

URBAN PLANNING, DEMOLITION OF PROPERTY AND CITIZENS' DEPRIVATION IN AFRICAN CITIES: A POLYCENTRIC PLANNING PERSPECTIVE

Samson AKINOLA

Department of Urban & Regional Planning, Osun State University, P.M.B. 4494, Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria, Mobile: (+234)-803-407-5110; (+234)-815-275-8280; email:srakinola@yahoo.com; srakinola@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper used the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework to analyse the missing links between urban managers and urban residents in Angola, Ghana and Kenya. The paper found that urban governance structures in the three countries are centralised and deviate from planning norms and people-centred governance, hence urban managers and citizens are not operating in synergy. The rapidly growing urban population makes infrastructure to be deteriorating; thus, creating slums and squatter settlements that warrant eviction and demolition by governments. Eviction and demolition generate adverse consequences on socio-economic wellbeing of citizens – property destroyed, while children education was affected. This paper provides case studies to demonstrate principles and practices needed to make polycentric planning and community initiatives resolve conflicts of interests on urban space. The paper argues that, for urban governance to benefit urban residents, it has to proceed from the people and be guided by them in decisions on all urban matters, including planning and modification of plans on competing urban landuses. Using Polycentric Planning and Poverty Reduction Strategy (PPPRS), this paper designs an African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM) capable of mainstreaming citizens-centred institutions in urban areas into socio-economic and political decision making so that citizens (including the urban poor) can participate effectively in decisions on redevelopment, thus entrenching good urban governance, citizens-centred environmental planning and development in Africa.

Key Words: Africa, Cities, Demolition, Planning, Polycentricity

1. INTRODUCTION

Sub-Saharan Africa has long been one of the least developed and least urbanised regions of the world with most sub-Saharan African economies still heavily dependent on subsistence agriculture. Nevertheless, the region has absorbed relatively high rates of urban growth over the past 50 years.

In 1950, only 15% of the Africa population was living in towns or cities, while 39.9% lived in urban areas in 2000 (Satterthwaite et. al., 2010). By 2030, about 53% of Africa's population is expected to be living in urban areas (Cohen, 2004). With this urbanisation rate and trend, the present quantity and quality of infrastructure and services that are inadequate will become more acute and worsen urban environmental degradation in the continent. For example, less than 15% of the effluent generated in Accra, Ghana is effectively treated (Government of Ghana, 2007).

Urban Environmental Poverty (UEP), an off-shoot of urban environmental degradation, is predicated upon poor governance. In spite of the rapidly growing urban population in Africa (at 3.6 growth rate, the highest among world regions) (Cohen, 2004), infrastructure that are incentives for entrepreneurial development and nerves of urban economy are increasingly deteriorating. As expected, cities in Africa are not serving as engines of growth and structural transformation. Instead they are part of the cause and a major symptom of the economic and social crisis that have enveloped the continent (Cohen 2004). Consequently, the majority of the urban poor have ended up building their own water and sanitation facilities which are often of poor quality due to lack of support from the local authorities (Osumanu, et. al. 2010). These diverse coping mechanisms conflict with one another and some of them are affecting urban beauty and healthy conditions as manifested in uncollected solid waste, urban ghetto, proliferation of slum, squatter settlements, erection of structures on waterways that cause flooding, over-stretched, or non-existent sanitation services, drainage, etc.

Since UEP reduces urban beauty, leadership tends to use force in addressing such urban problems without consulting the citizens. Whereas good governance entails a common thought between the leadership (elected) and the followership (electorate) with citizens playing active role in decision making, the response of African leaders to squatter settlements and slums usually takes unidirectional approach with exclusionary tendency – eviction and demolition. Eviction and demolition generate adverse consequences on socio-economic wellbeing of cities' dwellers. These actions of African governments have been viewed as vectors of poverty, repression, and deprivation that invariably, breed aggression and future restiveness among youths, especially those whose parents' homes were demolished when they were young.

This confirms that African governments have no respect for the rights of their citizens to shelter as demonstrated by several cases of demolition and forced eviction of citizens. In Angola, 5,000 homes were destroyed (Croese, 2010), while over 75,000 houses in the Nigeria's capital, Abuja were demolished (Harris, 2008; Ogun, 2009). Other cases of police-military brutality against citizens have been reported in Kenya where about 9,600 people have been left homeless (Mulama, 2004).

Using the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, this paper employs empirical data to analyse the missing links between urban managers and urban residents on the methods and processes of demolition of property in selected African cities – Angola, Ghana and Kenya. This paper raises a question that borders on how the participants (urban managers and citizens) are interacting on the issues of slum/informal settlements, resettlement, evictions and demolition of property. Are they reacting to the problem of informal settlements synergetically as a group or disjointly?

The paper found that urban governance structures in the three countries are centralised and deviate from planning norms and people-centred governance, hence urban managers and citizens are not operating in synergy.

They operate on parallel lines, thus confirming the problems of disconnect and parallelism. This paper considers critical the place of a shared vision of both how the world works and how we would like the world to be. Analysis and modeling appropriate to the vision via new institutional arrangements for implementation are also very crucial for resolving the crisis of demolition and evictions in African cities.

In order to accomplish people-centred urban planning, on redevelopment and service delivery, this paper adopts a polycentric governance system, which emphasises high level of public accountability, locality and the control of community affairs by the people (Olowu, 1999). Polycentric governance also relate with polycentric planning. While polycentric planning is a process, polycentric governance is a system that takes effect after planning and implementation of any project. Polycentric planning is a deliberate act of setting up multilayered and multicentred institutional mechanism that regards self-governing capabilities of local communities as foundation for reconstituting order from the bottom up. It can also be described as the process of ordering the use of physical, human and institutional resources as well as engaging the citizens in contractual relations with the public authority (Akinola, 2010a, 2011a).

