i>
Africa	2.89	2.79	2.61	2.45	2.32	2.25	2.15	2.01	1.85	1.71
Urban Africa	4.3	4.16	3.87	3.52	3.38	3.31	3.23	3.12	3.0	2.87

Source: African Development Bank, 2010

Table 2: Growth of African cities forecast, 2010-2025 in percentages

<i>City</i>	<i>Population, millions, 2010</i>	<i>% Increase</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Population millions, 2010</i>	<i>% Increase</i>
Dar es Salaam	3319	85	Accra	2139	50
Nairobi	3363	78	Doula	2108	48
Kinshasa	9052	76	Alexandria	4421	30
Luanda	4775	70	Algiers	3574	30
Addis Ababa	3453	61	Casablanca	3268	24
Abidjan	4175	56	Cairo	12503	22
Dakar	2856	55	Durban	2839	16
Lagos	10572	50	Johannesburg	3618	16
Ibadan	2835	50	Cape Town	3357	16

Source: UN-Habitat, 2010. Projections of Africa's urban population growth 2010-2025.

in such areas; followed by Southern Asia with 190.7 million (35%); Eastern Asia with 189.6 million (28.2%); Latin America and the Caribbean with 110.7 million (23.5%); South Eastern Asia with 88.9 million (31%); Western Asia with 35 million (24.6%); North Africa with 11.8 million (13.3%) and Oceania with 6 million (24.1%). But overall, at the level of continents, Africa scores 211.3 million while Asia scores a shocking 504.2 million.

In Table 3, only 13 countries register an urbanisation level higher than 55% but the mean for the annual rate of urbanisation for this group stood at 2.4%, a value lower than the 3.31% for urban Africa in Table 1. This indicates that the explosive urbanisation rates associated with many African countries is already tapering off in this group.

In Table 4, estimations of levels of urbanisation are single-year figures sometime after 2005

while annual rates of urbanisation are estimates for the average for the years 2005-2010. The countries with the lowest levels of urbanisation are indicated but the mean for the annual rate of urbanisation for this group stood at 4.9%, a value higher than the 3.31% for urban Africa in Table 1. This indicates that the explosive urbanisation rates associated with many African countries is still occurring in this group.

Financing Urban Development

National statistics on actual budget allocations for urban development is hard to come by and often unreliable because of the common practice of apportioning funding for urban development across various government departments. Reports indicate persistent financing shortfalls for most urban centres where actual

Table 3: Countries with the highest rates of urbanisation

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Urbanisation level</i>	<i>Urbanised population</i>	<i>Annual rate of urbanisation</i>
Algeria	34 586 184	92%	31 819 289	2.4%
Djibouti	740 528	87%	644 259	1.8
Gabon	1 545 255	85%	1 313 467	2.1%
Libya	6 461 454	78%	5 039 934	2.2%
Tunisia	10 589 025	67%	7 094 647	1.7%
South Africa	49 109 107	61%	29 956 555	1.4%
Congo, Republic of	4 125 916	61%	2 516 809	2.7%
Sao Tome AND Principe	175 808	61%	107 243	3.0%
Cape Verde	508 659	60%	305 195	3.5%
Botswana	2 029 307	60%	1 217 584	2.5%
Angola	13 068 161	57%	7 448 852	4.4%
Cameroon	19 294 149	57%	10 997 665	3.5%
Gambia	1 824 158	57%	1 039 770	4.2%

Source: CIA 2010. *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C: CIA

Table 4: Countries with the lowest rates of urbanisation

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Urbanisation level</i>	<i>Urbanised population</i>	<i>Annual rate of urbanisation</i>
Kenya	40 046 566	22%	8 810 245	4.0%
Eritrea	5 792 984	21%	1 216 527	5.4%
Burkina Faso	16 241 811	20%	3 248 362	5.0%
Malawi	15 447 500	19%	2 935 025	5.2%
Rwanda	11 055 976	18%	1 990 076	4.2%
Ethiopia	88 013 491	17%	14 962 293	5.4%
Niger	15 878 271	16%	2 540 523	4.0%
Uganda	33 398 682	13%	4 341 829	4.4%
Burundi	9 863 117	10%	986 312	6.8%

Source: CIA 2010 . *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C: CIA

allocations of funds from the central government are limited by problems of taxation and internal revenue collection. Internal revenue sources remain limited due to problems of taxation, billing systems, registration of property owners and residents. Hence, while Johannesburg, for instance, South Africa's largest city, has only one sixth (2.5 million) of the population of Lagos (15 million), it operates a yearly budget of US\$1.2 billion, which is four times that of US\$300 million for Lagos (Okunlola 2010). City governments can tap into both private and public sources of finance through capital markets, private institutional investors, domestic financial institutions, multilateral-bilateral and export credit agencies, asset leverage (land), joint ventures and public-private-partnerships (KMPG 2012).

