

## ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF URBAN GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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**ABSTRACT:** *The growth of urban centres has become one of the most remarkable trends of the 20th century Africa. Mans' inclination to agglomerate in large number in a few urban centres is quite impressive. No wonder about 10 of the fastest growing cities in the world are found in Africa with an annual average growth rate of 3.5 percent and presently the fastest in the world. (UN World Urbanisation Prospect, 2014). The urbanisation process is accelerate by the dynamisms of the socio-political and economic conditions of the contemporary times, coupled with the increasing migration that takes place in Africa. As the ever increasing urban population lead to proliferation of cities, certain environmental, legal, institutional and other problems arise resulting in ineffective urban governance. This paper therefore examined the problem issues that have negative impacts on urban governance in Africa. Effective urban governance is to be understood from the perspective of Associative Network model. Data was basically drawn from secondary sources. Findings showed that effective urban governance hinges on efficient local government through synergy and collaboration of all stake holders, multi level government, public /private partnership, greater space for public participation etc.*

**KEYWORD:** Issues, Challenge, Urbanization, Governance, Urban Governance

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### INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a global trend that plays a significant role in determining the degree of socio-political and economic transformation of modern societies and their spatial impact. The history of urbanisation dates as far back as 1880s with the growth of American cities, the expansion of Los Angeles being an early example of uncontrollable urbanization. It is estimated that up to 70% of the world population will be living in cities by the year 2050, and the developing countries of Africa and Latin America are experiencing speedy urbanisation within the estimated period of year 2050. (Anderson, 2015) . Ayoade (2006) noted that urbanisation undoubtedly represents human's greatest impact on natural environment. Fields, farms and forest are replaced by stones, bricks concrete and asphalt. Cities are characterised by large concentration of people, vehicles, buildings and other forms of modern artefacts. In the same sense, the United Nations Secretariat (1970) noted that urbanisation is perhaps, the best symbol of the radical, physical, economic and social transformation that mankind is passing through as a consequence of development . (Duru and Ogbonnaya; 2012).

Similarly, Abada (2001) acceded to the fact that an unprecedented movement of people into cities is an intimate part of development, representing spatial dynamism of development process , and therefore inevitable for a continuous development. It is important to state that urbanisation is expected to increase the spatial and functional interrelations between cities, settlements and their surroundings. Thus, the rapid growth of urbanisation has necessitated a new form of power relations between the different levels of government with stronger coordination and cooperation required for effective city governance.

To highlight the role of governance in urban development engineering, the German Government, ministry of cooperation and development ( through one of her agencies *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbat GIZ*) in collaboration with UN Habitat implemented a project tagged "sustainable Development of Metropolitan Region". The agency developed action-oriented advisory services on the role of metropolitan regions as sustainable development facilitators. At the end, participants : UNHabitat and GIZ agreed that effective metropolitan governance is a pre-requisite for transformative development considering its socio-political, economic and environmental impact. They therefore concluded that an effective urban governance requires a joint action and coordination between administration and different stakeholders.

In addition to initiating and implementing social welfare programs for urban dwellers, urban governance is expected to create job opportunities for sustainable livelihood, establish a functional and well laid out housing settlements for different income earners, ensure healthy environment, maintain peace and order, create and secure life and property of urban dwellers. Against this background, this paper will focus on three key issues which include: the rational for urban governance, institutional framework for effective urban governance and issue and challenges of urban governance which will include the suggested policy framework to improve the efficacy of urban administration.

### **Clarification of concepts**

#### **Challenge**

The word 'challenge' as used in this chapter refers to a situation that requires a lot of skill, energy and determination to deal with or achieve. Another way to understand 'challenge'( in respect of the idea contained in this chapter) is a situation of being faced with something that needs great mental and physical effort in order to be done successfully; the actors ability is put to test. (Cambridge Dictionary) An issue could be understood to mean an important topic or problem for debate and discussion which could eventually become a challenge.