This paper is concerned with a sort of systemic, cordial and collegial relationships between urban poor and their governments in socio-economic and political decisions. The major concern of this paper, therefore, is to design multi-layered and multi-centered institutional arrangements to reflect the aspirations and needs of citizens in the area of urban redevelopment in Africa. The new institutional mechanism will enable the people to have a robust political dialogue at federal/central, state/provincial and local levels in order to reposition urban councils to effectively manage urban environment. Using PPPRS, this paper designs African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM) capable of mainstreaming citizens-centred institutions in urban areas into socio-economic and political decision making so that citizens (including the urban poor) can participate effectively in decisions on redevelopment, thus entrenching good urban governance, citizens-centred environmental planning and development in African cities. This outcome of this analysis and model will produce a new body of knowledge that is necessary for decisions and policies that can positively touch the lives of urban poor in African cities.

The paper is organised into six sections with the first section containing the introduction, while the second presents the theoretical underpinning upon which the paper is anchored. The third section analyses cases of demolition and evictions, while the fourth part discusses the resilience of SGIs in urban affairs in Africa. The fifth section presents polycentric planning and a new urban governmentality, while conclusion is drawn in section six.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this paper is the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, which is an analytical tool for diagnosing problems and challenges in human society and for proffering possible solution (Ostrom and Ostrom, 2003). The IAD framework has three components - exogenous variables or context, action arena and evaluative criteria. Since society is a system of human cooperation, people in any society should collectively relate to and deal with their exogenous variables. This normally starts when people (participants) within an organization/community (action arena) respond to exogenous variables or context (biophysical/material conditions, cultural and other attributes of a community, and rules-in-use) by engaging in community projects/programmes – water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads, etc.

When outcomes of the engagement on projects are positive the participants will increase their commitment to maintain the structure (system of operation) as it is or move to another set of exogenous variables and then on and on like that. However, if outcomes are negative, participants might raise some questions on why the outcomes are negative. They might then move to a different level and change their institutions to produce another set of interactions and consequently, different outcomes. It is important, however, that rules ‘crafters’ (designers) understand the interplay between actions and outcomes as the duo interlinked.

In the context of this paper, the participants are urban managers and citizens who supposed to interact and operate in synergy. The questions this paper is raising border on how the participants are interacting on the issues of slum/informal settlements, resettlement, evictions and demolition of property. Consequently, the paper employed empirical data on demolition of property in Angola, Ghana and Kenya and appraised the efforts of Self-Governing Institutions (SGI) in resisting the barbaric actions of governments and at the same time, in opening up alternative and complementary ways of addressing the problems of slum and informal settlements.

3. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

In order to contextualise the line of analysis in this paper, polycentric planning, an off-shoot of the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework is adopted. Polycentric planning recognizes the fundamental defects in the centralist model of planning and the persistence failure of the state to meet the collective yearnings and aspirations of the citizenry. As a result, polycentric planning has called attention to the self-governing and self organising capabilities of the people that are rooted in collective action at community level.

The theories of collective action suggest that individuals under certain institutional arrangements and shared norms are capable of organizing and sustaining cooperation that advances the common interest of the group in which they belong (Ostrom, 1990). This line of thought recognizes that human beings can plan, organize and govern themselves based on appropriate institutional arrangements and mutual agreements in a community of understanding. The IAD believes in institutional arrangement designed by people who cooperate based on rules and constitution of their choice, and thereby are able to resolve socio-economic and techno-political problems which other people (external to their conditions) are not capable of doing for them. Institutional structures that people have developed over the years avail individuals in the community to make inputs to development in their locality by contributing towards projects (labour, finance and materials) and decision-making in political arenas in community settings.

The study of institutions using the IAD has produced the concept of polycentricity that recognises the potentials of individual citizens in ordering public affairs. Polycentricity is a means of achieving bottom-up governance for poverty reduction in developing countries. According to Vincent and Elinor Ostrom (2003), polycentricity simply means a system where citizens are able to organize, not just one, but multiple governing authorities, as well as private arrangements, at different scales. According to Sawyer (2005), institutional analysis helps us to better understand how individuals within communities, organisations and societies craft rules and organise the rule-ordered relationships in which they live their lives. Relating institutions to Africa, the governance systems and rules that sustained them were inspired by European traditions, while the peoples in diverse language communities and ways of life in the continent were ignored (Ostrom, 2006) and their governance structures were denigrated.

This is where elite leadership in Africa could not respond appropriately. The new urban system in Africa reflects a colonial economic framework, which partitioned urban space into two highly uneven zones: a “European” space that enjoyed a high level of urban infrastructure and services, and an “indigenous” space that was marginally serviced (Stren & Halfani, 2001). Different planning standards were specified for the various segments of the city with physical planning and infrastructure provision concentrated in the European or Government Reservation Areas (GRAs), while African Residential Areas or Poor Reservation Areas (PRAs) were neglected (Akinola, 1992b). After independence, the population of many African cities grew rapidly, basically in the absence of significant industrialisation. A combination of centripetal and centrifugal forces generates uncontrolled urbanisation that leads to mass movement of people from rural to urban areas (Cohen, 2004:45).

There is correlation between urbanisation, environmental problems and urban poverty (World Resources Institute, 1997). Uncontrolled urbanisation warrants the development of urban ghettos and slums that house millions of citizens across African cities. For example, in Ghana, at least 50% of the population resides in urban areas of which only 18 per cent have access to improved sanitation (WHO/UNICEF 2010). Uncontrolled urbanisation in South Africa generates unprecedented growth of shacks and informal settlements, where 2.4 million South Africans live in informal settlements across the country (Ikokuwu, 2007). Recent statistics show that approximately 10.5 million people in South Africa do not have access to basic sanitation services (Notywala, 2011).

It is the combination of these environmental health hazards that partly warrant the clearance of urban slums and eviction of citizens from their homes by public officials. Forced evictions remain a common means by which land occupied predominantly by the poor and low-income groups is cleared for redevelopment, which is beyond the financial ability of the poor and low-income groups. This confirms that the elite propagate neocolonialism that marginalizes the people and impoverish them.

