



Towards a New Growth Path in Africa: A Study of National Urban Policy Responses to Urbanisation

Working Paper

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Contents

Executive Summary	3
1. Introduction	4
2. Background and Contextual Issues	4
3. The Need for National Urban Policy	5
4. International Precedents of National Urban Policy	7
Australia's National Urban Policy	7
The German National Urban Development Policy	9
5. Case Studies of NUP in Africa	11
5.1 Nigeria's NUP Experience	11
5.2 Ghana's NUP Experience	16
5.3 Kenya's NUP Experience	19
5.4 South Africa's NUP Experience	23
6. Comparative Analysis of the African NUPs	28
7. Conclusion	33
8. References	34

Executive Summary

Africa is the least urbanised continent of the world, but over the last two decades rapid urbanisation has continued to change its landscape from rural to urban. The transitions of Africa's urban spaces have occurred negatively, creating poverty and inequality rather than industrialisation that creates employment opportunities in cities and towns, as happened on other continents. Many African countries are unable to manage the rapid urbanisation, which is driving uncontrolled development in several African cities and towns. African cities are facing challenges associated with population growth, which has surpassed expectations, and requires sustainable, integrated urban planning and good governance.

This paper is a comparative study of four African countries, to understand the policy approaches established to manage rapid urbanisation and urban development. In addition, the national urban policies (NUPs) from two developed countries were examined, with the aim of finding lessons for African countries. The study found that many African countries do not have an integrated urban policy as proposed by the UN-Habitat. In sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria and Ghana are two countries that have such a policy, while South Africa and Kenya are in the process of formulating and adopting policies.

The study of policies found a number of aspects that are seen as important for city development. The rapid growth in many cities has outpaced existing infrastructure. Therefore, investment in infrastructure would enable cities on the continent to meet urbanisation challenges and respond to future demographic, environmental and economic changes. The upgrading of informal settlements is also a way of achieving sustainable development. The informal trade sector, which in the past was seen from a negative perspective by most African countries, is being recognised as an important part of the city's economy, as noted in Ghana and Nigeria. The study also found that the lack of investment in cities and poor planning, including poor urban governance and issues of city boundaries, have all affected negatively city management.

It was also obvious that the decentralisation of power in many African cities has been more on paper than in practice. This paper therefore suggest that proper devolution of powers, clear definition of city boundaries and financing will enable cities and towns in Africa play a more decisive role in terms of service delivery and management of urban space in Africa.

1. Introduction

Africa is the least urbanised continent in the world, with only 38% of its population living in urban areas. However, the continent has the world's fastest urban growth rate, at 4.5% over the past two decades (UN-Habitat, 2012) This growth rate is projected to continue between 2010 and 2025, with some cities on the continent accounting for as much as 85% of the population (ADB, 2012). Urbanisation is changing Africa's landscape, as cities expand to accommodate a growing population. The negative effects of this trend include an increase in the number of slums where current infrastructure is inadequate, and higher rates of poverty and inequality. An integrated approach is required to address the challenges arising from urbanisation. UN-Habitat argues that a national urban policy (NUP) is best suited to manage urbanisation in every context.

2. Background and Contextual Issues

In recent years, the growth of urban areas has emerged as one of the major challenges in Africa. The escalating scale and unwieldiness of towns and cities is accompanied by continued rapid urbanisation. African cities have a long history of development, resulting from colonialism that controlled the development of urban areas to support the colonial powers. Cities were developed because of their proximity to extractive ports or natural resources, the genesis of the pressures faced by these urban areas today. In the case of South Africa, both colonial and subsequent apartheid approaches to spatial development were based on racial segregation, creating enormous problems and fundamentally skewing the urban form by entrenching spatial inequalities. The apartheid planning approach ensured that township areas were denied development by using physical buffer zones to act as physical barriers to growth. The first democratic elections in 1994 saw the country's transition to democratic rule, and the new government began to redress these policies, making way for the free movement of people and a more inclusive spatial form.

The rapid urbanisation experienced in South Africa, and more generally in Africa, is driven by the pursuit of employment and a better life, which are often lacking in rural areas. This includes access to better facilities, higher standards of living, and perceptions of increased opportunities. The consequent population influx is happening at a faster rate than the delivery of infrastructure. As a result, the available infrastructure is overburdened, creating tenuous living conditions for people who find themselves unable to secure affordable accommodation and livelihoods.

UN-Habitat forecasts that Africa's urban population will surpass that of Europe by 2020. Although this is debateable, it is clear that urbanisation and urban migration require attention in Africa, especially to curtail the growing number of informal settlements, and to address the negative, unplanned impacts on cities. There is a need to adopt appropriate planning approaches for the continent's future cities to address the rate and nature of this rapid urbanisation. While, on the one hand, urbanisation may be considered an added advantage for a nation's economy (the notion of the "urban dividend" and the

benefits of agglomeration), on the other, African countries have tended to lack comprehensive policies to clearly understand, guide, and respond to the expansion and growth of their cities.

Following many years without a clear focus on how to deal with the rapid urbanisation that precipitates urban poverty and haphazard development in African cities, UN-Habitat began to champion the development and implementation of NUPs in each African country to promote a more prudent urban development agenda. This new agenda seeks to unlock development potential and drive city development in an inclusive, productive and sustainable manner. The South African Cities Network (SACN) recommends that this approach should guide the development of South African cities.

More recently, African countries have recognised the need for a common front using an NUP to address the challenges of urban transition in Africa. NUP is linked to effective national government. Turok and Parnell (2009: 159) note that ‘the argument for a [...] national urban policy is generally strongest in countries where local municipal powers are limited or where their administrative and financial capabilities are deficient’. This system enables the national government to use its powers and capacity to drive the transformation of the national territory and promote a shared vision that informs strategy to assist urban-rural consolidation, leading to more productive cities. National governments ‘have the spatial, sectoral and fiscal oversight to weigh up the costs and benefits of rapid urbanisation or growth that is concentrating on the largest city’ (Turok and Parnell, 2009: 159). The full benefits of this population concentration can only be achieved by means of proper policy to guide sustainable development.

3. The Need for National Urban Policy

NUP is an overarching policy that aims to reassert urban space and territoriality. It provides the necessary direction and course of action to support urban development and key legislative institutional reform. The policy is based on the assumption that as a country’s population grows and urbanises, major social and economic activities occur in cities and towns. If not properly managed, this creates an unsustainable urban environment, characterised by unemployment, urban poverty, informal settlements and environmental degradation.

NUP is beginning to gain momentum on the African continent, as UN-Habitat, the World Bank and the Cities Alliance continue to motivate for its adoption in order to address the challenges of rapid urbanisation. However, unlike other continents, where urbanisation has yielded benefits such as social and economic development, many African countries lack supporting policies and a framework to leverage the process for increased development gains and ensured sustainable development. While studies show that urbanisation has created significant wealth and opportunities on other continents, and enabled the better use of assets and created new ones, this has not been the case in the African context where the urbanisation process often seems to outpace development gains.

Given its rapid rate of urbanisation, the need for NUPs in Africa is clear. For example, the World Bank estimates that urbanisation in Nigeria is growing at an annual rate of 3.9% (World Bank, 2009). The rapid growth of different cities in this country is responsible for many environmental and social changes. This has strained cities' capacity to provide basic amenities. A *Daily Times* interview with Koleoso indicates that reduced government spending on the maintenance of cities and service provision has turned the urban environment into massive slums with serious environmental problems and widespread poverty (Ajewole, 2011). Yet it should also be recognised that cities provide poor citizens with more opportunities and greater access to resources to transform their living situations than rural areas, and will thus continue to draw people seeking opportunities. Government will therefore need to plan ahead in anticipation of the population increase or rural migration to urban areas.

In Ghana, urbanisation is estimated to be growing at annual rate of 3.4%. The Africa Region Working Paper Series which focused on Ghanaian cities noted that rapid urbanisation in this country had resulted in uncontrolled urban growth that is stretching government's capacity to efficiently deliver infrastructure and services (Farvacque-Vitkovic et al., 2008). It has also resulted in increased urban sprawl and inefficient land use management.

As in other African countries, Kenya has experienced rapid urbanisation, with the annual growth rate estimated at 4.4% in 2011. Rising birth rates and the natural growth of the urban population account for this phenomenon. Rural-urban migration has also been a factor, triggered by drought, conflict and rural poverty. This migration has resulted in urban segregation and has exerted tremendous pressure on housing and other basic services.