**Urban:** Urban is a term that describes a large city. It is viewed as an area with a large number of people residing in it., an area that has been significantly developed, or an area where the distance between buildings is very small. Urban is used in contrast to rural which generally indicates a low population, often agricultural based area. (investoword)

**Urbanization:** Urbanization as used in this paper to describes the process by which cities grow or by which societies become more urban (American Heritage Dictionary). It also means the process by which more and more people leave the countryside to leave in cities (Cambridge English Dictionary)

**Governance:** Generally governance involves establishment of policies, and continuous monitoring of their proper implementation, by the members of the governing body of an organization. It includes the mechanism required to balance the powers of the members with the associated accountability, and their primary duty of enhancing the prosperity and viability of the organisation. (Business Dictionary)

Machiavelli (2003) viewed governance as a broader term than government when he pointed out that government is one of the institutions involved in governance. He gave a wider perspective of governance as the various ways through which social life is co-ordinated. He noted that the principal modes of governance are market, hierarchies and network. In its wider

usage, governance reflects a blurring of the state from the society resulting from changes such as development of new forms of public management; the growth of public/private partnership, the increasing importance of policy network and the greater impact of multi-level government. While some scholars associate governance with a shift away from command and control mechanism, to a reliance on consultation, others argue that it implies preference for 'less government' and a 'free market. (Heywood A. 2002).

**Urban Governance:** Urban governance refers to an enabling environment which requires adequate legal framework, efficient political, managerial and administrative processes put in place to enable local governments respond to the needs of the citizens. It can thus be defined as the many ways the institutions and the individuals organise the day to day management of a city, and the process used for effectively realising the short term agenda for the development of a city. UN Habitat (2012) describes urban governance as the "software that enables the urban hardware to function". Effective urban governance is therefore characterised by democratic and inclusive, long term and integrated, multi-scale, multi-level, territorial, proficient and conscious of digital age.

### **Theoretical underpinning of urban governance**

Urban governance can be explained and understood from the point of view of Associative Network (AN) model. Irazebel (2004) revealed that in many American and Latin American cities, urban governance and planning are either in urgent need for reforms or are undergoing some reforms. However, the inability of some cities to develop their civil capacity has hampered the implementation of reforms ie, the capacity to build and maintain broad social and political multi-sectoral coalition in pursuit of common goals. Thus, because of varying political and socio cultural dilemma in time and space, it became logical for urban governance analyst to develop different models that attempt to interpret and provide normative guideline for such complex process within geopolitical and socio-cultural orientations. Some models were therefore developed in America and Latin America. One of such models referred to as Associative Network (AN) is considered handy for the explanation and understanding of the issues around urban governance.

Chalmers (1997) used the term Associative Network to mean the way in which the structure of the society are represented as non hierarchical act of association. According to him, the structure differs from the two major principles of modern social and political organisation: hierarchies with their relations of authority and dependency. In the associative network model, the term network characterises purposeful, interconnectedness of social groups that shape public decision and policy without making the assumptions of the nature of the norms guiding the participants' interactions.

Associative Network is therefore defined as a non hierarchical structure formed through decisions by multiple actors who come together to shape public policy. It is however important to note that the growth of associative network is not the growth of the civil society, but the growth of its connections with the state. As part of the norms of Associative Network, there is possibility for more discussion and deliberative democracy, it is characterised by diversity of organisations, individuals and other participants; there is also room for periodic re-configuration of the network as issues, decision making rules, participants and opportunities change. The AN lays strong emphasis on cognitive politics, involving debate and discussions of preferences, understandings and claims.

Another very important feature peculiar to third world countries is that while ordinarily, ANs often involve actors with sharply unequal resources, there is likely more changes to avoid direct test of strength with an unequal competitor in the third world countries largely due to the following:

- i. lesser emphasis on importance of rigid hierarchies and authority relations among actors in the less developed countries
- ii. shifting and multiple identities
- iii. more open-ended character of cognitive politics

Chalmers noted that this model of urban governance can achieve progress in the following dimensions:

- a. establish relative state and effective governance
- b. help overcome drastic inequality in the third world countries
- c. create spaces for effective participation

However, the following conditions are required to achieve the above progress

- i. organization and procedures that co-ordinate the multiple decision centres, and constantly changing networks
- ii. a framework of rights that make participation in associative network possible
- iii. adopt popular sector strategies that make the most of the opportunities and avoid the pitfalls.

Some of these features can be achieved through appropriate legislation, but a full realization will largely depend on changing values, norms and beliefs; implying changing tradition and producing new issue and contests among citizens, government and planning officials. This may call for enactment of new legislations and laws. Irazabel exemplified this in Latin America when he noted that the new experience of participatory urban planning are supported by new enabling legal framework made possible by the struggle of social movement agitating for democratization of government at the local level. It is argued that such level of participation will help minimize clientelism, patronage, neo populism and other practices of hegemonic politics.

### **Why is Urban Governance Necessary**

It is considered very important in this discussion to explore the rationale for urban governance to be able to justify the time, energy and resources expended in governing an urban area. This part of the study will concentrate on providing some factors that necessitated the whole idea of urban administration.