Cities are not generating the kinds of finance necessary to pull off the sweeping restructuring required to substantially increase the number of jobs, opportunities, and services (Simone 2002). There has been a significant devolution of responsibility to the local level. Yet, there has not been an equivalent devolution of political and fiscal power. While countries may now have more options to access development and operational financing for municipalities, they are not generally providing a fair share of the national fiscus for cities. In most Francophone countries, the state has first claim on whatever resources are available. The state is supposed to raise money for municipalities and inform them well in advance of the budgeted allocation. But this is seldom the case. The system becomes distorted with too many tax exemptions and too much incorrect information. As a result, cities find it difficult to generate realistic plans, leading almost always to excessive amounts of deficit spending (Simone 2002). Provision, financing and management of urban infrastructure require a holistic and harmonized approach. Ndeto (2010) reports that in Ethiopia, the provision, financing and management of urban infrastructure services by the public sector, is constrained by chronic financial and technical expertise shortages resulting in poor performance of urban infrastructure and ineffective service delivery. As a result the city cannot meet the demands of the rapidly growing population. Besides this, the city has limited experience on financing infrastructure services through innovative financing options such as BOOT (build-own-operate-transfer), BOT (build-own-transfer), concession,

divestiture, franchising, and project finance among others (Ndeto 2010).

Land Access for Urban Development

There are serious discontinuities in the state of land access, tenure and ownership in most urban areas. The mismatch between land access, financing, capital development and municipal independence mean that increasing urbanisation has overwhelmed the management capacity of urban governance. Problems of land use regulation (Mafikudze and Hoosen 2009) control and management are related to issues of land access for formal urban development due to multiple ownership structures and the failure of land reform (Ruhiiga 2011b). Where vacant land exists, as in South Africa, Kenya, Namibia and Zimbabwe, these are so distorted as to undermine the normal operation of market forces (Nhlapo et al. 2011). A piecemeal approach to development has prevailed, that is, selective interventions that would above all constitute a rationale for commodifying land (Mafikudze and Hoosen 2009), such as slum clearance (Lumumba 2004), the building of new estates for civil servants, sites and services schemes, and the general tendency to down-grade, over time, the role and the responsibility of the state in the provision of shelter.

For most countries, the governance and management of their towns and cities is daunting as the cities appear to be growing beyond the control of planners, management capacity and available resources (Agbola and Olurin 1998). But Sieper (2012) sees beyond problems of urbanisation and envisages outstanding opportunities for sophisticated city planning, innovative waste management procedures, cost effective water treatment technologies and independent power plants that arise out an urban population explosion. While the seriousness of informalisation, growth of squatter settlements and general insecurity vary, the largest number of urban areas report serious challenges. Access to basic services remains constrained while the state of infrastructure except for Namibia, Botswana, Mauritius, South Africa and the Maghreb countries is so inadequate that it requires billions to update. The sense of neglect is made worse by rampant disregard for basic environmental conservation measures leading to irreversible damage to urban environments.

Parallel to this chaos is the continued lateral growth of the built up urban areas without prior planning (Bett et al. 2011), or service provision leading to what others call an urban jungle (Okunlola 2010).

Urban Governance Status

Often the absence of an adequate formal response to the growth of informal settlements except the initiation of evictions and clearance shows problems of understanding the real drivers of such growth patterns in the first place. The continuing marginalization of the masses of the people provides the momentum for the growth of a parallel second economy. In the absence of greater levels of participation in the mainstream urban economy, unemployment and poverty have become harsh realities in African cities- partly fueled by a lack of appropriate policy responses by governments, or misguided land policies (Ruhiga 2011a). Nhlapo et al. (2011) reports uncontrolled growth along the urban-rural interface in South Africa's former homeland towns. In a study of Kampala, Nyakana et al. (2006) report that population increase in the metropolitan area is responsible for increased demand for employment, land for housing, social services and infrastructure that have stimulated spatial urban development and industrialization occurring in a haphazard manner largely dominated by the urban informality in most of the sectors. In Nigeria, for example, UN-Habitat (2011) reports that only 10% of over a thousand urban areas are planned.