South Africa's urbanisation rate has been slower than that of other African countries; the World Bank estimates the urban annual growth rate to be 2.1%. Moreover, the growth in the urban population is mainly the result of the free movement of people in the post-apartheid period. However, higher economic growth in the urban areas, superior employment prospects and better social services attract people to the cities. The rate of urbanisation has complicated government decisions relating to resource allocation and service provision. South Africa is an interesting case, as the most rapid growth occurs in secondary cities, mainly due to increased economic activity.

Achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), towards the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, will depend on how well developing countries are able to manage their urban areas. In particular, African cities will need to be managed in a way that enables urbanising areas to accommodate growth by providing adequate social and economic activities. This requires national support in the form of accurate projections of future urban growth, high-quality statistics and a good understanding of the patterns and trends of urban changes (Cohen, 2006). UN-Habitat emphasises that the development of NUP is the key step to harness the gains of urbanisation. It also

provides the required direction and course of action to support urban development. According to UN-Habitat, NUP provides an overarching framework to address pressing issues confronting urban areas as a result of rapid development, including slum prevention and regularisation; access to land, basic services and infrastructure; urban legislation; delegation of authority to sub-national and local governments; financial flows; urban planning regulations; urban mobility; urban energy requirements; and job creation. UN-Habitat has identified four outcomes that could be achieved with the development and implementation of NUP; these are depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Key Outcomes of National Urban Policy



Source: UN-Habitat (<http://unhabitat.org/initiatives-programmes/national-urban-policies/>)

UN-Habitat has been a key contributor to the development of NUPs, especially in developing countries and on the African continent. Key issues relating to NUP include country assessment, stakeholder participation, documentation of good practices to support national processes, analysis of urban policies and instruments, facilitation of local-national dialogue on reforms, and dissemination and capacity development on the policy across the full range of actors.

4. International Precedents of National Urban Policy

This section examines the forms of urban governance practiced in Australia and Germany, focusing on power devolution and the sphere of government charged with urban management. It also examines the role of national government in urban development and the management of cities.

Australia's National Urban Policy

Australia is one of the world's largest countries but nonetheless confronts the challenge of urbanisation. Australia has a federal system of government, with three spheres: Commonwealth or federal government, state and territories, and local government (Australian Government, 2011). About three-quarters of Australians live in 18 of the country's major cities with a population of over 100 000 (Australian Government, 2011: 6). Australia has one of the highest population growth rates in the OECD. Around half of the population comes from net overseas migration (Australian Government, 2013: 25). The major cities combined generate around 80% of GDP and employ 75% of the country's workforce. Given the importance of the Australian cities to the national economy and regional competitiveness, the government has recognised the need to prioritise city improvement and development. Although Australia has some of the most liveable cities in the world, it is argued that

strategic improvement of these cities will enable them to adapt to the future changes and challenges posed by urbanisation. The NUP notes that the key challenge facing cities in the country is the 'imperative to lift economic productivity to ensure that Australia's economy is built to compete and prosper in the global economy' (Australia Government, 2011: 24). The NUP is therefore premised on the assumption that more productive, sustainable and liveable Australian cities will drive the global competitiveness of the country's economy.

Unlike many African cities, Australian cities are well planned and managed. The challenge lies in how to position these cities to command global economic power. Australia's system of government allows for the devolution of power to the three spheres of government, which facilitates effective urban planning. The states and territories, together with local government, are tasked by the Australian Constitution with the responsibility to plan for urban growth and change within their respective jurisdictions (Australia Government, 2011: 11). States and territories are supported in the development of their urban areas through the Council of Australian Government (COAG). According to the Australian NUP, the Australian government has invested in infrastructure development to shape urban Australia. However, in the past, federal government policies and investment activities were not coordinated with the policies adopted by other spheres of government; moreover, these policies were also misunderstood. This resulted in conflicting policies and policy implementation in relation to service delivery in urban areas, particularly infrastructure development. The NUP indicates that federal policies have been aligned with the policies of different spheres of governments and that further effort is being made through research to understand how best the federal government can work with the other spheres to ensure well-coordinated urban community development in Australia.

In order to achieve productive, liveable and sustainable cities that act as the key drivers of the Australian NUP, the COAG has launched a number of reforms, including collaborative bodies that drive local government's coordination of better management of cities through effective planning. Furthermore, the government has recognised the need for a comprehensive planning and strategic urban policy for each state and territory, informed by the NUP. Guidelines have been set out for the development of such policy, including both long and short/medium term planning (15 to 30 and 5 to 15 years, respectively). In 2009, the COAG decided to develop national performance measures for development assessment in order to improve city management. However, there is a lack of regional capacity and resources to undertake comprehensive strategic planning, despite COAG's efforts to assist. According to the NUP, research has shown that there is need for affordable rental housing close to people's places of work. Other issues that require attention include improved land use management, and the effectiveness and efficiency of approval processes for land development, which is noted in the NUP as a barrier to investment in some cities.

Lessons from Australian experience

- In Australia, there is less interference of central government on urban development but rather the states and territories are tasked with urban development and management.

- Establishment of a government support body through which the federal government is able to engage states in further improvement of the Australian cities and towns.
- Coordination of policies and investment activities among federal, state and local governments
- The Australian government promotes a need for a comprehensive urban strategic policy for planning and managing cities and towns in Australia
- The NUP experience of Australia shows lack of regional capacity and resources to undertake a comprehensive strategic planning.

The German National Urban Development Policy

Germany operates a federal system of government with three tiers, and this structure is reflected in the planning system. The planning responsibilities are constitutionally coordinated among the three levels of government. Von Einem (2007) states that in most urban policy areas in Germany, the role of federal government is constitutionally limited. This may well inform the fact that state governments are better placed in issues of development and management of cities and towns. However, the issues of the European City as a spatial, social and value modal make it more important for the German federal government to be involved in urban development. Currently, urban development in Germany takes into account the historical nature of cities in advancing the National Urban Development Policy (NUDP).

History shows that urban development in Germany dates back to the 1950s, with the reconstruction of cities and large stimulation of housing areas. By the 1960s an expansion of cities occurred against the background of economic growth and population changes. In the 1970s Germany started an urban renewal programme due to the population dynamics. It also reinforced urban renewal focusing more on reconstruction of urban areas in the 1980s, with programmes like stagnation of demographic development, housing policies driving towards ownership assistance, and new inner-city urban policy development. Since the 1990s, urban development approaches in Germany have been driven through an integrated approach with the understanding of new challenges that face cities or urban areas because of globalisation. With the history of German cities and the notion of the European City, the NUDP is informed by a need to balance economic growth and sustainable development, expansion of building activities and preservation of the historical heritage, and rapid development of spatial mobility and reassessment of the concept of neighbourhood.

Urban system and local governance

According to Breuer (2010), settlement structure in Germany is highly polycentric and the urban system is very heterogeneous. Thus, there are some 13000 local authorities of different sizes and more than 80 cities have 100 000 or more inhabitants. This rapid change has informed the recent growth of cities in Germany, with cities growing beyond their borders and forming territorial-functional units with bordering local areas to form a city-region. The old system of state constitutional dominance

in urban development is no longer able to inform good urban development and governance. As Von Einem (2007) noted, the role of Germany's federal government in urban development was very weak during the 1950s and 1960s. However, even in the early 1990s, compared to France and Great Britain, the powers of the federal government in Germany have not been strong enough to play an active role in shaping urban policies (Von Einem, 2007). In Germany, 'states decide on programs for housing, urban redevelopment, regional development, some highways, most infrastructure, and open space preservation' (Von Einem, 2007: 10). Furthermore, the powers of municipalities to guide urban development on a project-based approach are limited because states through their regional offices administer state and state-federal programs. However, centralising powers of urban development within states created economic instability between 1966 and 1967; it also enabled social disparities and regional imbalances (Von Einem, 2007). The introduction of spatial planning at the federal, state and regional levels was an effort to coordinate various sectoral policies into overall plans, which leads to comprehensive planning. Von Einem (2007) argues that the new thinking of where the power of urban development resides began changing the institutional structure for planning and budgeting, rather than delegating the urban planning duty to one level of government. In 2007, the new urban development approach also saw the beginning of NUDP formulation, following the Leipzig Charter on sustainable European Cities.

