

Regional Overview of the Status of Urban Planning and Planning Practice in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

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**Regional study prepared for
Revisiting Urban Planning:
Global Report on Human Settlements 2009**

Available from <http://www.unhabitat.org/grhs/2009>

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Acknowledgements

This report was funded by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme. The opinions expressed in the report are those of the co-author, Dr Don Okpala.

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1. Introduction

Urban Planning is the process of programming the coordination of the direction, structure and pattern of the development, growth and management of urban settlements with the goal of ensuring that all necessary land-use needs (including economic, social, environmental, institutional, cultural, recreational and leisure needs), for all the socio-economic population groups in the society are provided for in compatible and symbiotic locational relationships and densities. By varying the category and range of permitted activities from place to place within the urban context, urban planning ensures that there is a place for every worthwhile activity while keeping away noxious activities from residential areas, thus protecting and safeguarding public health. Alternatively, Sutcliffe's (1981) definition may be equally appropriate, that "Town planning is a deliberate ordering by public authority of the physical arrangements of towns or parts of towns in order to promote their efficient and equitable functioning as economic and social units and to create an aesthetically pleasing environment".

The process of urban planning as envisaged here is one of macro city-wide scope and coverage and excludes micro/sectional or neighbourhood planning activities that may form part of a staged implementation of the city-wide plan.

Conventional and formal urban planning practice in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries was largely of British colonial creation and much of urban planning legislation in the region derived and evolved from the succession of British Town planning legislations/Acts and their revisions throughout the 12th century. Earlier British colonial town planning legislations with the general objective "to control urban expansion and provide for slum clearance and renewal" were enacted in British colonies with strong "settler" activities and potential for inter-communal conflicts (Home, 1997)". This included South Africa in the late 1920s.

This Chapter attempts an overview of the trends in the evolution of urban planning over the period, the varying rationale and institutional frameworks adopted in the various countries, the evolving challenges, the nature of the institutional and regulatory frameworks for urban planning in the sub-region and the place and role of urban planning in promoting sustainable urban development in the countries of the region in the context of the prevailing dominance of informal economic activities and increasingly uncontrollable urban sprawl. It finally assesses the effectiveness of the various planning approaches adopted and implemented by various countries as well as evaluating the relevance, impact and efficacy of urban planning education in the region in the context of the overall sustainable urban development management in Africa.

2. Recent Fundamental Challenges Faced by Urban Areas in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

The fundamental challenges faced by urban areas in Anglophone African countries include, among others:

- The continuing high rate of urban population growth;
- Unplanned and unregulated physical growth and expansion of the cities;
- The Challenge of mass poverty, particularly urban poverty;
- Weakness of the urban management institutions reflected in their inability to adequately provide basic urban services.

2.1. Continuing High Rate of Urban Population Growth

Although slowing down from the high rates of 8% - 10% annual rate of urban growth of the 1960s and 1970s to 7% - 8% of the 1980s, Africa is still currently the fastest urbanizing continent in the world, with an annual urban growth rate of between 4.5% - 5.0%. This rate of urban growth is still remarkable, compared with other major developing world regions of Asia and Latin America. Much of this urban growth is from rural to urban migration.

The rapid increase in rural – urban population migration in Africa which fuels this urban growth and is indeed the main source of urbanization in the continent, is largely a response to the real or perceived economic and social opportunities in the cities. This migration is exacerbated by reduced incomes in the traditional agricultural sector in the rural areas. Income opportunities in the cities are incontestably much higher than in the rural areas and this spurs rural – urban population movements. The movement of people from rural to urban areas is also considered an essential element of their household strategies for increasing and diversifying incomes, mitigating the risk of dependence on agricultural production and improving individual and general welfare through improved access to educational and health facilities. (AfDB, 2005:38).

Other obvious push factors exacerbating the rural – urban migration phenomenon are the continual armed conflicts within and between some African states, wars, internal tensions and disturbances between and within countries which are responsible for the displacement of large population groups from their traditional or normal habitats or residences. More recent examples are Zimbabwe, Kenya, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Sudan, Niger, among others. Up to 23 out of the 45 countries in sub-Saharan Africa had for example experienced by 2007, either armed conflict or serious political and social upheavals or natural disasters that had negative impact on social peace and on carrying out development activities in those countries. Affected rural populations in these areas usually move to the cities. Consequent on this, the concept of ‘internally displaced persons’ (IDPs) has gained greater currency in the African humanitarian affairs discourse in recent years.

On the average, nearly 40 per cent of Africans now live in cities, expected to increase to 50 per cent in the next 25 years if current trends continue. (Satterthwaite, 2007:7).

“Despite the structural slow-down of the urbanization process that has already begun, the total urban population and the urbanized areas in Sub-Saharan Africa can be expected to increase threefold, and the flows of persons and incoming and outgoing urban goods and services to increase tenfold by the year 2025 . It is essential to develop a new vision of the African City

as a place of innovation, wealth creation and capital accumulation, but no longer as a place of poverty and concentration of all kinds of depravity. This new vision calls for a different conception of projects in urban areas, with greater ambition and faith in the future” Jean-Marie Cour (2000:3)

The foregoing is an expression of the hope and expectation from a better planned and more effectively managed urbanization.

2.2. Unplanned and Unregulated Physical Growth and Expansion of the Cities

The dominant feature and a fundamental challenge to most Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries urban landscape today is that of haphazardly growing shanty-towns and of slum and squatter developments. Many sections or neighbourhoods of the cities of Sub-Saharan Anglophone African Countries are a build-up of unregulated, congested, ramshackle housing, surrounded by almost indescribable filth. Nearly three-quarters of Africa’s urban residents reside in slums, often unrecognized and un-serviced by their local governments (Cities Alliance 2006:2). There are hardly much drainage facilities or solid waste disposal facilities. Mountains of refuse are common features everywhere. These features are now such pervasive phenomena in most large and intermediate Anglophone African cities that the configuration of these cities is now largely defined by where these illegal settlements spring up. This is the case in practically all Anglophone African countries cities and towns. It is the case in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu in Kenya, in Harare and Bulawayo, in Zimbabwe, in cities in South Africa, in Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Onitsha and other cities of Nigeria, in Accra, Takoradi and other cities and towns of Ghana. It is the same in practically all the cities and towns of Anglophone Africa as in all African countries and it is needless to name them individually. These features and trends are making it all the more expensive, if not impossible, to provide such city areas with basic services.

These result in poor infrastructure facilities and deteriorating public utilities such as poor drainage and inadequate sanitation, inadequate water supplies, mounds of garbage and other solid waste, constrained mobility as a result of outdated physical layouts, or no planned layout, flourishing street trading, overcrowded, inadequate transport systems and inadequate and deteriorated road facilities resulting in overcrowding and congestion, noise and pollution. Activities have developed and located with hardly any regard for transport distances or local natural conditions (Magalhaes et al, 2000:4).

Prevalence of low levels of social discipline and civic responsibility is a challenge to city planners and administrators in the sub-region. Houses are built without much regard to existing building and health codes or zoning and subdivision regulations. The magnitude of these phenomena naturally overwhelms the efforts of city planners, city administrators, health and building inspectors whose effectiveness are further undermined by current and continuing advocacy of interventions by disparate and often-times non-descript advocacy groups. It has been noted that the majority (between 40% and 80%) of urban population in African towns and cities now lives in slums (AfDB 2005:25) or in such unplanned and uncontrolled urban settlements, and many are constant victims of actual or threatened evictions by public authorities.

Commentaries in some National Newspapers may serve to give a clearer impression of the urban environmental situation of African cities.

“... true hope for African cities lies in starting afresh. Nairobi for example is certainly not a city. It is just one huge slum that is so badly mismanaged by people who know next to nothing about town planning (Muluka, 2002)

“There is no doubt that Mombasa (Kenya) has in the last few years degenerated into anarchy as hawkers took over the side walks, matatus the streets and thugs and drug dealers the slums. The (Mombasa city) Council, devoid of any plan about how to reverse the madness and due to lack of money, has been relegated to a mere spectator” (Mutonya,N:2002:11)

West of the Sub-Region, other commentators lament that

“The city of Lagos has been characterised as a bedlam, sprawling with filth and stench from uncleared refuse and drainage (Ipaye, 2001)

And of another Nigerian city – Onitsha, a columnist writes that:

“Onitsha is a chaotic city, an insult to the art of architecture and a disgrace to urban planning and development. The people live and conduct business in a disorganized, congested space, carved out into small empires...” (Abati, 2006).

Another writer describes the same city as:

“a sprawling slum city of chaos and disorder, that wears the scars of the battles against slum dwelling, violence, joblessness, banditry and absolute infrastructural neglect...” (Ehusani, G: 2006).

