Foundations for Urban Development in Africa

The Legacy of AKIN MABOGUNJE
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This book showcases Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje's contributions to development and the environment. Professor Mabogunje is recognized as one of the best geographers and social scientists in Africa, and, indeed, in the world at large. He was born on October 18, 1931, in Kano, a city in northern Nigeria. After completing his elementary and secondary education, he went on to the University of Ibadan (then known as University College, Ibadan) and University College, London, for his undergraduate and post-graduate training. He earned a Master of Arts and a Doctorate from the latter and wrote his doctoral dissertation on "Lagos: A Study in Urban Geography."

Professor Mabogunje began his academic career in 1958 as a Lecturer at the University of Ibadan. He was promoted to the post of Senior Lecturer in 1964 and a year later became a full Professor, a position he held until his retirement from the University on September 30, 1981. At the University of Ibadan, he was the Dean of the Faculty of the Social Sciences (1968–1970) and Director of the Planning Studies Programme (1972–1981). In addition, he has held visiting professorships in universities in the United States, Canada, Sweden, England, Brazil, and Hong Kong.

A scholar and practitioner, he is renowned for translating his theoretical visions into actionable steps and policy interventions, which are useful in political as well as academic circles. In this regard, he has been appointed to a number of key positions in the Nigerian government. Most recently, he served as Chairman of the Presidential Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development and the Technical Board of the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria. He has also been a Board Member of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures, Office of the President of Nigeria. His national service has included posts in Nigeria’s private sector.

Professor Mabogunje has been named to more than 20 boards and committees. Chief among them are the following: President of the International Geographical Union and the Pan-African Institute.
for Development; Senior Adviser to the Secretary-General of the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements; and a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Population Council; the United States National Academy of Science, Committee on the Geographic Foundation for Agenda 21 and Committee on Africa’s Lost Crops; and the Board of Directors of the African Centre for Health and Security at George Washington University.

Professor Mabogunje has an almost endless list of honors and distinctions. At the national level, he is a recipient of Nigeria's highest honor for excellence in scholarship, the Nigerian National Order of Merit. He is also Commander of the Order of the Niger, and a Fellow of the Nigerian Geographical Association, the Nigerian Economic Society, the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, the Nigerian Institute of Estate Surveyors and Valuers, and the Social Science Academy of Nigeria. He was the Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of the Council of Ogun State University (now Olabisi Onabanjo University) and is currently the Chancellor of Bells University of Technology, Otta. He holds honorary doctorate degrees from two Nigerian universities.

Internationally, he holds honorary doctorate degrees from Michigan State University and the Stockholm School of Economics. His other honors include the David Livingstone Centennial Gold Medal from the American Geographical Society, the Murchinson Award from the Royal Geographical Society, the Anders Retzius Gold Medal of the Swedish Association of Anthropology and Geography, the Research Gold Medal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, the Grande Medaille of the French Geographical Society, Distinguished Africanist Award of the African Studies Association of the United States, and the Scroll of Honour from UN-HABITAT. He has also been the Melville Herskovits Distinguished Professor of African Studies at Northwestern University, a Fellow at the University of London, and a Foreign Associate of the United States National Academy of Science.

For Professor Mabogunje, retirement has not meant an end to his highly productive scholarly life. In fact, he has published as many scholarly papers in retirement as he did while on the university faculty. He has written 23 books, over 100 articles in international journals, and at least 100 unpublished papers, primarily keynote addresses at conferences and workshops.

The following chapters present a selection of Professor Mabogunje’s works. Although he began as a student of cities, he went on to address other concerns related to urbanization, the most recent of which are urban governance issues. Even this recent concern, along with the others that engaged his attention throughout his academic and professional career, were alluded to in his earliest major work, *Urbanization in Nigeria*. In fact, that book represents a road map for his career as his subsequent works appear to have emanated from his analysis and thoughts on urbanization.
Acknowledgments

A global team of experts from the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) and other international agencies have launched the Professor Akin Mabogunje Project (PAMP) to acknowledge his enormous contributions to urban development principles and practices, especially in Africa. This book, *Foundations for Urban Development in Africa: The Legacy of Akin Mabogunje*, builds on that momentum. It is being launched as part of the activities celebrating Professor Mabogunje’s 75th birthday in October 2006. It is intended both as a tribute to Professor Mabogunje’s erudite scholarship and as a means of ensuring that his pathbreaking work is available to future generations. We are grateful to the Cities Alliance for making this publication possible.

We want to acknowledge the laudable contributions of the late Professor S. I. Abumere, a close associate of Professor Mabogunje. He was the editorial consultant for the book until his untimely death in November 2005. I took over the editor’s role, working closely with Professor Stanley I. Okafor. Professor Okafor collated, abstracted, and provided critical analyses of a selection of Professor Mabogunje’s published and unpublished writings for this book. He was assisted by Mr. Dayo Adesina.

We equally appreciate the painstaking work of the editorial committee headed by Mr. Michael Cohen, with Ms. Mariam Yunusa and Messrs. Emiel Wegelin and Mark Hildebrand as members. We also acknowledge the very useful contributions of Professor Johnson Bade Falade and Mr. Paul Okunola to the final version of the book.

This acknowledgement would not be complete without thanking Dr. Chii Akporji of the Cities Alliance Secretariat at the World
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Bank, the Task Manager for the publication. Thanks also to Dr. Alioune Badiane, Director of the Regional Office for Africa and the Arab States, for his leadership role as Chair of PAMP’s International Committee.

Professor Michael O. Filani
University of Ibadan
Ibadan, Nigeria
October 2006

About the Editors

Professor Michael Olanrewaju Filani, the editorial consultant for this book, is a Professor of Geography at the University of Ibadan, where he has lectured for the past 35 years. His research interests include transport planning and development, economic geography, and regional development planning. He has written and published numerous journal articles and books as well as technical and consultancy reports on transport, regional development, and planning, particularly in Nigeria.

Professor Stanley I. Okafor is Chair of the Department of Geography at the University of Ibadan. His teaching and research interests include political geography, regional and international development, medical geography, and geographic thought. He has held visiting professorships in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Germany, and was a member of the International Geographical Union’s Commission on Geography and Public Policy. He studied under Professor Mabogunje.
### Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPT</td>
<td>Central Place Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geographic Information Systems</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for African Development</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Nongovernmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAMP</td>
<td>Professor Akin Mabogunje Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>UN-HABITAT</td>
<td>United Nations Human Settlements Programme</td>
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As with contemporary human geography, the study of cities is characterized by a diversity of approaches. This diversity is well noted by Knox and McCarrthy (2005, p. 3), who observed that “urban geography has evolved to encompass several approaches to its subject matter.” This evolutionary trend reflects a more general intellectual evolution in geography and the social sciences, and can be attributed in part to the quests for intellectual rigour and social relevance. This chapter discusses the main perspectives in human geography and provides an analytical framework for identifying and discussing the trends in Professor Mabogunje’s works on urbanization and development.

Although urban geography was his launching pad, Professor Mabogunje broadened his study of cities to include the environment, regional development, population, and other issues linked to urbanization. This move to a more comprehensive perspective was a natural progression for this doyen of urban geography and planning. Cities are the engines of economic development (Knox and McCarrthy 2005) and industrialization, both of which impact the environment. Cities can also generate regional development and trigger rural-urban migration, an important population dynamic. The interconnectedness of these issues is compelling.

There is a vast literature on the multiplicity of approaches, traditions, or paradigms in human geography (see, for example, Cloke et al 1991 and Johnston and Sidaway 2004). Although different authors use different terminology, there is some agreement on what the paradigms entail. Three decades ago, Blunden et al. (1978) identified four paradigms of human geography: ecological, spatial, behavioural, and radical or structural (See Figure 1.1). Since then other approaches have been added and urban studies reflect these different paradigms in varying degrees.
Figure 1.1 Concepts in Urban Geography

Ecological approach. The ecological paradigm is probably the oldest tradition in geography and has its roots in the descriptive and regional approaches in the discipline. The ecological paradigm is based on the idea that natural and human phenomena in an area are closely interrelated and interact with one another.

The nature of the interaction between human and natural (or physical) phenomena was a contentious one and the concept of environmental determinism was put forth as one interpretation of this interaction. Environmental determinism suggests that nature is the dominant factor in the production of landscapes of human activity. This concept hinges on a simplistic interpretation of the geographical patterns of human activities and has been discredited and subsequently modified. However, the idea of close interrelationships and interactions between phenomena in an area remains strong in contemporary geography. In urban geography, the ecological tradition is associated with the location of cities in relation to their immediate physical environment. As Kaplan, et al (2004, p. 6) observe, “the human-environmental tradition in urban geography brought about an interest in the sites of cities, that is, locations of cities at deep harbours for oceangoing vessels, on rivers for navigation, at the base of mountain ranges for gateway positions, and at mining locales for mineral and resource extraction.”

The ecological tradition in urban geography went beyond an interest in the location of cities to encompass their morphology and the natural conditions that favored their growth. As Knox and McCarthy (2005, p. 4) point out, some studies in urban geography “... saw towns and cities as adaptations to natural physical circumstances. Attributes of settlements were interpreted as responses to local sites, regional resources, and the opportunities and constraints surrounding them.” The focus was on how topography and other physical attributes influence the layout of streets and neighbourhoods as well as the direction of their growth. The regional study of cities was another aspect of the ecological tradition. This category
of urban studies was essentially descriptive, not analytical, using individual cities as case studies. These studies described how cities evolved and grew, and highlighted the important physical and human-created features of cities.

**Spatial analysis.** The spatial analysis paradigm is essentially a post-World War II development and marked the advent of the scientific method in geography. The emphasis is on developing theories based on the formulation and testing of hypotheses. Quantitative methods are central to this approach, using statistical techniques and mathematics for building models (Johnston and Sidaway, 2004). Spatial patterns are not regarded as unique, but as one aspect of a more general relationship between spatial pattern and spatial process. In urban geography, the spatial analysis tradition became widely accepted in the mid-1950s. Its practitioners focused on urban spatial organization and spatial relationships—for example, the relationship between social classes, land value, and distance from the central business district. Other studies examined the relationship between urbanization and economic development. A city’s internal structure also attracted the attention of urban geographers. Urban structure was regarded as the outcome of competition among different land uses for the most convenient and accessible locations. These studies constructed testable hypotheses and models.

**Behavioural approach.** The behavioural approach is described as modifying the intent of spatial analysis and, to this extent, they are somewhat interrelated. In the words of Blunden, *et al* (1978, p. vii), both approaches are “... closely interrelated in practice, though not necessary so in principle...”. In particular, both approaches employ the positivist methodology. Spatial analysis assumes that decision makers pursue economic goals and are economically rational. The behavioural approach posits that even though economic goals are sought, many decision makers lack the information and ability to make optimal decisions. In addition, some decision makers are satisfiers, not optimizers, and are therefore not concerned with the best decisions or outcomes. Thus, one of the many criticisms of spatial analysis is that its assumptions regarding human behavior are unrealistic.

The behavioural approach incorporates cognitive and decision-making factors that are not always driven by economic concerns. As Johnston, *et al* (2003, p. 42) state, the defining feature of behavioural geography is “an emphasis upon the psychology underpinning individual spatial behavior that has emphasized the role of cognitive and decision-making factors that intervene in the relations between... environment and human action...”. This approach focuses on how individuals make decisions in urban environments and how attitudes and expectations about the city influence their decision making. The focus is on the individual, for as Kaplan *et al* (2004, p. 9) observe,
"... the aggregate-level analysis used by most spatial analysts was too broad to explain how actual individuals and groups of people selected, say, an apartment, an industrial site, or a public library location."

Radical approach. The radical or structural approach is generally regarded as a Marxist interpretation of the geographic landscape. This approach began as a reaction to the crisis of capitalism evident in pockets of abject poverty in affluent Western countries (Johnston and Sidaway, 2004). The radical approach was inspired by the need to address important social problems such as uneven development, poverty and inequality. Proponents believed that the imperatives of capitalism are the hidden mechanisms responsible for these problems. Urban decay and deprivation, urban poverty, and unequal access to urban services were studied in the context of capitalist production and labor relations.

Today, the radical perspective is referred to as the critical perspective and includes the humanist, structuralist, feminist, structure-agency, and postmodern approaches described below:

- The humanist approach focuses on subjective experiences and how they influence actions and the meanings attached to those actions. In urban geography, studies under this rubric examine individuals' feelings about different neighbourhoods and how these feelings affect decisions about where to live. Another important concern is how the presence of facilities, factories, etc. in a neighbourhood is viewed by different groups.
- The structuralist approach focuses on constraints on decision-making and behavior, and the importance of broader economic and political forces. In the words of Knox and McCarthy (2005, p. 5), "this approach is cast ... at the scale of macroeconomic, macrosocial, and macropolitical changes." The emphasis is on the implication of these changes, particularly the opportunities and constraints...
they present for different groups in the city. Some studies in this genre linked job losses, the decline of manufacturing, and neighborhood deterioration to government policies and global forces such as corporate restructuring which results in deindustrialization.

- The feminist approach focuses on the inequalities between men and women, and the manifestations of unequal gender relations in urban spatial structure. Feminist urban geographers have studied how inadequate child-care facilities in cities limit employment opportunities for women. For example, it has been suggested that “suburbs, in particular, reflect a male-paid work and female-home/children ethos. The suburban structure works against women by confining them to a place and role in which there are very few meaningful choices” (Yeates, 1997, quoted in Fellmann, et al, 2005, p. 422).

- The structure-agency approach combines the structuralist concern with macro level forces with the humanist concern with individual and human agencies. However, operationalizing this approach has been difficult and empirical investigation is limited. The study of gentrification in urban neighbourhoods offers one entry point. Gentrification can be conceptualized as a product of the interactions between human agents (e.g. landowners, mortgage lenders, planners, realtors, urban managers, etc.) and social structures (e.g. zoning laws, building codes, etc.). In the gentrification of inner city neighborhoods, the human agents involved do not and cannot act independently. Their actions are either enabled or constrained by zoning laws and other regulations.

- The postmodern approach is the most recent of the critical perspectives, although it is not widely embraced by urban geographers. Postmodernism has been described as a concept with many meanings, including a “rejection of the idea that there is one superior way of understanding the world . . . ” (Knox and Pinch, 2000, p. 420). Instead, the postmodern approach celebrates diversity and difference. One possible application of this approach is to study the ways in which metropolitan governments, especially in the West, use language and communication to project positive images of cities to attract investments and residents in an era of deindustrialization. This is perceived as indicative of the power of symbolism and images, which is one of the primary concerns of postmodernism.

In summary, contemporary human geography is characterized by a plurality of paradigms, beginning with the ecological (or regional) paradigm. The shift from the ecological approach to the current poststructuralist approaches occurred sequentially, but all the approaches remain active. The shifts in para-
digms were partly a result of the quest for social relevance whereby human geographers (including urban geographers) addressed pressing social and economic issues such as uneven development, sustainable development, and the environment. These shifts also represent important steps toward more theoretical, analytical, and nuanced geographical analysis.