Since elite leadership have faltered, it is imperative to search for alternatives on how to appropriately address the needs and aspirations of the urban poor in Africa. Incidentally, citizens in urban areas have been able to respond by exploring pre-colonial governance heritage and to certain extent have been able to address their daily needs (Gellar, 2005; Akinola, 2010a, 2011a). The argument of this paper is that since human societies are based on systems of cooperation, models that are designed to address problems in human societies cannot be effective except such models take cognizance of the underlining factors that underpin human cooperation. Unfortunately, models, policies and programmes that were applied in Africa relegated to the background essential elements of Africans’ systems of cooperation such as collectivity, mutual trust and reciprocity that exist with the diverse peoples of Africa, who are mostly non-elite. With these alienating conditions entrenched in Africa, policies and programmes of African governments find it difficult to impact positively on the lives of African citizens in urban areas. The next section discusses cases of demolition.

4. CASES OF DEMOLITION AND FORCED EVICTION OF CITIZENS IN AFRICAN CITIES

4.1 *Rebuilding by Demolishing Citizens’ Welfare in Angola*

In March, 2010 in order to make way for public construction of infrastructure in the city of

Lubanga in Angola, riot police killed seven people, destroyed 2,000 homes, while almost 3,000 families were evicted with only 700 tents distributed to provide temporary shelter for some families in Tchavola, where there is no basic sanitation and little access to electricity, food or blankets. In 2009, an estimated 3,000 homes affecting 15,000 people were demolished in the capital city of Luanda (Croese, 2010). The 15 days' notice was too short for the victims to prepare new shelter. The effects of demolition on people are disastrous and these include: (1) Heavy damage and substantial destruction of people's homes, properties, gardens, businesses, livelihoods, etc; (2) People were concentrated in a camp with tents without the minimum conditions in terms of environmental sanitation that signals epidemics; (3) The "concentration camps" are 10 kilometres from the city center; (4) Some schools had to suspend classes because they were occupied by the homeless (5) Many children were forced to suspend classes because they were homeless and placed in distant areas of the school where they usually studied; (6) Families slept in the open with small children without food assistance (Samacumbi, 2010). Unfortunately, the governor of the province of Huíla justifies the evictions as a necessary adherence to the law, which he views as more important than humanitarian considerations. In spite of the fact that citizens have documents from municipal authorities proving legal residence and compensation for their losses, they were disappointed as the state regarded the people's action as a violation of the Law of the Land (Croese, 2010).

4.2 Police Brutality Suppressed Protests against Demolition in Ghana

There were several cases of demolition in Ghana in recent times. Nearly 100 houses in Tuba, Ga South District of the Greater Accra Region, were pulled down on Saturday, December 11th 2010 by a police cum military team, in spite of a court injunction against the demolition exercise. About 10 bulldozers were brought to the area for demolition and in the process, quite a number of people sustained various degree of injuries, including some journalists. Similarly, the residents of Oblogo-Weiija were up in arms in December 2010 against the Ga South Municipality of the Greater Accra region of Ghana over attempts to raze down some plush houses (Beeko, 2011). In a related case, a demolition exercise, jointly undertaken by the Tema Metropolitan Assembly (TMA) and the Tema Development Corporation (TDC), in certain parts of the metropolis along the Ashaiman-Nungua main road has attracted public criticism. The demolition exercise was halted (after 16 structures were pulled down) by a massive protest of over 100 landguards who threw stones and other dangerous implements at the police and military personnel.

It was evident that the 'demolishers' and 'wasters' of citizens' resources did not give ample notice and time to allow owners of the structures to organise themselves properly (Attenkah, 2010) in spite of the UN and international guidelines for forced evictions. One thing that is clear is that these demolitions compound the already grave problem of homelessness, inadequate housing and poverty, particularly for women whose right to housing is already not adequately protected.

4.3 Bulldozers Drove Eight Month Old Baby into Heavy Downpour in Kenya

Traders at Nairobi's Kangemi market were angered by Council Askaris's action in demolishing their market in the night without prior notice, after they had just settled at the site consequent upon forced eviction out of the roadside market. They engaged police in running battles by taking to the streets and blocking the road with stones and logs. In reaction, police used teargas to disperse the traders who claim they lost property worth millions of shillings during the demolition (Kenyan Business News, July 2010).

A more disturbing case was that of Grace Nduta, mother of an eight months old son, whose shack of cardboard and mud was demolished by bulldozers. All she could do was to cover herself and her son with cellophane and fled into the downpour outside. Along with her were about 4,000 hawkers whose tin-and-wood kiosks were demolished in the open-air stalls located around the city bus station, while the demolishers confiscated clothes and other merchandise. According to the hawkers, they had been at the bus station for 20 years, while the demolition exercises had cost them close to a million shillings (about \$55,000). This action has further menaced the already precarious existence of hundreds of thousands of people in Nairobi, where as many as 45% of the estimated 2 million people in Nairobi live in illegal and substandard housing built on public land (Hiltzik, 1989).

Similarly, Kenyan authorities pulled down structures in Kibera, a shanty town. The situation of Leah Kanini, a 15-year-old girl is a case that deserves attention. After having lost her parents to AIDS-related illnesses, she took on the responsibility of caring for her five siblings by selling peanuts to support the household. On Feb. 16, 2004, Kanini returned home to find the family's shack demolished by a government bulldozer. She was confused and with her voice bitter, she said: 'I do not know what to do; I do not know where to go' (Mulama, 2004).

In February, 2004, the first phase of demolitions, without notice, took place in Kibera, a shanty town which is home to about 700,000 poverty-stricken people, often referred to as Africa's largest slum. About 9,600 people were left homeless and families slept outdoors where they have lived for over 30 years (Mulama, 2004). Kibera's crisis confirms the failure of Kenyan government to plan for rapid population growth in the 1980s when the population growth rate was 4%, one of the highest in the world. This shows that the government of Kenya did not live up to the expectation.

3.4 Polycentric Planning Perspective on Demolition and Eviction of Citizens

A common denominator of bad governance and trampling on the rights of citizens in most African countries is 'rebuilding by demolition' and forced eviction of citizens from their homes. It is true that society is dynamic and infrastructure and urban settings of yesterday may not be adequate for today and tomorrow. But there are minimum standards and methods of renewing urban centre such that the welfare of citizens is not jeopardised. In developed democracies, citizens are involved right from the planning stage to the implementation of any programme that affects them. For example, renewal of urban slums is usually preceded by resettlement scheme that provides accommodation for the affected citizens temporarily or permanently and the citizens are regarded as agents of change in such programmes. The situation is contrary in most African countries where due process is not followed.