As countries experience more urbanisation and population growth, large cities and local economic areas are created, especially in developing countries. With advancement in transportation and communication network, people travel long distances from rural areas or smaller towns to larger cities and urban areas with increasing flow of goods and services for information and commercial activities. The economic link between the core (urban areas) and

the peripheries (sub-urban) gradually become closer and complementary such that one may not succeed without the other. Thus, their relationship become characterized by interdependence which largely contribute to the growth of metropolitan regions.

Historically, local governments operate within defined jurisdictional boundaries, but urbanization often change the character of an area over time. An urban area usually include a number of independent local government jurisdictions. Thus, an urban area may emerge through an outbound growth of a city or through a gradual expansion and integration of various settlements which form an independent agglomerated metropolitan area overtime. As cities emerge and grow, the need for metropolitan level management increases. Metropolitan regions usually need a form of institutional arrangement, formal or informal ones to coordinate their development through a joint effort for more efficient and equitable service provision and delivery; and cost sharing with higher density areas requiring higher coordination. Thus, urban governance become indispensable for the following reasons:

**1. Fast Growth of Urban Areas** Developing cities of Africa and Asia experience fast growth of urban centres. Among the developing countries, Asia is noted as the continent with the highest urban population of about two million or 50% of the total urban population in the world. Although Africa with an urban population of less than half a million, which was hitherto lagging behind in the area of urbanisation is on its way to becoming a predominantly urban continent. With an annual average urban growth of 3.5 percent presently the fastest in the world. This claim is confirmed by the fact the ten fastest growing cities in the world are found in Africa: Lagos in Nigeria with a growth spurt of 77 people per hour; Daresalam in Tanzania; and Lilongwe in Malawi, Mogadishu in Somalia, Kinshasha in Congo 61 persons per hour, Cairo in Egypt with 44 persons per hour, Luanda in Angola with 34 persons per hour, Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso with 23 persons per hour, Kenya in Nairobi with 22 persons per hour and Johannesburg in Abidjan with 21 persons per hour respectively. (UN World Urbanisation Prospect 2014), Thus, it is expected that urban population will overshoot the rural population in Africa by the year 2030. (Anderson, 2015) This trend therefore mounts more pressure on local governments found in cities or those sharing borders to provide infrastructure and services, and provide enabling environment for economic development, while addressing the issues of urban poverty and inequality.

**2. Dysfunctional Urban Governance** In many urban centres, cases of struggle, inequality, spillovers and other occurrences of malfunctioning urban management system were rife. More often than not, provision of basic public services (public transport facility, drainage system, sewage collection /disposal, waste management, emergency services etc) are fragmented and not addressed at the appropriate territorial level, resulting in high cost and financing challenges to local governments. Thus, different parts of urban areas experience different quality of amenities due to income inequality which invariably affects the tax base of local governments. It is common to observe that the core areas of a city suffer congestion, with increasing air pollution, the affected city may need to solve a problem that should be a joint or regional issue from its resources only, without a fair contribution by the neighbouring local governments which will also benefit from a spill over effect of agglomeration. (as free riders). Water pollution or inadequate maintenance of storms drains in one area of the city may constitute health risk or flooding in another area; and in respect of police services, crime does not respect jurisdictional boundaries. Therefore, there is need for a joint coordination of all areas and stake holders to address such emerging issues through effective governance.

**4. Imperative for Cost Saving** One of the reasons for intercommunity coordination and collaboration is that it usually lead to 'getting more for less' or cost saving. On this, efficiency can be achieved by integrated territorial planning at different scales, and coordinating some forms of service delivery, especially where economies of scale can be achieved. Thus, integrated strategic planning, and linking spatial plans leads to infrastructural development, public finance and long term financial planning necessary to prudent management of resources. Others include joint procurement of what is needed by all local government eg. maintenance of road, fire truck, coordinated urban planning to rationalize the location and number of facilities for public interest:- technological park, sports and cultural facilities, promotion of tourism by the region rather than by the individual local government. In addition to cost saving, coordination is also beneficial in terms of human management capacity building especially in a country where coordination is the responsibility of lower level government.

**5. Need to Create Sound Governance** For decades, the Organisation for Economic Corporation for Development Countries (OECD) has continued to address the issues bothering on metropolitan governance. Their concerns include various governance arrangement, coordination mechanisms, institutional arrangements and legal framework to provide effective urban administration. Although this has not been the case in Africa, African leaders can however borrow a leaf from the experiences of the international communities and develop the capacity to address the emerging issues in urban governance in a comprehensive manner. Metropolitan governance being a multifaceted subject, it requires a cross-sectional, cross jurisdictional and often politically challenging to effectively accomplish.