Professor Mabogunje's works reflect these quests for more social relevance and strengthened intellectual rigour. He is regarded as being in the avant garde of the spatial analysis paradigm in Nigerian geography (Okafor, 1989). His 1980 work on the development process provides a good example of how he employed the structural approach, although he has been criticized for the apparent contradiction between his conclusions and the structural approach. Slater (1989, p. 272) observed that "Mabogunje (1980), in his attempt to outline certain spatial dimensions of the development process, includes a treatment of state and class structure, and also a brief incursion into the literature on imperialism."

This apparent contradiction is due to the fact that Professor Mabogunje worked essentially within the liberal tradition of the radical paradigm, with a welfare (rather than a radical or Marxist) orientation that reflected his concern for poor regions and cities, and for distributive equity. As early as the 1970s, he pointed out that "the system of cities ... was not effi- cient for the distribution of welfare, especially health care and educational services" in Nigeria (Okafor, 1989, p. 211). Most of the prescriptions that emerged from his works were designed to alleviate social and economic problems without tampering with the basic Marxist structures of society.

Professor Mabogunje's works cover a very wide range of issues, but development is a common thread that runs through most of them. The dominant themes in his works reveal the different angles from which he tackled the issue of development. They include:

- Urbanization and urban development
- Regional development
- Environment and development
- Governance and social issues

These categories are not mutually exclusive and there is some overlap. For example, his works on rural development are discussed under regional development, while some of his works on regional development focus on the role of cities and urbanization. The diversity of themes in Professor Mabogunje's works does not mean that the themes are treated equally. The first two themes best define his scholarship, but he also made significant contributions in the other areas. The following chapters discuss a selection of his works according to these four major themes.
Professor Mabogunje's work reflects the traditions in urban and human geography that evolved during his long career. This chapter examines urbanization and urban development, major themes in his writings. He addresses a wide range of issues, including urbanization in Nigeria and throughout Africa, urbanization's impact on economic development, urban management, housing and housing finance, and the relationship between industrialization and urban development.

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

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

This quest for theory led him to make several assumptions, some of which are no longer valid. One is that national boundaries provide natural economic barriers. Another is that cultural differences have no effect on economic behaviour. In recent years, the
rise of globalization and transnational corporations has diminished the significance of national borders. There is also increasing evidence that constraints on behaviour affect economic behaviour. Essentially, he employed central place theory and theories of urban structure as backdrops for his analyses. This is also evident in his papers on African cities and urban land use in Nigeria.

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

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

The expectation that cities are centres of innovation, industrialization and modernization shaped Professor Mabogunje’s thinking on their role in economic development. Most of his works are an extension of his work on urbanization in Nigeria. Even though the radical paradigm was already being recognized in human geography, Professor Mabogunje’s works on development and the role of cities do not take into account the broader context of the political and economic system within which the process unfolds. Clearly, the ability of cities to promote development depends on the structure and operation of the capitalist world economy (Okafor 1995). While he makes a passing reference to the capitalist mode of production, it was not central to his analysis.
His works presage contemporary concerns, such as regional integration. For small African countries, industrialization and urbanization have limited prospects of promoting development, because domestic markets are small. In such circumstances, economies of scale are limited and cities cannot attract manufacturing and other productive activities. One solution is to create larger markets through regional integration. With appropriate linkages, industries and cities can stimulate growth in regional and national economies, including rural areas.

AFRICAN URBANIZATION

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

African Cities

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

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

This paper shows that pre-industrial or pre-colonial cities existed in some parts of Africa (see Figure 2.1), and that these cities constituted a hierarchical system, “... based on the status of trading contacts which the urban centres enjoyed.” In addition, the hierarchy was associated with the organization of occupational guilds. He provides evidence from Hausaland supporting his claim and concluded that “clearly then, these pre-European towns and cities, although when viewed from the vantage point of our times may not appear particularly impressive either in their size, their building or their layout, were organized within some hierarchical framework” (p. 176). He argued that the spatial organization of cities in Europe is not different from the situation in Africa and cited historical studies by Dickinson (1932) in East Anglia and Germany to support this assertion. With regard to East Anglia, he observed that “what is remarkable about Dickinson’s study of towns in East Anglia in medieval times was the very close similarity of the spatial pattern which he found to be similar to that which we have described for Northern Nigeria” (p. 180).

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

Simple basic services (e.g., grocery stores) are said to be of low order, while specialized services (e.g., universities) are said to be of high order.

Having a high order service implies there are low order services in the central place, but not vice versa.

Settlements that provide low order services are said to be low order settlements. Settlements that provide high order services are said to be high order settlements.

The sphere of influence is the area under the influence of the Central Place.

The minimum population size required to profitably maintain a service is the threshold population.

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

- An isotropic surface
- An evenly distributed population
- Evenly distributed resources
- Similar purchasing power of all consumers

The theory points out that the hexagon shape prevents overlaps or gaps in spheres of influence.

The breaking point is where the consumer is equally far from two or more centers.

The formula to calculate it is $d_{jk} = d_{ij}/\sqrt{1 + \text{Square Root of}(P_i/P_j)}$ where $d_{jk}$ is the distance from $j$ to $k$, $d_{ij}$ is the distance between two towns, $P_i$ is the population of $i$, and $P_j$ is the population of $j$. Factors that affect a fall in the threshold population include decreasing population, changing tastes, and the introduction of substitutes. Christaller (1933, trans. 1966—Walter Christaller—proponent of Central Place Theory) in formulating his theory made a number of assumptions that all areas have:

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The breaking point is where the consumer is equally far from two or more centers.

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

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

- An isotropic surface
- An evenly distributed population
- Evenly distributed resources
- Similar purchasing power of all consumers

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

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

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

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

He concludes that “the idea of an ordered system among goods and services leads naturally to the conception of an ordered system among the urban centres which provide them” (p. 139). Urban systems in northern and western Nigeria were not substantially different from a central place system, because they were
### Table 2.1 Population Growth Rates and Levels of Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa and Other World Regions 1950–2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or region</th>
<th>Total population 2001 millions</th>
<th>Total population 1950</th>
<th>Level of urbanization 1975</th>
<th>Level of urbanization 2001</th>
<th>Level of urbanization 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea Bissau</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>117.8</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
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<td>34.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>231.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>669.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>784.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>728.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>3,682.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>519.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>309.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>6,055.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** UN-HABITAT, 2005b; UNDP, 2002
by the beginning of the colonial period, these urban systems "had evolved some order of importance among themselves. Such an order was based on the favourable location for international and interregional trade or on levels of political pre-eminence or on both. The various kingdoms in the country had their metropolitan centres and their subsidiary towns, which were organized in a descending order of importance" (p. 142).

Professor Mabogunje uses factor analysis to identify the important dimensions of the urbanization process in Nigeria. From 32 variables, he obtained seven factors that account for 84.3 percent of the total variance in the original data. Chief among them are urban economic function and north-south differences in the urbanization process. His novel analysis of Nigerian cities revealed interesting characteristics of urbanization that are usually embedded in masses of data.

City Structures

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

Case Study 1: Ibadan

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

Ibadan's traditional and modern character was also highlighted (see Figure 2.3). As Professor Mabogunje observes, "today, and in spite of recent development, Ibadan remains a city with a dual personality. Its pre-European foundation constitutes a significant proportion of the city"
One interesting point is the preservation of the contrasting residential and nonresidential neighbourhoods. The traditional urban form, characterized by high density, poor sanitation, and poor environmental quality, continues to expand into new areas of the metropolis. He blames this on the weakness of the city's administrative machinery and the concentration of political power in the hands of traditional urbanites who are resistant to change.

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

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

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

Case Study 2: Lagos

Although there was a small town on the site of present day Lagos in pre-colonial times, it was not a traditional city in the sense of Ibadan. Lagos is essentially a product of the Europeans. Its growth is the result of its coastal location.
Much of the differences between the two cities is due to the island situation of the initial settlement, the smallness of the traditional town and the fact that the major development of Lagos took place in the era of modern commercial expansion and industrial growth" (p. 274).

Types of Cities

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

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

**The Nature and Process of Urbanization in Africa**

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

![Figure 2.5 Magnitude of the Slum Population in Nigeria](image)
consequences of failed development policies, particularly the disarticulation of rural economies that fueled rural-urban migration. In his view, "... the failure of the (urbanization) process to seriously improve the lot of the majority of the population either in the urban or in the rural areas calls for a re-examination and a deeper insight into the nature of the complex social forces which urbanization represents in the particular circumstances of the African continent today" (p. 3). In this regard, the post-colonial political economy of African states adversely affected rural economies. There was an urban bias in public expenditure and the consequent neglect of rural areas. In addition, higher urban wages attracted unskilled labour away from the rural/agricultural sector.

In the cities, the migrants are incorporated into the urban informal sector in which rural social relations and modes of production prevail. Professor Mabogunje observes that "current urbanization trends must thus be seen as
the backwash effect of an inappropriate set of economic policies in many of these countries, policies which continue to destroy the vigour of their rural areas and to suffocate their cities with the excrescences of the human casualties resulting there” (p. 25). Among other things, this situation has resulted in the “peasantization” of African cities “not only in the sense that most of the people involved are of peasant or rural origins but that they continue to use ‘peasant-type’ strategy to survive albeit within an urban environment” (p. 29). The proliferation of squatter settlements, poor environmental conditions, and the peasantization of cities are among the many outcomes of backwash urbanization.

**URBANIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

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

These papers address a wide range of issues, including mortgage finance as an option for sustainable housing production, property rates as a viable source of local government revenue, and urban management problems resulting from weak administrative and professional capacities in city governments. He argues for selective infrastructure investment in cities that have the capacity to stimulate regional development. He also believes that lack of access to resources is an important dimension of urban poverty and is affected by urban systems.

**Economic Implications of Urbanization**

Professor Mabogunje’s paper on the economic implications of urbanization in Nigeria draws heavily on the country’s Six Year Development Plan, in which the federal government proposed to spend at least 60 percent of its capital resources on infrastructure. Infrastructure investments accounted for no less than one-third of regional governments’ budgets and Nigerian cities are the main beneficiaries. He examines “how well they are placed to help in generating further economic growth or, on the contrary, how much they can be said to be ‘parasitic’ in the system” (pp. 9–10). Since some cities do not have the capacity to generate growth in their regional or national economies, he believes that infrastructural investment should be selective and should favour cities that have the capacity to stimulate growth in their surrounding regions.
The functional specialization and the central place theories provide the analytical framework for the paper, which bears the hallmarks of Professor Mabogunje's works of the 1970s through the 1980s. He derived four hypotheses:

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

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

- Size was not an important factor in the levels of urbanization in Nigeria.
- In many towns, there was an inverse relationship between the number of adult males and children.
- The development of transportation networks, especially railways, had a major impact on cities' spatial organization.

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

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

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

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

Using factor analysis, he concludes that the urbanization process in Nigeria is complex, culture is an important influence in different parts of the country, and variations in the demographic structure of Nigerian cities are a reflection of the economic opportunities they offer. Regarding the government’s policy of providing infrastructure investments to cities, he appears to favour the use of economic criteria rather than equity concerns. His position on this issue follows:

“The danger about this (and this is the main contention of this paper) is the absence of any objective criteria for deciding which towns and cities should have these investments, criteria which pay some attention to the ability of urban centres to use such investments for generating growth in the economy. It may be argued, however, that equity and national
cohesion are more important factors to be considered in making such decisions, and this, in fact, seems to be the attitude of the government in the matter. It is thus precisely for this reason that it is necessary to stress the growing body of opinion that economic development would progress faster, if, at least in the initial stage, the economic advantages of growing centres were maximized even at the expense of further depressing the viability of declining centres” (p. 436).

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

**Urbanization and City Systems**

Cities and their role in enhancing or inhibiting access to resources was the theme of Professor Mabogunje’s inaugural lecture4 at the University of Ibadan in 1974. He began be noting the paradigm shift from regional approaches to spatial analysis in human geography. In his words, “… the difference between my concern today and those of my predecessors is the product of fundamental changes in the objectives and methodology of the subject, especially since the end of the Second World War” (p. 2). These changes include the quest for theoretical explanations of geographical phenomena, widespread use of quantitative methods in geographical analysis, and the quest for social relevance.

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

He notes that “the main thrust of the argument is not aggregate growth of urban population but the pattern of their distribution and its implication for the social order” (p. 11). He continues that “in areas of sparse population, distances to urban centres are great and hence
access to services and opportunities are correspondingly constrained" (pp. 13-14). There is empirical evidence supporting his argument that the distribution of urban centres affects access to a wide range of opportunities. For example, states with urban centres tend to have few post-primary educational institutions. The same is true of employment opportunities, among others. He concludes that "whether we think of welfare services or employment opportunities, the urban system in Nigeria today is already proving inadequate as a means of achieving the type of social order that the country desires" (p. 29).

Urban Poverty

Lack of access to resources and opportunities is an important dimension of urban poverty. As he argues, poverty is not all about income. His paper on urban poverty in Nigeria "... attempts to examine urban poverty as a special case of the general condition of poverty in a country, to consider the processes that help to generate it, to relate these processes to the historical evolution of Nigerian cities, to identify the various indices that can be used to characterize it, and to indicate some policy measures for coping with the urban manifestation of poverty in Nigeria" (p. 2). He defines poverty "... in terms of rights to command scarce societal resources. On this basis, a poor man is, thus, someone whose rights to command these resources are very limited" (p. 3). This phenomenon has a spatial dimension, since the urban poor tend to be segregated in shanty-towns and urban slums.

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

Using Ibadan as a case study, he identified two types of urban poor: the poor indigenes and the unemployed migrants. The poor indigenous population lived in the traditional city and did not benefit from the railway system and the railway station that were outside the old city. Much of the traditional city is characterized as slum as are the other parts of the city inhabited by poor migrants. The poorer neighbourhoods had limited access to potable water. In fact, the pattern of poverty he identified in Ibadan can be characterized as one of multiple deprivations. He proposes policy measures to deal with poverty in Nigerian cities, including
capacity building and the need to be cognizant of the distributive effects of location. In his words, “an important policy measure to deal with urban poverty in Nigeria therefore requires the strengthening of all those agencies concerned with locational decisions within cities and their fuller appreciation of the redistributive effects of their decisions” (p. 20).

Poverty and Environmental Quality

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

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

Cities and African Development

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

The modern industrial cities in Africa were largely the products of colonialism. For example, port cities thrived because of the external orientation of the colonial economy. These modern
industrial cities triggered substantial rural-urban migration, which led to urban population growth rates higher than national growth rates. The cities were also instruments of modernization and social change. New social institutions, especially ethnic and town unions, helped integrate new migrants into urban society.

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

For African cities to generate economic development, industrialization should be based on the use of local raw materials. This would provide industries with linkages to other sectors of national economies, create markets for producers, and stimulate economic growth. He also recommends regional integration as a means of creating larger markets for industrial products. Finally, he appears to move away from purely economic arguments for the spatial allocation of investment that is evident in some of his previous works. In his view, “the more even distribution of cities, by reducing regional inequalities, could be an invaluable means of maintaining national cohesion” (p. 48). Urbanization and industrialization policies should be part of a programme of urban and regional planning. Thus, he brings into focus the need to balance economic, social, and physical concerns in development planning.