The International Covenant of Economic and Social Rights, which all countries had ratified, laid down guidelines for carrying out eviction. The guidelines state, among other things, that forced evictions must only occur in exceptional circumstances and provided certain conditions are followed. The conditions include adequate consultation with the persons affected and the provision of alternative resettlement in a safe and appropriate location. Similarly, International human rights law demands that before forced eviction is carried out, States should give to persons affected, the opportunity to challenge the eviction or demolition order and to propose alternatives (Ghana News, 2010). Unfortunately, most demolitions across Africa were carried out in defiance of citizens' rights and International Covenant of Economic and Social Rights.

Under international human rights law, everyone has a right to adequate housing as a component of the right to adequate standard of living.

The right to adequate housing includes, the right to protection against arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, home, and to legal security of tenure. Apart from issues of the right to adequate housing, including the right to be free from forced evictions, the right to life and security of the person are human rights which are frequently violated during forced evictions and demolitions.

Taking all the three cases together, the methods employed by public officials in carrying out demolition exercises runs counter to the basic principles spelt out in the UN guidelines on development-based evictions and displacements, which enjoins authorities not to allow evictions as well as demolition exercises to take place in bad weather, at night, and by implication at dawn, during festivals or religious holidays, prior to elections, or during or just prior to school examinations and in circumstances that do not afford the victims the opportunity to recover their properties. The critical issue that needs to be adequately addressed in connection with demolition exercise is the responsibility of public officials who have the duty of monitoring and stopping the construction of illegal structures and who usually play the Ostrich and allow illegal structures to be erected. On the scale of culpability, these officials by their omission in allowing these illegal structures to be constructed in the first place bear the greatest responsibility. They have contributed significantly to the problem of illegal structures across African cities and therefore, should be held responsible.

How can institutions designed for human society give a month or seven-day quit notice to a person who has resided in a house built through his/her sweat, for a period of 20 to 30 years or more? The number of quit notice allowed under planning law is inadequate when viewed against the multiplicity of problems confronting those who were evicted. How do we explain the demolition exercises that were carried out at dawn in Ghana and at night in Kenya where victims lost all their personal belongings and other valuable property contrary to UN guidelines? How do we explain the demolition of houses in these countries where governments refused to pay compensation to property owners who had legal documents that supported their property?

These all points to the facts raised earlier in this paper that urban managers in Africa operate with exclusionary tendency as they do not involve the citizens in their decisions on urban affairs that concern the people. African governments are culpable in two ways simply by: (1) not designing and implementing comprehensive plans that take account of urbanisation and future development and (2) by allowing structures to be built and later demolished after citizens have invested their resources in such structures. A polycentric approach to urban re-development emphasizes people-centred and community-oriented planning in ways that emphasize inclusiveness, nondiscrimination, accountability, transparency and popular participation.

The fundamental questions, therefore, include the following: How did the affected peoples cope and how are they coping in circumstances they found themselves? What lessons can we learn from these people-centered adaptation strategies? The next section discusses the resilience of self-governing institutions in urban Africa.

5. THE RESILIENCE OF SELF-GOVERNING COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS IN AFRICAN CITIES

If men are to remain civilised or to become civilised, the art of association must develop and improved among them at the same speed as equality of conditions (Tocqueville, 1988:517).

The people at the community level in Africa have no confidence in those who run African governments, hence, they invest their sovereignty horizontally in one another through collective action and self-organising and self-governing capabilities and thereby, to an extent, addressing daily challenges – education, health, community hall, postal service, security services, road repairs and other essential services. They achieved these through various forms of associations and community institutions (not donor civil society) by revisiting and reviving their old traditions. The people relied on institutional arrangements, shared norms and mutual agreements in a community of understanding that enabled them to sustain cooperation and advance the common interest of the group in which they belong. It is institutional structures that the people have developed over the years that availed individuals in these communities to make inputs to development in their locality by contributing towards projects (labour, finance and materials) and decision-making in socio-economic and political arenas (Akinola, 2005d, 2007a, 2008b, 2011a).

Empirical evidence in Ghana buttressed the resilience of SGIs as innovative and inspiring examples of locally-driven water and sanitation initiatives in urban areas. People's Dialogue Ghana (PDG) in Ghana's urban areas is a community-based institution that works in partnership with the Ghana Homeless People's Federation to find permanent solutions to urban poverty through the improvement of human settlements and shelter conditions. Since its formation in 2003, PDG has been working in slums and informal settlements in Accra, Tema, Kumasi, Takoradi, Afram Plains, etc. (Osumanu et. al. (2010).

PDG emerged in the process of stalling forced eviction organised by the local authority in 2002. The residents of Old Fadama in Accra formed a Federation (now known as Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor, GHAFUP), supported by People's Dialogue Ghana (PDG), to engage and negotiate with local authorities and prevented the evictions. In 2005, PDG and GHAFUP established a formal engagement between Federation members and the government/local authorities, where an agreement was reached to stall the eviction, thereby marking the beginning of a shift from forced eviction to dialogue, engagement and partnerships.

Consequently, there emerged a government plan to relocate residents of Old Fadama under a planned Adjin Kotoku New Town Development Project that involved Ministries of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment, Water Resources, and Works and Housing. PDG and GHAFUP are members of the Relocation Project's Implementation Task Force and have been commissioned to collect socio-economic and physical base data of both the Old Fadama area (one of the communities to be relocated) and of Adjin Kotoku. With support from Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), a settlement profile was completed (Osumanu, et al., 2010).

Additionally, PDG negotiates with financial institutions on behalf of the Federation to acquire loans at concessionary rates for housing infrastructure development and economic empowerment. Globally, Federation groups and support organisations have a vision of an alternative world. This vision is backed up by practice, customs and approach. The tools used are simple enumerations, savings groups and community meetings. These simple tools have helped in developing a new culture of care and nurturing – talking to residents, gathering information, identifying problems and seeing how as a community they can begin to solve problems.

PDG builds on and fosters community-led initiatives to meet the basic housing needs of the urban poor.