Dewar (1995:41) had noted in the case of South African cities that, “the fragmented urban systems generate enormous amounts of movements at great temporal and monetary cost to the individuals and societies alike and massively aggravate the main developmental issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality facing Southern African towns... The sprawling discontinuous pattern makes efficient and viable public transport impossible, they waste scarce resources such as land, energy and finance to the degree that the urban settlements are becoming financially non-sustainable, and they are resulting in extensive environmental degradation in terms of landscape, vegetation, water, air and noise”.

As succinctly summarized by Our Common Future (WCED: 1987:240-241):

“The uncontrolled physical expansion of cities has had serious implications for the urban environment and economy. Uncontrolled development makes provision of housing, roads, water supply, sewers, and public services prohibitively expensive. Cities are often built on the most productive agricultural land and unguided growth results in the unnecessary loss of this land. Such losses are most serious in nations with limited arable land such as Egypt. Haphazard development also consumes land and natural landscapes needed for urban parks and recreation areas. Once an area is built up, it is both difficult and expensive to re-create Open space”.

Hague (2005:69) opines that “...the slum creation industry looks set to dominate urban development for the next generation”.

Most African cities can therefore be likened to rat colonies from which it is not honest to expect order unless and until formal institutions of city planning and management are restored and strengthened to perform their functions of city planning and city building. This is a core challenge of these cities.

2.3. The Challenge of Mass Poverty

Cities are historically centres of economic growth, prosperity, and cultural vitality. Yet it is an ironic fact that one of the critical challenges is the apparent abject poverty of most Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries and their citizens. The vast majority (67%) (UNCTAD, 2003:8) of the countries and their populations belong to the group of Least Developed Countries with per capita national incomes of below US\$500, there is very little available for investment. The report of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) had stated that Sub-Saharan Africa was the only region where the number of people living in abject poverty had grown over the past 20 years. In fact those living in absolute poverty in the region rose by 42% to 47% from 1981 to 2001, while absolute poverty had dropped from 40% to 21% in the world as a whole. So poverty and its manifestations are a serious challenge to cities of the Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries.

Finding innovative solutions to poverty – individual, household and state/societal is a challenge as reflected by Hague (2005:68),

“Poverty is now central to any dialogue on urban development, especially in sub-saharan Africa. Social reform and concern to better the living conditions of the urban poor were important influences on the formation of a town-planning profession, yet as planning became a statutory function, it became technocratic increasingly divorced from an understanding of poverty. This is one reason why planning has been marginalized – or even demonized – in policy discourse about shelter and settlements. We will need to change. The gap between the rich and the poor is growing – both between countries and within countries and urban areas”

The fact that nearly three-quarters (75 percent) (Cities Alliance 2008:2) of the current urban population lives in slums, often unrecognized and un- serviced by their local governments, is clearly an affirmation that the current framework for urban development planning and management has not been able to cope with the problems of urbanization in these countries. The rapid growth of urbanization has not been reflected in investment in urban development management.

2.4. Weakness of Urban Planning and Management Institutions

Perhaps, the most fundamental and critical challenge faced by urban areas in most developing countries, particularly in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries is the crippling weakness of institutions of urban development planning and management. Municipal authorities are usually too short of sufficient funds to meet their responsibilities. Daily, the fiscal management problems and financial shortfalls are compounded. The institutional base and infrastructure for effective urban planning and urban development management is still largely weak and in a state of flux – urban local governments with weak and unviable revenue base, with inadequate technical and administrative skills and as yet limited political will and

commitment on the part of the central and other higher level governments to let the local institutions and their instruments function. The fact remains however that:

“... the impact of programmes aimed at urban shelter, services and infrastructure depends upon the quality of the institutions responsible for planning and implementing these projects. The institutional machinery provides the channel through which the urban sector issues and priorities are articulated, projects are planned and implemented and Inter-sector complementarity is accomplished. Institutions serve as the most critical intervening factors through which economic resources and skills are utilized for, among other things, promoting sustainable urban development” (Cheema 1987:149).

Planning, after all, is only as effective as the administrative system supporting it and the political philosophy, willingness and commitment of the state in which it operates allows it to be (McAuslan 1985:66). Most central and state governments in Anglophone Africa are yet to allow this institutional strengthening at the local level, and this is a fundamental challenge to effective urban development planning and management.

The last challenge is poor governance, corruption and waste of resources. From Nigeria, Kenya and Zaire, to several other African countries, the refrain is about how much the governing elites have taken out of the countries and invested all over the world, rather than in their own countries. How bad, really bad government is for a country has been demonstrated by several governmental regimes.

The dismal situation was clearly reflected in the results of a recent (2004) BBC survey. The survey in eight countries in Africa, that is Egypt, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe by the international polling agency, Globes can indicated that more than a third of people in these countries felt worse off this year compared with last. In Zimbabwe for instance, just 3% of those asked thought life was getting better. Together with Nigerians they also felt especially pessimistic about their own country. The survey also showed that most Africans did not believe that their national governments reflected the will of the people, and had more trust in their religious leaders.

In this environment local authorities and cities are left with very limited resources. In similar way financial services and in particular the financing of housing is hampered.

As summed up by Agbola (2005), “burdened by many of the problems associated with urban growth, cities in the sub-region are increasingly subject to dramatic crises ranging from unemployment, environmental degradation, deficiencies in urban services and inadequate housing, deterioration of existing infrastructure, lack of access to key resources and to violence”

The upshot of the foregoing challenges is that unless and until they are effectively addressed, the hope and quest for sustainably productive and healthy urban development will continue to be elusive.

Effective urban planning and implementation are the antidotes to these continuing urban challenges. While formal plans, codes, ordinances or such other land-use control measures may not necessarily seem the most important factors influencing land-use patterns and their growth, in the current context of massive urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa, they are still exceedingly important, for it is through them that the relevant public authorities – national, state, provincial, local government or planning agencies – influence where and in what direction, for what and when urban growth will occur. Besides, effective land-use planning and its major land-use policy instrument – zoning – is in essence a hazard prevention and mitigation exercise (Stren, 1992:71) that in the main begins to address the fundamental

challenges confronting the burgeoning cities and towns of Anglophone African countries. Strengthening the institution(s) for managing urban development, be it the municipal/local government or some special – purpose urban development/management bodies is the place to start.

3. Emergence of Modern/Contemporary Urban Planning in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

3.1. Pre-Colonial Urban Settlements Planning

Modern conventional town-planning in Anglophone Africa had British colonial origins. Before then, traditional villages and towns existed with no formal planning but had their traditional settlements patterns and physical structures largely dictated by traditional land-tenure and land use system as well as by kinship and religious order of villages. There was formally “unplanned” but meaningfully “ordered” physical structure to settlements, largely respecting traditionally established arrangements and ways of life. Activities had their places – markets and market squares, religious groves, farms, communal assembly places, playgrounds, and of course roads and footpath patterns. This was the case in all African countries from Nigeria to Benin, to Ghana, Cote D’Ivoire, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia etc. The morphology, form or pattern of traditional settlements, of course varied within countries along ethnic (nationality) group lines, but there was always a recognized and accepted form to the settlements providing for all forms of necessary land-uses. Even in settlements with “traditional urbanization” such as the settlements of South-Western Nigeria, with nucleated settlement patterns, there was distinct and respected physical order. The population and housing congestions that characterize modern urbanization was not apparent then. Every necessary land-use type was provided for.

3.2. Beginnings and Evolution of Urban Planning in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

Urban planning emerged in 19th century Britain and Europe largely as a reaction to address the health crisis brought about by the industrial revolution. As noted by Benevolo (1971: xi),

“The birth of modern town- planning did not coincide with the technical and economic movements which created and transformed the industrial town; it emerged later, when these changes began to be felt to their full extent and when they began to conflict, making some kind of corrective intervention inevitable.”

Similarly, the introduction of urban planning in the former British Colonial territories (Anglophone Africa) was a reaction to the health emergencies of the burgeoning urbanization in the colonies, particularly the cholera and bubonic plague epidemics that occurred in the colonial Indian port cities of Calcutta and Bombay and later transferred to Nairobi (Kenya) through Indian population movements, and to Lagos (Nigeria) (Home, 1997:80; 164-165). Slum Clearance approach involving infrastructural upgrading and urban renewal was used initially to deal with the overcrowding, poverty and disease in these cities at the time.

As underlined in Home (1997:170), “The precursors of town-planning legislation were the Improvement Trusts or Boards which introduced British approaches to slum clearance into colonial cities” In Anglophone Africa, this was initially exemplified in South Africa (1927) and in Nigeria by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) (1928).