Critical Urbanization Issues

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

Data Problems

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

**Rural Poverty**

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

**Employment and Income**

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

**Housing**

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

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

Level and Pricing of Urban Services

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

Urban Management and Institutional Frameworks

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

HOUSING AND HOUSING FINANCE

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

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

Low Income Housing

Professor Mabogunje’s work on housing low-income groups derived from the insights and
Goal of Urban Policy

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

Goal of the National Housing Policy

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

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

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

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

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

Professor Mabogunje supports commodification even though it implies that access to land is based on ability to pay rather than kinship or communal ties. He notes that special
arrangements must be made to enable the poor to overcome their income disadvantage.

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

**Housing Policy**

His paper on housing development in Nigeria touches upon sensitive issues, such as mortgage financing under the country's new housing policy. He states at the outset that the private sector has not played a leadership role in providing housing and the bulk of residential housing stock is the result of the efforts by private individuals to meet their shelter needs, mostly from personal savings. On the other hand, the public sector has dominated the provision of organized housing, although the stock is exceedingly limited in relation to the need. The first attempt to address Nigeria's housing needs saw the establishment of Housing Corporations by the regional governments in the 1950s and 1960s, and enactment of the Federal Housing Authority. Unfortunately, these efforts had limited impacts because of a lack of funds and technical personnel. For example, the Federal Government’s Housing Programme in the Third National Development Plan recorded only 13.3 percent success.

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

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

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

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

He identifies a potentially serious problem in the Land Use Act’s mandate to set up mortgage banking institutions in Nigeria. In his words, “this Act fails to be explicit on the issue of foreclosure for failure to meet the monthly obligations of mortgage repayment” (p. 7). Obviously the majority of those who will fail to meet these obligations will be the low income people.

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

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

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

Public-Private Partnerships in Housing

The new housing policy recognizes three critical stakeholders—the private sector, state governments, and the federal government. He argues that more collaboration and cooperation among the stakeholders is critical to successful implementation of the new policy. There is some evidence that partnerships are being strengthened. For example, the private sector is increasingly involved in the delivery of urban services. However, he stresses that partnership should go beyond the private sector to include civil society organizations, local communities, community-based organizations, community and religious leaders, and women’s groups, among others. Participation in decision-making should also be broadened and innovative partnerships created to ensure the provision of housing for more Nigerians than has been possible in the past. He concludes that public-private partnership is in tandem with Nigeria’s approach to development and with its commitment to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).
URBAN MANAGEMENT

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

Traditional Urban Centres and Cities

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

He identifies three types of problems in Shaki: “the problem of changed locational characteristics, the problem of site, and the problem of an attenuated economic base” (p. 2). Shaki’s location along an ancient trade route from the coast to the north was favourable in pre-colonial times. But construction of the railway, which bypassed Shaki, "ended this locational advantage, as the railway and its trade importance was considerably reduced" (p. 3). The town is located on a hill, an advantageous site from a defense perspective. However, the hill is severely dissected and the topography rugged. Many of the houses are isolated from one another, and the topography makes movement between them difficult. The streams that dissect the hill on which the town is located are headwaters and contain very limited volumes of water. Thus, as Mabogunje observes, “adequate water supply remains a major problem for Shaki” (p. 7).

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

Urban Land Use Structure and Problems

Professor Mabogunje’s paper on the internal structure of cities focuses on the pattern of urban
Houses in traditional cities are old and poorly constructed.

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

Four factors affect urban land use patterns. They are the dual character of pre-industrial cities in Africa, the largely communal land ownership system, the weak institutional frameworks and low income levels, and transportation demands. Land use patterns in the pre-industrial cities approximate the inverse concentric zone model, with the elite living in and around the city centre. Outside the cramped and congested traditional city, the immigrant neighbourhoods are often laid out in regular fashion. After World War II, town planning authorities were set up in an effort "...to guide, control and direct the pattern of land-use development in Nigerian cities" (p. 207). However, these institutions are largely ineffective in enforcing zoning regulations. Other weaknesses include the multiplicity of authorities dealing with land-use decisions and the lack of a system of property rating. The low income level of many city dwellers also adversely impacts the revenue base of city governments and hinders the capacity to provide urban services, including transport services.

The land use problems highlighted in the paper include central city decay and the emergence of shantytowns (see Figure 2.6). The problem of decay is especially evident in the traditional cities. Houses there are old and poorly constructed. In addition, "given the weakness of planning control and the virtual absence of a sewage disposal or drainage system, the resulting situation of congestion, the undirected flow of waste water, and the squalor, needs to be seen to be believed" (p. 208). Shantytown development is a result of inadequate housing finance as well as rapid industrialization and in-migration. Regarding commercial land use problems, the paper identifies poor sanitary conditions in market places and inadequate parking spaces, among others. A major industrial land use problem is the
absence of an organized system of services and utilities, a problem that governments are beginning to address by creating industrial estates that are well serviced. A final land use problem is that of transportation. This problem is manifested in traffic congestion, which is blamed on narrow streets, poor traffic management, and railway crossings. Professor Mabogunje concludes that “the greatest need of most Nigerian cities is efficient urban management” (p. 217). He recommends that capacity building and the strengthening of institutions, especially local institutions with which people are familiar, should be priorities.

His paper on urban policy analyses Nigeria’s urban problems and offers policy recommendations. He categorizes the most important urban problems as “employment, livability, manageability and serviceability” (p. 86). Urban unemployment is much higher than the national average in both the growing industrial centres and the traditional cities. The problem of livability pertains to the worsening living conditions in Nigerian cities. This is manifested in environmental deterioration, transportation problems (see Figure 2.7), and inadequate urban services, including housing. He takes the position that Nigeria’s urban problems are a reflection of poor management and identifies three dimensions of the problem: “the administration of city activities, the ability to generate adequate resources for this purpose, and the capacity to anticipate future changes in their scope and magnitude” (p. 87). Other aspects of the failure of Nigerian cities include their inability to “serve” rural areas both in terms of providing social services and of stimulating increased rural productivity. The former is due to the inadequate spatial distribution of urban
centres, while the latter is due to the fact that urban industrial activities do not rely on rural areas for their raw materials.

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

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

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

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

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

The post-colonial period saw a greater entrenchment of capitalism and the ascent of what he calls the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" who dominated the economy. This period is also associated with increased social and income inequality, considerable polarization of the population, and social alienation of the working class. His analysis of the post-colonial situation and neighbourhood mobilization has a Marxist flavour, and he is of the view that "there is a sense in which the popular manifestation of . . . disaffection can be interpreted as reflecting some form of class struggle." He proposes neighbourhood councils or committees as a basis for mobilizing city residents, and an important pre-requisite is the identification and mapping of urban neighbourhoods. One interesting observation about this proposal is that it does not derive from his radical analysis of the post-colonial situation in Nigeria. The proposal says little about the structures that produce and perpetuate social inequality and alienation in Nigerian cities.

A dynamic organization of urban communities will also encourage inclusiveness and social integration, important goals of urban development. How to achieve these goals was the theme of his paper on cities for all. He raises three main concerns: the meaning of "cities for all," how far or near Nigerian cities are from qualifying for this category of cities, and finally what needs to be done to ensure that Nigerian cities belong to this category. The "cities for all" category refers to cities that are socially integrated, inclusive, safe, and participatory. They also guarantee economic security and equitable access to housing and other basic social services. Nigerian cities clearly do not belong to this category because of the poor condition of urban houses and surroundings, especially in poor neighbourhoods, the lack of basic sanitation and drainage, and the inadequate waste disposal services. Compounding the problem of poor urban management is the problem of unemployment, which accounts for the informal sector dominating the urban economy. These failures are partly blamed on the lack of recognition of civil society organizations and the social capital they represent.
How can Nigerian cities become "cities for all"? Professor Mabogunje proposes making Nigerian cities more democratic. But "democracy is not just about elections; it is more about effectively participating in decision-making and providing the resources and wherewithal to carry out the decisions. . . . Democracy is not just about choosing one's representative in government; it is also about paying one's taxes so that those representatives can provide us with the services we desire" (p. 8). This would require a review of the existing system of local government with the goal of expanding civil society participation and tapping additional funds from the capital market. He also suggests that more attention be paid to the quarter and ward systems in the cities, and that tenement rates should be introduced to enhance revenue generation for service provision. Cities also need to attract international finance and foreign direct investment.

**Urban Management Institutions**

Elsewhere, he argues that the goal of urban development can be realized if there is a paradigm shift in urban policy. The new paradigm should be "concerned with transforming indigenous institutions so that they will be compatible with the demands of a free market economy" (p. 192). These institutions, which belong to the informal sector, are relevant to the lives of most urban dwellers. The new paradigm is based on what he refers to as "institutional radicalization," a concept discussed in Chapter 3.

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

The ineffectiveness of town planning establishments is the theme of Professor Mabogunje's works on the poor state of Nigerian cities and the limited success of town planners in tackling the problems. He suggests that there is a strong connection between knowledge, planning, and effective urban governance. The knowledge in question is contextualized knowledge. As he notes, "to my mind, it is this type of social knowledge, that derives from the context of our own social realities that is critical for greater efficacy in our
planning effort and greater effectiveness of social action and socio-economic development in our society” (p. 3). This approach is in contrast to the current practice of using universal models and blueprints. He underscores this point with his observation that “... the failure to be really contextual has been a major factor in the limited success that we have achieved so far in effectively planning the Nigerian city and ensuring its better governance” (p. 4).

The social and economic realities of Nigerian cities include the very large number of low income earners and a preponderance of informal sector enterprises. From a planning viewpoint, many of these enterprises have no fixed location, or operate out of temporary structures in open spaces or illegal locations. Traditional planning approaches are not appropriate in these circumstances, yet “... urban planners continue to rely on traditional master-planning approaches” (p. 6). This shows a disconnect between the planning profession and urban society, and “the only way to bridge this disconnect and make planning a lot more rewarding in Nigerian cities is to strike out for an adaptive planning process that starts with a better knowledge and understanding of the Nigerian urban society...” (p. 7).

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

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

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

Professor Mabogunje concludes by discussing the current state of knowledge in urban planning and policy. Most African households are still engaged in the kinship mode of production, even in urban areas. An important area of research is the investigation of obstacles to the process of capitalist accumulation, and, indeed, the transformation to capitalism. Other potential research areas include the effects of the commodification of land and labour, and "the institutional mechanisms for effective revenue mobilization and urban fiscal autonomy" (p. 171). He also recommends more focus on the "evaluative studies of the range of government functions and activities assigned to urban administration, how effectively these are being performed, and what constraints are encountered in the process of execution" (p. 173).

ENDNOTES
22. "Knowledge, Planning and Effective Urban Governance." Lead Paper Delivered at the 33rd Annual Conference of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners (NITP) at the Conference Hall of Kwara Hotel, Ilorin, Kwara State, on October 30–November 1, 2002.
Regional development—including agricultural and rural development—is a dominant theme in Professor Mabogunje’s works. Regional challenges include development disparities, rural-urban inequality, and urban primacy (Gore 1984). Regional development also encompasses top-down and bottom-up strategies. An example of the former is the growth pole strategy, which he popularized in both academic and policy circles (Okafor and Honey 2004). The latter consists of various approaches collectively labeled as neo-populism by some authors (Gore 1984).

The growth pole strategy is based on the assumption that regional development and rural growth depend on urbanization and industrialization. However, the failure of urbanization and industrialization to stimulate regional development led to the emergence of the neo-populist strategies that seek “...to reverse the urban bias in current planning practice, to promote greater equality and the satisfaction of the basic needs of the majority of the population, to re-establish local and regional communities and to avoid the centralization of economic and political decision-making” (Gore 1984, p. 161).

Professor Mabogunje’s works emphasize the importance of the spatial dimension of the development process. Traditionally, development was thought of in sectoral terms, not spatial. Development planning focused on resources, rather than places or regions. One of the objectives of an international conference he organized in 1977 was “to deepen awareness among those concerned with planning for economic development in the various African countries of the growing problems of regional inequalities and, more particularly, of the increasing disparity between urban and rural areas” (Mabogunje 1977, p. 3).
His work on regional development is in tandem with a mandate of the International Geographical Union's Commission on Regional Systems and Policies. This mandate is "... to gain better understanding of the complex phenomenon of development within a spatial and regional setting" (Mabogunje 1981, p. 1). The issues discussed in this chapter include the following:

- Cities as growth poles for regional development
- Rural development
- Geographic perspectives on development

CITIES AS GROWTH POLES FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

This section discusses Professor Mabogunje's papers on regional disparities: Migration Policy and Regional Development in Nigeria, Regional Planning and the Development Process, Growth Poles and Growth Centres in the Regional Development of Nigeria, Regional Spaces in Regions: A Critique of the Concept of Popular Participation, and Last Things First: Re-appraising the Fundamentals of Nigeria's Development Crisis.

Growth Poles and Regional Planning

Professor Mabogunje examines the efficacy of growth poles in the Nigerian context. The purpose of the study is "... to examine regional development in Nigeria with a view to indicating the extent to which growth pole tendencies are already operating in the country ..." (p. 1). He defines a growth pole as a town or city with an agglomeration of propulsive industries that stimulate growth. The rationale for the growth pole strategy is that: "The absence of an automatic relation between growth in a major centre and development in the complementary region is the reason for the attention currently paid to the strategy of using growth pole concepts in regional economic planning" (p. 6). However, he notes that growth poles can also result in regional inequality and ultimately fail.

He makes a distinction between regional differentiation and regional inequality, arguing that "... by 1950, whilst the country began to show clear evidence of regional differentiation, regional inequality could hardly be said to have become significant ..." (p. 14). Regional differentiation resulted from the production of agricultural and mineral exports during the colonial era. There was also a social dimension, the north-south difference in educational development. While economic growth did occur during the colonial period, it was limited and resulted in regional inequality. The country's urban system also had an impact on regional development.
By the 1970s, major changes in the Nigerian economy and development of the transportation network gave locational advantage to some parts of the country. Manufacturing was a major element of the structural transformation. Port cities, such as Lagos, had a disproportionate share of the manufacturing industries. The impact of the emerging growth centres on regional development was "that some degree of linkage is starting to develop among different sectors of the Nigerian economy. These linkages, however, are still rather weak where they ought to be strong . . ." (p. 49).

Nigeria did not have a coherent regional policy until the adoption of the Second National Development Plan (1970–74). As he puts it, "the growth pole concept as a strategy of regional development can hardly be said to have received any attention from economic planners in Nigeria" (p. 70). He supports the potential of growth poles to promote regional development in spite of their limited success in Nigeria. Among other reasons, this is because "the growth-pole concept offers developing countries a possibility of thinking of development in specific locational or spatial terms. By doing this, it turns their gaze slightly away from the national accounting view of their developmental performance to more concrete concern with spatial structural transformation in different parts of the country" (p. 79).

**Migration and Regional Development**

Professor Mabogunje's work recognizes that migration also has implications for regional development. He focuses on the pattern of migration flows in Nigeria, and he suggests policies to make migration impact positively on regional economic development. Okun and Richardson's (1961) model of regional migration highlights the flows between different regions. However, the model ignores the possibility of migration flows "from high to low growing income areas or from growing to stagnant areas. This is clearly the sort of situation arising in the opening up of frontier regions in a country, or in efforts to resuscitate stagnant regions" (pp. 245–246). The migration flows in Nigeria are primarily from high to lower income areas.