The German NUDP is built on sustainable urban development in order to tackle all the various economic, social and environmental challenges facing cities. An integrated policy approach has been introduced. Breuer (2010) noted areas that inform the policy, which are:

1. Settlement development under changed conditions – orientation towards cities
2. City cooperation at the regional level
3. Using the declining land use as an opportunity – making neighbourhoods more attractive for families with children
4. Creating socially stable urban neighbourhoods – regarding migration as an opportunity
5. Adapting the infrastructure to the needs of the elderly
6. Making mobility compatible with cities and the environment
7. Strengthening cities as business and innovation locations
8. Maintaining the diversity of retail trade – strengthening central supply areas
9. Improving cooperation of municipal planning and private investors
10. Putting different complexions on cities – culture forms cities
11. Maintaining old historic cities and using them as an economic factor
12. Intensifying modernisation of the existing building stock – reducing CO2 emissions

With the new thinking on urban development, the German NUDP noted that the instigator of the new era of urban development in the country must have federal government as the responsible body unifying spatial planning, infrastructure and urban policies, as opposed to the previous state level driven urban policy development (Federal Government of Germany, 2007: 18). The policy also gives

directive on the close cooperation of federal states and federal government on high-level expertise in spatial problems. Importantly, the policy argues that strong cities and urban regions, along with great flexibility at a local level, drive good urban development policy (Federal Government of Germany, 2007).

The implementation of the German NUDP requires close cooperation of the three tiers of government. Unlike the previous approach of state-driven urban development, the NUDP's view is that federal government needs to drive the policy. The policy is a jointly funded project by the federal and state governments. It also takes into account that the successful implementation of the policy will have to be by the federal governments. There are also strong views regarding how the national urban policy of Germany is to be implemented, although this information was not detailed in the NUDP.

Lessons from Germany's experience

- The urban agenda in Germany is driven by the federal government as the instigator of national urban policy in cooperation with the federal states
- Learning from experiences of different cities through platforms for debate and exchange
- City agenda is pushed towards transnational level
- Involvement of different sectors and players in the urban built environment to drive a city development strategy.

5. Case Studies of NUP in Africa

5.1 Nigeria's NUP Experience

Nigeria is located in West Africa, with a total landmass of '923,768sq km (356,669sq mile), surrounded by Cameroon to the east, Chad to the northeast, Niger to the north, Benin to the west, and Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean to the south' (Ofem, 2012:167). In 2012, Nigeria had a population of 140 million people, with a growth rate of 2.8% from 2006 (Federal Government of Nigeria 2012:4; Ofem, 2012). Forty eight percent of the population live in urban centres. With the new democratic dispensation in 1999, Nigeria experienced transformation, including economic reform. Recent reports suggest that the Nigerian economy has overtaken the South African economy as the largest in Africa. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), in cooperation with Renaissance Capital analysts estimates Nigeria has rebased its gross domestic product (GDP), at US\$510-billion with a growth rate of 6–7% (Atuanya, 2014; Francis, 2014). However, the World Bank notes that the country suffers an unemployment rate of 22%, mainly affecting the youth.

In recognition of the fact that cities are major contributors to the national economy as a result of the need to diversify the economy and promote industrialisation, the Nigerian government began developing a National Urban Development Policy (NUDP) in 2002. Nigeria has a federal system of

government, with three spheres: federal, state and local governments. Urban centres are established based on population criteria and the legal pronouncement of states and local governments. The capitals and headquarters of each of these areas are regarded as urban (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2012). However, little is done to systemically plan these urban areas. According to Ofem (2012), the population criterion used in the country ironically isolates about 60% of the nation from the urbanisation process. Furthermore, establishing states and local government with their capitals and headquarters as urban areas has been a political attempt to gain power. Ofem (2012: 168) adds that this form of urban area (growth centres) may struggle to spread development to their rural environs.

UN-Habitat, the World Bank and other international institutions have noted that, if managed well, urbanisation in Africa will lead to improved living standards. However, Hartshorne (1992) noted that this had not been the case; he termed the system of urbanisation in Africa 'false urbanisation', implying that urbanisation on the continent is driven by demographic and political forces rather than the need for economic growth and industrial development, as happened on other continents. The NUDP aims to address issues related to urban management in the country as well as land use control and management.

Urbanisation and challenges in Nigeria

Nigeria's NUDP drew on previous urban improvement initiatives that did not have much impact on urban development. The problems facing Nigerian cities can be traced to colonial urban planning policies and post-colonial policies that adopted a similar approach. Historically, cities and towns in Nigeria grew as a result of different kinds of trade, including slavery. The discovery of oil and other natural resources, as well as agricultural activities, strengthened the economic base, attracting and continuing to attract people to the urban areas. It is estimated that half of Nigeria's population currently lives in cities and towns with an annual growth rate of 3.75%. The challenges posed by rapid growth and rural-urban migration include high levels of demand for land, housing and social services (Omar, 2013). This demographic shift has posed a huge challenge to city governments and is compounded by the lack of a comprehensive urban policy and a lack of commitment from the Federal Government. With people moving into cities in Nigeria on daily basis, many lack pipeborne water, primary health care and affordable housing; this drives the slum settlements in cities.

The making of Nigerian NUDP

Nigeria promulgated the Urban and Regional Planning Law, Decree No. 88 of 1992, with the aim of achieving 'more realistic and purposeful planning of the country' (Osuocha and Njoku, 2012). The decree also provided for the planning and development of the physical environment and set out the responsibilities of the three spheres of government (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2012). Since 1992, physical planning policies in Nigeria have focused on city improvement and development, usually driven by UN-Habitat and the World Bank. Successive governments at both federal and state level have responded to these problems, particularly in the housing sector: new housing schemes have been developed which typically take the form of gated communities that are not affordable to the poor. The NUDP noted that poor infrastructures in many Nigerian cities 'undermine economic

efficiency and compromise the competitiveness of Nigerian cities in the global economic arena' (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2012: 33). In 2002, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched a process to formulate a comprehensive urban policy in response to the challenges posed by rapid urbanisation. This policy was reviewed in 2009, and was passed by the House of Assembly and approved in 2012. The overall goal of the Nigerian NUDP is to develop 'a dynamic system of urban settlements, which fosters sustainable economic growth, promotes efficient urban and regional planning and development, and ensure improved standard of living and well-being of all Nigerians' (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2012:16).

Thirteen key objectives were set to ensure the success of the policy, the most important of which are:

- a. To facilitate efficient urban development and management.
- b. To ensure clear responsibilities among the three spheres of government with regard to implementation and accountability.
- c. To establish appropriate financial mechanisms for the implementation of urban development including slum upgrading and other physical development project plans, including infrastructure development.
- d. To encourage the private sector to become involved in urban development and enable competitiveness;
- e. To align existing laws, policies and programmes related to urban development and management;
- f. To promote adequate and functional infrastructure that unlocks social services in each category of urban settlements;
- g. To strengthen the capacity of the urban centers to manage economic growth, social development and the alleviation of poverty;
- h. To improve the performance of the urban market and social welfare;
- i. To ensure the provision of adequate, efficient and functional infrastructure and social services in all categories of urban settlements;
- j. There is a need to restructure and strengthen institutional arrangements for urban development;
- k. To ensure a stable, harmonious, secure, inclusive and vibrant urban life; and
- l. To adopt strategies to boost city-region economies and sustainable development.

The NUDP also sets out 18 key strategies and actions to be implemented at all levels of government in the short, medium and long term. Interestingly, among these strategies, the priority is to establish an institutional framework that ensures orderly development and the management of urban settlements. Omar (2013) notes that, as recommended by the NUDP, adequate devolution of powers to Local Government Authorities (LGAs) is very important, as are improved revenue and financial arrangements. One of the challenges confronting cities and towns in Nigeria is that they do not have a clear mandate. While the the Urban and Regional Planning Decree, No 88 of 1992 allocated

responsibilities for physical planning to the three spheres of government, the NUDP still calls for clarity in terms of devolution. Revenue allocation, especially to the LGAs, is a serious challenge to urban development in Nigeria. This has led to many States, especially the oil producing states, calling for 'resource control', i.e., the power to manage the natural resources within their jurisdiction and effectively develop urban areas.

The lack of economic investment in most Nigerian cities has encouraged informal entrepreneurs (who account for more than 70% of total employment). It is difficult to gather data on this sector, which affects effective economic forecasting. While the economy has grown, many believe that this has not translated into the improved living standards targeted by the NUDP. The NUDP accepts that the informal economy has played a key role in the economy in recent times; it therefore proposes a land use plan that accommodates both the formal and informal sectors. While the federal government of Nigeria aims to 'promote rapid economic development in urban areas for the purpose of wealth creation, employment generation and poverty reduction' (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2012: 23), many also argue that the poor state of socioeconomic activities in the country is due to the persistent neglect of infrastructure by the military administration (Omar, 2013). Nigeria has therefore developed a 30-year National Integrated Infrastructure Master Plan (NIIMP) to unlock development and employment in the country (Usman, 2012). This has led to the upgrading of transportation and energy infrastructure.