The city as such is not an autonomous integrated organizational unit for which a management structure has been designed except in those countries where the capital city has been given the status of a separate administrative unit with significant autonomy. The spread of the intensity of rapid urbanisation in terms of countries does not show any relationship with the rate of industrialisation nor that of the size of GDP. This means that urbanisation is not being driven by an expansion in production or industrialisation.

Municipal governments and the structures through which they provide services represent a mix of local government, provincial competences and national policy. Coordination in the planning and provision of infrastructure and services between the three tiers of government remains poor and disjointed as in Zambia, Guinea, Nige-

ria and Libya. The physical demarcation of the urban boundary from the rest of the countryside is problematic because these are permanently shifting into the urban fringe, for example in Kampala, Nairobi, Lagos and Cairo. Low levels of organizational skills within urban management structures point to problems of training in managerial skills and the actual deployment of personnel to manage urban areas. The absence of a separation between traditional local government structures for general administration and urban governance often creates red tape in project implementation at the level of the individual city. Inappropriate urban management structures mean that these are handicapped in responding to the capital investment, services and infrastructure needs of urban areas –Cairo and Lagos are typical cases. In Egypt, for example, Sims (2003) reports that governance in Greater Cairo is organised through the three governorates and their administrative districts, Governorates have considerable local executive powers, but they command practically no own-source revenues. Serious issues of regulation, weak institutions (Parnell and Walawege 2011) and problems with establishing a viable legislative environment, except for a few countries, hinder orderly planning, implementation and development. Problems of managerial competence arise because most African countries have not yet shifted from an administration-biased paradigm to a developmental state paradigm (ECA 2010) which would require the increased employment of bureaucrats and professionals. Poverty, historically a rural phenomenon, is also becoming an increasingly urban issue in Kenya and is embracing a gender and youth dimension (GOK 2008).

Planning and Policy

Lack of long term planning in place is not necessarily a true reflection of developments in urban Africa since the 1960's. In Lagos, for example, energy and water access, sewerage, transportation and housing have all been adversely affected by haphazard development of a geographically disjointed city. Unlike the rest of Nigeria, 90% of the population of Lagos has access to electricity, with the city consuming 45% of the energy of the country. Despite the region's endowment of water, the city suffers from an acute and worsening water supply shortage. And due to inadequate sewerage, much of the

city's human waste is disposed of by the drainage of rainwater through open ditches that discharge into the tidal flats (Okunlola 2010). Lagos has been described as a city 'on an uncertain trajectory which differs from recognized patterns of capitalist urbanization because the city is growing rapidly in a context of economic stagnation' (Gandy 2006a). It has largely developed independently of the efforts of city planners, through a process of 'amorphous urbanism' (Gandy 2005). In Uganda, the sheer break down in urban management capacity since the 1980's mean that Kampala today has become simply an overgrown slum with hardly any semblance to the pretensions of a modern city.

The Intervention

The underlying message is that literally all constraints that arise in confronting the management of explosive urbanisation can be grouped under these themes: planning, management structure, finance and government. Management structure describes the totality of urban governance in terms of structures, personnel, skills, competences, procedures and the ability to deliver. Finance covers all problems of raising capital and allocating the same to ensure smooth functioning of the city as a social organization. Government includes all political systems, division of power, institutions, regulation, legislative frameworks, and influence of politics on decision making, the extent of freedoms and extent of urban autonomy. Planning cover urban policy, participation of civil society, provision of services, infrastructure, land use allocation, the environment and urban development. In highlighting the key constraints facing the management of African cities, we have indicated that the issue is not so much that problems are not known or appreciated by the powers in place. Rather, the challenge is how to design an intervention through which gradually urban governance will impose law, order and discipline in the future growth and prospects of these cities. The intervention is not merely concerned with re-organising land use but it goes beyond these concerns of urban planning. It must by necessity address the need to plan for sustainable cities. Growing the urban economy is critical because without this, rapid urbanisation, instead of generating opportunities, will increasingly become a nightmare in most African cities.