Demographic, social, and economic factors are responsible. From the demographic viewpoint, the rate of natural increase is higher in high income areas despite lower birth rates. This is due largely to lower death rates. From the social perspective, high expectation fuels intense competition for opportunities, leading to migration to less developed areas where opportunities to earn higher income are better because of less competition. The economic viewpoint reinforces the social one, but sees competition in the context of trade. Both the correlation analysis and the multiple regression
model were employed to verify the validity of these hypotheses. The results of the analyses were largely supportive. For example, there was an inverse relationship between per capita revenue and the number of migrants. The inverse relationship was also evident in the multiple regression analysis, confirming that people generally migrate from more developed to less developed areas. Overall, the 11 variables used in the analysis explained about 70 percent of the variation in the distribution of migrants.

From a policy perspective, migration to less developed areas "has been a most important means of intensifying the utilization of resources, which would otherwise remain idle or poorly utilized. . . . Its long-term effect is therefore to raise the level of economic activity and therefore of per capita income in the receiving area, thereby reducing the differential between it and the relatively more developed area within the country" (p. 258). Migration policy should create conditions that encourage movements, including easy access to land and reasonably long tenure. It should also ensure that the interests of local people are not prejudiced and foster regional economic development.

Spatial Dimension and Development Planning

Professor Mabogunje’s works on growth poles and migration1 highlight the importance of spatial dimension in the development process. He blames the weaknesses in Nigeria’s development plans on a failure to recognize the significance of space in development planning. The First and Second National Development Plans do not incorporate the spatial dimension in the planning process and investment decisions. Both plans “were conceived essentially as an exercise in making financial allocations between different sectors of the economy” (p. 5). Regional plans must recognize conditions in different parts of the country and garner political support. Nigeria’s iron and steel mill is an example of what happens when space and location are not taken into account in development planning. The economic advantages of alternative sites were not explored and “the proposition that it should, in consequence, be located where its economic impact would be greatest in the interest of all was hardly examined” (p. 5).

Popular Participation

Regional planning must include consultations with all tiers of government and rely on locational decisions to generate economic development. Increasing employment is most feasible in the agricultural sector, but “it may be necessary to identify the frontier areas where under-utilized land exists, to make legislative and other provisions to ensure that this land can be
made available to willing labour, and to create conditions that would encourage labour to move into these areas” (p. 8). He makes a strong case for regional planning and the use of data systems in all regional planning: “all developmental activities take place in geographic space, and their distribution can make an important difference in terms of both their general economic impact and their nation-unifying influence” (p. 15).

Incorporating the spatial dimension in development planning is necessary, but public participation is also critical. Participation is an important element in bottom-up development strategies, and he examines why it has not been an operational aspect of development planning. Participation has three components: “first, the involvement of people in decision-making; second, the eliciting of their contribution to development programmes; and third, their participation in sharing the benefits from the development process” (p. 100). These levels of participation require communication, representation, activation, and delegation. Popular participation is characterized by two-way communication flows through public hearings, forums, workshops, and so on. Representation is an important element, but can be the most difficult because representatives of the poor are easily intimidated by bureaucrats and the elite. Activation is about mobilizing people and making them physically and financially engaged in development activities. Finally, delegation requires the devolvement of authority to local leaders who owe allegiance to their traditional groups.

The devolvement of authority raises the question of the appropriate spatial units within which to mobilize effective participation. In his words, “this is essentially a spatial issue whose detailed consideration is often glossed over in most discussions of popular participation” (p. 103). Growth centres, metropolitan districts, development regions, and resource frontier zones “. . . are unlikely to provide an appropriate institutional framework for mobilizing the vast majority of low-income and
underprivileged people for participation in
their own development” (p. 105). Nigerian
states engage in regional development plan-
ing, but meaningful popular participation has
not been achieved at the state or local level.
Small and intermediate territorial units, which
can mobilize the participation of small groups,
have proven to be important catalysts of rural
development. The challenge is to define, for-
mally recognize, and organize these territorial
entities. As he asserts, “what is critical in this
paper is the search for the basic building blocks
of territorial organization within which effec-
tive mobilization can be attained, especially of
the rural population and their real participation
in the development process” (p. 112).

Professor Mabogunje’s merit award lecture blames Nigeria’s development crisis on the fact
that its national development strategy did not establish the right priorities. He cites a number
of examples. Nigeria’s industrial development strategy was based on import substitution
industrialization. However, this approach in-
creased the country’s dependency on imported
capital goods, technology, and semi-processed
raw materials. The strategy failed to generate
significant growth in other sectors of the econ-
omy, intensified urban-rural inequalities, and
saddled the country with foreign debt. More
importantly, it led to the establishment of
industries that had few linkages with the rest of
the national economy. As he observes, the
strategy “paid less than adequate attention to
one of the fundamental elements of any devel-
opment strategy, namely, a commitment to an
extensive and intensive exploration, exploita-
tion and economic utilization of our own nat-
ural resources” (p. 6).

The disappearance of the Kano groundnut
pyramids is an example of Nigeria’s failed
development strategy. Professor Mabogunje
contends that a major reason was the diversion
of resources away from the real farmers (i.e.,
the peasants) who are responsible for the bulk
of agricultural production in the country.
Instead, a disproportionate share of govern-
ment resources went into farm settlement
schemes, government-owned plantations and
food production companies, among others.
Engaging the peasant farmers in agricultural
and rural development initiatives requires a
governance system that brings government
closer to the grassroots. Here again, govern-
ment efforts have fallen short. As he notes,
these efforts have “taken the form of periodic
reforms of local government. However, the
emphasis in many of these reforms was not to
establish what was acceptable to the rural pop-
ulation themselves but rather what the bureau-
crat considered as economically viable” (p. 12).
He proposed much more emphasis on local
communities, which constitute the basic level
of societal organization and are more enduring.
The East Central State that emerged after the Nigerian civil war is a key example.

He asserts that enhanced productive output should be the basis of organization at the local level and that community-based organizations are a means of achieving this objective. Communities should elect leaders who are directly accountable to them and recognized by government.

The paper concludes by challenging the Nigerian government to take appropriate measures "through effective organization both to harness our abundant natural resources and to mobilize our teeming human population... it is the organization of the human population, particularly in the rural areas, that would indeed unleash the social and economic revolution for which the country yearns" (pp. 19–20).

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Professor Mabogunje's works on rural development focus on different aspects of rural society and the rural economy. He believes that agriculture and access to land are critical. So, too, is the ability of rural communities to mobilize and take collective action.

This section discusses his following works: *Geography and the Dilemma of Rural Development in Africa*, *Rural Development in Nigeria*, *Traditional Institutional Radicalization as a Development Strategy*, and *Agriculture, Rural Development and the Post-Colonial State*.

Rural Development Initiatives in Africa

His paper on rural development in Africa focuses on the government's inability to design, organize, and implement rural development programmes. Rural areas in Africa are characterized by deplorable living and environmental conditions, as well as a lack of infrastructure and social services. Because urban poverty is so widespread, targeting is not a realistic option. Therefore, "designing a rural development programme for this population is nothing more or less than planning how to transform the national situation" (p. 75). Rural impoverishment is the result of land ownership systems that make the offer of credit to farmers risky. Land fragmentation, rural labour shortages, and the lure of higher wages in urban areas are also factors. An effective rural development programme requires substantial social restructuring, not just infrastructure development.

Effective rural development also requires the full mobilization and participation of the rural population. Professor Mabogunje calls for a holistic approach that emphasizes decentralization and devolution. He proposes six programs to rectify Nigeria's situation: land reform, agrarian reform, infrastructure development,
provision of social amenities, institutional development, and political participation. As he notes, in many African countries "the strategy of implementation pursued up-to-date is predominantly of the investment type" (p. 80), which serves the interest of powerful groups.

He proposes "the territorial organization of farmers into small area units within which a new socio-economic and socio-political culture of production, consumption and exchange is developed" (p. 83). Small groups are more effective for voluntary collective action. "The territorial basis of such organization is critical because many of the benefits required from group effort are location-specific and, for farmers with their restricted range of mobility . . . involves a high degree of spatial propinquity" (p. 83). Small, territorially defined rural communities can make new rural institutions, such as cooperatives, more feasible and effective.

What has been the impact of rural development initiatives on rural populations? He addresses this question in his study of the Funtua Integrated Rural Development Project. The purpose of the study was "to evaluate how far this particular strategy offers a definitive way out of the contemporary impasse in rural development in Nigeria" (p. 179). High urban wages and urban consumption patterns had depressed the Funtua region’s agricultural economy by diverting agricultural workers to cities and undermining the price of local farm produce.

The study identified conflicts between project objectives and national goals and policies. The government’s food import policy, which was designed to ensure cheap food for urban residents, had the effect of undermining local producers. The government did not adopt a selective spatial closure strategy to protect domestic producers—such as farmers, who are in the minority—in the short term. In the process, "incipient class differentiation within the community was reinforced if not initiated" (p. 210).

Farmers in two of the villages studied, Danja and Maska, made marginal gains through the application of agricultural inputs. Their incomes were augmented and they acquired consumer durables. However, their lives and production systems did not fundamentally improve. There was also a mismatch between
the high cost of the rural development strategy and the results achieved. Only maize production has productivity increases; the productivity increase for other crops was only marginal. Finally, the project focused on large-scale benefit. As he notes, “whatever the grand design of the project, its tendency to positively reinforce existing socio-economic inequalities within the rural communities has serious implications for future development in the area” (p. 221). The study reinforces the importance of effective territorial organization and community mobilization as a *sine qua non* for rural development. He concludes that “the Funtua Integrated Rural Development Project has succeeded in providing a model which sets in bold relief what should and should not be done in the search for self-sustaining solutions to problems of rural development. An alternative strategy must build on these strengths and weaknesses” (p. 237).

**Role of Institutions**

Professor Mabogunje’s seminal work on institutional radicalization assesses “the opportunity for real development that could come from deliberate efforts at understanding, using, and in the process, transforming institutions in which so much of the ideas and thinking of particular societies find expression...” Deriving its definition of institution from North (1989), the paper states that a system of property rights is as much an institution as a family. The role of institutions “in every case is to reduce uncertainty in human interaction through helping to form expectations which each person can reasonably hold in dealing with others” (p. 3). Both the transaction cost and collective action approaches were used to analyze how institutions function and operate. The two approaches are complementary, and “in both, the role of government as a third party particularly with respect to enforcement...of rules is emphasized” (p. 5).

He stresses that institutional radicalization differs from institutional change and institutional transformation. Although the distinctions appear hazy, institutional change refers to institutional modification or substitution, while institutional transformation refers to altering an institution’s character or function. On the other hand, institutional radicalization retains an institution’s form, but radically transforms its substance. Land is an example of an asset constrained by institutional arrangements in need of radicalization. Land is a key factor of production, but it is constrained by property conventions that keep it the realm of kinship relations and outside the market. He describes these and other institutional arrangements as dysfunctional, in that they can have the effect of undermining development. For this reason, “the state must find ways and means of getting involved with how to break...
the constraints which have hampered the socio-economic transformation of the rural areas and free resources which up till now have been shackled down by increasingly dysfunctional institutional arrangements" (p. 7).

The Awe Descendants Union is an example of an experiment in institutional radicalization. The President of the Descendants Union was named as Chairman of the newly established Awe Development Corporation, a traditionally recognized institution that was configured to promote development at the community level. The government recognized the development potential of community institutions and the Awe experiment. The Awe experiment grew out of the belief that the institutional basis for organizing and mobilizing rural communities exists... (p. 11). Radicalizing property conventions was seen as a way to free the factors of production, particularly land, and to improve access to them. This could be facilitated by community banks that would ensure that rural communities had easier access to credit. On a final note, the paper points out that institutional radicalization is likely to encounter resistance since it alters the status quo and "forces development planning to be more historically and socially specific" (p. 17).

**Agriculture and Rural Development**

Professor Mabogunje’s paper on agriculture and the post-colonial state highlights the most pressing issues facing African leaders today. The agricultural and rural crises are a result of policy failures and inadequacies. Limited access to important resources, especially land and credit, exacerbate the situation. For example, access to land is constrained because land is not commoditized. Policy measures, such as the embargo on commodity imports, have helped increase local production. However, not all policy measures have had a positive impact. Structural factors also undermine the responsiveness of agricultural production to policy initiatives.

The availability of labour is still a major constraint on agricultural production. This is blamed on educational development, among other factors. School attendance keeps children from working on farms and educated children abandon work in agriculture. High urban wages also attract workers away from rural areas. Although some labour-saving technologies have been introduced, "it is evident that what is technologically efficient and feasible is not necessarily organizationally acceptable or available" (p. 9). A related issue is the modernization of agricultural production in Africa. African agriculture remains largely embedded in traditional kinship systems and generally operates outside the market economy. Yet, increased agricultural and rural productivity is dependent on the market economy, which requires that all means of production be com-
modified and tradable. This contradiction is a major weakness of the post-colonial state and a major challenge for African leaders.

GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

In *The Development Process* and *Development Failures in Africa*, he offers a glimpse of his shift from modernist to post-modernist approaches. His paper on development failures in Africa explains why the Western model of development failed, but does not go so far as to assert that the era of development in Africa is over.

The paper traces the shift from totalizing discourses or paradigms of development to more contextual discourses. Professor Mabogunje was part of the quantitative/theoretical revolution associated with the totalizing discourses in human geography. In human geog-
raphy, the various location theories were found to be inadequate for policy prescription. Similarly, growth poles do not always generate spread effects. The shortcomings of positivism and the scientific method as well as the theories and discourses they spawned became widely acknowledged.

Development discourses were criticized for not being historically and geographically specific. Consequently, geographers and other development practitioners, including Professor Mabogunje, embraced the political economy or Marxist perspective on development. It became clear that "what all the modernization theories that underpinned the development strategies of most African countries failed to take into account is the cultural and historical foundation on which the development of any people or society has to be built." Even Ujamaa in Tanzania failed in part because "it ignored problems of traditional property ownership and those of joint labour supply."

The failure of the modernist approach led to renewed interest in local or community-based institutions. In Africa, these institutions are noted for transparency and accountability, and have a good record of mobilizing people and sparking local development initiatives. Home-town associations are among the most successful of these local institutions. It is suggested that these institutions should be radicalized by incorporating more productive activities into their agendas. An example of institutional radicalization is the community banking system in Nigeria, which incorporates elements of the traditional rotating savings system found in many communities. These institutions should be recognized and used to promote development. The spirit of the paper is captured by the observation that "... African governments cannot hope to develop their countries on the basis of theories that operate as if Africa had no society, no traditional culture and no institutions of its own before the modern period."

Professor Mabogunje's book on the development process is one of his major works and offers an important Southern perspective. He asserts that the failure of the development process in Africa and other developing countries is a clear indication that we do not really understand development or how to bring it about. He blames the failure on the fact that "in development discourse... the South does not represent itself; rather, it is represented by Western academics, experts, professionals, bankers, and government officials" (Routledge 2003, 312). Finally, the book brings a spatial perspective to bear on development discourse. Ignoring or downplaying the spatial perspective in development planning is partly responsible for the failure of the development process.