## THE CHALLENGES OF URBAN GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Information provided so far in this write-up leaves no space to overemphasise the importance of urbanization and growth of cities in contemporary societies. However, as African cities continue to urbanise, there is proliferation of urban centres through uncontrollable rural-urban drift, metropolis and megapolis have developed. With increasing urban population, there is expansion in government activities showcased through enhanced public policies and programmes, innovative practices and improved strategies among socially and culturally different urban dwellers; including some levels of interaction engineered by international agencies, as well as actors from private sectors, voluntary and other nongovernmental actors. All these notwithstanding, urban areas are confronted with myriad of problem issues some of which are highlighted below:

**1. Inadequate Infrastructure and Malfunctioning of Urban Services:** One of the major challenges of urban governance is how to make available adequate infrastructure and to ensure that the available ones are functional. As urban population increases, urban areas expand and the social infrastructural needs of the dwellers increase. There is need for more and sustainable road network, residential houses, electricity, potable water, market, recreation, motor park etc. Besides that, the existing infrastructure easily wear out and come under deplorable state arising from continuous pressure mounted on them by the ever increasing utilisation. City administrations are worried about how to increase the level of infrastructure to take care of the teaming urban population as well as maintain existing ones.

## **2. Environmental and Social Impact of the Economic Activities of the Informal Sector.**

The environmental and social impacts of the economic dynamisms of the non formal actors have become a serious source of concern for urban governance. Apart from the challenge of providing appropriate site for garbage dump, government is also concerned about how to enforce waste management regulations especially getting urban dwellers to use the approved dump sites. It has not been easy tracking individual households, artisans, street traders even industries who dispose their waste indiscriminately against government regulations. Besides that, carbon dioxide emitted from automobiles together with the indiscriminate waste disposal, smell from poultry farms, noise from entertainment stall, heavily degrade the environment with different levels of pollution, constituting health hazards as well as reducing the quality of life of urban dwellers. Besides that, the indiscriminate erection of buildings, both permanent and make shift accommodation has given rise to the growth of slumps in many parts on urban areas. Thus, control of arbitrary location of industries, illegal oil bunkering, street trading, hawking and other indiscriminate economic activities constitute challenge to city governance.

## **3. Tension and Conflicts over City Control**

As cities grow, resources of the city also increase, several interests rise up to control the city and its resources. Often times, tension and conflict of interest lead to a struggle among the contending groups to control the juicy areas of the city:- markets, shopping malls, motor parks, industrial areas etc. Such conflicts usually arise among local government areas existing with the urban areas, between local governments and the state and even between states leading to boundary disputes sometimes. This poses a challenge on how best to reconcile these issues and broker peace among states and between state and local government. this scenerio is common in many states in Nigeria where the relationship between the state and local government areas has been soured because of conflict arising from which level controls the state resources.

## **4. Persistent Unemployment**

Once a place becomes urban, it becomes a centre of attraction for many persons in search for greener pastures. Thus, countless number of people especially young school leavers migrate from different rural communities to the urban centres in search of jobs. At the initial stage of urbanisation, employment opportunities do exist from government, industries and the organised private sector including non formal sector. However, with the increasing influx of people over time, cities get saturated and employment opportunities drastically reduce. This situation leaves many persons unemployed; and because it is difficult for government to control population drift to urban centres, a situation of acute unemployment may arise. It becomes a challenge for the urban administration to either open up employment opportunities to absorb the population as state workers, or create an enabling environment for private or informal sector to engage them. Where young people remain unemployed over a long period of time, they may be tempted to earn a living by engaging in different levels of anti-social behaviours that may constitute another dimension of social problems government may find difficult to cope with.