Urban economic growth has to be integrated in any viable intervention scheme, because through such growth will it be possible to radically change the living standards of the populace simultaneously increasing participation rates in the urban formal economy and widening the tax base for the urban areas to access domestic funding for sustained large-scale capital investment. What then is proposed is an intervention underlain by several critical assumptions:

- ♦ Urban boundaries proper are clearly demarcated into viable geographical and economic units where the land tenure system within are streamlined, standardized and multiple legal claims removed. The geographical area that constitutes the city should be demarcated paying attention for the city to engage in production activities beyond the provision of services.
- ♦ Urban environmental planning is integrated as a critical input in land-use planning on long term basis, implemented accordingly and enforceable through appropriate institutions and mechanisms.
- ♦ That major urban areas are constituted into an administrative-management structure (urban governance) designed to deliver services, infrastructure and economic growth as a vehicle for ensuring that towns co-exist with their hinterland in a symbiotic relationship in the flow of resources and services.
- ♦ That a flexible financing regime is put in place at the level of individual cities so that each city has access to diverse public and private financing options for infrastructure and for services.
- ♦ That population movements between urban districts and settlements in designated urban areas are planned for, regulated and channeled so that demand for services and infrastructure does not overwhelm the capacity of the city nor that of the capacity to provide sustainable employment opportunities through participation in the economy. This amounts to the regulation of rural-urban migration in a manner that allows cities to plan and deliver basic services ahead of actual settlement development. This would put brakes on the explosion in the spread of informal urban settlements.

- ♦ That countries should do away with the traditional master-plan-paradigm tracing back to the 1950's and move towards a more flexible integrated planning approach that combines land-use allocation with expected socio-economic changes in a time-spatial dimension to generate future scenarios that essentially capture the real future of African urbanisation.
- ♦ That greater autonomy with regard to financial, administrative and managerial duties be allowed for each designated urban district in order to enhance future decision making processes.
- ♦ That a policy of restructuring the national urban hierarchy is initiated built on the critical need to cluster several urban centres together into viable economic entities.

The Model

The key inputs for the model are in a phase-by-phase approach. First the inputs for the process of urbanisation to be initiated are:

$$U = (P, D, C, A, Y) \quad (1)$$

The urbanisation (U) in a time-space context (ts) arises when a combination of changes in population behavior (P) set into motion by changes in information access (C) and by internal and external drivers (D) coupled to certain policies (Y) facilitate the congregation of people into particular locations and move certain segments of society from land based activities (A) into off-land production. Such a process operates within a time-space context, hence the (ts). Explosive urbanisation (EU) means that the inputs in (1) are accelerated leading to faster increases in population, activities and the consumption of space. Urban policy (Y) now drives an increasing interest in the need for urban planning (N). Space (S) and planning (N) are now added to generate:

$$EU_{ts} = (\Delta P, D, A, C, Y, N, S) \quad (2)$$

But for the governance of urbanisation (V) to become an orderly process, there is need for political leadership at the level of the state (X), sources of finance (F) to cater for services and the development of infrastructure, institutions (I) to ensure that the legislative framework is in place to guarantee respect for law, property rights and human rights to provide the organizational structure at the level of the individual city and personnel (L) to run the day-to-day affairs of the city.

$$V_{ts} = (X, F, I, C, L) \quad (3)$$

Modern urban management (UM) goes beyond governance issues per se; it has to include systems (M) for ensuring the most optimal allocation of resources, both human and physical, in order to create, maintain and ensure that the city operates as an efficient organisation (E). This not only calls for integration of all key inputs but a high level of flexible coordination.

$$UM_{ts} = (X, F, I, C, L, M, E) \quad (4)$$

The model in Figure 1 captures the essence of expressions 1, 2, 3 and 4. It calls for an integration of various inputs in a synchronized manner but is sensitive to possible fluctuations in political leadership, support for urban governments and the deterioration of the environment (Chimbuya 2006). The interaction model advances the view that land, land use and population have to be regulated, however, unpopular such a regime may become as a result. Managing urbanisation cannot be on the basis of ad hoc short term interventions. It must be guided by a long term vision of what the future of the city is to be. In order to achieve such a future, planning has to be radical, generate socio-economic restructuring of the means of production, be sensitive to environmental concerns about sustainability, ensure urban economic growth to generate income activities and ensure employment. The issue of regulation comes to the fore: controlling the rate of rural-urban migration, regulating the flow into pre-determined designated holding areas and channeling them into serviced housing areas.