So far, the approach has had significant impact not only in terms of generating household and community demand for housing and related facilities but also in terms of fostering individual behaviour which facilitates access to services and promotes the development of a self-sustaining demand and supply mechanism. This remarkable achievement in Old Fadama is an inspiration to other settlements which face similar challenges in slums and informal settlements. By December 2009, the Federation had expanded and established active groups and functional offices in Ghana's five major urban centres, Accra, Kumasi, Tamale, Takoradi and Tema. In terms of scale, the Ghana Federation currently has over 8,500 family members belonging to about 95 savings groups and covering seven out of the ten administrative regions of Ghana. The Federation has national visibility and is recognised by urban state and non-state actors (Osumanu, et al., 2010).

These examples provide a basis for better understanding of how to identify and build upon local initiatives that are likely to improve public dialogue and interaction on water and sanitation services. Local people have been able to consider various possible alternatives to many current coping and management strategies, especially revitalising public dialogue that has been missing for many years. Meetings and community gatherings are important opportunities for people to voice their opinions in public. If these institutions are viable (though not perfect), the question then is how do we connect them to the formal government structure? This is instructive for the formation of self-governing community assembly in African cities (Akinola 2010a, 2011a).

However, there are no concerted efforts on the part of African governments to rally round these community-based institutions for synergy and co-production on urban amenities and development. The pertinent question is: What hinders Ghanaian government from learning from the example of People's Dialogue Ghana within its domain in Accra in 2005 before adopting barbaric approach in demolishing homes in December 2010? The lesson we can learn from these cases is how these SGIs can be used to re-constitute socio-economic and political order from the bottom-up and to serve as alternatives and/or complementarities to the modern state institutions (Akinola 2011a).

Some questions are raised and they include: Are there some roles citizens and the poor should play in the process of reconstructing urban public sphere and participating in public debates to resolving urban environmental degradation and poverty in Africa? What are these roles? How can urban public sphere be reconstructed to allow citizens at community level to be involved in decision making, rule-monitoring and enforcement of sanction on rule infraction?

6. POLYCENTRIC PLANNING AND A NEW URBAN GOVERNMENTALITY

Analysis and discussions show that there is the need for new institutional arrangements that will enable African state to reposition urban managers to deliver inclusive planning policies and strategies as well as public services and poverty reduction incentives on the one hand and evolve appropriate rural industrialisation and employment generation programmes that can stem the tide of rural-urban migration on the other hand. The paper considers imperative the application of pragmatic and problem-solving home-grown model to the identified challenges.

6.1 Polycentric Planning and Poverty Reduction Strategy

Polycentric Planning and Poverty Reduction Strategy (PPPRS) provides incentives for synergising the efforts of the state (public officials) and community institutions (citizens) towards poverty reduction starting from community/local level.

It is a multi-layers and multi-centres institutional arrangements that connect the stakeholders synergistically to resolving urban environmental crisis through collective action. There are some fundamental imperatives of collective action within development arena. These are collegiality, mutual trust, reciprocity and shared understanding. It is the realisation of these imperatives through constitutional reforms, effective planning and institutional arrangements that can enable the people and their leaders to work together to achieve meaningful progress (Akinola 2010a, 2011a).

Cooperation requires deliberation. That is why deliberative democracy is considered more appropriate for Africa (Akinola 2011a). For example, one of the proud inheritances of South Africa's democracy is public dialogue in the form of community forums, negotiations, and imbizo (Zulu language that means a "gathering"). Community forums have been part of social movements in the fight against both apartheid and post-apartheid inequalities. Negotiations proudly characterised the transition to democracy which is based on principles of nondiscrimination (Hartslief 2005:1). The equivalent of imbizo among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria is igbimo ilu (town court of legislators), opuwari among the Ijaw in Bayelsa State and mbogho among the Efik and Ibibio of Cross River and Akwa Ibom States and Mai-angwa among the Hausa-Fulani of Northern Nigeria. It is high time Africans looked back in retrospect to learn from their roots by harnessing certain self-governing principles that are inherent in their cultural/traditional heritage to address urban challenges.

It is this type of self-governing and self-organising arrangements that can be integrated into the formal system of government in African urban areas. This, invariably, would lead to effective cooperation and deliberation between and among public officials and citizens at community/ward level, thereby eliminating gaps between the two groups. The application of PPPRS in Africa would enable a reduction of vulnerability by resolving urban environmental, socio-economic and cultural challenges in the continent. Using PPPRS, African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM) is designed.

6.2 African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM)

In order to enable urban managers in Africa effectively deliver urban services and respond to yearnings and aspirations of urban citizens, this paper designs African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM). The APUEGM is diagrammatised in Figure 1. The first part of the model (Nos. 1-10) displays the failure of centralised, monocentric and monocratic systems of governance (No. 1) occasioned by elite driven structurally-defective institutional arrangement that has resulted into exclusion (No. 2) and consequent dualistic economy and policy (No. 3). The problem of centralised system of governance is that citizens have no input into decision, planning, execution, monitoring, evaluation and assessment of public goods and services, especially from conception to implementation. What usually happens is that decisions are taken at the seat of power "far away" from citizens. As a result, mistakes and errors in planning and decisions are not easily amenable when they are discovered. Even in emergency cases, local officers still require approval from high-level bosses who are secluded from the citizens; thus, subjecting destiny of citizens to whims and caprices of rigid bureaucratic decisions. Invariably, centrally motivated strategy leads to increasing socio-economic and political dependency, heightened mass poverty and choking of local initiatives.

Dualistic economy and policy produce two environments within African cities – Government Reservation Area (GRA) for the elite (No. 4a) and Poor Reservation Area (PRA) for the non-elite (No. 4b). While all the good things of life are available within the GRA with little population and high percentage of resources (No. 5a), the PRA is highly populated with small resources and lacks basic services (No. 5b). The later is described as slums, urban ghetto, shacks and informal settlements (No. 6). What is common in the slums is scarcity of good things of life with attendant struggle and aggression (No. 7). The only plan the elite have for the slum dwellers is demolition and evictions as good riddance, which is a violation of human rights and injustice (No. 9a). With evictions, things fall apart for the slum dwellers in socio-economic terms (No. 8). As a result, poverty is deepening and human misery is heightened, thus generating aggression and violence on urban streets. The use of police in dispersing protesters and rioters further complicates matters as citizens are killed and property destroyed; thus leading to the second level of aggression (No. 9b); this time, against the state. This aggression usually takes the forms of urban violence, crisis and vandalism (No. 10) – failed urban governance. This failure requires a rethinking and a paradigm shift on urban governance (No. 11a) to an inclusive institutional framework that would be appropriate for cities dwellers – elite and non-elite – in Africa.