South Africa proved the most fertile soil for segregation through land-use planning (Mabin, 1991:8-16). There, the combination of cultural and structural segregation in the early colonial period was transformed into the rigidly segregated apartheid city. An intimate relationship existed therefore between the segregation of South African cities and the early development of town planning in the country, which was highly segregated before the implementation of the Group Areas Act (Home, 1997:136). The Eastern Cape was a frontier where various policies and approaches for regulating inter-ethnic relations were tested throughout the history of South Africa: “locations” for black Africans on the urban edge, separated by buffer strips, personal pass cards, and the blockhouse during the Boer War. The “location” emerged early as “a means of governing non-disciplined, non-consenting populations who proved difficult to observe and record; and around it evolved “ a complex set of governmental, urban, racial and economic ambitions associated with ordering the residential and political domains of African people in cities” (Robinson, 1990). Attempts by the colonial authority to create and maintain racial segregation, particularly in residential land-use has contributed to ethnic political polarization. The most severe examples of structural segregation have therefore occurred in South Africa where the so-called “apartheid city”, has imposed a lasting and inflexible land-use scheme (Home 1997:136-140).

In Nigeria, the remit of the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) was to:

“initiate and execute Town Planning Schemes with the general objective of securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of land to be made in accordance with the provisions of the Act,” and to, “designate and recommend that an area be declared a Town Planning scheme and subject the area to planning and enforcement of building and sanitary codes.”

Source: Lagos Town Planning Ordinance Cap 103 No 45 of 1928.

The general powers of the Lagos Executive Development Board included zoning, subdivision controls, demolition of insanitary structures, re-housing, redistribution of property (private or public), building of roads, compulsory acquisition and disposal of land and payment of compensation etc. The immediate objective of the Board then was to “rid Lagos of the prevailing filth and unsanitary conditions”. The initial conception of the Board therefore was that of a strong sanitary and planning authority much more powerful than the municipal government in the normal sense, since its instrument of creation provided that after the Board initiates a Planning Scheme and gets it approved by the Governor- in- Council, “... *the powers and duties exercisable and devolving upon the Town Council or the Director of Public Works in such area or part thereof, shall be transferred to and be vested in the Board*”.(Lagos Town Planning Ordinance , Cap 103 No.45 of 1928). The Lagos Executive Development Board was therefore made a super Planning and Development Authority to deal with the sanitary health circumstances of Lagos at the time.

At the same time, a series of planning acts, derived from English practice, provided a structure for managing town expansion, sometimes incorporating German land pooling and land readjustment techniques. Then the 1932 English Town and Country Planning Act provided a new model of comprehensive physical planning, which was attractive in many

colonial situations because it appeared to offer land-use control over the whole territory. It was Lord Passfield (the Fabian Socialist Sidney Webb), as the British Colonial Secretary (1929-1931) that could be said to have set in motion the institutionalization of urban planning in the former British Colonies (Anglophone Countries). In a Circular to his Colonial Governors and Administrators, he stated among others that:

Circular to Governors of British Colonies by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, 1930.

“I have the honour to inform you that I have recently been giving consideration to the question of town and regional planning in the colonies.

I think it may be safely said that careful planning of this nature, bearing in mind the probable development over a long period is essential to the fullest and healthiest development of which any particular area is capable. Town and regional planning in the proper sense is not a matter of new projects which would not otherwise have been undertaken; but should rather be regarded as an orderly and scientific method of controlling work already in progress or inevitable in the future, in a manner which secures the best and most far-reaching economical results from current expenditure as it takes place. Nothing is more expensive than haphazard or narrowly conceived development which will later involve the costly undoing of earlier mistakes. Moreover, planning is more effective the earlier the stage at which it is applied. It is therefore important that advice should be secured and considered before and not after expensive projects for docks, railway stations, bridges, road developments, etc., are worked out” (Cole, M (Ed.) (1974).

Immediately thereafter followed the English Planning Act of 1932 with its housing and slum clearance provisions. These legislations, subsequently revised and updated by the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, were first applied to Trinidad and the West Indies Colonies, and subsequently extended to the West African Colonies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Sierra Leone and the Gambia during the 1945 – 46 period and extended to the East and Central African countries of Nyasaland (Malawi) (1948), Uganda (1948 and 1951), Seychelles, Mauritius etc. These legislations were viewed at the time as “a comparatively simple document prepared on a policy of expediency in an endeavour to give legal status to town planning at the earliest possible moment” (Home 1997:183). This legislation is the guiding Planning Legislation in force, with minor changes in most Anglophone Sub-Saharan African Countries today.

Following political independence in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, and in responding to the resulting massive urbanization (rural-urban population transfers), that followed in the wake of National Independence, these planning legislations were adapted in the various Anglophone countries in varying institutional frameworks to address the consequences of this burgeoning urban phenomenon and its evolution. These adaptations involved mainly the liberalization of standards embodied in the British 1947 and its subsequent revisions. Such revisions/adaptations included the removal land-use zoning standards based on race, for example high density for Africans, medium density for Asians high density and low density for European residential areas; liberalization or lowering of standards for some land developments particularly housing, legitimization of some spontaneous settlements etc. These revisions and adaptations have been undertaken in most Anglophone countries including Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. In some of the countries there has been even more one revision of the Planning Act since independence. And even within a Federal country like

Nigeria, the revisions have been undertaken by the various States of the country, with each state adapting its urban planning legislation to its own peculiar socio-political and environmental realities and landscape such as separation of residential areas with wide greenbelts and wide streets have been modified. These adaptations and liberalization of urban planning laws and regulations were exemplified in the acceptance of “sites and services’ schemes in several of these countries, notably Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia etc. These schemes accepted and legitimized standards that would have not have been approved by the first generation of planning laws modeled on the inherited British planning laws.

Several countries adopted the Urban Master Plan approach in which consultants – usually then international consultants were commissioned to prepare urban master plans for some designated major urban areas where development pressures were most acute. Such plans were over time developed for Dar es Salaam, Mtwara, Tabora, Tanga, Moshi, Mbeya and Dodoma – all in Tanzania. There was also master planning for Lilongwe in Malawi.

A succession of Nigeria’s Five Year Development Plans, beginning with that country’s Third National Development Plan (1975 – 1980) started to devote attention to physical planning (town planning). In its Chapter 25 devoted to Town and Country Planning, it was acknowledged that:

“No single Nigerian town or village can be regarded as a model of good planning. Although new areas of expansion are beginning to exhibit some semblance of planning, the typical town or city in the country still consists largely of old residential areas which have simply “grown” on their own with little attempt at any systematic lay-out” (p 313).

The physical planning policy of this Plan was to intensify physical planning of the major urban centres, to undertake urban renewal schemes and to develop new settlements areas.

The major responsibility for preparing urban Master Plans and regional plans in Nigeria was placed on the State Governments and with this impetus, several State Governments in the mid- 1970s and early 1980s embarked on the preparation of urban development Master Plans. The enthusiasm for urban master planning in Nigeria then was such that by December 1980, 196 towns and settlements had master plans completed for them. Similar plans were in preparation for a further 64 towns or settlements and same process was proposed/planned for a further 133 towns or settlements (Okpala, 1981:808). Similarly, in most of the other countries of Anglophone Africa, deliberate planning of the major cities and towns were taking place during this period.

3.3. Trends in Urban Planning in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa Region

“The record of planning and managing rapid urbanization in the developing world has not been impressive either in terms of the instruments used or the quality and performance of the resulting urban environments” (Hamza and Zetter 2000:434).

Urban planning in the Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries has been in endemic turbulence over the years. Advocacies for its methodology and approaches have ranged widely from those for “comprehensive/Master Planning” approach to “action planning” approach”, “structure planning” approach, “strategic planning” approach, to “community or popular (public) participation (subsidiarity approach), sustainable Cities Programme (SCP)

approach, city development strategy(CDS)” approach, the Infrastructure-Led Development approach etc. etc.

The Comprehensive/Master Planning approach is based on the conventional procedural model (“survey-analysis-evaluation- plan – implementation”) which is a highly analytical and technical form of planning. Through maps and text, a comprehensive urban master plan was envisaged to describe the proposed future land-use and infrastructure patterns for the urban area over a 15 – 20 year future period.

It provides a broader relatively more comprehensive context and framework to guide city development by delineating major land uses and other activities location. This planning model or approach has been used for the planning of several cities in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa, including Lilongwe (Malawi), Kaduna, Kano, Lagos and Abuja, among others in Nigeria, Dodoma (Tanzania), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Tema and Takoradi (Ghana), among others. This model/approach reflects a broader vision of what the political and technical authorities envisage the configuration of the city to be, taking into account requirements for the people’s overall safety, health and welfare as well as sustainable economic, social and environmental development of the city. It provides the general framework and guide for city development within which more detailed planning for the various sub-systems could be undertaken.