Although developing countries are heterogeneous and diverse, the diversity is simply a reflection of "... the differing surface manifes-
tations of underdevelopment . . ." (p. 15) and the essential character of underdevelopment remains the same. The changes in the paradigms of analysis of underdevelopment are discussed. The concept of environmental determinism initially dominated development discourses. This concept regards development (or lack of it) as a function of natural environmental conditions, especially climate and natural resource endowment. The industrialization/modernization perspective and the Marxist/political economy perspective then came about. The Marxist perspective is said to encourage an appreciation of the spatial perspective on the development process. Professor Mabogunje dwelt on class analysis and the relation of class structure to the development process at some length in different parts of the book. But as indicated in Chapter 1, this analysis did not appear to inform his prescriptions, which can-
not be adjudged to be radical in the Marxist tradition.

Different definitions of development are discussed. These include defining development as economic growth, which as Professor Mabogunje observes, "... gives priority in the development process to increased commodity output rather than to the human beings involved in the production process" (p. 37). On the other hand, when development is defined as modernization, it is part of a much wider process of social change. The definition of development as distributive justice emphasizes poverty reduction, the satisfaction of basic needs, and access to goods and services. Finally, development can be defined as transforming a society's modes of production. It is argued that questions of distribution and social justice cannot be considered independently of production modes. He regards this definition as being influenced by Marxism, which could imply a revolutionary transformation. However, he does not embrace such a radical prescription.

The book shows how development led to the disorganization and increasing inappropriateness of traditional structures in Africa. Industrialization not only failed to tackle the problems of urban unemployment, environmental degradation, and social alienation, but exacerbated them. It proposes strategies aimed at creating new structures more consistent with development goals and expanding synergies between urban and rural areas. Urban centres also received some attention, particularly the three-fold urban crisis of unemployment, environmental degradation, and social alienation. Industrialization failed to tackle these problems, but instead exacerbated both urban and rural problems. Strategies for establishing national urban systems that would produce beneficial synergies between urban and rural areas were proposed.

National integration entails regional specialization and divisions of labour, increased geographical mobility, and enhanced information flows and increased internal trade. The development of transportation networks and communication facilities is central. For example, increased internal trade is contingent on regional specialization, and both depend on the development of a transportation infrastructure. As Professor Mabogunje has it, "the other consequence of colonial transport development was the broad patterns of regional specialization that it induced within countries ... significant internal movements of commodities were generated between different parts of the countries in the wake of rudimentary colonial network of transportation ..." (p. 281). However, the lack of rural feeder roads contributes to the backwardness of rural areas in many developing countries. The mobilization of national populations is also critical to development, a theme that features in many of his works.
Against the backdrop of the failed development efforts in Africa, the book represents "a serious reappraisal of ideas and thoughts about the development process" (p. 11). By highlighting the spatial characteristics of development, it provides a distinctive interpretation of the development debacle in Africa and offers policy prescriptions that differ substantially from those that are commonly held.

ENDNOTES

Modern and traditional sections of Lagos, Nigeria
The urban economy has an impact on the environment within and outside the city.

The environment and sustainable development are recurring themes in many of Professor Mabogunje's works. His writings on cities, for example, address the issue of urban environmental degradation. The urban economy impacts the environment both within and outside the city. At the core of environmental degradation and sustainable development is population. The rapid growth of human populations, especially in the developing countries, has intensified the demand for natural resources and led to increased exploitation of nature in ways harmful to the environment.

Manufacturing, which is generally associated with rising living standards, is the cause of a range of environmental problems. Today, globalization and the freer movement of capital are facilitating the relocation of manufacturing industries to developing countries where environmental laws are less stringent. Thus, environmental problems are appearing in new locations, even though many are global.

Poverty also has implications for the environment. For example, low incomes and high energy costs in developing countries mean that fuelwood is the primary domestic energy source. The demand for fuelwood, particularly in the face of rapid population growth, leads to rapid deforestation. Rapid population growth also leads to increased demand for farm land, which contributes to deforestation and causes soil degradation. Extreme poverty forces people to prioritize physical survival over concerns for the environment. In these circumstances, the environment is exploited to eke out a living without an eye on conservation.

Promoting sustainable development now occupies centre stage in both academic and policy circles. The question is how to satisfy the needs of the current generation without jeopardizing the prospects of future generations. The development of effective sustainable development strategies requires a proper understanding of
complex interactions between societies and nature. Sustainability science is an outcome of the quest for this understanding. This chapter reviews Professor Mabogunje’s works on sustainability and environmental management.

His concern with the environment—as well as other topical issues, such as housing and housing finance—is symptomatic of geography’s search for social relevance. The structural paradigm turned geographers’ attention to pressing societal problems. The sustainability of the earth’s life support system is one example.

**SUSTAINABILITY**

Professor Mabogunje’s papers on this topic include *Sustainability Science and the Management of the Nigerian Environment: Connecting*
with the World Wide Web of Life and Geography in 21st Century Nigeria: The Challenge of Sustainability Science. Both depict sustainability science as a new paradigm and as a multidisciplinary endeavour. He is of the view that this new paradigm provides the knowledge base for effectively addressing sustainable development issues and for policy prescriptions.

Among other things, Professor Mabogunje’s paper on sustainability science and environmental management in Nigeria examines the possible contribution of sustainability science to the management of Nigeria’s environment. The environment has both intrinsic and utilitarian values. The relationship between nature and human society in the process of development gives rise to concerns with sustainable development. However, the knowledge needed to effectively address the issue of sustainable development is not available. Hence, the international movement to create the new sustainability science paradigm.

Nigeria’s population growth is putting multiple pressures on the environment. Consumption has increased, fallow periods have shortened, forest resources are being denuded, and water courses increasingly polluted. In spite of government efforts, the development process is moving in an unsustainable direction. Therefore “effective management must evolve strategies that will help to reduce the incentives for the continued unsustainable ways we presently exploit both animal and plant life in the country,” including establishing a central land register and a biodiversity institute. The new sustainability science will “enhance our capacity to analyze and predict the behaviour of this complex organizing systems of nature and society. . . .”

In the paper Geography in 21st Century Nigeria, Professor Mabogunje reviewed the paradigm shifts in Nigerian geography and the contributions of geographers to the country’s development. Their primary contributions have been in the fields of census and population, urban development, rural development, and transportation. Globalization has facilitated the operations of multinational corporations and spurred global

In Africa, poverty rather than economic growth is a major cause of environmental degradation.
Life amidst environmental waste and squalor

economic growth, resulting in increased pressure on the environment. In Africa, poverty rather than economic growth is a major cause of environmental degradation. This has brought about "a growing international movement to reconnect science to the on-going political agenda for sustainable development through the emergence of the new paradigm of sustainability science" (p. 6). The paper identifies the core scientific issues in sustainability science that will ensure sustainable development, and notes that no single scientific discipline can provide all the answers to the questions. A multidisciplinary endeavour, sustainability science must involve scientists, stakeholders, advocates, citizens, and others. This objective is reconnect science to the political agenda for sustainable development.

ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

Professor Mabogunje’s work on environmental management includes two papers: Towards an Environmental Policy in Nigeria and Poverty and the Environment. He believes that urban problems should inform urban environmental policy. However, because Nigerian cities differ in degree and kind, there cannot be one single blueprint. Decentralization and participation can facilitate the process of tackling poverty and protecting the environment.

The paper on environmental policy in Nigeria elaborates on urban environmental problems in the country, including the basic demographic definition of an urban centre. The country’s urban environmental policy should seek to maintain a high level of well-being among urban inhabitants, make cities more functional by improving access to amenities and facilities, and improve the orderliness and cleanliness of urban areas.

To achieve these objectives, it is important to know which "settlements shall be regarded as urban; the second is the recognition that within the urban category there are different classes of cities with environmental problems which are sometimes different not just in degree but almost in kind" (p. 6). Other important concerns are pollution, the management of urban waste, and the machinery for policy implementation. The paper stresses that
“a good machinery for implementing an urban environmental policy is thus one that encourages in most urban residents a strong proprietary sense about their environment” (p. 11). The Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment should adopt an appropriate structure and build capacity to deal with different aspects of environmental problems.

In the short term, large metropolitan areas should be broken up: “Smaller units of administration ensure greater sense of participation and reduce the level of social alienation” (p. 13). However, the paper fails to point out that decentralization will make it difficult to tackle metropolitan-wide problems, even in the short run.

His work on poverty and the environment is primarily concerned with the link between poverty and environmental degradation. It stresses that poverty is a multifaceted phenomenon and, therefore, cannot be adequately defined in simple income terms. He adopts the broad UNDP definition of poverty as deprivation of opportunities for a decent life. Poverty makes people feel that they have no roots in the community and displaces the poor to environmentally unsafe areas. Poverty is not just a local matter. “Therefore, it is necessary to situate the discussion within the global political economy” (p. 2). Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have found it difficult to attract capital and transform their economies. Large segments of their population still remain poor, despite globalization.

Poverty, coupled with rapid population growth, leads to deforestation, desertification, loss of biodiversity, soil erosion, water pollution, and urban pollution. In cities, squatter settlements and urban slums are examples of urban environmental problems associated with poverty. The paper does point out the paradox that “whilst the poor whether in urban or rural areas manage to impact negatively on the environment, they are also the most vulnerable to environmental hazards and natural disasters” (p. 9). This results from inadequate environmental management of areas inhabited by the poor.

A positive benefit of globalization is its contribution to worldwide concern about human rights, the status of women, and the implications of poverty for environmental degradation. International civil society organizations have sprung up to fight for the disadvantaged and to pressure governments and multinational corporations to be more socially responsible. Good governance, including decentralization and participation, are important mechanisms for tackling poverty and protecting the environment. Local governments must be made transparent and accountable. More importantly, “to ensure the enhanced participation of the poor in economic growth, special attention must be given to reforming those laws and regulations which impair their access to land, credit, public infra-
structure and services. Improving the access of the poor to land through secure tenure is consequently one way of enhancing their sense of ownership of a portion of the earth's surface whose environmental health they can be expected to care for" (p. 13).

ENDNOTES


3. "Towards an Environmental Policy in Nigeria." Text of a Special Lecture Given at the 34th Annual Conference of the Nigerian Geographical Association held at the Bagauda Hotel, Kano on April 7, 1981.

Governance and Social Issues

Professor Mabogunje’s works on governance and social issues focus on democracy and local government. Like his late compatriot, political scientist Claude Ake, he believes that the principles of democracy are present in traditional African political systems and that local governments should emphasize decentralization and devolution of power to levels below formal jurisdictions.

He proposes small territorial communities and neighbourhoods as the basic building blocks of local governance. In his view, these are the most efficient structures to mobilize effective participation and promote collective action on urban, regional, and rural development issues. In the face of rapid urbanization and pervasive urban poverty, local governments should look beyond conventional revenue sources to raise funds for infrastructure development.

The advantages of small jurisdictions are clearly spelled out in the literature on decentralization (Okafor and Honey 2004). These include accessibility to government and essential social services, and local preference maximization. The latter refers to the fact that “small jurisdictions imply the existence of more outlets for the expression and maximization of local preferences for different packages of public goods and services. In other words, because they are often more in number, smaller jurisdictions enable different publics to make different choices” (Okafor and Honey 2004).

Large jurisdictions are often inefficient because of their cumbersome, complex, and costly administrative processes. In addition, people living on the periphery of cities feel left out. However, decentralization also has disadvantages, especially in metropolitan areas. For example, metropolitan fragmentation makes the handling of metropolitan-wide problems more difficult.

Most of the arguments for and against decentralization pertain to the formal jurisdictional structures of states and local govern-
ments in Nigeria. Professor Mabogunje’s proposed territorial organization of communities and neighbourhoods would empower communities to influence policy and participate in decision-making.

DEMOCRACY

Professor Mabogunje’s work on democracy emphasizes the importance of accountability, participation, and empowerment to engender the commitment and sense of ownership needed to foster sustainable development initiatives. His paper on democratic culture is concerned with Nigeria’s grassroots culture. The assumption that democracy is alien to African societies is wrong, and indeed the reverse is the case. In traditional African society, people participate in governance in varying degrees and decisions are largely taken through a consultative process. The primary reasons are the communal ownership of land and the absence of an aristocracy. The paper calls attention to Claude Ake’s distinction between the principles of democracy and their institutional manifestations. These principles include participation, consent of the governed, and public accountability, all of which are present in African political systems.

Why do these democratic principles appear alien to Africa? The answer is the rupture of traditional systems of governance by colonialism. Colonial states have authoritarian governments that allow little or no consultation and participation. The damage to traditional institutions has also been exacerbated by years of military rule. He calls for action to revitalize the democratic tendencies in African societies “and, as much as possible, build on institutional structures with which the majority of the populace are familiar” (p. 3).

Democracy in traditional African society differs from that in a modern state. Traditional societies are culturally homogenous while modern states are culturally heterogeneous. Societies in modern states are also part of the capitalist world economy in which relationships are contractual. Therefore, “the principles that undergird traditional democratic practices need to be significantly transformed and made more appropriate to the needs of the more complex society of a modern nation-state” (p. 3).

The paper defines democracy from a structuralist perspective and states that it can be experienced in three dimensions: the material or infrastructural; the institutional or technostructural; and the human relation or superstructural. At the infrastructural level, democratization is about the economy, which is essentially capitalist. It is believed that a free market economy meets the basic needs of people, although in fact the poor are usually disadvan-
taged in the market place unless special provisions are made for them.

At the techno-structural level, democratization relates to institutions that ensure the smooth functioning of democracy. But a democratic system must be open and simple to manage, and the roles of institutions must be clearly defined. At the superstructural level, democratization relates to such values as freedom, equality, human dignity, fairness, and justice. Democracy is not simply about elections. More importantly, it is about accountability and participation in the decision-making process. In conclusion, the paper notes that promoting democratic culture at the grassroots involves “. . . fostering both attitudinal and behavioural changes.” (p. 3).

He discusses decentralization as a strategy for strengthening democracy and sustainable development. This paper links sustainable development with globalization, the spread of capitalism, and the effect of the capitalist mode of production on the environment. It also focuses on the economic collapse of African countries, whereby “poverty became the most pervasive feature of the economic landscape of most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa” (p. 1). Finally, it addresses the shift from a concern with modernization and development in the 1960s, which led to stifling centralization, to a concern with poverty and debt at the end of the 20th century. Professor Mabogunje notes that it “is against this background that there is a groundswell of opinion that mode of governance may be the crucial variable to re-examine if one were to rectify the present situation. Consequently, decentralization and democratization at the local government level are being touted as the critical factors for promoting beneficial changes and sustainable development . . . ” (p. 2).

In much of Africa, decentralization or the transfer of responsibilities from a central government to a lower level of government was unsuccessful. Reasons for the failure include lack of clear objectives, ambiguous legislation, poor planning, inadequate resources, shortage of skilled personnel, and poor management. In fact, what took place was deconcentration rather than decentralization. The latter “is about granting autonomy of decision-making and power to raise tax resources to people at the local level so that they can feel a strong sense of ownership of their own development process” (p. 3). Decentralized structures exist below the level of ethnic polities and are important for the day-to-day management at the grassroots.

What is needed to foster democratic local governments that promote the sustainable development of cities and countries? Professor Mabogunje identifies citizen participation, direct accountability, significant resource mobilization, and the capacity to cooperate
with neighbouring local governments as key factors. Local government cooperation, in particular, would eliminate the duplication of equipment and facilities, and "... put to rest the economies of scale argument that, for efficiency, local government must be of a certain population size" (p. 6).