One of the NUDP's objectives is slum upgrading and effective land-use management. Access to land will play a key role in effective land use control in urban Nigeria. Without access to land, little can be achieved and the potential presented by urbanisation will not be realised. As in many other African countries, traditional or communal land ownership is a big challenge in Nigeria. The country's Constitution recognises different categories of land ownership, including traditional ownership. This poses challenges for the orderly development envisaged by the NUDP in the country's cities. While the Constitution recognises communal, traditional and individual land ownership, it also vests control over this land in state governments as trustees of the people, granting the states power to use the land when required with compensation to the owner. However, there have been numerous instances where proper compensation has not been paid; this could be a two-way problem, with individuals demanding too much or the government paying far below the cost of the land. The rate of urbanisation in the country calls for the upgrading of settlements, but government has also contributed to citizens' inability to buy into its plans for upgrading. For example, in Lagos State, there have been plans for many years to upgrade Orile-Iganmu in Surulere LGA. However, people fear that they may end up like Maroko inhabitants, the shanty town located in Victoria Island that was demolished and rebuilt but never returned to the original inhabitants. The Elegushi, Oniru and Oloto families that originally inhabited Maroko were promised compensation and that they would be relocated to a new place, but this never happened, and the area is now occupied by a high income class (Akingbade, 2012).

Implementation, monitoring and evaluation

It can therefore be concluded that the implementation of the NUDP has not achieved its key objectives of unlocking economic development and improving people's well-being in the short term. The problems within cities such as infrastructure, land use control, water and sanitation, and energy have yet to show signs of improvement. Although a positive step has been taken by privatising the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), previously the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), little has come of this effort. The structure in place to implement this policy has not been clearly defined. While the decentralised federal institutional power structure is clear, according to Omar (2013), the enactment of the NUDP meant that the federal government could still legislate on urban planning, contradicting Decree No 88 of 1992. However, when Lagos State took the federal government to the Supreme Court, the highest court of the land, the Court ruled that the federal government cannot legislate for the 36 states on urban planning matters. Omar (2013) argues that centralised planning of cities can strengthen development at local government level, as this sphere of government does not possess the skills and competence to manage urban planning. There are two schools of thought in relation to the NUP. One holds that centralisation is important to address the challenges of urbanisation, while the other holds that national intervention is required in key areas relating to national issues. There is a need for all spheres of government to get involved; the federal government cannot oversee the entire nation, and local planning and empowerment is necessary.

The NUDP provides for an independent committee to coordinate, monitor and evaluate progress and to ensure the implementation is in line with its objectives. However, it seems that there is a lack of measurable targets to evaluate progress in the implementation of the NUDP. As a result, the assessment of the NUDP is more descriptive than normative. The policy provides for monitoring and evaluation every other year to assess performance.

Lessons from Nigeria's experience

The Nigerian NUP experience shows that the lack of a national urban policy and federal government involvement in urban areas have created regional imbalances. Taylor (1988) argues that even in the National Development Plans of 1970s, adequate attention was not given to urban and regional planning. Thus, part of the problem can also be traced to the fact that the Nigerian Constitution of 1979 did not mention the role of federal government in urban planning. In fact, in the German NUP experience the constitution like in the case of Nigeria gave powers of urban development solely to the state government. The lessons that were noted in the case of Germany showed that the state failed to advance the urban development leading to the failure of the economy. Therefore, in order to have an integrated urban policy development that is successful there is a need for federal government to play a role.

On the one hand, this study also found that the federal government's approach to urban development is driven more by economic planning than by urban planning. It is believed that the development of the Nigerian NUDP has enabled a shift to a more integrated approach. The NUDP development has also

informed development of urban master plans, although it has been argued that federal government is not actively involved in the implementation of these plans.

In most African countries, informal trade or sector is usually perceived as a negative practice. Often, it is observed as unrecognised, unrecorded, unprotected, and unregulated by the government authorities (Onwe, 2013). In Nigeria, the challenges over the years have been how to support and regulate the urban informal sector in a way that promotes employment, productivity, and income for the poor. As part of creating a supportive and enabling environment which could be referred to as an inclusive economy, the national urban development policy of Nigeria is in support of the informal sector and a policy directive is being promoted with a land use system that accommodates the informal sector.

5.2 Ghana's NUP Experience

Ghana is located in West Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea, between Cote d'Ivoire and Togo. It covers a total area of 238,533 sq. km (land: 227,533 sq. km and water: 11,000 sq. km). Its coastline stretches a distance of 539 km. Ghana's climate varies from tropical; to warm and comparatively dry along the southeast coast; hot and humid in southwest; and hot and dry in north. Ghana has a population of 25,199,609 (July 2013 est.) with a growth rate of 2.19%. Ironically the majority of the population, 38.7%, fall into the 0-14 years age group (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

Formerly known as the Gold Coast and the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence (in 1957), Ghana practices a constitutional, unitary democracy, with two spheres of government, central and local. Like many other sub-Saharan countries, Ghana experienced a prolonged period of economic growth over the past 20 years, due to a series of internal and external factors that influenced productivity and terms of trade. The country's Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy I (GPRS I), launched by the government in 2003, was formulated to enable the country to benefit from debt reduction under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC). The nation is well-endowed with natural resources, with agriculture accounting for roughly a quarter of GDP and employing more than half the workforce, mainly small landholders. The services sector accounts for 50% of GDP. Ghana's main export commodities in ranking order are; oil, gold, cocoa, timber, tuna, bauxite, aluminium, manganese ore, diamonds, and horticultural products. The GDP real growth rate was 14.4% in 2011 and, 7% in 2012. Unemployment stood at 11% in 2000, and the percentage of the population below the poverty line was 28.5% in 2007 (World Bank Group, 2013; Trading Economics, 2013).

Urbanisation and challenges in Ghana

The National Urban Policy (NUP) Framework was formulated to enable Ghana to manage and benefit from urbanisation. While Ghana was 70% rural at independence, it is currently about 50% urbanised (Government of Ghana, 2012a). However, Ghanaian cities and towns have been confronted by many challenges with the growth of the urban population. These include a weak urban economy; land-use

disorder and uncontrolled urban sprawl; increasing environmental deterioration; inadequate urban services; urban poverty; slums and squatter settlements; weak urban governance and institutional coordination; delimitation of urban areas of jurisdiction and lack of integrated planning across jurisdictional boundaries; weak rural-urban linkages; limited data and information on urban areas; inadequate urban investment and financing; a weak information, education and communication strategy; and weak urban transportation planning and traffic management. Previous government approaches to urbanisation and urban development were piecemeal and were pursued in terms of various development plans. The lack of a comprehensive national urban policy framework has undermined the policy coherence of government agencies tasked with the responsibility to reduce poverty in cities and towns.

The formulation of Ghana NUP aimed to improve the state of cities and towns in the country with a view “to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of urban settlements with adequate housing, infrastructure and services, and efficient institutions’ (Government of Ghana, 2012a: 3–4). The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, which was mandated to develop the NUP, set 12 key objectives, which include:

- i. To facilitate balanced re-distribution of the urban population.
- ii. To promote a spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centres.
- iii. To promote urban economic development.
- iv. To encourage environmental quality in all cities to improve urban life.
- v. To adopt a pro-active approach to urban development and manage urban growth and sprawl effectively within the main urban areas.
- vi. To ensure efficient urban infrastructure and service delivery.
- vii. To improve access to adequate and affordable low-income housing.
- viii. To strengthen applied research in urban and regional development.
- ix. To expand sources of funding for urban development and strengthen urban financial management.

The making of Ghana’s NUP

Recognising the inability of Ghana’s urban areas to cope with the challenges of urbanisation, the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) was tasked with leading the consultative process to formulate the NUP. Various stakeholders participated, including local communities, traditional leaders, private industry, and NGOs. This policy was developed over a five-year period with workshops, proposals, technical reviews, consultations, investigations, and analyses and assessments of previous policy in an effort to develop a comprehensive urban policy. In May 2012, the Ghana NUP was adopted, accompanied by Action Plan 2012 detailing initiatives and activities to be implemented over the following five years (Government of Ghana, 2012b).

In the absence of a well-articulated policy on urban development and management, previous government interventions in urban development comprised of project-based initiatives with no holistic approach to address urban problems. The project coordinator for NUP in Ghana stated in an interview that this policy gives the country a new, more focused, comprehensive approach to urban development and management. The NUP facilitates more functional urban areas that are liveable, more inclusive and productive.