This model of planning has however, been severally severely criticized to be too rigid, too complex, too detailed and static, that it took too long to prepare , is too costly and largely ineffective. They were criticized for not usually offering an evaluation of the costs of the implementation of the project it proposed or how they would be financed. Community leaders, politicians and potential implementing agency executives were seldom meaningfully involved in the master planning process, being mostly prepared by professional planners in consultancy firms or working in agencies cut off from community perspective of the problems.

This approach to urban planning was therefore deemed to be extremely expensive in both money and time as well as in its opportunity costs, and that even when completed, the additional long and sometimes indefinite bureaucratic process of formally approving and adopting them and making them operationally binding on developers and popular builders tended to neutralize their intended effect in the prevailing situation, such that they seldom offered guidance on the phasing or techniques of implementation and has therefore been largely ineffective as squatter developments overtake their provisions and predominate.

They are said to inadequately address implementation issues, the increasing complexity of land markets, the role of the public sector versus the private sector and the links between spatial and financial planning (Farvacque and McAuslan 1991:64).

Indeed, McAuslan (1985:66) in what he captioned as “The Failure of city planning in developing countries”, surveyed and reviewed city planning and city plans in a number of developing countries including some Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries and came to the conclusion that, for several reasons, including lack of proper legal and administrative frameworks,, lack of and inadequate quantum of technical skills and financial resources, unrealistic assumptions emanating from the foreign base of the plans and lack of participation by the population (which makes the plans all the more foreign), fail in practice because they are over-ambitious, considering the capabilities of the administrative system to enforce their implementation.

This approach to planning is therefore said to be unsuitable in effectively managing urban growth in developing countries, such as countries of the Anglophone Sub-Saharan African

countries, as such an approach are better attuned to scenarios of slow urban growth contexts, as in many older urbanized and developed countries context of Europe and North America in which major investments in infrastructure, roads, services and other public investments are already in place. In contrast, it is argued, rapid urban population growth, lack of infrastructure and services, shortage of funds and skilled human resources in the typical developing country cities, as in most Anglophone African Countries, call for a more dynamic, action- planning approach and process in which priorities have to be continually assessed and re-assessed in the light of available resources and macroeconomic situations.

In reaction and in response to the criticisms of the incapacity of the conventional master planning approach to effectively respond to the overwhelming urban problems in developing countries, the “integrated action planning” approach was promoted and came into vogue. Its rationale is that rapid urban growth taking place in developing countries with inadequate infrastructure and services, shortage of infrastructure and services, shortage of funds and skilled staff as well as the general institutional weaknesses in developing countries make the conventional long-term approach to urban planning unsuitable for managing urban growth in such countries, that a more dynamic planning approach which focuses on “short-term” action planning is desired.

The “integrated action planning” approach starts with the identification of the problems through rapid and participatory data collection, the assessment of resources and institutions, as well as analysis of current goals and policies of the concerned institutions. In the process, responses from community consultations through direct participatory techniques and feedback of findings to the community are very critical factors. Following this, specific projects are identified and prioritized and prepared in terms of specific objectives, inputs, activities and outputs. These projects are used to generate indicative physical development plans to guide, promote, and regulate land-uses. Such a package of investments projects incorporates the quantified demands on resources and institutional capacities and entails decision-making for financial allocations, resource mobilization mechanisms, the distribution of implementation responsibilities and activity schedules.

As is apparent from the above description, this approach is promoted largely by external assistance agencies and is often project-based. It is often limited in scale and scope and usually employed to solve a localized problem or to serve as a demonstration effect. Its operational application is rarely city-wide in scale and scope. This approach was employed in “site and services schemes” or “land re-adjustment/pooling projects”. The approach is therefore characterized by short-term problem solving, use of budget and a policy orientation (Domiceji 1988:7).

The drawbacks of this approach include a loss of long-term perspective of the influence of time on urban development strategy, lack of integration between physical and socio-economic programmes and consequent disregard to institutional linkages. (ibid)

Then there are advocacies for the “urban management programme” approach which seeks to promote the management of cities along the lines of private sector enterprises, keeping close view on available resources and feasible short, medium and long-term development objectives. But voluminous laws, authoritarian tradition and procedural red-tape prevented the easy adoption of such a “western” management mentality and approach in developing countries. The approach requires the adaptation of concepts to the respective cultural contexts and therefore requires the greatest creativity and flexibility of the concepts to the respective cultural contexts.

Then, there was the dialectic of the “public/community participation” approach that advocated the involvement and participation of citizens, community leaders, politicians and implementation agency executives in urban plan making and other urban planning practices. This approach sought to reflect the perception of priorities of the community and citizenry, their preferences of standards, ability and willingness to pay for the plan.

This approach like others requires adequate numbers of qualified staff, innovative and efficient technology which are not readily available in most Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries. Related to this is the Environmental Planning and Management (E.P.M) Approach which was promoted by the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) of UN-HABITAT) and UNEP. It advocated a broad participatory approach aimed at creating sustainable development in urban centres which was envisaged to improve living conditions in informal settlements, alleviate poverty, stimulate economic growth and employment and improve the urban environment (Horst Rutsch 2001). As more elaborately described by Diaw et al (2002:341), the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) process entails continuous awareness-raising, participatory preparation of environmental/development profiles, city/municipal/ward consultations to allow stakeholders to participate in the process of identifying and prioritizing issues of concern, negotiation of strategies and formulation of action plans for addressing the issues, and institutionalizing of the process. It accepts that development and environmental issues cut across sectors, administrative boundaries and institutional divides. Therefore, sectoral coordination, institutional collaboration and involvement of stakeholders in the public, private and popular sectors are required to address development and environmental issues.

This approach was said to have been applied to nine municipalities in Tanzania – namely Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya, Morogoro, Moshi, Mwanza, Tabora and Tanga. It was claimed that this approach proved so successful and effective that the Tanzanian Government decided to officially change the urban planning system from the conventional “Master” Planning approach to the Environmental Planning and Management (E.P.M) process (Horst Rutsch, op.cit).

This, of course, was based on three project approach. Consequently, the sustainability was in doubt in the absence of continued financial support from donors and inadequate local stakeholder support.

Several other approaches, including the Infrastructure-Led Development Approach to urban planning and the relatively more recent City Development Strategy (CDS) approach and their variants have been touted over the years.

These dialectics notwithstanding and indeed in spite of them, the search continues for an approach ensures the realization of the clear objectives of urban planning – namely, to increase the efficient working of the urban economy, to provide good quality residential and working environments in attractive settings, to enhance the quality of urban society, to provide efficient systems for the movement of people and goods, and to protect and enhance natural landscapes as well as protect and guard the environment (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000:289).

For a long time, urban planning practice confined its scope to the statutory territorial boundaries of the city with very little, if any, regard to its surround rural hinterland. In the past decade or so however, it has been recognized that the problems of the city do not only originate from the city itself but also from its rural fringes and wider hinterland in their mutual urban-rural interactions. Consequently, a more comprehensive urban-rural inter linkages perspective or regional planning approach to planning is being advanced and promoted (UN-HABITAT 2005), and is gradually catching on in countries.

4. Nature of Institutional and Regulatory Framework for Planning in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

4.1. Planning Actors

Initially, the main actors in urban development planning and management process in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries, as was largely the case in other regions of the world, were governmental organs - namely, relevant Governmental Ministries and Local Government councils/Authorities. Then the main operatives were technicians in government Town Planning offices – town planners, land surveyors, cartographers, draughtsmen, development control officers, sanitary inspectors etc.

Then, urban planning was seen essentially from a purely professional expert's technical design-oriented perspective. Professionals and experts were expected to survey, sub-divide and assign land to its various desired uses and ensure through some development control and monitoring that developments were undertaken according to planned and mapped out land-use allocations for the town or city.

Planning was considered an activity undertaken only by public sector “experts”. The ordinary citizens were taken not to understand the process. This was the situation up to the later part of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Beginning about the 1980s however, urban planning began to democratize as community or popular participation in the process gained currency and momentum. The urban planning process began to involve, admit of and be affected by a wider variety of participant actors including from the government (central, state/regional and local levels), community and neighbourhood associations as well as other civil society stakeholders and interest groups.

Broadly, these actors could be categorized into the following (UNCHS, 1995:19),

- a) Those whose interests are affected urban planning processes – such as households, businesses, community or neighbourhood associations, and land-holding/owning interest groups etc.

Community or popular participation has come about in a variety of ways, mostly at the local level, e.g through demands for recognition of illegal housing areas by local political parties as in Tanzania and Zambia, for example. However, community or popular participation at a more city-wide level has been very much limited.