The second part of the model (Nos. 11-19) displays the way forward, especially on the role of African scholars in rethinking urban governance by charting possible courses of actions on how urban managers can work with citizens in synergy. Rethinking urban governance requires the imperatives of urban realities (No. 11b) to be factored into a new urban governmentality (No. 12). Urban realities should be viewed and analysed via exogenous variables (socio-economic and institutional factors) (No. 13a). The paradigm shift in governance demands a new institutional arrangement through restructuring whereby the efforts of the stakeholders in the public terrains – politicians, bureaucrats, technocrats, NGOs, youth, unemployed persons, self-governing institutions, etc. – are synergised. Since political factor determines the operation of other sectors of the economy, restructuring the public sphere becomes central to resolving urban governance and development crisis (Akinola 2011a).

At the heart of restructuring the public sphere is the operation of Self-Governing Community Assembly (SGCA). The stakeholders/participants would operate using rules that are crafted by members at the SGCA. Rule crafting takes place at three levels – constitutional, collective choice and operational (see Akinola 2010a, 2011a). The activities and operations of SGCA will be facilitated by associationalism using African Polycentric Information Networking (APIN) (No. 13b) for creating networks between the leaders and the people for effective information sharing and communication (Akinola 2008p:188-189).

The SGCA should be patterned after imbizo, igbimo ilu, opuwari, mbogho, Mai-angwa, etc. but modified to include representatives of governments with their agencies, higher institutions, community institutions, occupational groups, women groups, youth, etc.) (Akinola, 2013m). Since SGCA is a multi-tasks assembly, one of its operations will have to do with education and enlightenment of citizens so that public officials and the people operate within shared communities of understanding. Some of the critical questions that citizens need to address at the SGCA include: (1) What should governments do in terms of urban service delivery and how should they do it? (2) What can people do alone without government intervention? (3) What can people do in tandem with government? (4) How can people handle these issues in numbers 1 to 3? (5) What should be the role of urban citizens in shaping electoral system before, during and after elections to ensure the delivery of dividend of democracy?

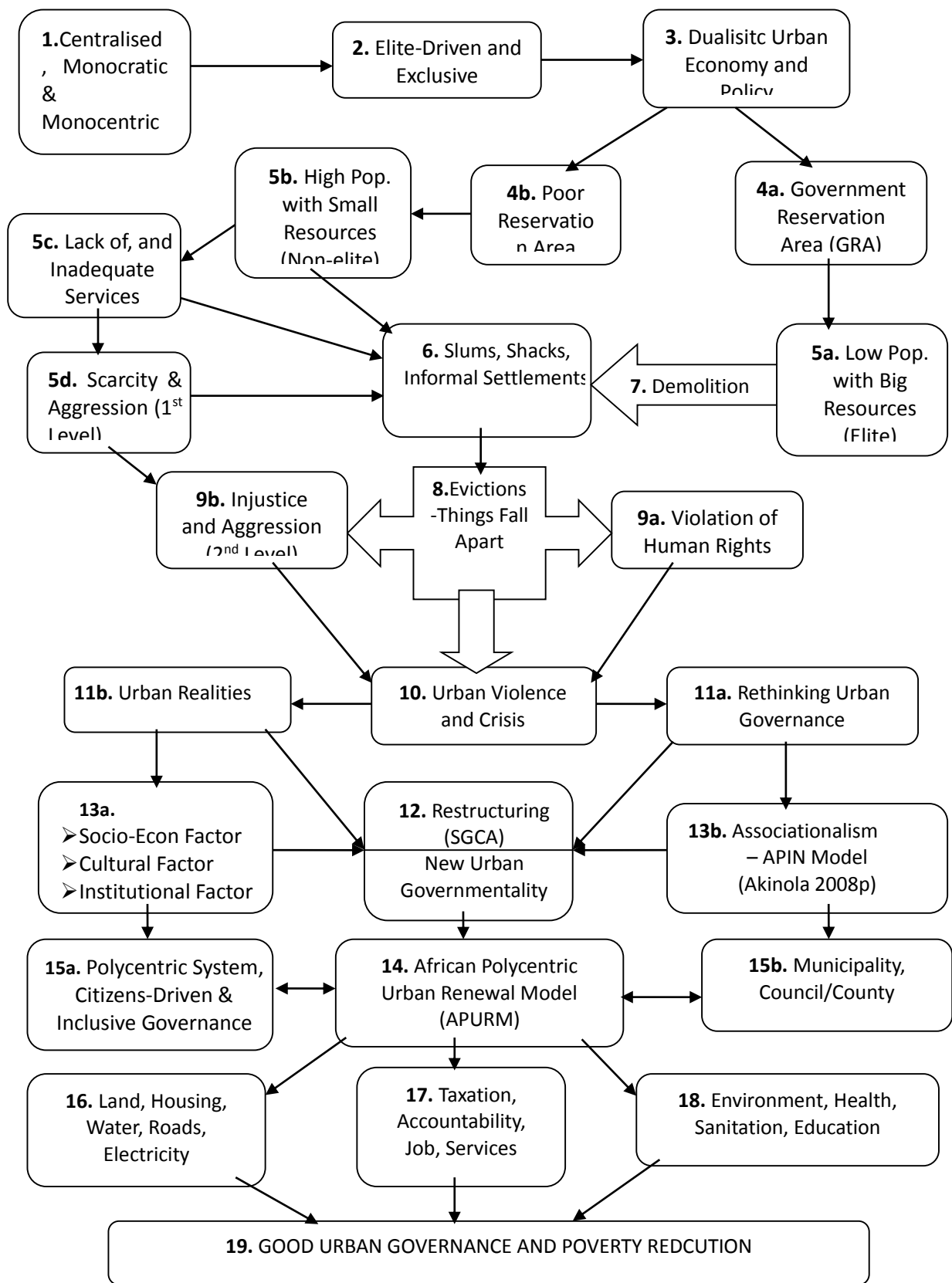


Figure 1: An African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM)

Both leaders and citizens need new orientations, which require some training at the level of SGCA. The leaders need new orientation in community governance and management of community affairs. Leaders should come down to the level of citizens (as proposed in AERD – Akinola, 2008p:192-193; 2010g), while citizens need to be prepared for regular dialogues with their leaders. Conscious effort must be made to recognise and respect local dynamics in addressing the development challenges which slum dwellers face (Akinola and Adesopo, 2014j). It is important to mobilise residents to engage government and city authorities in exploring alternatives for resolving an eviction notice as was done in Ghana in the late nineties and 2005, for examples.