Implementation of Ghana's NUP

The NUP aims to transform urban areas in order to render them more economically productive. Of the 12 objectives of the NUP, the first and second (to facilitate balanced re-distribution of the urban population and to promote a spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centres) may contradict the notion of strengthening the urban areas, especially the big cities. The literature holds that functional cities are the key to a nation's economic growth, opportunities, institutions of higher learning, etc. Balancing the redistribution of population and promoting a hierarchy of urban centres may not promote economic development. Major cities like Accra and Kumasi also face challenges in attracting sufficient industrial development and growth. Rural-urban migration and insufficient jobs for the rapidly growing population have not been effectively addressed in the major economic centres and may be even more difficult to solve elsewhere in the country. As stated in the NUP, in the past Ghanaian cities struggled to attract sufficient economic investment to provide jobs for the large number of unemployed. However, cities have also witnessed an increase in economic activities. Investment in urban infrastructure and services in major cities will help to alleviate unemployment and create opportunities, but this can only happen if adequate attention is paid to the challenges identified by the NUP. The NUP also argues that the lack of central government, metropolitan and municipal investment in infrastructure and services has created a deteriorating environment. This adds to the metropolitan areas' inability to effectively manage land use planning, and the rapid growth in the urban population which creates slums and squatter settlements that are highly overcrowded with inadequate social amenities. The NUP explains that the management of land use in the country can be addressed through the provision of social or low-income rental housing by means of public-private partnerships (PPPs).

Monitoring and evaluation

The NUP plan takes the institutional challenges confronting urban management into account. It notes that the lack of coordination among institutions and different regions accounts for the under-performance of the urban sector and calls for a better coordination. However, the decentralised system in Ghana encourages a top-down planning approach which is not focused on particular areas. The Ghana National Decentralisation Action Plan states that the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD), as the lead central management agency, is responsible for the preparation and coordination of annual programmes with targets and assigned responsibilities for implementation by other implementing agencies (Government of Ghana, 201b2: 17). This means that plans are controlled and managed from a broader perspective and are not locally based, resulting in weak local government. Access to land is the key to realising the third objective of the NUP, as

promoting economic development will be a pipedream without access to land. Access to land in major cities is a challenge in areas where traditional ownership by paramount chiefs discourages investment. Indeed, 80% of the land in Ghana is owned by traditional authorities. It is therefore clear that the success of the policy will require close collaboration with these authorities.

The NUP Action Plan details the activities that need to be pursued over a five-year period to achieve the policy's 12 objectives. An important aspect of the Ghanaian NUP is the establishment of an inter-ministerial body which serves as the secretariat for the NUP. This body functions as a Cabinet sub-committee to ensure that the coordination, monitoring and review of the NUP is in line with the attainment of the policy objectives. The interview with the NUP Project Coordinator further revealed that about 80–90% of the policy will be implemented by the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies. It will be integrated with their medium-term development plans over a four-year period. However, funding remains a challenge. At present, funding is provided through “Composite Budgeting”, which includes a district fund of about 7% of the revenue allocated to the district to enable implementation. This budget is prepared by the assemblies and sent to the Ministry of Finance for approval. The World Bank is also supporting all the urban metropolitan assemblies with about \$175 million for a period of four years, and the AFD is also supporting four assemblies with €40 million; this could be due to the economic potential of these areas.

Lessons from Ghana's experience

Access to land is always important in driving the urban development agenda of any city in the world. The case of urban land in Ghana shows how limiting development or investment in urban areas could be if land issues are not resolved. The impact of rapid urbanisation has been the driving force behind development of NUP and the importance of cities and town to promote economic growth and industrialisation requires land. The development of new land policy and integration of traditional chiefs in developing the NUP could be seen as a good agenda of government in improving the position of cities and towns.

The commitment of Ghana's government towards implementation of the NUP is clear and seen with the establishment of a composite budget for the assemblies to implement the policy plans. The establishment of a cabinet sub-committee, which serves to monitor, evaluate and review the policy plans, provides a good lesson.

Ghana is seen to be a devolved system but many have argued that the institutional structure remains centralised. The Ghanaian NUP shows that assemblies to an extent lack autonomy. The NUP indicates that plans are set nationally with a view for districts to implement, thereby making it a top-down approach.

5.3 Kenya's NUP Experience

The Republic of Kenya is located in East Africa. Kenya is bordered in the southeast by the Indian Ocean, Tanzania to the south, Uganda to the west, Ethiopia to the north, South Sudan to the northwest and Somalia to the northeast. The country has a total land mass area of 582,646 square kilometres that includes 536 kilometres of coastline (Poff, 2007). Kenya was colonised by the British after they took over from the Portuguese in 1890. In 1920, the country became a crown colony of the British government, known as British East Africa, until independence on 12 December 1963. Kenya is the economic power house of East Africa. The Republic of Kenya practices a unitary system of government, with a multi-party system. The 2010 Kenyan Constitution recognises two spheres of government: national and county government. County government is empowered to manage and develop their local constituency (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

The country has a market-based economy with a liberalised foreign trade policy. According to a report by Economy Watch, Kenya's GDP has been inconsistent since independence, although it has achieved economic growth of 6% over the past years, declining to 4% and to an all-time low of 1.5% (Economy Watch, 2010). In 2012, Kenya's GDP stood at \$37.23 billion, and the country's cities account for about 70% of GDP.

Urbanisation and challenges in Kenya

Kenya is one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in sub-Saharan Africa. At independence, 8% of the population lived in urban areas, and by 2011 had increased to 34%. Urban growth in Kenya was restricted by the Vagrancy Act and pass laws during the colonial era (Nabutola, 2012). Urbanisation and population growth is most prevalent in major cities such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret. Kenyan cities are confronted by high rates of poverty and the growth of informal settlements. In common with other African countries, the challenges facing urban areas in Kenya are similar to those in other African countries and include inadequate infrastructure and services, poor housing, environmental degradation, high rates of unemployment, and the increasing prevalence of urban poverty and inequality (Nabutola, 2012).

The shifting system of government in Kenya has exacerbated the challenges confronting urban development. Urban development in post-independence Kenya has been characterised by a centralised development model which regards the state as the main agent of development. Although there have been changes over the years, historically, urban development in Kenya was guided by the Local Government Act CAP 265 and the Physical Planning Act of 1996, both of which have not been able to adequately address the opportunities and challenges confronting the country's cities and towns. Many urban areas in Kenya emerged from a weak revenue base, with poor revenue collection, inadequate financial allocations from the central government and weak municipal institutional capacity. This contributed to the poor performance of some local areas. The current government adopted a policy of devolution and fiscal decentralisation which gives powers to cities and towns as the principal drivers of the management and development of economic growth in their areas. This plays a critical role in correcting the colonial formulation of cities.

The making of Kenya's NUDP

Kenya Vision 2030 identified rapid urbanisation as one of the key challenges confronting the country and emphasised the need for an urban development framework to promote sustainable urbanisation by creating well-planned, vibrant and efficient urban centres. A committee was constituted to formulate the NUDP. The NUDP took into account both the Constitution and *Kenya Vision 2030*. An informant interviewed for this study stated that the NUDP was motivated by the rapid growth of urban areas in Kenya and the need for a sustainable development model. The formulation of the NUDP began in 2008 through the Ministry of Local Government with support from the Swedish Government. A taskforce visited Sweden in June 2011 to gain understanding of the process of devolution. There was effective stakeholder participation, including public, private, and civil society groups. Stakeholders were further divided into thematic groups and included universities, research institutions and the private sector.

Kenya has now produced a draft NUDP which is in the final stages of approval. The informant noted that the formulation of this draft policy took about two years. One of the challenges was the shift in administration and institutional restructuring aimed at creating an efficient governance system. The new Kenyan Constitution of 2010 clearly stated the need for the NUDP, the transformation of urban areas and the need to position cities to compete globally. The transformation process has also led to devolution, with county governments granted powers to address rapid urbanisation. A major initiative was transforming the Urban Development Department (UDD), which falls under the Ministry of Local Government and is responsible for local support for urban development. The main challenge faced by the department was capacity constraints. It has therefore been recommended that the department be restructured, strengthened, and renamed the National Urban Development Department (NUDD). Other institutional restructuring has also been undertaken to enable smooth implementation of the policy plans.