## **5. Problem of Checking the Activities of Hoodlums**

Urban areas are perceived by many as where one can always engage in a form of activity to earn a living. Most people who cannot engage themselves in any meaningful economic activity, especially those without a defined skill tend to occupy themselves with one form of anti-social

action in order to survive. Such behaviours are perpetrated by either those that are already criminally minded or those frustrated by unemployment. Both categories find the urban centres where they are not easily identify a conducive atmosphere for such criminal acts. There is increase in crime rate caused by the activities of these hoodlums who engage themselves with criminal acts such as armed robbery, kidnapping, drug addiction, human ritual, prostitution and other despicable acts. It is this same group that constitute instruments for political violence during the period of election. Most of them are homeless, the uncompleted buildings, water side slum areas, under flyovers etc. are already made hideouts for these hoodlums to operate from. They constitute security threats to all categories of urban dwellers. Government often finds it quite challenging to fish out these hoodlums who are here today and there tomorrow; and their number increases with the increase in urban population. In Rivers state, the government has in a number of times destroyed many of those slums with the sole aim of dislodging these criminals. The destruction of Amadiama slum, Nembe and Rumuolumeni Waterside settlements etc in Port Harcourt, by the government of Rivers state Nigeria, are all cases in point. As this happened residents of the neighbouring settlements became apprehensive and sleep with one eye open as these displaced hoodlums found new settlements in bushes and uncompleted buildings around them, leaving a lot yet to be desired in that regard.

## **6. Regulating Social and Economic Activities of Urban Dwellers**

Urban dwellers often perceive urban areas as environment where they can pursue their economic interest and also enjoy the type of social live that pleases them. This is without recourse to whether this self acclaimed freedom contradicts government regulations or infringe on the rights of others. Thus, most urban dwellers especially those belonging to the informal sector engage themselves in any economic activity and adopt any live style that pleases them without minding its consequences on the environment. This is why this class of urban dwellers can establish their businesses anywhere, any time and any how without considering government regulation on establishing different categories of business. Consequently, street trading, road side hawking, indiscriminate erection of business premises, environmental pollution caused by careless waste disposal, have become rife in urban areas. This scenario is quite disturbing to government as exerting adequate control over time proofs difficult. Most cities in Nigeria especially the commercial centres such as Lagos, Aba, Onitsha, Port Harcourt etc, suffer indiscriminate engagement in socio-economic activities.

## **7. Achieving a well Planned City**

Another challenge to effective urban governance is the ability of government to put up a well planned city. A well planned city will entail a well defined and laid out areas for different uses such as location of industries, citing of different designs of residential buildings, parks, special business premises, shopping malls, automobile mechanic workshops, location of service stations, markets, abattoir, waste dump site etc. Where a city is not well planned buildings are scattered here and there, causing obstruction which can lead to flooding. In major cities in Nigeria - Lagos, Abuja and Port Harcourt, government has been forced to demolish structures to enable construction and expansion of roads. The fund used to compensate the owners of these structures would have been diverted to providing other numerous needs of urban population if these cities were originally designed. A well planned city gives room for future expansion for an accelerated development without incurring demolition and compensation costs. As urban population increases, government needs proper planning to cope with the teaming population and extend sustainable infrastructural growth to accommodate the expansion.

## 8. Lack of Adequate Funding

Finance is the bedrock of every organisation. Bello-Imam (2004) describes it as the 'sinus of war'. The success and failure of every administration will largely depend on the volume of fund at the disposal of the administration. All the issues raised above require adequate finance and financing. Governments of urban centres in Africa are usually confronted with the problem of raising fund to finance these numerous programs for sustainable urban governance. Urban administration sometimes suffer shortage of fund due to paucity of fund, embezzlement/financial misappropriation, misplaced priorities and or improper financial planning.

## SUGGESTED APPROACHES FOR EFFECTIVE URBAN GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

The United Nations Habitat for a better Urban Future (2012) has identified the following as instruments for achieving effective urban governance:

- a. Improved Local Government:** Effective local government system is considered as instrument for an inclusive and sustainable urban governance and development. Accountable and transparent city management, and a dynamic multi stakeholder strategy are required to attain good urban administration. Local government enjoys both proximity and legitimacy in most modern societies to propel effective management and good city governance that can boast of institutional and financial sustainability.
- b. Financial Support Management System:** As pointed out above, in most contemporary societies urban governance rests in the hands of local governments which has the responsibility to provide affordable, reliable and quality services, as well as ensure equitable urban citizenship. To be able to function effectively, local government needs public financial support management system. The duty of the system is to ensure that public revenue accruing to local government are effectively utilised for their purpose, and also ensure that public services are accessible by all dwellers including the urban poor. It is advised that local government synergises with the national, regional, public, private and the informal sector in pursuit of these goals. In addition, effective service provision would require establishment of national, urban and territorial policy that promote a strong system of cities and balanced development.
- c. Effective Multi-level Governance:** A devoted multi-level governance is a major pre-requisite for effective urban governance. Such multi-level arrangement should be characterised by a well defined sphere of activities in national, regional, local, and should be based on a well decentralised policies. It requires a balance distribution of resources and responsibilities between the spheres of government, backed up by legal and financial instruments that consider the key principle of subsidiarity. The UN-Habitat work focuses on the establishment of permanent arrangement for dialogue between the local and central government on the one hand, and private sectors on the other. In a related argument, Isher (2017) in his analysis of the institutional structures and devotional mechanism for better service delivery in cities, suggested development of national urban politics and opening up debate among stakeholders, to create a shared understanding across government and society about urban management strategies to ensure reliable, resilient and inclusive settlement areas.