When urban citizens are able to realise that they can and should take full responsibilities in shaping and re-shaping socio-economic and political configurations to suit their daily aspirations and yearnings through active and constructive interjections, especially through the application of African Polycentric Urban Renewal Model (APURM) (No. 14) (Akinola, et. al, 2013b:13-15), then shared communities of understanding would be established. Polycentric system, citizens-driven and inclusive governance (No. 15a) will enable municipal council and urban LG managers (No. 15b) to pursue the goal of housing and infrastructural development (No. 16). When public officials and citizens are able to work together, taxation and accountability (No. 17) will lead to job creation, access to land, affordable housing due to low cost of building materials, job opportunities, good roads, environmental health and sanitation (No. 18), etc. At the end of the day, African countries would experience good urban governance and poverty reduction (No. 19).

The proposed new institutional mechanism would enable African state to reposition urban managers to deliver inclusive housing policies and strategies as well as public services like healthcare, sanitation, education, water supply, electricity, roads and poverty reduction incentives. At the same time, appropriate rural industrialisation and employment generation programmes that can stem the tide of rural-urban migration should be set up.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This paper concludes that centralised, monocentric and monocratic systems of governance occasioned by structurally-defective institutional arrangement in Africa has resulted into exclusion and consequent dualistic economy and policy that favour the few ruling elite, while the majority of African citizens living in slums and informal settlements face danger of evictions and demolition as well as threat of lives in attempts to resist being dispossessed of their property. In order to protect the rights, life and property of citizens, especially the poor in African urban areas, a polycentric arrangement that is inclusive in decision making is inevitable. For urban governance to benefit urban residents, it has to proceed from the people and be guided by them in decisions on all urban matters, including planning and modification of plans. Self-organising and self-governing arrangements that urban poor and/or city residents in Africa have adopted in cooperating mutually in responding to their common problems are imperatives for the attainment of good urban governance, viable democracies and sustainable development in Africa. This is because effective polycentric planning, institutional arrangements and self-governments can act as a check, under certain circumstance, on the excesses of public officials as well as provide greater opportunities for accountable government.

Using Polycentric Planning and Poverty Reduction Strategy, this paper designs an African Polycentric Urban Environmental Governance Model (APUEGM) capable of mainstreaming citizens-centred institutions in urban areas into socio-economic and political decision making so that citizens (including the urban poor) can participate effectively in decisions that concern their lives. The new institutional mechanism would enable operators of municipalities and urban local councils to set up governance structures that will avail the people the opportunity to have a robust political dialogue with public officials in order to reposition urban councils to effectively manage urban environment and deliver public services to the people. The emerging new institutional arrangement would, therefore, produce a new urban governmentality that is polycentric, citizens driven and inclusive; thus, entrenching good urban governance, citizens-centred environmental planning and development in African cities.

8. REFERENCES

- Akinola, S. R., (1992b). 'Colonialism and Politico-Economic Development of Benin: Urban and Regional Planning Perspective', International Conference on Benin Studies, organised by International Society for Benin Studies, held at the University of Benin, Benin-City, 23–28 March, 1992.
- _____, (2005d). 'Structural Transformation and Polycentric Governance: Complementary Strategy towards Nigeria's Reform Agenda', Proceedings of the 14th General Assembly of Social Science Academy of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria, pp. 238–250.
- _____, (2007a). Coping with Infrastructural Deprivation through Collective Action among Rural People in Nigeria, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 16 (No. 1): 30-46. Available online at <http://www.njas.helsinki.fi>.
- _____, (2008b). Coping With Social Deprivation through Self-Governing Institutions in Oil Communities of Nigeria, *Africa Today*, Vol. 55(No. 1): 89-107.
- _____, (2008p). Alternative Planning Models for Development in Africa, In ed., The Development Bank of South Africa, Knowledge to Remobilise Africa, Johannesburg: Knowledge Management Division, pp. 169–202.
- _____, (2009a). The Failure of Central Policing and the Resilience of Community-Based Security Institutions in Nigeria, In Amuwo, A., Hippolyt A.S.P. & Adadevoh, I. O. eds., *Civil Society, Governance and Regional Integration in Africa*, Nairobi: Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF), pp. 257-274.
- _____, (2009b). Polycentric Planning and Community Self-Governance as Panacea to the Niger Delta Crisis, *African Journal of Development (AJD)*, Vol. 11(No. 2): 79-104.
- _____, (2010a). Restructuring the Public Sphere for Social Order in the Niger Delta through Polycentric Planning: What Lessons for Africa?, *Journal of African Asian Studies*, Vol. 9(Nos. 1&2): 55-82.
- _____, (2010i). Institutional Crisis, Resources Governance and Economic Prosperity in Africa: Crossing the Great Divide through Polycentric Development Planning, Social Science Research Consultancy Trust, Monograph Series, Vol. 1(No. 2): 87p.
- _____, (2011a). Restructuring the Public Sphere for Democratic Governance and Development in Africa: The Polycentric Planning Approach, In Abdalla Bujra, ed., *Political Culture, Governance and the State in Africa*, Nairobi: Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF), pp. 1-61.