While the model may be criticized for advancing views associated with a command and control economy, it does not in any way negate the critical role of the private sector in urban growth and development. Apart from providing basic infrastructure, services and planning, city governments are not asked to take over the role of the private sector. The benefits of such interventions ultimately overrides the short term discomforts that may arise from the implementation of the model. This standpoint agrees in part with Todes (2011) who asserts that current expectations that planning can play roles in managing the growth of cities in ways that promote their sustainability, inclusiveness and liveability, contrasts with past perceptions of planning as an irrelevant discipline obsessed with spatial ordering and control. Critics argue that the 'mas-

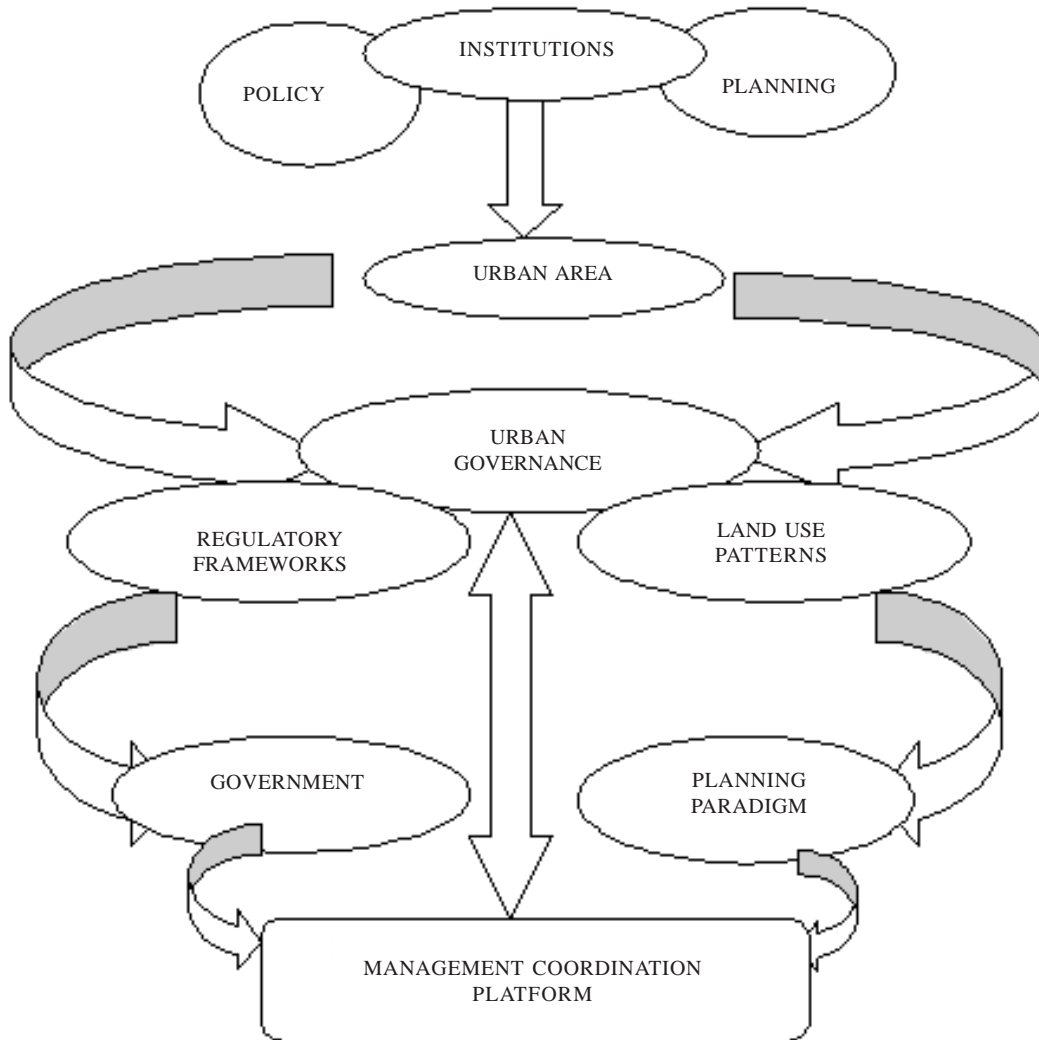


Fig. 1. An interaction model for urban governance

ter planning' approach that dominated formal planning practice did not address the real conditions and dynamics of rapidly growing cities in developing countries (UN-Habitat 2009). These ideas are understandable given increasing environmental concerns today about the sustainability of the modern city. But the need for identifying pressing priorities in urban management requires a selective form of intervention, especially in developing countries today.

A disconnect between planners, civil society interests, policy makers and project implementation means that often excellent long term visions end up nowhere especially where political will and support is short-lived. This is where the real tragedy of urban planning in Africa can be seen.

The inability of Eastern African governments to supply affordable land to low-income city dwellers is the result of bureaucratic inertia, ex-

pensive administrative procedures, allocation inefficiencies and inappropriate use of public office. Most of these deficiencies can be addressed with relatively little effort, which suggests that the underlying issue is lack of political will. (UN-Habitat 2010)

While a significant volume of literature on African urbanisation bemoans the state of financing, few such sources advance options for addressing financing shortfalls. Underlying financial stress in Africa's urbanisation appears to be the issue of management autonomy. Comparable results for this finding appear in KPMG (2012) who indicate, for example, that there is an urgent need to enhance the financial viability of city governments which are increasingly responsible for providing infrastructure without an increase in their funding. This is the rationale for placing management at the centre of the model in Figure 1, implying that ultimately it remains the key in handling unparalleled urbanisation in Africa. To date, cities are already the locus of nearly all major economic, social, political, and environmental concerns. Seoul provides a successful (Thangphet 2007) example in coping with rapid urbanization and well-managed urban development. Realistic urban planning and policy commitment will be key factors in achieving sustainable urban management.

Empirical Evidence