- b) Those who control relevant implementation interests – namely, politicians, planners, major investors and implementation agencies drawn from a wide variety of governmental, parastatal and private sector organizations etc.
- c) Those who possess relevant information and expertise needed for dealing with the wide spectrum of issues to be addressed and the variety of instruments to be applied – such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), business organizations, academicians and other experts. The increasing concerns with sustainable urban development require both the investment of a wider variety of professional skills and new forms of institutional coordination mechanisms.

4.2. Nature of the Institutional and Regulatory Framework

Broadly, the institutional and regulatory framework for urban planning in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African countries rest in most cases at the central Government levels, and in Federal Countries like Nigeria , concurrently at the Federal (Central) and State Government levels to initiate and coordinate broad policy in the sector. Urban development planning and management are legislated and institutionalized at these levels. In many of the countries, Ministries or Departments, variously called Ministry of Urban and Regional Planning, Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development, Ministry of Lands, Survey and Town Planning are the institutional frameworks for urban planning and development. Policy and regulatory directions are usually developed at these levels.

More operationally, urban planning and management is handled at the state/provincial and Local Government levels or through some statutory special purpose urban planning and development agencies, especially in major cities. These are variously called Town Planning Authorities, Local or Area Planning Authorities (as in Zimbabwe), Urban Development Authorities or Boards, Metropolitan Planning Authorities etc.

Although ideally, it is the Local Government levels that are expected to have responsibilities for planning and financing of urban infrastructure, provision of land for building purposes and building permits, provision of water, sewer systems and management/treatment of waste, among others, (Urban Futures 21:34), an observed feature across countries of the Sub-Saharan Africa is that urban planning and management in most counties transcends local government administration level. This is because of the traditional institutional weaknesses of local governments in Africa – namely structural, financial and personnel inadequacies. Not many Local Governments are institutionally strong enough to effectively assume some very important urban planning and management functions including housing, piped sewerage systems, environmental pollution controls etc. And in several countries, Local Governments are getting fewer resources at a time when urbanization rates are increasing, unemployment rising and informal settlements spreading, and they do not have the capacity to manage the high standard infrastructure (Swilling 1994: 286). Local Government levels in Anglophone Sub-Saharan Africa are generally not development-oriented in their functions. This is a hang-over of the British colonial administrative maxim which held that

“the municipality is not a suitable organization for controlling the development of a town, especially so where the expenditure of government grants is involved”.(British Colonial Office 1954;14)

It is on this apparent conviction that Central and State Governments usually created autonomous urban development Corporations, Boards or Authorities which they made directly responsible to them to handle the town-planning and other development-related aspects of the cities concerned, more so if they are the capital or other major cities.

The implied distinction between urban planning and other capital development projects on the one hand (over which the Urban Development Boards, Corporations/Authorities have responsibility) and the routine urban administrative and services maintenance function on the other (over which local/municipal governments are given responsibility) creates a conflictual situation that is detrimental to the smooth and productively efficient working of the urban system.

In some of the countries, such as Zimbabwe, some legislative and institutional initiatives have been made to broaden and strengthen the local government system and democracy through legislative and institutional improvements, involving decentralization of authority for

service delivery, and through consolidation of rural-local planning authority, particularly with regards to planning and capacity-building (Musandu-Nyamayaro (2008:20-22).

The few exceptions to this institutional weakness of Local Governments include Zimbabwe, where since the early colonial period and continuing with the adoption of the Executive Mayoral system, urban planning and management of the towns and cities had been guided by clear Local Government laws which promoted orderly development with strong emphasis on public health (Wekwete, 1999:81).

Until the political and economic crisis of recent years, studies of Zimbabwean towns showed that the municipalities were functioning fairly well with business and professional approach to their management and provision of urban services.

This contrasts with the city of Nairobi, Kenya here the Central Government has a strong hand in the day to day management of the city government which militates against their autonomy and effective functioning (Wekwete, 1999:86).

As indicated earlier, an urban institutional and regulatory framework that is used in several Anglophone African countries and indeed preferred by central or state level governments are Multi-purpose bodies or organs, variously called “Urban Development Corporations”, “Urban Development Boards”, “Urban Development Authorities”, “Planning Authorities”, etc. – which had since National Political Independence been used with significant positive effects and outcomes. Indeed, it been argued by some that the semblance of order in some of the African cities today derive from the work and impact of such multi-purpose Urban Development Corporations, “Boards” or Authorities.

Multi-purpose Urban Development Bodies/Institutions/Authorities/Boards have proved effective instruments for more effective planning, re-planning and development management of African cities and towns. These institutions have usually been established as corporate government agencies with public benefit objectives. Their basic purpose is usually to deal more effectively, not only with problems of urban physical deterioration (upgrading), re-planning, reconstruction and rehabilitation of substandard or unsanitary areas (slums), but also with proactive spatial planning and development of the city, as well as with problems of shortage of housing and lack of civic facilities, and thereby also address the problem of urban economic development and income generation. In carrying out their tasks, these institutions are usually endowed with the powers to acquire, re-plan and clear land and resell/reallocate it for development by private developers. They may also prepare the land for redevelopment by providing necessary site works and utility infrastructure, as for an industrial park, residential, cultural or civic facilities/projects. They usually combine the powers of planning and implementation which traditional planning departments or authorities do not usually possess. Usually endowed with overriding legal powers – almost emergency powers-over the local governments, including powers of “eminent domain”, and exemptions from local regulations, when compliance therewith is not feasible or practicable, (including powers of zoning, subdivision controls, re-planning, upgrading, re-building of roads and sanitation infrastructure, relocation and re-housing of affected population, etc), as well as being endowed with greater budgetary resources. Their mode of operation is generally that of design, build, operate and transfer as deemed appropriate. Such institutions have proved effective in planning, re-planning and developing cities with functioning infrastructure and services and thus more productive and healthy environment.

It is of course, acknowledged that the mode of operations of some of these institutions may be less than democratic or participatory. Another advantage of this institutional framework is that it combines and integrates the separate efforts of the many agencies building the city.

Mattingly (1988:98), in this context underlines that "achievement of the objectives of town planning requires combining it with the separate planning efforts of the many agencies building the city". It bears recalling in this context also, the Berlin Declaration on the Urban Future (Global Conference on Urban Future, Berlin 2000) which recommends as one of the most urgent actions, among other things, that

“Cities and other levels of government should adopt effective urban policies and planning processes, which integrate the social, economic, environmental and spatial aspects of development, recognizing the interdependence between the city and the region and between the urban, rural and wilderness areas”

We posit here that the multi-purpose Urban Development Corporation or Authority as envisaged here is best placed to effect the envisaged integrated city development, ensuring that planning and development decisions are made in the overall public interest but recognizing at the same time that public interest may not necessarily always be the same as the interest of all. Public interest would not necessarily be to the full satisfaction of everybody or group because interests are not always the same. But public interest should always prevail.

The role of such institutions in the development of basic urban infrastructure has been outstanding wherever they have been used and they have scored high on effectiveness and impact scales. Examples could be cited of the former Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) which reclaimed, upgraded and developed most of Lagos before 1972 and its successor, the Lagos State Property Development Corporation (LSPDC) which continues the in the same mould of reclamation, upgrading and re-development of Lagos. Outside Africa, the Kingston Urban Development Corporation in Jamaica, the Juron Town Corporation and the Singapore Urban Development Authority in Singapore, the Urban Development Authority in Malaysia, the New York Urban Development Corporation in New York, USA, the Boston Redevelopment Authority I Boston, USA, the Urban Development Corporation of Japan, the Agence d’Urbanisma du Grand Lyon in Lyon, France, among many others Indeed in several African countries and cities, including Ghana, Uganda, Gambia etc, such urban development agencies do already exist with such names as Planning and development Authorities, Boards or Corporations. They may not yet have the financial and technical strength of the examples cited from outside Africa but it is feasible in the African context. Homes (1997:220) implies that these types of agencies have survived because of the reluctance to allow local land-use planning and regulation to be controlled by democratically-elected local authorities, thus contributing to a situation whereby local government has become an administrative backwater in many countries, lacking both financial and technical capacity. True, local governments in Africa generally lack financial and technical capacity but even where as in Nigeria, they have reasonable financial resources with which they could procure even technical capacity, they have largely proven inept owing to rampant corruption in the local government system.

The fact remains that historical experiences of adoption of the urban development agency model show that they are more able to generate and source a substantial proportion of their operating and capital investments funding and able to sustain their operations than other categories of actors in the same contexts can.