- _____, Isidahomhen, L. & T. A. Akinola (2012d). Making the Commons Work in the Rural Niger Delta: The Role of Women in Stabilizing Development, In Ibaba S. I. ed. Niger Delta: Constraints and Pathways to Development, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 97-124.
- _____, M. B. Gasu, A. K. Adegoke & R. F. Simon (2013b). Addressing Cities Decadence through Polycentric Renewal Strategy in Nigeria, International Journal of Advance Research in Social Engineering & Development Strategies. Advanced Research Publishers, Tamale, Ghana, Vol. 1(No.1): 1-19.
- _____, & Adesopo, A. (2014j). Reconnecting Self-Organising Institutions to the formal Government Structure for Real Governance Impact in Nigeria, European Journal of Sustainable Development (2014), Vol. 3(No. 2): 53-72.
- Attenkah, Richard, (2010). 'Massive Protests over Tema Demolition Exercise', 17 June 2010. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201006171004.html> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Beeko, William, (2011). 'Mansions marked for demolition', February 15, 2011. Top Story. <http://www.theghanaijournal.com/2011/02/15/mansions-marked-for-demolition/> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Cohen, Barney, (2004). Urban Growth in Developing Countries: A Review of Current Trends and a Caution Regarding Existing Forecasts, World Development, Vol. 32(No. 1): 23-51.
- Croese, Sylvia, (2010). 'Rebuilding by Demolishing Angola: The Politics of National Reconstruction', Pambazuka, Issue 475, 25/03/2010. <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/63298> (Accessed 26/03/2010).
- Gellar, Sheldon, (2005). The Art of Association, Democracy in Senegal: Tocquevillian Analytics in Africa, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 92-107.
- Ghana Statistical Service, (2007). 'Pattern and Trends of Poverty in Ghana: 1991 – 2006', Ghana Statistical Service, April 2007.
- Ghana News, June (2010). 'Demolition of Unauthorised Structures not Solution to Flooding – Dr. Baffour.' Tuesday, 22 June 2010. <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=184694> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- _____, September (2010). 'Chraj Expresses Concern about Demolition Exercise in Ghana', Monday, 13 September 2010. <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=190333> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Government of Ghana (2007). Revised Environmental Sanitation Policy, May 2007. Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Environment.
- Harris, Edward (2008). '800,000 evicted in Nigeria.' Associated Press. <http://ap.google.com/article/ALeqM5jkwDVK6Ama5tTLpjHFK0TahSby2wD90M15V80> (Accessed 19/5/2008).
- Hartslief, O., (2005). 'The South African Presidential Participation Programme (Presidential Imbizo): Engaging Communities for a Better Life.' An unpublished paper, 2005. (<http://www.engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/S14-hartslief-o.html>), Accessed May 25, 2009.

- Hiltzik, Michael A., (1989). 'Demolition Drive Targets Street Hawkers, Too: Kenya Cleanup Strikes Squatters', April 23, 1989. http://articles.latimes.com/1989-04-23/news/mn-1800_1_nairobi-shacks-toilet-paper (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Ikokwu, Constance, 26 June 2007). 'Nigeria: Shelter Across All Borders', 26 June 2007, <<http://allafrica.com/stories/200706270404.html>> (accessed on July 10, 2007).
- Kenyan Business News, (2010). 'Kenyan Business Traders Angered by Night Demolition', July 12, 2010. News, PoliceTags: Nairobi's Kangemi market engaged police in running battles, Police used teargas to disperse the traders. <http://kenya-chat.com/kenyan-business-traders-angered-by-night-demolition/> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Mulama, Joyce, (2004). 'Kenya: The Threat of Demolition Looms in Africa's Largest Slum', Inter Press Service, Wednesday, 10 March 2004. <http://www.afrika.no/Detailed/5024.html> (Accessed 22/02/2011).
- Notywala, Axolile, (2011). 'South Africa Lacks of Access to Clean and Safe Sanitation', An Open Letter to Mayor De Lille from the Social Justice Coalition, 5 June 2011, <http://writingrights.org/2011/06/07/an-open-letter-to-mayor-de-lille-from-the-social-justice-coalition/> (Accessed 27/06/2011).
- Ogun, Dan, (2009). 'Abuja Demolition: Legal and Socio-Economic Perspectives', 2009.
- Olowu, Dele., (1999). 'Local Organisations and Development: The African Experience', Polycentric Governance and Development: Readings from the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 209–240.
- _____ & James Wunsch, (2004). Local Governance in Africa: The Challenges of Democratic Decentralisation, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ostrom, Elinor, (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- _____, (2005). *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Ostrom, V. & E. Ostrom, (2003). *Rethinking Institutional Analysis: Interviews with Vincent and Elinor Ostrom. Commemorating a Lifetime of Achievement*, Mercatus Centre, George Mason University, USA, November 7, 2003.
- Ostrom, Vincent, (1994). *The Meaning of American Federalism: Constituting a Self-Governing Society*, San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press.
- _____, (2006). Citizen-Sovereigns: The source of contestability, the rule of law, and the conduct of public entrepreneurship, *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1: 13-17
- Osumanu, Kanton I., Abdul-Rahim, L., Songsore, J., Braimah, F. R., Mulenga, M. (2010). 'Urban Water and Sanitation in Ghana: How Local Action is making a Difference', Human Settlements Programme, London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), October 2010.
- Samacumbi, Luis, (2010). 'Fear and Panic Invade Populations of Lubango', *Pambazuka*, Issue 475, 25/03/2010. <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/advocacy/63297> (Accessed 26/03/2010).
- Satterthwaite, David, (1993). Health and Environmental Problems in the Cities of Developing Countries, In *Population Distribution and Migration, Proceedings of the United Nations (U.N.) Expert meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18–22 January 1993, (U.N., New York, August 1994), p. 183.*

- Sawyer, A., (2005). *Beyond Plunder: Toward Democratic Governance in Liberia*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, Inc.
- Stren, R., & Halfani, M., (2001). *The Cities of Sub-Saharan Africa: from Dependency to Marginality*, In R. Paddison, ed., *Handbook of Urban Studies*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 466–485.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, (1988). *Democracy in America*, New York: Harper and Rows.
- WHO/UNICEF, (2010). 'Progress on Sanitation and Drinking-Water: 2010 Update', WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation, Geneva and New York WHO/UNICEF.
- World Resources, (1997). *World Resources: A Guide to the Global Environment, The Urban Environment*, The World Bank, UNDP, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York.