Urban interventions in Kenya

Five major cities, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, and Eldoret, are Kenya's main engines of economic growth, accounting for about 70% of GDP. The NUDP focuses on supporting an urban system that serves the country equitably and addresses historically neglected regions. In terms of global competitiveness, the NUDP noted that Kenya urban areas have not created an enabling environment to reduce the cost of doing business due to a lack of understanding of the importance of urban areas to the economy. Globally, cities are applying visionary strategies to ensure that they attract foreign direct investment (FDI); this includes creating an environment for cost effective business and effective and speedy approval of building plans and business registration. The NUDP acknowledges the need to harmonise business licensing to ensure a level playing ground for investment in urban areas. The policy also notes that there is inadequate information and promotion of business or investment opportunities and that there is a need to establish an intercity investment forum to share and promote such opportunities.

The NUDP supports *Vision 2030* in promoting new, specialised urban areas through the establishment of a port city in Lamu and resort cities. It notes the need for nodal development around key areas like universities, airports, special economic zones and ICT hubs. This will require that infrastructure development be prioritised. Kenya's centralised planning system has also challenged local economic development. The authorities tend to view local government as service providers and regulatory bodies rather than as the drivers of local economic growth. A lack of expertise in LED and weak governance to support LED are part of the problem. A framework is required to address LED and its promotion in the urban areas. Promoting investment in urban areas hinges on land availability, given the rapid growth of the urban population which will also impact the environment and health of urban dwellers. Furthermore, the success of the new port city and other planned urban settlements in driving economic and social development depends on the availability of land. Despite the clear constitutional requirement that land is held and managed in an equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable manner that guarantees access and security to land, land remains a significant challenge in advancing the economic growth of cities and towns in Kenya, a prerequisite for FDI. Factors that contribute to the issue of land management in Kenya include the uneven tenure system, and uncontrolled development characterised by inequalities which deprive the poor of access to urban services. These problems are common in many African countries. The most challenging factor is the enforcement of planning regulations. The expansion of informal settlements will have to be addressed if Kenya wants to attract investors. Furthermore, there is a need for more information on land and the land market; a land inventory would inform economic growth and improvement in urban areas.

Social and physical intervention in urban Kenya

In addition to ensuring that cities and towns in Kenya create an environment that promotes efficient and sustainable urban living, social and physical infrastructure is required to remedy colonial policies that created divisions and informed the pattern of income distribution amongst neighbourhoods. This has created serious problems, including poverty, inequality, unemployment, crime, disease and so on. An integrated urban development approach could address these challenges. Thus, planning, housing, education, health, employment creation, leisure and recreation need to be addressed in line with *Vision 2030*. This proactive method would facilitate social and physical development, including housing, and address the issue of informal settlements. However, financing urban projects is a major challenge and limited resources and information have hampered adequate investment in social and physical infrastructure in the urban areas in order to redress the colonial legacy.

The 2010 Kenyan Constitution states that national government should play a key role in infrastructure development due to its competence in this regard. The constitution also empowers county government to implement waste management, county roads, street lighting, traffic and parking and other functions within their jurisdiction. Infrastructure plays a critical role in development; indeed many believe that it determines the future development prospects of a country's urban areas. However, the current state of infrastructure in Kenya does not encourage the level of investment that would enable diversification of production, trade expansion, employment creation, poverty reduction and improved

environmental conditions. Strategies have therefore been adopted to address infrastructure and service delivery in both existing and proposed urban areas, with the aim of addressing the rate of urbanisation.

Implementation, monitoring and evolution of Kenya's NUDP

The Kenyan NUDP is still at the approval stage. However, given the previous centralisation of power, the implementation structures include institutional restructuring that is already under way. Kenya is implementing a devolved governance system which promotes clear and effective urban development and management. More importantly, the 2010 Constitution and *Kenya Vision 2030* set out detailed implementation procedures for urban areas that will play a key role in how this policy is rolled out. In line with these documents, national and county governments, working with other sectors, will be mandated to implement the NUDP. An informant confirmed during an interview that Kenya is developing an implementation strategy which a plan of action for the next two years. This strategy will also set out measures to monitor progress. The recommended National Urban Development Department (NUDD) under the Ministry of Local Government will oversee implementation, and ensure that the policy is implemented as intended.

In order to ensure effective implementation that achieves the policy's goals, a clear strategy will inform implementation, focusing on assignment and priority setting by the NUDD. Country assemblies are expected to work with urban authorities and local stakeholders to formulate local priorities. At the country level, the urban authorities will use participatory monitoring and evaluation methods to ensure that prioritised developments are carried out in compliance with the constitution and the NUDP's strategies.

Lessons from Kenya's experience

The rapid rate of urbanisation has created slum settlements in many cities in Africa, not only in Kenya. Many strategies are also proposed with the advent of national urban policies, in Kenya there are slum upgrading initiatives in various towns and cities. However, there are also plans of developing new cities and towns with the proposed approach of attracting investment and population to the new areas.

Many African cities have boundaries that are observed to be larger than the focus of an urban area, the Kenya county system for example has been criticised the sizes of the counties and some are of the view that it will limit development.

5.4 South Africa's NUP Experience

South Africa is often referred to as The Rainbow Nation, a term intended to evoke unity following the racial divisions of the past. The country is located at the southern tip of Africa along the southern and western coastal strips, bordering with: Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, and

Zimbabwe. South Africa, then known as the Union of South Africa, was colonised by British and Dutch settlers. Both the British and Dutch settler governments imposed forms of racial segregation. However, the coming to power of the Afrikaans-dominated National Party (NP) in 1948 resulted in the imposition of apartheid, forcing Africans and other race groups in the country to live in different enclaves and restricting urban growth. The apartheid system was replaced by a democratic government in 1994. The new South African Constitution recognises three spheres of government: national, provincial and local governments. The SACN classifies urban typology into five categories: metropolitan cities (a population of one million and above), secondary cities (population of 250 000 to one million), large towns (population of 25 000–250 000), small towns (population of 2000–25,000), and displaced dense settlements (population of 400 to 2000) (SACN, 2006:2-12).

According to the 2011 Census, South Africa's population stands at 50.6 million, while the National Development Plan (NDP) provides an estimate of 51.8 million and above (NPC, 2012: 77). The South African economy was the number one economy in Africa until recently, when economic unrest in the country adding to the global financial crunch. With a GDP of US\$384.31, growing at an average annual rate of 3.2%, the country's economy is still one of the best in Africa and one of the largest export-based economies on the continent. Despite boasting some of the best-developed cities in Africa, the country's cities and towns are confronted by challenges. The apartheid legacy includes a high level of inequality, social exclusion and the low environmental sustainability of urban settlements (DCoG, 2013:13). The IUDP discussion document notes that South Africa has not managed the transition to urbanisation as well as developing countries in Asia, resulting in social conflict, unemployment, and housing and transport challenges.

South Africa's IUDF

The South African NUP, known as the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) has been in the process of formulation for some years. Although steady efforts have been made to understand urban growth and urbanisation trends, as well as migration and rural-urban linkages, previous attempts to develop an urban policy for the country have encountered challenges. This slow process is due, in part, to the need to develop a policy that effectively manages the challenges and realise the full gains of urbanisation. While the urbanisation challenges experienced by South Africa have much in common with the rest of Africa, the country is unique in relation to the level of control imposed on urban growth by the Group Areas Act during the 1950s that denied the black majority residence in the cities and ensured that they lived in undeveloped and overcrowded rural areas, fostering inequality within cities and regions (Turok and Parnell, 2009). These rural areas, also known as 'homelands', were administered separately and offered inadequate social and economic opportunities. The abolition of oppressive influx control and other restrictions in the democratic South Africa led to rapid urbanisation, accompanied by a new wave of international in-migration to major cities (DCoG, 2013). One of the challenges that faced the new democratic dispensation in 1994 was addressing socioeconomic problems and distorted human settlements (Turok and Parnell, 2009). The

government recognised the importance of urban reconstruction and the influx into the urban areas with the introduction of the 21 nodes (Turok and Parnell, 2009; DCoG, 2013).

Cities and towns in South Africa produce about 80% of the national gross value add (GVA), with the rural areas producing 13% (DCoG, 2013). This illustrates the level of concentration of social and economic activities and the reason for the rapid growth of urban areas in the country. About two-thirds of South Africans now live in cities and towns; urban population increased from 52% in 1990 to 62% in 2011 (Ndebele, 2013; DCoG, 2013). Secondary cities have experienced the most rapid growth due to growing economic activity in these areas (Ndebele, 2013).