4.3. Inclusiveness of the Planning Process and Practice in the Region

Urban planning in Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries has over the years been considered a technocratic process undertaken by only those technically trained in the design arts and sciences. The ordinary population was simply on the receiving end of whatever plans

evolved. Inclusiveness in the process is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon, coming about as a result of pressures from varying categories of stakeholders – including the population which these plans impact on, civil society organizations and various other actors in the field who over the years have been advocating for inclusive popular participation in urban planning. International development discourse strengthened this trend with such concepts as the “subsidiarity principle” which advocates that “decisions should be made and services provided at the lowest level that is cost-effective without creating too many over-spill effects”. (Urban Futures 21).

This “subsidiarity” principle was also promoted in international development discourse as one of the principles of good governance.

It had been observed that the late 1980s laid the foundations of a totally new approach across Africa by focusing on the themes of *accountability, markets, democratization and decentralization* (Urban Futures 21: 2000:33).

Several countries in the Region including Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Ghana, the Gambia and Nigeria - have responded in varying degrees to these pressures by opening up and broadening the urban planning process to increasingly wider spectrum of stakeholders or popular participation. Musanda –Nyamayaro (2008:20-22) notes that Zimbabwe had, beginning about 1984/1985 embarked on legislative and institutional initiatives, including through Prime Ministerial Directives to broaden and democratize development planning process by enabling active involvement and participation of communities in planning, implementation and coordination of development projects and programmes. This is as yet conceptually and politically “correct”. Its practical implementation is bound to be initially at least unwieldy and tedious, not to say expensive and may disappoint expectations. While this may be so, however, it is a necessary and significant measure towards opening up and democratizing the planning system and process.

Current urban planning practice in Nigeria requires a fully participatory process involving consultations with various categories of local stakeholders, including community leaders, civil society groups and concerned private sector organizations in a gender-sensitive and balanced manner. Current and on-going urban structure planning projects in three cities of Anambra State of Nigeria – namely Awka, Nnewi and Onitsha- involve intensive and extensive consultations with communities and their leaders, other opinion leaders, NGOs, CBOs as well as with private sector industry captains. It is being undertaken in the framework of the concept of Rapid Urban Sector Profiling for Sustainability (RUSPS). Again, though theoretically elegant, the process is tedious and complex and on occasions, end up with a wish list of what communities and other interest groups desire- which at-times may have diversionary effects on the thrust of plan goals and objectives.

It can be said that inclusive participatory planning is gradually taking hold in the planning process and practice in many Sub-Saharan Anglophone African countries. This participation however is still limited to consultations. In practice, NGOs and CBOs are incorporated in the decision-making processes “only in very limited cases” (Diaw et al 2002:339, Wekwete 1997:540) While democratized participatory process is now almost mandatory in all aspects of urban planning in Sub-Saharan Anglophone African countries and this is positive, it nevertheless tends to significantly slow down planning decisions, administrative and delivery processes. Diaw et al (2002:343-344) describes in a South African context a hypothetical example of the effect of this on an application to subdivide a property. Such an application “would give rise to participation processes connected to the need for a Heritage Impact Assessment, an Environmental Impact Assessment, a Traffic Impact Assessment and a planning approval process. Thereafter, each application for land-use change has to be

approved by municipal councilors. Securing such approval can take up to four years!! Even then, the quality of participation is often questionable. The actual planning decisions therefore are still made by the technicians though these decisions could also subsequently be subjected to review, comments and where necessary and appropriate, objections by any groups of stakeholders.

4.4. Merits and Demerits of Existing Institutional and Regulatory Planning Framework in the Sub-Region

The merits of the existing institutional and regulatory planning framework is that the central or state government level which currently controls these planning activities are the levels which have or can command the capability, technical skills and expertise, as well as the financial resources to effectively carry out planning activities and their implementation. The central and state governments, at their levels, have and could deploy the required resources to effect. The existing framework also has the merit of having a much more holistic view and perspective of the planning needs of the entire territory in contrast with the relatively more circumscribed local focus of individual local governments, thus it is in a position to internalize over-localized systems in which individual towns/cities tend to maximize the welfare of their own residents by exporting their problems to neighbouring towns and cities. The existing framework also has the advantage of quicker and more prompt planning and implementation action, where the political will exists and not being unnecessarily bugged down by considerations of complex and oftentimes contradictory and diverging pockets of local group interests.

The demerits however, of the current central or state government level control of the institutional and regulatory framework is its removal from the people and communities who the plans impact most on. In many cases, the local community and people are not informed of plans which would affect their lives and livelihoods. It results in a distorted supply of public goods, waste and disempowerment of urban inhabitants. The higher level (central, state/provincial level control purports, of course to reflect the higher public interest which may in cases relate to more than the local/community interest.

4.5. The Place and Role of Urban Planning in Promoting Sustainable Urban Development in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

“The quality of life of all people depends, among other economic, social, environmental and cultural factors, on the physical conditions and spatial characteristics of our villages, towns and cities. City lay-out and aesthetics, land-use patterns, population and building densities, transportation and ease of access for all to the basic goods, services and public amenities have a crucial bearing on the liveability of settlements” (Habitat Agenda 1997:17-18)

The nature and scale of haphazardly sprawling and unguided urban growth in Sub-Saharan African urban areas have been reflected at the beginning of this chapter under recent fundamental challenges faced by urban areas in the sub-region. This section underlines the crucial role and place of the planning process as one of the most effective ways of addressing those challenges.

Efficient and effective urban planning and development – to wit, appropriate provision for the location, alignment and lay-out of roads and other transportation modal infrastructure, housing, institutional and community service facilities, sanitation, sewage and drainage

infrastructures, pedestrian walk-ways, play grounds, parks, sports and recreational open spaces, etc), are the basic frameworks, indeed a *conditio sine qua non* on which any sustainable urban development and environmental management thereof could be based. It has been noted (Mitcham and Tsourou (2000:150) that poor housing, poverty, stress, pollution, unemployment lack of community cohesion, social exclusion and lack of access to jobs, goods and services – all impact negatively upon physical and mental health. Many of these conditions are significantly influenced by the decisions of politicians and professionals concerned with urban, spatial, land-use or town planning. Urban planning is therefore one of the most potent measures to shape healthful development and sustainable growth and expansion of cities.

Unless and until greater efforts are made to improve the planning and effective implementation of our cities and towns, the quest for sustainable functional and optimally productive human settlements would continue to be a forlorn hope. Much greater emphasis and investments in spatial planning of developing countries cities and towns are imperative if the objectives of sustainable urban development are to be realized. (UNCHS 1997:17-18) Cities of developing countries could still be better planned, more productively and sustainably managed and be more efficient despite crowds, traffic, noise and despite pollution (Masser: 1995:74), while still allowing for great diversity and be made to work well as living and working environment. For very obvious reasons, only urban development planning and implementation in a city-wide scope can ensure sustainable urban development in the burgeoning cities and towns of Anglophone African countries

While the current over-arching stress on income generation and maintenance and on socio-political including gender dimensions are important and germane in the urban development management equation, they are factors which should be taken account of in planning urban areas but not necessarily taken on as such, since they are expected to be dealt with by related but other professional disciplines. It is nevertheless inconceivable that sustainable urban development and management could be realized in the absence of an adequately designed, planned and implemented urban structure plan that could provide a framework for urban growth management within which many other separate but coordinated activities would take place.

No one now seriously doubts that current patterns of largely uncontrolled haphazard development and growth of Anglophone African countries cities are inefficient in terms of the existing and potential extra-ordinary demands they make on the resources to be used in providing access roads, water lines, sewerage disposal as well as in terms of energy, and fuel consumption in an already built up settlement. As an example, the Lagos Metropolitan Master Plan in Nigeria, (Lagos State of Nigeria 1980:2) reflecting this phenomenon had noted that untold millions of naira have already been lost in equipment, structures, road facilities and other infrastructures etc., because of unplanned and unregulated developments by the population. “Not only is there an absolute loss with respect to damage of existing property, but the extensive illegal building patterns throughout the Metropolitan area are resulting in substantially higher costs to government when it is able to bring services to these areas”. The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE: 1986:2), has furthermore underlined that in all countries, irrespective of their stage of development, the absence of spatial planning and regulations may create very difficult situations, rectified only at great effort and cost and with no guarantees as to result (emphasis added)

The efficiency, effectiveness and indeed wisdom of urban planning for sustainable urban development and management can therefore be considered axiomatic – i.e. does not require proofs. Urban planning and effective implementation of such plans are indispensable means to

ensure safety, comfort and healthy environment for urban inhabitants. This is because a well-articulated and designed urban plan sets broad parameters for the direction of future urban growth, taking account of all relevant factors and considerations, including environmental considerations.