In addition, governments must recognize and utilize the diverse voluntary and community associations that exist in cities. The paper notes that "the existence of such social capital in a community tends to promote good governance and nurture sustained socio-economic performance" (p. 6). Such associations provide informal governance and are noted for the commitment, dedication, and accountability of their officials. In his view, the challenge is "how to build as much as possible, on institutional structures with which the majority of the populace are familiar and help thereby to nurture all those virtues that make for strong and accountable local government" (p. 7).

His paper on local governments in Africa assesses their levels of decentralization and devolution of power, service delivery, socio-economic development, resource mobilization, and democratic participation and accountability. The paper reinforces the point made earlier that "what was being decentralized was really government activities, a process which is now more correctly referred to as deconcentration" (p. 4). South Africa is the only exception.

Higher tiers of government are becoming increasingly responsible for the delivery of services. The loss of local government capacity is the result of corruption, as well as inefficiency. Private sector participation includes service contracts, management contracts and leases, concessions, and public-private partnerships, such as Build-Operate-Transfer and Build-Own-Operate. Services provided by communities are also becoming important. When communities are consulted about their service priorities, they are more willing to pay for the services and provide an investment.

Cities and local governments that attract the investment of large-scale enterprises create employment opportunities and increase their taxable resources. Because the informal sector is so large in many African cities, development can be promoted by supporting informal small businesses and upgrading the slums where most informal sector operators reside. Upgrading slums in developing countries is a key strategy of the Cities Alliance. South Africa is a good example of a country that has adopted the Alliance’s City Development Strategy to promote development.

Many local governments have the legal authority to raise taxes, the most important of which is property tax. However, this lucrative source of revenue is the most difficult to collect because of poor databases, incomplete coverage, and problems with acceptable valuation meth-
ods. User charges are another revenue source, although the irregular supplies often make users unwilling to pay for services. Transfers and subventions from higher levels of government are also important. In Nigeria, more than 90 percent of local government revenue comes from such sources. The capital market is another potential source of revenue, although borrowing depends on local governments’ credit ratings and central government approval.

Democratic governance at the local level is about participation and accountability. He proposes bringing together all local stakeholders for periodic consultations. This is an effective way of establishing a participatory system of governance. The stakeholders group could "constitute a Consultative Assembly to which the municipal authorities can make an annual report of their performance and solicit its support to achieve greater efficiency in revenue mobilization or to levy new taxes" (p. 20). The paper concludes that local governments in Africa fail to meet the needs of the people.

### Building City Networks

Individuals and groups are bringing about networks of cities, which are transforming economies, governance, and lifestyles in urban areas. His paper on urban networks focuses on the emergence of world cities and international civil society organizations.

World cities are not necessarily the largest cities in demographic terms, but they are the control centres of the world economy. As Knox and Marston (2004, 512) have it, a world city is "a city in which a disproportionate part of the world’s most important business is conducted." When such cities as London, New York and Tokyo form a network, their priority focus is on relationships within the network rather than with the hinterlands.

The paper also makes reference to the emergence of international civil society organizations (international NGOs) which influence state policy, and to the fact that urban infrastructural development is now a viable area of private sector investment. These are consequences of globalization and he argues that they will affect the character of cities in the 21st
International NGOs push a variety of agendas, including poverty alleviation and democratic participation, among others. They work with local groups in developing countries to upgrade squatter settlements and improve the urban environment. Private sector initiatives and the benefits derived from them include foreign direct investment flows to developing country cities. These flows go into productive activities, infrastructure development, and different types of services. It is clear from the literature that this is largely a result of a shift from the Fordist to Post-Fordist (or Neo-Fordist) regime of accumulation.

In the informal sector, urban agriculture and the development of micro-credit institutions are important initiatives for meeting the needs of the urban poor. Because of the increased diversity of urban populations, local governance must focus on “... greater fostering of participation and consultation among all segments of the city population.” Professor Mabogunje cites examples of cities that have effectively used citizens’ forums, local government report cards, and participatory budgeting to increase the involvement of residents and other stakeholders. An important innovation in the sphere of governance is the funding of urban infrastructure through municipal bond issues. As he sees it, “initiatives are, therefore, being directed at looking at the cultural heritage of cities with a view to treating them as marketable cultural capital from which the city can derive considerable economic dividend. ... Developing and exploiting its cultural capital gives a city that little edge that makes it more attractive to visit and to live and work in. ... Cities in developing countries are just starting to realize the resource value of their cultural heritage and can expect new initiatives to emerge from this growing realization” (p. 20).

Such initiatives have implications for planning and development. With increased participation, planning becomes consensual—an interactive, iterative, and participatory process that is already being practiced in Peru, Columbia, Brazil, and other countries. He stresses that successful planning requires a mapping framework for urban information and data. Also important in this regard is the installation and use of geographical information system (GIS) technology, which is now in place in some cities.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Professor Mabogunje’s works stress the need to strengthen the revenue base of African local governments so that they can perform more effectively, deliver services more efficiently, and provide necessary infrastructure. This can be achieved by greater efficiency in tapping the
conventional revenue sources, but more importantly, by looking beyond the conventional sources. Concerning the latter, he sees the capital market as a largely untapped source of revenue for local governments that is particularly suitable for meeting the huge investment needs of infrastructure development projects. Developing the capacity of African cities to issue municipal bonds in the capital market is a possibility. Sourcing credit from capital markets depends on the credit rating of local governments and would therefore make them more transparent, accountable, and efficient. One of his papers examined the issue of access to credit for local governments. It addresses several questions, including the possible sources of credit and the measures that will ensure that local governments have the capacity to repay loans.

The paper argues that the need for credit is necessitated by the limited and poor state of infrastructure in African cities as well as their poor revenue base. In the post-colonial period, the World Bank provided loans and technical assistance, but paid little attention to the capacity of governments to repay them. The debt burden constrained the capacity of central governments to maintain or expand the infrastructure. In these circumstances, "if African cities and local governments must seek a new approach to their planning and management so that they continue as viable social and productive entities in the present century, they must find a way of providing and maintaining modern infrastructural facilities" (p. 3).

The level of investment required for infrastructural development is substantial. Even in advanced economies, most governments cannot rely solely on conventional sources. In addition to the capital market, other sources included inter-governmental transfers and grants, central government lending, direct access to banking institutions, and municipal development banks. Credit from the capital market entails floating a debt instrument which "... in the case of urban infrastructural development was the municipal or local government bond" (p. 5).

When the capacity to repay loans is inadequate, the repayment strategy can rely on user charges. On the other hand, when the fiscal capacity is adequate, the principal means of loan repayment is through budgetary surpluses. Achieving surpluses requires that local governments have ample internal revenue sources and a highly efficient revenue collection system. It also leads to good governance. Unfortunately, with the possible exception of Zimbabwe and South Africa, most African countries have poorly developed fiscal capacity.

The paper stresses that local governments need to improve their information management systems. A cadastre is indispensable in

The capital market is a largely untapped source of revenue for local governments.
this regard. A cadastre “is a register, survey or map of the extent, ownership, value, etc. of the lands of a country as a basis for taxation” (p. 10). It indicates the number of taxable buildings in each neighbourhood or ward. Digital mapping and GIS technology make it easier and less expensive to produce cadastres. Professor Mabogunje concludes that “with the cadastre and register produced, the issue of ensuring a more effective and reliable collection of building-related user charges or general tax revenue for deliberately planning for a better budget surplus becomes a lot easier to resolve” (p. 11).

In his view, “municipal bonds represent a financial facility which enables citizens of an urban centre as well as other members of the public to subscribe their savings . . . towards the cost of building a public infrastructure or amenity. . . . In this way, capital is mobilized in the magnitude required and the debt incurred is gradually liquidated over the succeeding years” (p. 2).

The city of Naga in the Philippines is an example of how local government used a bond issue for a major infrastructure project. The bond issue to construct a central bus terminal was undertaken after broad-based consultation through a referendum. It also ensured that all citizens could purchase the bonds. A successful bond issue requires certain conditions, including the enactment of enabling legislation to allow local governments to raise revenue and access credit, continued central government support through intergovernmental transfers, decentralization and devolution of power, and the promotion of democratic culture. But “irrespective of the type of bond issued, a critical problem . . . is the improvement in the revenue collecting capacity of African municipal authorities” (p. 8).

He offers detailed proposals for the development of municipal bonds, stressing that the problems inhibiting African cities from raising “. . . investment funds from their national capital market must be seriously confronted” (p. 3). He argues that “irrespective of the type of bond issued . . . a critical issue for deepening the capital market in most African countries so
as to be able to absorb trade in municipal bonds is the improvement in the revenue collecting capacity of African municipal authorities" (p. 4). The stock exchange, merchant and investment banks all have a responsibility to promote the use of debt instruments for infrastructure development.

He also stresses the importance of mobilizing financial resources and encouraging participatory urban governance to promote development and raise needed funds. In Africa, phenomenal urban growth, economic crises, and the expansion of the informal sector have made urban poverty more pervasive. The crisis is even more pronounced in countries experiencing armed conflict.

He discusses the supply and demand components of access. On the supply side, the public, private, community (including NGOs), and household sectors are the major supply sources. Because of the high cost of infrastructure development, the public sector had been dominant. However, the complexity and explosive growth of cities has overwhelmed the public sector's capacity to provide critical services, such as reproductive health and financial services, including microcredit for the poor. He observes that financial services are "... hardly ever considered as part of basic services. Yet ... lack of access to formal sources of finance and household credit is one of the most significant obstacles to reducing urban poverty ..." (p. 7). The water supply system in Abidjan is a good example of the trend toward increased private sector participation. The public-private partnership supplying water in South Africa is another success story.

On the demand side, he notes that access to basic services depends on the socio-economic characteristics of consumers and their location within a city. Data show substantial gaps between the demand and supply of services in African cities and that "less than half of the population have access to basic services irrespective of whether these were being supplied by the public or private sector or the community" (p. 10). Improving access to services is contingent upon the ability of local governments to mobilize financial resources.

Participatory governance can enhance access to basic services and central governments have important roles to play. Monitoring the performance of local governments will enable central governments to devise strategies to reduce disparities.

**GENDER**

Professor Mabogunje's paper on women in business shows that many African women are engaged in the informal sector. He discusses...
the rise of capitalism and states that "it cannot be controverted that women within contemporary capitalist economic arrangements would appear to be greatly under-privileged and under-achieving" (p. 6). Ideological, structural, and legal constraints prevent women from participating in modern production activities in the formal sector.

A number of practices prevent women from effectively participating in business ventures.
The socially defined gender role of women confines them to reproduction and the domestic domain. Structural mechanisms include the cultural barriers that limit their access to resources, especially land and labour. The advent of capitalism has undermined the family as the basic unit of production. Finally, inheritance laws deny female children claims to family land.

Women are active in agriculture and trade, especially in the bulking, transportation, exchange, and distribution of foodstuffs. They are also pre-eminent in food processing, and in various crafts and cottage industries. In spite of their important role in agriculture, women are often bypassed by the project managers of agricultural development projects. These managers tend to deal only with household heads who are invariably male, thus precluding female farmers from taking advantage of extension services. In spite of their disadvantaged position, "the contribution of female cultivators to food production in Nigeria remains quite considerable" (p. 11).

Women are noticeably reluctant to use banking facilities to grow their businesses. As a result, when businesses reach a level that requires higher organizational, technological and financial input, women tend to be replaced by male-dominated enterprises. Education is the key to women's effective participation in modern business. Structural adjustment programmes provide opportunities for enhanced agricultural production, but "unless Nigerian women are properly prepared and organized for the changing situation, they may be edged out of a field where traditionally they have been pre-eminent" (pp. 13–14).

ENDNOTES


Professor Mabogunje’s last major work, *State Of The Earth: Contemporary Geographic Perspectives*, a collection of essays by top geographers which he edited, provides a comprehensive overview of the geography discipline. Geography can be defined in different ways, but in essence it is concerned with the description and explanation of the spatial patterns of phenomena on the earth’s surface. The phenomena are both physical and human-created. They range from landforms and climate—to diseases, human settlements, population, agriculture, and industry—to poverty, crime, public services, elections, globalization, and international aid.

Since its inception, geography has undergone changes in philosophy, methodology and subject matter. As Johnston (1993, p. vii) has it, “change in the external world is one of the major stimuli to change in the discipline—on the theoretical apparatus on which it draws, in the research methodologies its practitioners employ, in the content of its educational curricula, and in its contributions to influencing change.” The quest for social relevance was also an important stimulus for change. Among other things, *State of the Earth* reflects the shift from modernist to post-modernist approaches in Professor Mabogunje’s work. The post-modernist approach is evident in his interest in community and situating discourses. His earlier works are characteristic of modernist stances and the use of grand theories. As a comprehensive account of contemporary geography, *State of the Earth* epitomizes the paradigm shifts in the discipline.

*State Of The Earth* is part of the UNESCO/Blackwell Series on Contemporary Social Sciences, “an attempt to provide readers with a general picture of the present state of the geographical discipline” (p. 1). The picture presented is far from general. Indeed, it is a comprehensive view of the subject matter. As stated in the intro-
duction, "the thrust of the volume is to focus on specific topics and issues that constitute areas of current geographical research interest and address some of the fundamental challenges facing the human race at the end of the twentieth century" (pp. 1–2).

The book begins with a discussion of the fundamentals—how geography organizes knowledge about the world and the changing theoretical perspectives used in explaining spatial patterns. These perspectives range from the environmental determinism of the late 19th century, to the so-called theoretical revolution in geography, to the present day post-modernist perspectives, which reaffirm real world complexity and reject grand theories. All the same, some of the grand theories in geography are discussed. These include location theories that borrow substantially from spatial economics and include the agricultural and industrial location theories. Other theories include spatial diffusion, spatial interaction, and urban and regional development.

The quantitative and theoretical revolution represented a major departure from the previous approaches in geography. Among other things, the revolution facilitated the formulation and testing of hypotheses and the construction of models. Subsequent developments, including computers and global information systems, improved the analytical skills of geographers. Society-nature relationships are also discussed in the book, particularly "the role that technological creativity and social organization have played in equipping human beings with the capacity to completely change the face of the earth" (pp. 4–5). Climate change is discussed as an example of the changes caused by human action. Also covered are responses to environmental hazards and natural disasters.

The book examines the societal processes and their implications for spatial structures, spatial organization, globalization, and the role of transnational corporations and world cities in spatial organization. Transnational corporations are significant not only because of the size of their revenues (larger than the GNP of many states), but also because of the multi-locational
nature of their activities around the globe. They relocate their operations at will in search of more favourable conditions. World cities facilitate the flows of capital and information that underpin this locational behaviour. This capacity to relocate undermines the ability of national governments to implement economic policies. It is, therefore, argued that globalization, along with the activities of transnational corporations, is eroding the sovereignty of states. As he observes, "this volume on the state of the art in geography depicts a subject in considerable ferment. The complexity of the reality it is attempting to understand is being matched by the growing sophistication of its own philosophical, theoretical and analytical capabilities" (p. 9).

**EPILOGUE**

Professor Mabogunje's work reflects the plurality of perspectives that characterize human geography. His specializations cover the entire spectrum, from the ecological or regional approach, to the spatial analysis approach, to the political economy and post-modernist perspectives. Although he began as a student of cities, this initial interest led him to focus on related urban and regional development issues. His writings stress that cities should stimulate regional and rural development by supporting linkages with rural and regional economies. In the past, industrialization strategies have not emphasized such linkages.