The making of South Africa's IUDF

Several approaches were adopted in the past to address the urban challenges confronting South Africa. One such attempt was the Urban Development Framework (UDF) in 1997 and its rural counterpart (Turok and Parnell, 2009). The UDF noted that urban areas are very important for economic and social development. It also outlined the need for the compaction and coherent spatial development of urban areas. However, 'the UDF had little impact on the work of national ministries and was largely ignored because of its institutional location, its cross-cutting spatial approach and its lack of a political champion' (Turok and Parnell, 2009: 165). Other policies to address urban problems included regions that were lagging behind. However, there were technical disagreements among policy advisers and officials, as well as political disagreements and differences of opinion among different sectors. There was a need for a policy that speaks explicitly to migration (Turok and Parnell, 2009).

A new policy spearheaded by the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) and the Department of Housing was formulated to rework the National Urban Development Framework (NUDF) (Turok and Parnell, 2009). The Presidency and the SACN were involved in formulating this policy. According to Turok and Parnell (2009), among the concerns raised were the financial and administrative burden imposed on large cities by a rapidly growing, poor population and expanding economy and the absence of criteria and agreement among the different departments and organisations involved in spatial and urban decision-making. This issue forms part of the broader challenge of building sustainable human settlements with robust economies within the six metropolitan areas.

The first draft was submitted to Cabinet in 2005, followed by a second draft in 2006, but this was referred back to the formulation team for revision, in part, due to the need to pay adequate attention to the issues of migration and rural-urban linkages (Turok and Parnell, 2009). However, some of the NUDF's recommendations were taken up by line departments before its approval, particularly in relation to constitutional allocation of powers and functions and the role of electricity in municipal revenue generation (Turok and Parnell, 2009). In 2008 a revised draft document that attempted to improve the NUDF in line with comments from Cabinet was produced by SACN, working closely with

the Presidency and the DPLG. This draft focused on cities and towns as major economic spaces rather than advocating reforms on how urban areas are managed (Turok and Parnell, 2009). Thus, the document pointed out that inadequate attention had been paid to the major challenges in the urban areas and that a new approach was required to address unemployment, poverty and inequality. It noted that rapid population growth was one of the major issues confronting the six metros, although lower than other sub-Saharan African countries. This places considerable strain on their services and the poorer communities in these cities, accounting for more than half of the informal housing in the country. In 2013 DCoG produced a document titled Towards An Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF); this document aimed to present an integrated approach to the challenges of urban development and management.

Levers of urban space in South Africa

Urban development in South Africa is guided by the need to redress the apartheid legacy by promoting economic growth, integrated human settlements, job creation and poverty alleviation. The discussion document concurred with the gaps identified in the NUDF and noted that successful cities and towns are essential to rural transformation (DCoG, 2013). Moreover, it confirmed the strong link between rural and urban areas through a complex pattern of social, economic, environmental and cultural interaction. However, rural-urban migration is also a consequence of the lack in economic opportunities in the rural areas. Empirical evidence illustrates the gap between rural and urban spaces, with two-thirds of households in the former Bantustans surviving on less than US\$2 a day compared with 40% in the metros. About a third of rural households relied mainly on social grants in 2010 (Turok, 2012). Migration from rural to urban areas is in part due to the fact that urban areas are more productive in terms of investment and the value of goods and services they generate, as well as the efficiency of production. In other words, the concentration of economic activities within the urban areas is the result of the large pool of labour and resources such as extensive infrastructure, services and information sharing among various firms and institutions (Turok, 2012). Urban areas in South Africa have been the recipients of the bulk of FDI, especially the metros; this has created employment opportunities. Although it is more diversified than any other economy in Africa, the South African economy remains challenged to meet the growing demands of the urban population, especially the youth, who suffer high rates of unemployment. The discussion document also confirmed that urban areas in South Africa are characterised by high levels of poverty. The rapid rate of urban growth in the country has contributed to increased congestion in its major cities, overburdened infrastructure, and water and transportation challenges.

Increasing urban growth post-1994 has put pressure on the government to provide adequate and liveable settlements. Since 1994, the South African government has delivered more than three million houses. However, the housing and settlements approach has reinforced the apartheid approach to development, thereby defeating the aim of integration. As the SACN and Treasury have pointed out, housing and infrastructure in local communities have tended to produce poorly located, inflexible or unaffordable accommodation (Turok, 2012). There have also been cases where the poorly located

houses provided for the poor have either been abandoned or sold, with residents moving back closer to economic activities. This has created informal settlements in different cities, usually on the fringes of areas that offer economic opportunities. Turok (2012) argues that, given the concentration of social and economic activities in the cities, little attempt has been made to densify residential areas or promote infill development within these areas.

Infrastructure development is a key driver of economic growth. Compared with the rest of Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has considerable infrastructure. However, infrastructure development is crucial to the further improvement of cities and towns. The discussion document argues that infrastructure investment has been sector driven, including housing, transport and water, with little regard to its contribution to the overall functionality of urban performance (DCoG, 2013). Transport is also crucial in creating a functional urban area, bearing in mind the rapid rate of urbanisation, increasing car usage and rising congestion (Turok, 2012). An integrated approach to planning is required in order for transport to play a leading role in the restructuring of cities and towns in the country. This would ensure access to areas that offer economic opportunities and could help to integrate the urban landscape of the past.

Implementation, monitoring and evolution

The IUDF is still in its early stages in terms of implementation. The previous policy, the NUDF, provided some insight into what is planned, although there could be major changes. The draft NUDF stated that effective implementation of urban policy requires high levels of inter-governmental and sectoral alignment. UN-Habitat advocates for an urban forum to share experiences and promote a common urban agenda. SACN plays a leading role in facilitating linkages between cities and relevant national government departments. There are also forums or reference groups that deliberate on issues of urbanisation and the best solutions to the pressing issues confronting cities and towns in South Africa.

Lessons from South Africa experience

- Strong government support towards national urban policy
- Support institution for research and urban management and improvement

6. Comparative Analysis of the African NUPs

'Policies don't implement themselves, human beings implement them but the problem with Ghana [and also Africa] is that we have very beautiful policies but the implementation is a challenge.' (President Mahama quoted in SpyGhana, 2013)

There is a growing consensus that NUPs will assist the development of efficient and sustainable urban environments in Africa. Many African countries are coming to the realisation of a need for an integrated policy for urban development, often in the form of NUP. After a five-year consultative and participatory process involving different stakeholders Ghana developed its first National Urban Development Framework (NUDF), a sign of government commitment to harmonising the urban space. The Ghanaian policy believes that managing cities and towns is key to addressing challenges of urbanisation and unlocking economic growth in a country. During an interview with the Ghanaian NUP project coordinator, it was revealed that political stability plays a key role in advancing a policy.

There is an argument suggesting that many Ghanaian towns do not possess the ability to serve social and economic functions due to their small nature (Yeboah et al., 2013). Interestingly, the first objective of the policy speaks to the issue of 'balanced and redistribution of urban population' and 'a spatially integrated hierarchy of urban centers'. This will require intensive investment and serious long-term commitment to attracting people to smaller urban areas. This can then relieve pressure on relatively large cities such as Accra and Kumasi.

Unlike Ghana, the dynamic of urban growth and urbanisation in Nigeria has been different. There have been arguments that cities are too big which impacts on the inability to govern them properly. Omar (2013) argues that in most cities of Nigeria local government is not meaningful for urban development. Many have called for a re-classification of urban areas into a hierarchy of cities, towns,

metropolitan cities and megacities which will enable an effective implementation of the NUDP. However, federal government is not in agreement of this idea. An attempt by Lagos State to reclassify the metropolitan areas was frustrated by the federal government, mostly for political reasons.

However, the inability to manage and create a formal employment has in a way informed the informal sector which has formed part of the broader economy. Although the informal sector has been neglected in the past, urban development policies in both Ghana and Nigeria take into account the contribution of the informal sector and believe that inclusiveness of the urban space will enable the improvement of living standards. The approach of integrating informality as part of the economy in both countries could be the right direction given that there are many people who now engage in this sector in the African continent.

Indications from various African NUP countries shows a lack of national government commitment to integrated development. Often, cities are left to their own affairs even if they are of national significance. In Nigeria, for instance, the federal government lacks commitment in urban development and management. This is evident in infrastructure management and the support of development in cities and towns. The clear constitutional role of federal government is provided in the 'Exclusive List' which gives it powers to act on any national issues. Despite this clear functional role, the federal government in many cases ignores its role in many urban areas within the states and leaving the state to deal with its issues. Although the constitution provides in the 'Concurrent List' for the cooperation of states and federal governments, in most cases when the state acts on a federal urban issue, there are problems with federal government refunds to the states.