Hall and Pfeiffer (2000:32) have underlined that:

“Almost certainly, the next quarter century will see more and more cities becoming networked into mega-cities, physically separated by open space but functionally inter-linked by complex and sophisticated systems of high speed trains, motor-ways, and advanced telecommunications. Such urban systems, properly planned, could be sustainable and efficient places to live and work in, but without such planning, they could prove highly problematic”. (emphasis added.)

Cities cannot be sustainable – ecologically or environmentally, socially or even economically without an adequately planned and developed spatial and trunk infrastructure framework. Spatial planning is one of the key public actions that shape growth and change in cities. It essentially involves making land-use decisions and as incisively noted by the Douglas Commission (1968:235):

“... just as land-use decisions made years ago affect the quality of today’s urban environment, so decisions made today and tomorrow will shape the quality of urban life for future generations. Reluctance or inability to provide affirmative guidance for land development in the cities will not of course prevent developments from occurring. Rather, inaction or ineffective action now will allow undirected and haphazard development; inaction or ineffective action therefore represents a decision about the future urban environment, just as careful, positive action does”.

Observing the conditions of the growing and intensifying slums and squatter settlements of contemporary Anglophone African cities and towns, the apparent good intentioned advocacies for their undisturbed existence, growth and expansion by various civil society advocacy groups notwithstanding, one cannot help paraphrasing Herbert Hoover’s observation, (Cheney 1928:7)

“... that enormous losses in human happiness and in money have resulted from lack of city plans which take into account the conditions of modern life, need little proof. The lack of adequate open spaces, of playgrounds and parks, the congestion of streets, the misery of tenement life and its repercussions upon each new generation, are an untold charge against our American life... The moral and social issues can only be solved by a new conception city building”.

Considering the rather spontaneous manner in which squatter/slum settlements develop and the consequent absence of an orderly layout, the disposal of refuse and sewerage poses peculiar problems and their inefficiency constitutes a major factor in the environmentally degraded conditions of cities in developing countries. (Mabogunje, 1980:191).

Enforcement of well thought out spatial planning and land development regulations are an indispensable means to ensure safety, comfort and a healthy environment for the inhabitants of settlements. It is an important strategic tool to promote and maintain the health and wellbeing of the citizens of cities and other categories of settlements. As rightly underlined by

Stren et al (1992:71), land-use planning and its major land-use policy instrument, zoning, is in essence a hazard prevention and mitigation exercise.

The various advocacies for all-stakeholder inclusiveness in the urban planning process notwithstanding, cities and settlements of Anglophone African countries, as in most other developing countries are unlikely to be environmentally/ecologically, healthy, socially or economically sustainable without being adequately spatially planned.

As argued by Hall and Pfeiffer (2000), for cities and human settlements to sustainably maintain their economic, social and environmental health, they must be liveable. To be liveable, cities must act to minimize negative economic, social and environmental externalities. To minimize negative externalities, cities must effectively plan and manage their development and future expansion. Urban Planning therefore has a crucial role to play in realizing sustainable urban development in Anglophone African countries' cities and towns as in other regions of the world.

4.6. Monitoring and Evaluation of Urban Plans in the Sub-Region

As indicated earlier, there have been numerous urban plans prepared for cities and towns in Sub-Saharan African countries over the years, but faithful implementation of these plans has not always been as consistent as would have been expected. The result has been a general distortion of approved plans by both formal and informal developers aided by corrupt development control officials.

In a number of countries however, some significant degree of monitoring of adherence to urban plans do take place. The urban Master Plan for the city of Abuja in Nigeria stands out in this regard. It has been continually monitored and re-evaluated in the past ten years, with distortions of the plan being corrected. This correction has involved massive demolitions of structures that offend the plan, including in some cases, Government-owned structures and those of high profile political individuals in the society. In several other cities and towns in the country, development control officers do monitor adherence to the city and town plans. Resulting demolitions of houses and other structures are attempts to make developers stay as faithful as possible to the approved and adopted city plan. Approved urban plans are usually expected to undergo periodic reviews, generally every three to five years during which necessary adjustments are made and serious identified distortions corrected.

In Tanzania, the city plan for Dodoma – the political capital of the country is being carefully monitored and development-controlled to ensure the plan is not completely distorted. The crisis in Harare, Zimbabwe (“Operation Murambatsvina “ or “operation Restore Order”) some three years ago (2005), although later negatively coloured by politics, was said to be an attempt to ensure adherence to the urban/city plan of Harare and other cities and towns of Zimbabwe. Nairobi (Kenya) does from time to time over the past six years experience similar events where certain developments on plan designated road reserves and highway by-passes have had to be removed. Indeed, a common feature of most African Anglophone cities and towns is demolitions of unauthorized/illegal structures – a feature that can be said to be an indicator of the monitoring of urban plans.

Institutionally, development control officers are engaged to monitor the faithful adherence to urban plans in most of the countries. How efficiently and effectively they accomplish this task is however still open to question. In a number of places, they are said to abet the problem as they get compromised by illegal and non-plan-conforming developers. This exercise is of course a very emotive and sensitive task, particularly where the demolition of developments by poor informal sector citizens are involved. But where it works effectively, development

control personnel are expected to identify an offending/contravening development early at its beginnings and take steps to stop it. This would obviate the necessity for subsequent demolitions of completed and occupied structures with all the attendant financial and emotional costs to the mostly poor informal developer victims.

While not always 100% effective, efforts are made to monitor and evaluate the faithful implementation of urban plans in the countries of the sub-region. The regulatory tools, instruments and benchmarks are contained in the planning manuals of all the relevant Planning Authorities, with stipulations as to the periodicity of site inspectors and other development control officers' field visits to development locations/areas, and staged reporting to the Planning Authorities by approved developers on their developments. The monitoring regulations and instruments are in the books.

5. Evaluation of Planning Education in Anglophone (Sub-Saharan) African Countries

Urban Planning has seemed to experience endemic turbulence in its processes and practice around the world and has since the 1960s been undergoing continual conceptual modifications in methodological processes and practice approaches. Changes in the curriculum content of planning education have followed these conceptual and methodological changes, incorporating skills and knowledge required by such changes. Planning education curriculum in Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries did not escape this global turbulence.

More recently, current Planning education curriculum in the developing countries has been broadly categorized into two tendencies –“the technical and design-oriented programmes, and the “policy and process-oriented” programmes (Qadeer 1993:73); the one usually located and aligned to university/faculty specializing in architectural and engineering studies, and the other to geographical Departments and social sciences faculties as well as to general purpose universities.

Before the 1960s, planning education curriculum in Anglophone African countries generally focused on technical design skills required to prepare technical urban plans. It emphasized geographical and cartographic skills with which to draw up urban plans. This was so, irrespective of whether this education was obtained abroad – usually in Britain, or in local polytechnic institutes.

Requisite subjects required for admission to urban planning programmes/courses included:

- Geography
- Mathematics
- English
- Cartography

Technical drawing skills were emphasized and highly rated, considering that much of the urban plans were to be represented in maps and charts. Wordy prose was kept to a limit. Town planning education was not then a university degree programme, but could be undertaken as a post university degree diploma programme/qualification. The courses taught usually included:

- Planning Theory; Planning Methods and Techniques;
- Fundamentals of Land-Use classification and planning;
- Planning applications;
- Designing of urban plans;
- Principles of Architecture and Architectural practice,
- Planning Law and Regulations;
- Planning Administration and Professional Practice.

At these early beginnings, planning education in these countries was largely physical and design-oriented emphasis. Focus was on lay-out of settlements (towns and cities) or parts thereof and ensuring broad compatibility of major land-use locations. Planning education was then mainly at the diploma- level of some nine-month duration and available in Polytechnic Institutes in the individual countries – Ibadan and Zaria Polytechnics in Nigeria, Kumasi and Achimota in Ghana, Kampala in Uganda, and a couple in Kenya servicing neighbouring East African countries. Many went for the training abroad – usually at polytechnics in Britain, Thus much of the planning urban planning education and practice derive from the British Town Planning law and regulations, based on the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 through its subsequent 1947 through 1968 Amendments/Revisions. Perhaps, it is fair to acknowledge that the education of the first generation of Urban or Town Planners in most Anglophone African Countries was provided by Polytechnic institutes in Britain and in the individual countries.

Up till this point, macroeconomic and development economics or socio-political disciplines rarely featured in planning courses, yet these are crucial to understanding how cities are restructuring in a globalizing context. Further, any understanding of the role of planning must be rooted in familiarity with the political economy of the country, combined with an awareness with the changing role of the State in mediating the impacts of competing domestic and global claims on the city (Hamza and Zetter 2000:442). Hamza and Zetter (p. 435) had also underlined that understanding the dynamics of the urbanization processes and the assumptions on which intervention is based has always been core to planning education and the knowledge-base of planners.