Is there empirical evidence for the operation of an urban governance system similar or close to the model presented here? Several African countries have in recent years experienced a radical change in urban planning: South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Algeria, Angola and Egypt- stand out. In these countries, municipalities which contain large urban centres have city governments that exercise a significant level of administrative autonomy- over the city proper and over a significant administrative region beyond. In South Africa, decentralization of administration down to local municipalities has meant that cities are not separate administrative units but part of municipalities (RSA 2000). But this has not assured municipalities the requisite autonomy or the powers to become financially viable. In Kenya, integrated urban planning (GOK 2010) is on paper, impressive but the lack of adequate information

about the real extent of urbanisation and the socio-economic profile of the populations for which planning is being done means that the projections of growth are ridiculously out-dated. Similar conditions of inadequate information access plague most African countries. In Nigeria, planning effort appear to be targeted at the largest cities (Okunlola 2010); even here, the urban plan for Lagos for example should have been integrated into one plan for the State of Lagos, and not simply the city. In Algeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Egypt, cities are administered in the same way as other local administrative units- but their autonomy does not extend to matters of funding for infrastructure, services and of taxation. In all these cases, not a single country comes close to what the model in this paper proposes. The same applies to the settlement cluster model for urbanisation in Alaci (2010).

CONCLUSION

The results of this paper indicate an immediate mismatch between growth rates, urban policy and planning, and general management systems, cumulatively raising doubts as to the ability of urban governments to cope. Current urbanisation trends raise immediate questions about the sustainability of the African modern city. An interactive urban governance model is proposed that calls for a restructuring of individual cities into a new national urban hierarchy built around viable economic regions that could offer a flexible vehicle in handling the unprecedented urban growth occurring today in Africa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that a more aggressive restructuring of administrative and management systems be urgently initiated across the entire continent to give urban clusters adequate autonomy to implement reform and better manage the future of urbanisation. Second, the need to plan for an urban future for the majority of the people of Africa on a long term sustained basis remains urgent today. Third, while it is encouraging that cities across Africa exercise various financing options for infrastructure and the provision of water, electricity and housing the need to modernize taxation systems through which to raise own revenue is critical.

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