Historically, urban growth in Kenya and South Africa are similar, given that both countries' urban space was shaped by colonial separation according to class or race. In Kenya, rapid urbanisation is shaped by an influx to the cities and towns due to economic and social considerations. This is particularly with the weak urban-rural linkages, the urban policy of Kenya is driven to correct and address the past centralisation of development. Cities can only play their role as engines of economic growth when infrastructural provision is provided by the national government. Most African countries have seen a need for investment in infrastructure (for example Nigeria and South Africa, which have developed an infrastructure master plan or integrated infrastructure that assist in advancing urban development).

Housing is one of the major challenges facing urban areas in Africa. Given the increasing population in cities, there has been an increasing demand for urban housing. However, not many African countries seem to provide housing for the poor. South Africa is the only African country among the four countries evaluated with a reasonable housing delivery approach for the poor urban residents. The South Africa housing approach has often been criticised because it has failed to take into account the location of social and economic opportunities linked to these settlements. However, the government remains committed to housing provision for all its citizens as a mandate by the constitution.

One of the major challenges facing housing delivery has been issues of availability of land, especially with the goal of more compact and coherent spatial development.

The end of apartheid in 1994 marked the beginning of land challenges for development in urban areas, including traditional or communal land ownership (Ingonyama Trust). According to Pillay et al. (2006), it has been a major problem for government to strategically plan and guide development towards well-located areas where serviced land and infrastructure can be made available.

In other African countries, Nigeria in particular, housing provision by government is targeted at a particular group -- the civil servants. Olotuah and Bobadoye (2009) confirmed that first National Development Plan focused on housing developments in Lagos, and of the 61,000 units planned, only 500 units were built by the federal government. They also confirmed that the housing units were meant for senior civil servants, while housing for the poor majority was left unattended to. The approach of housing provision in Nigeria has failed over the years to include the poor. Frequently, it has contributed to the development of informal settlements in the urban areas. Government's lack of engagement in housing development for its citizens is also partly the cause of uncontrolled development where people develop structures on their land with the approval of government development authorities.

The case of Kenya has been a challenge, government commitment through policy shows they have an understanding of housing challenges in the country, but this remains to be seen practically on ground. There have been many housing projects in Kenya driven by the UN-Habitat, but housing need shows that the provision is inadequate. One thing that is clear is that housing is a big challenge to many African governments, there has also been many policies to address urban housing. In Nigeria as an example, there have been many policies for housing provision but the question is, have these policies been put into use? This confirms the departure point of this analysis section, encapsulated in the opening quote. Ghana on the other hand faces the same problem as many African countries. In the Ghanaian case, the issue of housing provision is complicated with the large ownership of traditional land in the urban areas. In an interview, it was disclosed that over 80% of the land within urban areas in Ghana is owned traditionally making it difficult for private sector investment in the housing sector. By and large, there is a proper need to address housing issues in urban Africa if our cities will compete globally. In all the African NUPs that were studied, including the the proceedings of the still in the making NUPs, housing and human settlement have been a key priority.

In different countries of the world, urban areas vary in size and criteria. However, it is often understood that the size of an urban area matters and will also determine the role and how the urban area is serviced in terms of service delivery. In Kenya, 74 counties were initially proposed as the local government sphere of government but were reduced to the current 47 counties in order to enhance their ability to check the national government (Bosire, 2010). One of the many problems faced by the newly constituted counties is the large nature of these areas. This applies in the case of Nigeria,

although the nature of the Kenyan counties was deliberate in a bid to address ethnic problems. The Nigerian system of large urban areas has been widely criticised because it fails to effectively address integrated urban development. However, a major problem that counties in Kenya could face is that they have not been given clear powers and financial resources. This could lead to many of them failing to address an integrated urban development because of capacity issues. In Nigeria, like in Kenya, capacity problems also exist in some urban areas. Interestingly, some cities in Nigeria manage this challenge through training and short-courses. One good example, in Lagos and other states in Nigeria is the transfer of a particular urban manager who performs effectively well to a different local government area where resources or revenue generation is limited.

The experience of Ghana NUP also shows capacity is a challenge, especially in the area of financing urban programmes. According to Tamakloe (2006) the lack of institutional capacity to plan and manage urban settlements and to confront the challenges that accompany urbanisation in Ghana has been a major problem, resulting to the chaotic urban development and poor environmental conditions. One of the major contributing factors is that 'most municipalities lack the autonomy to establish their tax basis, rate structures, and enforcement procedures, and so cannot raise revenues commensurate with their expenditure requirements' (Lohse, 2003: 4). In part, there is a difficulty for urban development in an area that is unable to collect revenues and more so where adequate structures are not in place to manage revenue collection. For example, the advent of Ghana NUP enabled the government see the need for effective naming of streets, numbering and identification and registration of businesses in cities and towns in Ghana. Without these, the various urban areas in the country would always lack that capacity which will require over reliance on the central government thereby weakening the local area development and its powers.

South Africa also faces capacity challenges and this hinders the ability of some urban areas to function as engines of economic growth. This has been a major challenge since the post-apartheid, although the South African government continues to address the ability of urban areas to meet its mandates. In the discussion document, it was argued that weak municipal governance in many cities and towns within the country have contributed to social conflict as a result of slow economic growth, inadequate infrastructure, housing and transport network. However, DBSA and National Treasury found that municipal capacity challenges remain very much uneven across the country despite efforts to improve this, which has a negative impact on achieving national standards for public service delivery (Turok and Parnell, 2009).

Table 1: Overview and challenges of African countries' National Urban Policy

Country and form of government	Country's GDP and population size	Challenges NUP and Urban areas in the country
<p>Nigeria: Federal System with three spheres of government</p>	<p>The rebased GDP shows US\$510-billion, growing at 6–7% a year over the past decade. The Nigerian population is estimated at over 140 million, with the highest concentration of people in Kano and Lagos.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery is one of the major problems facing urban governance in the country. • Lack of commitment in policy implementation • Inadequate powers to the local government areas. • Resource/revenue allocation • Unemployment in urban areas • Some local areas lack capacity • Uncontrolled urban development
<p>South Africa: Unitary system of government with three spheres of government.</p>	<p>The South African GDP is at US\$384.31-billion and growing at the average of 3.2%. The population is about 51.8 million and with a high concentration of this population in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear understanding of challenges of cities and towns in the country. • Weak municipal capacity • Declining economy • Addressing issues of human settlement and areas close to economic and social active areas
<p>Ghana: Unitary system of government with two spheres of government.</p>	<p>Ghana GDP is US\$40.7 Billion and as growing at 7–8%. The population of Ghana is 25.20 million with a high concentration of the population in Accra, Kumasi and Ashanti region.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large percentage of land ownership in the hands of traditional within the urban areas • Uncontrolled urban planning • Informal settlement upgrade
<p>Kenya: Unitary system of government with two spheres of government.</p>	<p>Kenya's GDP is US\$40.7-billion and with a growth rate of 4.6%. The population of Kenya is 43.18 million with a high concentration in Nairobi, Mombasa.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financing the process • Poor participation • Poor understanding of urban phenomenon • Logistical problems

7. Conclusion

Many African countries have come to realise that cities are engines of economic growth and they need to adequately plan and manage the increasing urban population. The emphasis on the role of cities in the national economy was clear from the four African NUPs studied. The NUPs also show that more than half of African countries GDP is produced in cities, making the city a very important part of the nation. With this understanding, the focus is shifting from the idea that urbanisation cannot be addressed, to how to re-position the urban areas guided by an integrated urban policy. Not many African countries have this policy currently, but many countries have started the process of formulating a national urban policy. The extent to which African NUPs are comprehensive becomes the next challenge.

One major concern has been on the local government's inability to carry out some of its functions, and yet this sphere is tasked with some urban responsibility. Many local governments in Africa lack capacity in one way or the other. The most common among them is how to effectively collect revenue, thereby making them weak and reliant on the national government. Moreover, it is also interesting to know that some African countries are beginning to see informality as part of the local economy and efforts have been made to study and consolidate this, as seen in Nigeria and Ghana. If urban areas are to function as engines of economic growth, governments will need to take housing seriously. In the countries that were studied, informal settlement upgrades have been a challenge, but the extent to which this policy is put in use will determine the success of these policies. Finally, it is important that governments in different African countries understand that the major population in Africa now lives in urban areas, and therefore there is a need for urban focus to be seriously championed.

8. References

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