He exhibits a strong concern for human welfare, especially the welfare of the poor and other disadvantaged groups. Access to land, housing, social services, mortgage finance, micro-credit, and other resources are topics that feature repeatedly in his works. For example, he has long been an apostle of mortgage finance as an avenue to mass housing and home ownership. Similarly, he has been an advocate of micro-finance institutions as a means of ensuring that poor people have access to credit. His works have had a significant influence on Nigerian policy. He was instrumental in the establishment of community banks and successfully promoted incorporation of the spatial dimension in development planning in the country. He also played a major role in the review of Nigeria's urban and housing policies and the establishment of the Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

He recognizes the connection between poverty and environmental degradation, especially in cities. Equally important is his concern for good governance systems that are participatory, transparent, accountable, and open to all stakeholders. He argues in support of decentralization and devolution to empower local communities and neighbourhoods. Most decentralization efforts, he believes, have been
limited to government activities, not the devolution of power.

He asserts that poor management is the most pressing problem for cities in Nigeria and elsewhere, pointing to the weakness of institutions and administrative machinery, inadequacy of institutional frameworks, and lack of administrative and revenue-raising capacity. Capacity building is needed to improve management skills as well as ability to raise revenues. In particular, he promotes the capital market as a source of local government revenue. To take advantage of the capital market, local governments need good credit ratings, which in turn promote good governance.

A related issue is the strengthening and use of community institutions, their recognition by governments, and their radicalization. Many developing countries are noted for their local institutions, important resources that should be utilized more effectively. In his view, it is more effective to rely on local institutions than to bring in outside and unfamiliar organizations. Taken together, all these measures will promote urban and regional development while recognizing the role of civil society in the process. Professor Mabogunje is truly a scholar-practitioner whose policy prescriptions and development initiatives are strengthened by his scholarship.

His works also reveal his pro-market thinking. This is clearly evident in his arguments for the commodification of land. However, this pro-market stance appears to conflict with his concerns for the welfare of the poor. Commodification means that access would be a function of ability to pay and this would most certainly disadvantage the poor. This is an example of the contradiction between his Marxian analysis and some of his policy prescriptions as identified by Slater (1989).

Ali Kazancigil’s observation in the forward to State of the Earth captures the essence of Professor Mabogunje’s work. He notes that “the key person to the successful completion of this volume is Professor Akin L. Mabogunje, as its intellectual leader and author. An internationally respected geographer, he has an excellent record of scholarship, many publications and an extensive international experience. He is open to all significant trends, theories and schools of thought in the discipline” (emphasis added). The selection of his works discussed in this publication no doubt confirms the plurality of perspectives to which Kazancigil alluded.

ENDNOTE

References


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Name</strong></th>
<th>AKINLAWON LADIPO MABOGUNJE</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>75 <em>(Born 18th October, 1931 in Kano, Northern Nigeria)</em></td>
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</table>
| **Parentage**      | Father: Joseph Omotunde Mabogunje, retired official of the United Africa Co. Ltd. *(Deceased)*  
|                     | Mother: Janet Adeola Mabogunje, Trader *(Deceased)* |
| **Education**      | Holy Trinity School, Kano .......... 1935–1938  
|                     | United Native African Church School, Kano ............................................ 1939–1941  
|                     | Central School, Mapo, Ibadan ............... 1942  
|                     | The Grammar School, Ibadan .............. 1943–1948  
|                     | University College, Ibadan ............. 1949–1953  
|                     | University College, London ............ 1954–1958 |
| **Qualifications** | B.A. General Degree (London) .......... 1953  
|                     | B.A. Honours Geography (London) ........ 1956  
|                     | M.A. (London) ................................ 1958  
|                     | Ph.D. (London) ................................ 1961 |
| **Honours**        | Prize-Winner in Geography, University College, Ibadan, 1950/51 and 1951/52  
|                     | Winner of Parry Prize in Geography, University of London, University College, 1953/54  
|                     | Award of the David Livingstone Centennial Gold Medal by the American Geographical Society for distinguished contribution to the Geography of Africa, 1972  
|                     | Honorary Doctor of Science (Economics), (Hon. D.Econ), Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden, November, 1973  
|                     | Murchinson Award of the Royal Geographical Society, London for distinguished contribution of the Geography of West Africa, 1975 |
Honours

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters (Hon. D. Litt.) of the Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, United States, 1976
Melville Herskovits Distinguished Professor of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, USA, 1978
Nigeria National Order of Merit Award, (NNOM), the highest national award for distinguished contribution to the academic and intellectual life of the country, 1980.
Fellow of the University College London, (FUCI), 1981
Fellow of the Nigerian Geographical Association (FNGA), 1984
Laureate d'Honneur, Société de Geographie, Paris, 1984
Anders Retzius Gold Medal of the Swedish Association for Anthropology and Geography, 1985
Social Correspondent of La Societa Geografica Italiana for distinguished contribution to the study of urbanization in the Third World, Rome, 1986
Honorary Corresponding Member, Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bruxelles, Belgium, 1987
Life Membership, University of Ibadan Alumni Association, Ibadan, 1987
Merit Award Recipient as a distinguished citizen of Ogun State, Nigeria, 1989
Honorary Fellow of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners, (Hon. FNITP), 1990
Honorary Corresponding Member, Royal Geographical Society, London, U.K. 1991
Recipient, Certificate of Merit of the Ijebu-Ode Development Association, 1993
Honorary Doctor of Science (Hon. D. Sc.), University of Benin, Benin-City, Nigeria, 1995
Honorary Doctor of Science (Hon. D. Sc.), Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria, March, 1996
Distinguished Africanist Award of the African Studies Association of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio, USA, November, 1997
UNCHS Scroll of Honour for outstanding contributions to human settlements development, Dubai, United Arab Emirates, 1998
Foreign Associate of the United States National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., April, 1999
Nigerian National Honours of Commander of the Order of the Niger (CON), 2001
Special Award by the Archbishop of Ibadan Province, Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion), Ibadan, 2003
Hallmarks of Labour Foundation Role Model Award, 2005
National Union of Geography Students Association (NUGSA) (University of Ibadan Chapter) Role Model Award, 2005
Honorary Fellowship Award of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors and Valuers, 2006
Honorary Fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Engineering, 2006

University Positions (Nigeria)

Lecturer ........................................ 1958–1964
Senior Lecturer .............................. 1964–1965
Professor ................................. 1965–1981
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences .......... 1968–1970
Director, Planning-Studies Programme.... 1972–1981

Visiting Professorship (International)

McGill University, Centre for Developing Country Areas Studies, Montreal, Canada, 1969
Universities of Göteborg and Lund, 1970
University of Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, 1975
Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden, 1976
University of Cambridge, England, 1978
Visiting Scholar, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, January, 1996.

Other Positions

National–Professional

Editor, Nigerian Geographical Journal, 1962–65
President, Nigerian Geographical Association, 1978–80
Vice President, Nigerian Economic Society, 1972–1982
Other Positions (continued)

Vice President, Nigerian Ecological Society, 1973–1979
Executive Chairman, Development Policy Centre, Ibadan, 1996–2000
Chairman, Governing Board, Development Policy Centre, Ibadan, 2000–2003

National–Public Sector

Chairman, Enumeration Area Demarcation, Western Nigeria Census Board, 1961–1963
Member, Western Nigeria Economic Advisory Council, 1967–71
Chairman, Western State Forestry Commission, 1968–74
Member, Western National Committee on Kainji Lake Research Project, 1968–74
Member, Federal Public Service Review Commission, 1972–74
Consultant on Enumeration Area Demarcation, National Census Board, 1973–75
Chairman, Nigerian Council for Management Development, 1976–79
Consultant, Federal Capital Development Authority, 1976–84
Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of Council, Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, 1982–1991
Member, Board of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures, Office of the President, 1986–1993
Member, Board of Trustees, Nigerian National Merit Award Endowment Fund, 1983–1989
Chairman, Board of Trustees, Nigerian National Merit Award Endowment Fund, 1989–1994
Executive Chairman, National Board for Community Banks, 1991–1994
Member, Committee on the Merger of the Federal Mortgage Finance Limited and the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria, (Chairman–Alhaji M.I.Yahaya), 2000
Member, Presidential Committee on Urban Development and Housing (Chairman–Governor Peter Odili), 2001
Chairman, Presidential Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development, 2002–2004
Chairman, Presidential Technical Board, Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria, 2002–
Member, Technical Committee on the Reform of Local Government Councils in Nigeria, 2003–2004
Member, Federal Capital Territory Honorary Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2004–
Chairman, Presidential Committee for the Redevelopment of the Lagos Megacity Region, 2005–2006
Chairman, Interim Lagos-Ogun Megacity Development Authority, 2006–

National–Private Sector

Member, Board of Directors, Nigerian Agricultural Products Co. Ltd., 1965–76
Member, Board of Directors, Academy Press Plc., 1976–2006
Vice-Chairman, Pai Associates International (Nigeria) Ltd., 1979–89
Vice Chairman, Board of Directors, PI International Co. Ltd., 1990–
Chairman, Board of Directors, Fountain Publications Limited, 1990–
Member, Board of Directors, First Interstate Merchant Bank (Nigeria) Ltd., 1993–95
Member, Board of Directors, Shonny Investment and Properties Co. Ltd., 1994–
Chairman, Board of Directors, First Interstate Merchant Bank (Nigeria) Ltd. 1995–99
Chairman, Board of Directors, First Interstate Bank Plc., 2000–2005
Chairman, Board of Directors, Unity Bank Plc., 2006–

International

Member, International Geographical Union Commission on Quantitative Methods, 1964–72
Member, International Geographical Union Commission on Regional Aspects of Development, 1972–76
Member, International Council of Scientific Union, Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment, 1973–76
Vice-President, International Geographical Union, 1972–80
Member, United Nations Secretary-General-Adhoc Advisory Committee on Regional Development advising on the United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan, 1972–86
Vice-President, Governing Council, Pan-African Institute for Development, 1972–78
Member, Board of Trustees, Population Council, New York, 1977–85
President, Governing Council, Pan-African Institute for Development, Douala, Cameroon, 1978–84
President, International Geographical Union, 1980–84
Other Positions (continued)

Member, Board of Trustees, Settlement Study Centre, Rehovot, Israel, 1982–88
Chairman, International Committee for Overcoming Hunger in the 1990s, World Hunger Program, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1988–94
Visiting Research Fellow, World Bank, 1990
Member, Executive Committee, Africa Leadership Forum, 1992–96
Senior Adviser to the Secretary-General for the United Nations Second Conference on Human Settlements, 1994–96
Member, SAIL Project Committee of the Ministry of Development Cooperation, Government of the Netherlands, 1997–2001
Member, Policy Advisory Board, World Bank, Cities Alliance, 2001–2006
Member, US National Academy of Sciences, Committee on the Geographic Foundation for Agenda 21, Washington D.C., 2001–2002
Member, Board of Directors, African Center for Health and Security, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2004–

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“Source Material for the Study of Historical Geography in Nigeria,” *Research Notes*, Department of Geography, University of Ibadan, no. 12, February, 15–27


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"The Africa City-Dwellers," *Insight and Opinion* 1, no. 2.

1970


1971


“Role of the City in the Modernization of Developing Countries,” Canadian Geographer 17, no.1: 67–70.


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“History of the Department of Geography, University of Ibadan.” In Fifty Years of Geography in Nigeria: The Ibadan Story, eds. Olusegun Areola and Stanley I. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, pp.1–18.


2002 "Poverty and Environmental Degradation: Challenges within the Global Economy," Environment 44, no. 1 (Jan./Feb).

Field and Consultancy Experience

**Western Regional Government, Nigeria**

*Date:* 1962–63  
*Title:* Regional Demarcation of Enumeration Areas for the 1962-63 Census  
*Description:* The estimation of population, their delimitation into enumeration areas, the production of sketch-maps of these enumeration areas to facilitate effective census operations.

**Western State Government, Nigeria**

*Date:* 1966–67  
*Title:* Forestry Policy and Management in the Western State  
*Description:* To review the over-exploitation of the forest resources of the State and recommend more realistic policy of developing and managing the resources.

**Federal Government of Nigeria**

*Date:* 1966–68  
*Title:* Socio-Economic Aspects of Kainji Lake Development  
*Description:* To investigate the impact of the construction of the Kainji Dam on the economy and social life of the population living upstream of the dam and recommend ameliorating measures to ease the stress of their resettlement.

**United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland**

*Date:* 1969–70  
*Title:* Growth Poles and Growth Centres in the Regional Development of Nigeria  
*Description:* An investigation into the emerging growth poles and growth centres in Nigeria’s spatial economy in the 1960s.
United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland

Date: 1971
Title: Unified Approach to Development
Description: An attempt to integrate both the economic, social and spatial dimensions in planning.

Federal Government of Nigeria

Date: 1972
Title: Training of Planners in the New States in Preparation for the 1975–80 Development Plan
Description: Involved training on problem identification and planning techniques to planners from all the 12 States of the Federation in preparation for the 1975–80 National Development Plan.

Lagos State Government, Nigeria

Date: 1973–74
Title: Regional Development Plan for Lagos State
Description: Involved a survey of the natural resources of the State and proposal for effective regional development planning for the State.

Federal Government of Nigeria

Date: 1973–75
Title: National Demarcation of Enumeration Areas for the 1973 Census
Description: The estimation of population nation-wide and their demarcation into enumeration areas bearing in mind the distinction between urban and rural areas.

International Council of Scientific Unions (Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment) (ICSU/SCOPE), Paris, France

Date: 1974–75
Title: Standards and Criteria for Shelter Provision in Developing Countries
Description: Investigated the problems of shelter provision for the masses in developing countries arising from the retention by their governments of building standards and criteria deriving from their colonial past.
International Labour Organisation, Geneva, Switzerland

Date: 1976–77  
Title: Absorptive Capacity of Informal Sector Activities in Kano City  
Description: An investigation into migration into Kano City and the extent to which migrants secure employment within the informal sector of the city’s economy.

Ondo State Government, Nigeria

Date: 1976  
Title: (a) Strategic Plan for the Development of Akure as State Capital  
(b) Guidelines for the Physical and Regional Development of Ondo State  
Description: Involved developing infrastructural and land-use planning proposals for Akure in view of its new status as a State Capital and investigating the regional developmental potentials of different areas of the new Ondo State.

Federal Government of Nigeria

Date: 1976–78  
Title: Ecological Survey of the New Federal Capital Territory  
Description: The project involved not only the ecological survey of the New Federal Territory but also a complete census of the non-removable assets of the population that would be displaced from the territory and the identification of the actual site of the new Federal Capital City.

Population Council, New York

Date: 1978–79  
Title: Social Science Research in Population and Development in Africa South of the Sahara  
Description: A literature-search investigation of the contribution of social science research to the understanding of various aspects of the population-development interrelationships in Sub-Saharan African countries.
United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan
Date: 1979–80
Title: Evaluation of the First World-Bank Assisted Agricultural Development Project, Funtua, Northern Nigeria
Description: An assessment of the sustainability of the Funtua ADP giving the various special conditions under which it was initiated and made to operate.