With recent developments however, it is being recognized that design-based skills and technical knowledge alone, of housing lay-outs and density standards are becoming less important in a planner’s training than the need to explore and adapt key concepts of socioeconomic factors along with physical and environmental sustainability factors. It is being recognized that it is human being that have to live in the settlements being planned and have to make a living therein. Integration of livelihood issues therefore become imperative..

Consequently, urban planning processes and practice in Anglophone African countries as in other regions of the world today, are assuming wider dimensions and have started to admit of socio-economic, political and cultural factor considerations. The planning education curriculum is in varying degrees across the countries taking account of these shifts or changes in perspectives, now generally requiring familiarity with the basic principles of the social science disciplines – economic, sociology, psychology, anthropology and political science. In South Africa, Ghana and Tanzania, for example, planning education curriculum is experiencing these shifts.

Diaw et al (2002: 344) notes in the South African context that, “in recent years and since 1994, most South African Planning Schools have begun to adapt their curricula to the

changing context of political decentralization, democratization and a drive for service delivery to poor groups. Towards this shift in perspective, new courses have been introduced dealing with integrated development planning, plan implementation, urban and environmental management, impact assessment and participation.

Planning education in Ghana has evolved over the years from its initial physical planning focus, through various integrated multi-disciplinary planning programme developments from undergraduate to post-graduate level planning programmes – all culminating in a shift from the “earlier physical and deterministic approach to planning education in Ghana” (Diaw et al op.cit p. 345). Similar shifts have occurred in planning education in Tanzania. The University of Nairobi’s Masters Programme on Urban Management includes among others, such livelihood and mundane courses as Urban Economics (W702), Urban Poverty (W709), Urban Politics and Governance (W703), Local Economic Development (W7010), Urban Sociology (W7021), Urban Social Community Services and Amenities (W7022), Local Government Management (W7025) etc.

Urban Planning students in most Anglophone African countries are therefore now expected to acquire substantive knowledge in areas such as settlements science, ecology, sociology, economic, systems science, among others and to have a clear picture of a spatial-environmental unit in which substantive theories are tested and modified (Kibe-Muigai:1995:215). It is now being acknowledged that these disciplines have important contributions to make in planning sustainable cities and towns as they reflect livelihoods which are everyday challenges to the ordinary citizens of the city. Along this line of thinking, Hague (2005:68) has underlined that:

“ ...poverty is now central to any dialogue on urban development, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Social reform and a concern to better the living conditions of the urban poor were important influences on the formation of a Town Planning Profession, yet as planning became a statutory function, it became technocratic, and increasingly divorced from an understanding of poverty. This is one reason why planning has been marginalized – or even demonized – in policy discourse about shelter and settlements”. He then posited that “a modernized approach to planning should be able to make some impacts on the following imperatives:

- Reduce the rate of new slum formation;
- Make settlements more environment all friendly;
- Help in the building of sustainable livelihoods;
- Be a transparent and accountable arena for negotiation of conflicts over development;
- Hazards mitigation and post-disaster and post conflict reconciliation.

Given this enlarged scope of the urban planning curriculum, urban planning education is quickly transforming from a previously nine-month diploma training into a two-year postgraduate planning programme, generally named - Master in Urban Planning or Masters in Urban and Regional Planning (M.U.P or M.U.R.P) and in more recent years into a four or more years undergraduate degree in urban planning.

Most Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries today have urban planning education programmes, in Polytechnics (Diploma) levels, or University post-graduate or Undergraduate programmes with varying nomenclatures, but often as University departments in the Faculty

of Environmental Studies/Sciences/Studies, or in the Faculty of Architecture and Planning, or even as Departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

These more recent Urban Planning curricula have tended to deemphasize the physical design/engineering emphasis of the earlier diploma period, in preference for a more social engineering focus in which various categories of stakeholders – concerned individuals, community leaders, private sector representatives, civil society/Non-Governmental (NGO) groups, and any other concerned stakeholder groups get involved in negotiating an urban plan.

Needless to note that there is a flip side to every coin. As Diaw et al (op. cit p.345) rightly notes, one effect of these shifts and changes in the planning education curriculum in Sub-Saharan Anglophone African Countries has been the blurring of boundaries between traditional spatial planning and new and competing fields of activities, such as environmental management and local economic development. This point has far-reaching ramifications for urban planning as a distinct professional area of endeavour. The later more recent orientation and emphasis, while democratizing the planning process and its curriculum, does not seem to have made planning education and practice based on it profoundly effective. The earlier design attribute of planning education, instead of just being de-emphasized, seem to have largely been eliminated from several of the planning programmes, leaving its graduates with very little if any practical hands-on skills that identifies what they are expected to do as urban planners in the field. Many come out without any identifiable skills. This has tended to further befuddle what urban planning products of the evolving democratized planning curriculum should be. This situation tends to continue and sustain the dialectics and endemic turbulence to which planning and planning education has been subject to for quite a while. This is a critical weak link in planning education in many Anglophone African countries.

While a lot of the literature on urban planning pontificate on how the planning process should be carried out, very few emphasize on what kind of education and training potential planners have to acquire in order to be able to do what they are expected to do. While shift of emphasis to socio-economic and politico-cultural factors is well advised, the practical design attributes should not be completely eclipsed. Ability to represent what one proposes in diagrammatic form, which today is made much simpler by advances in information and communications technology (ICT) and computer applications, enhances the planning product and makes life easier for the implementers of urban plans. The position of Hamza and Zetter (2000:445) that “design-based skills and technical knowledge of housing lay-outs and density standards are much less important in a planner’s training than the need to explore and adapt key concepts such as: physical and environmental sustainability for the mass of low-income urban dwellers ...etc” is only relative and not absolute. As pointed out by Kibe-Muigai 1995:216, “technical skills such as drawing, design processes, application of information systems as well as communication and management techniques are the medium of modeling and explaining complex problems. It is therefore necessary that education in urban environmental planning includes, next to subjects in substantive and procedural theories, courses in technical design-skills”. This rhyme in with Lusk and Kantrowitz (1991), (quoting Kevin Lynch), who suggested that an urban physical planner needs:

- A sharp and sympathetic eye for the interaction between people, places, place events, and the institutions that manage them;
- A thorough grounding in the theory, techniques and values of city design; and
- Skills in communication using the written word, the spoken word, mathematics and graphic images.

Design-based skills and technical planning knowledge still has a place in planning education. It is one of the important attribute that defines planning as a profession and it helps to minimize the ease of planners' "skills substitutability" or "acquirability through experience" by people not actually trained in or for the profession (Qadeer, 1993:79), as well as minimize the "blurring of boundaries between traditional spatial planning and new and competing fields of activity" referred to earlier by Diaw et al.

Thus, a balanced planning education curriculum at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels should include, among others:

- Some grounding in elements of social science disciplines – Macroeconomics, urban Sociology, Psychology, Political Economy, Urban Anthropology, Urban Geography; etc.
- Grounding on the Structures and dynamics of urban and regional complexes (urbanization trends, rural – urban population migration, rural – urban economic interactions or linkages and their impacts on livelihood issues, the place and role of the urban informal economy;
- Geo-Spatial Design and Communications Skills;
- Planning Theory, Methodologies, Techniques and standards
- Fundamental Principles of urban planning and land use decisions;
- Urban Land Economics, urban land markets and Urban finance
- Planning Research, analysis, inference and decision-making;
- Planning Applications and Contemporary Themes in Planning Practice;
- Planning Administration and Professional Practice (including Planning Law and Regulations, Norms and Ethics of Planning Practice etc.);
- Report Writing/Drafting Skills, including familiarity with or proficiency in diverse Information and Communications Technology (ICT) skills.

The Urban Planning process and practice in Anglophone Sub-Saharan African countries has certainly progressed from its institutional base and origins from the succession of British Town Planning Legislations (Acts) from 1932 through 1947 to 1968 and initially focused on physical layout focus of cities and towns to the current broadening perspective of integrating economic This shift and transition however seem to leave the urban planning process in and practice in a conceptual and definitional lurch of what it is uniquely expected to be and do, its unique strengths and its limits. Urban planning as a field of professional activity cannot claim to be and do everything in the city or urban area. Although an important part and partner in urban management and administration, it cannot and should not necessarily subsume the former.

Urban Planning therefore still has the burden of defining the boundaries of its remit. It cannot continue to be as at now, a nebulous concept from which anyone or group of competing activity could define its purpose and process and proceed to act in the name, context, essence and framework of urban planning – a sort of cafeteria professional programme and curriculum!!. More intense soul-searching and discussions among concerned professionals are called for in this regard.

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