d. **A Healthy Pattern of Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations:** Related to the above remedy is the need to establish a sound and friendly pattern of fiscal relationship among levels of government. For an effective multi-level governance to be achieved, there should be an arrangement that guarantees fiscal autonomy for each level to enable especially lower level government access to enough fund to finance their programs. It does not augur well where a higher level government either uses its influence or by way of misinterpreting some letters of the constitution deliberately usurps the revenue that accrue to lower level governments. In the Nigerian experience, her 1999 constitution provides in section 7 (1) that:

The system of local government by democratically elected local government council is under this constitution guaranteed; and accordingly, the government of every state shall ... ensure their existence under a Law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils

section 162 (3) provides that:

Any amount standing to the credit of the Federation shall be distributed among the federal and state governments and local government in each state on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly

In section 162 (6) it provides that:

Each state shall maintain a special account to be called “state joint local government account” into which shall be paid all allocations to the local government councils of the state from the federation account and from the government of the state.

While subsection(8) provides that:

The amount standing to the credit of local government council of a state shall be distributed among the local government councils of that state on such terms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of each state

From the provision of section 7(1), most states in Nigeria feel that the constitution has put local government under state government control especially with the provision that States should establish local government, determine its structure, composition, finance and functions. In the same way, section 162 (8) authorises state government to distribute to local government revenue according to the prescription of the State House of Assembly. Thus, state governments have capitalised on these constitutional provisions to assume absolute control over the finances of local government such that both the internal and external sources of local government revenue have been overtaken by state government. This happens without the state government providing those services for which finances were allocated to local government. Empirical studies conducted by Azu (2014) to determine the impact of state-local government fiscal relations in Abia state Nigeria also shows that none of the state governments deposit its share of local government revenue to the state joint local government account as prescribe in section 162 (6) above. Thus, the operation of State-Joint-Local Government Account has become that of 'master-servant' as state governments swindle local government funds and undermine the

financial fortunes of local governments, without any recourse to the provisions of section 162 (3) above

Commenting on the Nigerian experience, Elaigwu (2007) observes in reality that most states are reluctant in releasing funds due to local government when he stated that:

state governments find all sorts of excuses not to channel funds to local governments. It would have been more interesting if the refusal to channel funds to local government is based on lack of satisfactory performance of local government councils.

Consequent upon this however, he noted that local governments use the non-receipt of allocation as reason for non-performance. The worse of this fiscal imbalance occurs in Abia state where local government has completely lost its relevance. Such relationship kills the spirit of cooperation and collaboration needed for an enhanced city governance.

**e. Legal and Institutional Framework:** Urban governance also requires a functional legal and institutional framework at the metropolitan level that would focus on a dynamic, sustainable and equitable urban future. Urban administration in this regard should ensure that power and resources are distributed in line with the reality of different categories of residential and work areas, while not ignoring the externalities and spill-over, and supporting synergies to accommodate city expansion and growth.

**f. Wider Space for Participation:** For a sustainable local government action to be achieved, there should exist a framework that integrates different spheres of government and guarantees a wider political space for greater participation in policy making and implementation. Both the formal and informal sectors should have opportunity to participate. Local government is seen as the primary actor in facilitating the process of participation. Urban governance is directly linked with the welfare of citizens, therefore there should be opportunity for men, women, youths, ethnic minorities, the urban poor and the other disadvantaged groups to participate and benefit from urban citizenship.

**g. Extend Development to Rural Communities:** It is clear that the higher the drift to urban areas, the more the population and the more difficult it is for city administration. However, government can control the influx of people to the cities by extending development programmes to the rural communities and areas located close to the cities. Provision of social services such as electricity, portable water, standard market and motor parks, schools, industries, road network, etc would create enabling environment for investment in small scale economic activities, create employment opportunities and thus, discourage rural-urban migration which will eventually reduce pressure on existing infrastructure and enhance urban administration.

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