The Nigerian Industrial Development Bank, Lagos, Nigeria
Date: 1977–80
Title: The Nigerian Industrial Sector: A General Survey
Description: Entailed looking at the experience of countries such as India, the Philippines, Brazil, and Yugoslavia to provide a prospectus for advising on how the Bank should strive to shape the industrial development of Nigeria.

Federal Government of Nigeria (Committee on Green Revolution)
Date: 1980–81
Title: The Nigerian Rice Industry: A General Technical and Economic Analysis
Description: An evaluation of the feasibility of establishing viable and efficient facilities for rice production and processing in Nigeria.

Oyo State Government
Date: 1981–82
Title: Pilot Study on Improving Local Government Revenue and Municipal Services
Description: Addresses vital policy issues of how urban communities can be made less of a drain on the resources of State Government and be particularly less dependent on the historical fiscal burden, which had been long shouldered by the rural economy.

Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment
Date: 1981–82
Title: Pilot Study on Urban Solid Wastes Disposal and Environmental Management
Description: An attempt to define empirically the magnitude and scope of the problem of solid wastes and to evolve urban management models to cope with the
wide range of operational problems. Also investigated the major institutions in the country involved with the problems and defined future role of the Federal Government in the sector.

**Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment**

- **Date:** 1982–83  
  - **Title:** Managing the Nigerian Environment: A Sector Plan (1984–95)  
  - **Description:** Provide a framework of data and rational perspectives to facilitate the formulation of realistic plans, feasible programmes and systematic policies for the nation's environmental sector.

**Oyo State Government, Nigeria**

- **Date:** 1982–85  
  - **Title:** Geo-coding of Ibadan, Oshogbo, Ilesha and Ogbomosho: A Pilot Study  
  - **Description:** A follow-up on the pilot study on improving local government revenue and municipal services through tackling the problems of building identification and developing an urban management information system.

**Federal Ministry of Housing and Environment, Lagos**

- **Date:** 1985  
  - **Title:** Training Programme for Solid Wastes Management Cadres in Nigeria  
  - **Description:** As a follow-up on previous consultancy, a comprehensive training programme for top and middle management cadres in environmental management organizations in all tiers of government in the Federation was designed and executed.

**Ministry of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja**

- **Date:** 1986–87  
  - **Description:** An attempt to formulate critical policy guidelines and articulate a viable investment programme for meeting the industrial and commercial requirements of the Federal Capital Territory for the period 1986 to 2000.
Federal Ministry of Works and Housing (Urban & Regional Development Division)
Date: 1988–1990
Title: Integrated Regional Plan for Nigeria
Description: A major study to examine problems of planning and managing urban and regional development in Nigeria, investigate the various institutions and agencies concerned with the problems, advise on potentially feasible and necessary projects, programmes and policies and submit an articulated and phased plan for a feasible urban and regional development programme for the period 1983–2000.

African Studies Association/Social Science Research Council, New York
Date: 1988–89
Title: Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa
Description: A research overview of the trend in urban planning in most countries of Africa. The emphasis is on the changing broad conceptual framework that underpin urban planning in many of the countries over the last thirty years of post-independence.

The World Bank, Washington (Africa Technical Division)
Date: 1990
Title: Urban Land and Urban Management Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa
Description: A review of policies on urban land and urban management in the context of dynamic city-creating activities of civil societies and the weak capabilities of the State in most of Sub-Saharan Africa.

United Nations Development Programme, New York
Date: 1991
Title: Forward-Looking Assessment of the UNDP/UNCHS/World Bank Urban Management Programme
Description: An assessment of the first phase of a ten-year programme on urban management in which the World Bank and UNCHS as contractors had undertaken various studies on land management, municipal finance and administration, urban infrastructure, and urban environment.
United Nations Development Programme, New York

Date: 1995
Title: Evaluation of the Management of Sustainable Growth and Development of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Description: An evaluation mission to assess the success and sustainability of the environmental management strategy which has been initiated in Dar es Salaam, capital of the Republic of Tanzania, since 1991 by the UNCHS.

Urban Management Programme, (UNCHS), Nairobi

Date: 1995
Title: Role of Traditional Leaders in Local Government in South Africa
Description: An advisory mission to South Africa to provide policy-makers comparative advice in support of the local government legislation drafting process on the role of traditional leaders in local government.


Date: 1994–97
Title: The Current State of Geography
Description: A consultancy to author/edit a volume by an international team of geographers which was to focus on areas of current geographical interest and address some of the fundamental challenges facing the human race at the end of the twentieth century.

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Nairobi, Kenya

Date: 1999–2001
Title: City Consultation for Poverty Reduction in Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria
Description: A consultancy that seeks to investigate the effectiveness of the City Consultation process for initiating, promoting and sustaining a poverty reduction strategy in a medium-size city in south-western Nigeria.
Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Abuja, Nigeria
Date: 2001
Title: Merging of the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria and the Federal Mortgage Finance Limited
Description: A project for merging the above two mortgage institutions so as to consolidate Federal Government’s attention on secondary mortgage activities for promoting mass housing in the country.

United States National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., USA
Date: 2002
Title: Down to Earth: Geographic Information for Sustainable Development in Africa
Description: Member of an international collaborative effort to apply a new generation of earth observation data and GIS-linked technologies to ongoing sustainable development problems in Africa in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa in August, 2002.

The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria
Date: 2002–2003
Title: Presidential Committee on Urban Development and Housing
Description: Member of a national committee under Dr. Peter Odili, Governor of Rivers State of Nigeria to report on the state of housing and urban development in Nigeria and make appropriate recommendations.

The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria
Date: 2003–2005
Title: Presidential Technical Committee on Housing and Urban Development
Description: Chaired the Committee saddled with responsibility of implementing the Report of the Governor Odili’s Committee to re-structure the housing delivery system in the country through emphasis on private sector real estate developers and a robust mortgage finance system as well as promote a new strategy for urban development in the country.
The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria

Date: 2003–
Title: Presidential Technical Board for the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria
Description: Chaired this Board to re-structure the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria and enhance its capability to serve as a secondary mortgage finance institution through operating on the nation's capital market to access considerable additional mortgage finance from institutional investors notably pension funds and banks.

The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria

Date: 2003–2004
Title: Technical Committee on the Reform of Local Government Councils in Nigeria
Description: Served as a member of the Committee under the chairmanship initially of Etsu Nupe and, with his death, Alhaji Liman Ciroma, to report on the possibility of re-structuring the Local Government System in Nigeria.

Ministry of the Federal Capital Territory

Time: 2004–
Title: Honorary Ministerial Advisory Committee on the Federal Capital Territory
Description: Served as a member of the Committee under Chief Ajose-Adeogun to advise the Minister of the Federal Capital Territory on the planning, development, and effective governance of the Federal Capital Territory.

The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria

Title: Re-development of the Lagos Megacity Region
Description: Served as Chairman of a Committee to report on and provide recommendations for the re-development of the Lagos Megacity Region that embraces the continuous built-up area extending from Lagos to Ogun State.
The Presidency, Federal Government of Nigeria

Time: 2006–
Title: Lagos-Ogun Megacity Development Authority
Description: Appointed Chairman of the Interim Lagos-Ogun Megacity Development Authority to implement the many recommendations in the Report of the Committee earlier set up for the Re-development of the Lagos Megacity Region.
Postscript
by Professor Akin L. Mabogunje

It has been fascinating to read the preceding chapters, which attempt to encapsulate the diversity and evolution of my intellectual concerns over the many years of my academic career. In providing a postscript to this magnificent effort by Professor Stanley Okafor, I must begin by expressing my very sincere appreciation to him for taking on the challenging task of giving a structure to a maturing process that was as imperceptible as it was transforming.

It is difficult for me not to re-emphasize that my intellectual development was built on two foundations: the training in historical geography at the University College, London, under the late Professor H. C. Darby in the 1950s, and the quantitative and theoretical revolution in geography that was such an important part of my 1963 sabbatical leave at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. During that year, I had the pleasure of working closely with Professors Bill Garrison and Ned Taaffe. Both experiences sharpened my perception of the processes that shape the landscape of countries at different points in their development. They prepared me for a better understanding of Africa’s situation as it changes from largely precapitalist and colonial, to a statist and centrally controlled political economy, to a democratic society and political economy.

Toward the end of the 20th century, as globalization increasingly impacted the economic and social lives of people in different parts of the world, I began to appreciate that urbanization was central to the two revolutions that were starting to sweep the African continent. The first revolution was democratic and sought to empower people, especially at the grassroots. It focused serious concern on decentralization, which still has to propel many African countries to give much needed attention to devolving more powers and resources to their local governments and municipalities. The second
revolution embraced the free market economy. Following three or four decades during which many African governments attempted to control the so-called commanding heights of their national economies, it became clear by the 1980s that this strategy was failing disastrously under the weight of mismanagement, a disabling culture of political and bureaucratic impunity, and pervasive corruption.

Urban management and governance, thus, challenged many African countries to confront the extent to which they are willing to democratically empower their citizens at the local government level. As already indicated in the writings reviewed in this book, the issue of decentralization is being canvassed and pursued in many African countries. However, it is clear that they still have a long way to go to return significant decision-making power to people at the local government level. The usual excuses that local governments are riddled with debilitating corruption and lack professional personnel with the necessary qualifications and expertise should no longer be tenable. Such excuses emasculate the robust capacity of citizens to collectively take their fortunes into their hands and make decisions that will impact positively and effectively on their economic well-being and social welfare.

Increasingly, local governance is having to distinguish between representative and participatory democracy. All through the developing world, representative democracy—whereby a few individuals are elected as councilors or representatives of their wards and meet regularly to make decisions that affect the lives of all the citizens—is now regarded as inadequate to ensure effective and efficient management. Instead, with the explosion of information technology and the greater access to information, a participatory democratic culture is more likely to improve conditions in cities and towns and make them more socially inclusive. Participatory democracy pays more attention to neighbourhoods and seeks to encourage representatives of poor and blighted neighbourhoods to participate in discussions and decision-making about priorities for their cities and towns. The role of the elected council in this arrangement becomes almost that of a board of directors, which oversees the development of the city or town. However, the difference is that the council is better informed of its citizens’ priorities and there is a forum in which the problems of city management can be discussed by a wide cross-section of residents.

Such participatory democracy is being underpinned in many countries, especially in Latin America, by what is now generally referred to as participatory budgeting. This is a system whereby neighbourhood representatives discuss and agree on funding priorities for infrastructural development and service delivery. Involving so many of the residents in these
discussions also makes it possible to gain their commitment that the necessary revenues must be raised to fund the agreed priorities, either through user charges or higher taxes and rates. In many African countries, participatory democracy could facilitate significant improvements in data-base development and enhance planning capacity. Such a participatory democratic culture is not totally strange to the informal governance of many secondary African cities. They have hometown voluntary associations (associations d’originaires) that mobilize resources based on levies of all their citizens, both at home and abroad, to implement agreed priorities for infrastructural facilities and services. Extending such practices to the emerging metropolitan centres in African countries would ensure that we are true to our traditional culture and heritage of consultation, transparency, and accountability in governance.

A further trend in promoting greater participatory democracy in the governance of cities and towns is the increasing concern with the idea of city development strategies. An effective city development strategy begins by involving an inclusive cross section of residents in a forum to discuss and articulate their vision of how they want their particular city or town to develop economically, socially, and politically over a given time period. This facilitates agreement on a development path and infrastructural priorities in the context of proposed economic and business development in the city. For African countries, such development strategies would result in greater appreciation of the informal economy’s role and how its development and integration with the more formal economy can be promoted.

City development strategies also help to focus attention on the role of the national capital market in urban infrastructure development. Governments in developing countries, especially in Africa, are still reluctant to raise municipal bonds on the capital market to improve infrastructural facilities. This reluctance will have to be replaced by a more proactive stance that prescribes eligibility criteria that must be met to be able to access development funds. Whatever the criteria, promoting the access of urban centres to the capital market is bound to improve the quality of financial management, enhance their data bases, and further consolidate their democratic culture.

If developing countries were to resolve the problems of promoting the infrastructural development of their cities and towns, it would be easier to contain the problems of expanding peri-urban informal settlements and slums. The development of a mortgage system to facilitate home ownership becomes increasingly feasible as a country deepens its capital market and makes it possible to promote secondary mortgages. Deliberate housing policies and programmes enable governments to confront the problems of
upgrading slums, provide low income rental housing, and cope with homelessness.

Given the fact that houses are the products of a massive assembly industry, with tremendous backward and forward linkages, programmes to improve mass housing for the urban and rural populations tend to stimulate a wide range of small and medium-scale industries. Backwardly linked industries include those producing the following: bricks and mortar; floor, wall and ceiling tiles; doors and windows; sanitary and kitchen wares; such metal wares as hinges and locks; various electrical fittings; and paints and other decorative wares. Forward linkages include bedroom and sitting room furniture, electrical gadgets, floor coverings, and so on. All of these together with the completed houses themselves ensure that the housing industry accounts for a significant proportion of the annual gross domestic product. Indeed, in some developed countries, the housing industry is said to account for between 25 and 35 percent of the gross domestic product and provide a veritable barometer for assessing the state of the economy at any particular time.

How then do I conclude this postscript? What singular haven of experience has the intellectual voyage of my life led me to? What should we distill about the emerging urban Africa from all of these writings? These are questions that call for continuing reflections by scholars confronted with the daunting challenges of development, particularly urban development in Africa. From my perspective, however, if there is any one issue that has become clear and salient in my thinking, it is that no development can proceed in any country without serious attention to how a relatively large pool of long-term savings can be mobilized to invest in national development. No amount of access to grants and aid from international and bilateral donor agencies, nor loans from multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank, can do more than scratch the surface of the enormous investment in infrastructural facilities needed to put a country on the path of sustainable economic growth and development. Nothing but its own domestically generated and mobilized long-term savings can enable a country to cope effectively with its infrastructural needs on a long-term and sustainable basis.

The most important pool of long-term savings in any country is, of course, what citizens contribute to their pensions, followed by their life insurance. Many African countries still adhere to the colonial practice of making civil service pensions noncontributory. Where this practice persists, and pension liabilities and infrastructural provisioning are met only from annual budgetary appropriations, development is generally stunted and comes to depend heavily on the infrequent grants or loans from bilateral or multilateral organizations. On the other
hand, building up long-term savings through contributory pensions or life insurance can only be sustainable if a capital market, credit-rating organizations, trustee institutions and other institutions are established to ensure that pension and insurance funds cannot be accessed directly, even by a prudent government. Pension and insurance fund administrators should operate in the capital market as institutional investors. Any attempts by governments or any other corporate bodies to access these funds must be on the basis of due process and discipline of the capital market.

African countries have to pay particular attention to these factors to ensure their sustained and sustainable growth. There is no short cut to urban development or even to national economic development, except through a process of internal self-reliance. This almost worn-out concept of sustainable development can, however, be realized not in the sense of autarky, or a country closing in on itself to provide all of its needs, but rather as a country puts in place the institutions required to facilitate its effective transition to a full-fledged free market economy and fosters the consolidation of real democratic culture in its society. From my point of view, it is to the extent that significant development is made on these two fronts over the next two decades that emerging urban Africa can stand up to the intense competitiveness of the 21st century and meet the diverse and pervasive challenges of this era of globalization.