MODELS OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE: THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Metropolitan Governance with a Gender Perspective

METROPOLIS
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COLONIAL CONTEXT
Africa’s colonial context

From the 19th century colonial planning systems dominated the development of settlements, how land was managed and the construction of buildings.

In the post colonial era, strong domination of imported planning systems – mainly from US and UK - planning administrations today remained largely unchanged.
“All in one” metropolitan form: Colonial, post-colonial, suburbs, informal, traditional, rural
Metropolitan areas mirror largely primate city contexts

- Africa has at least 65 urban conurbations over one million residents, housing over 200 million.
- Overall these settlements have high growth rates, high densities, low levels of access to services, and high levels of poverty.
- Proportion of total country population for cities as follows: Tripoli, Libya (37%); Mogadishu, Somalia (27%); Hargeisa, Somalia (26%); Luanda, Angola (24%); Dakar, Senegal (23%); Tunis, Tunisia (22%); Cairo, Egypt (21%); Johannesburg/Ekurhuleni/Tshwane, South Africa (20%); Abidjan, Ivory Coast (18%); Harare, Zimbabwe (18%); Accra, Ghana (14%); Lusaka, Zambia (14%); Khartoum, Sudan (14%); Bamako, Mali (13%); Kinshasa, DR Congo (12%); Yaounde, Cameroon (12%); Douala, Cameroon (11%); and Maputo, Mozambique (10%)
Africa’s population is expected to more than double by 2050 to around 2 billion (20% of the global population).

Nigeria alone is likely by then to be a country of around 500 million people.

By 2050, Africa’s population will surpass that of India (1.5 billion) and China (1.4 billion).

During this period, the urban population will increase threefold, from around 400 million people to around 1.2 billion, with a predicted increase in the proportion of people living in informal settlements from a current 40% to 58%.

The major cities in Africa are even more powerful in their role as economic hubs of the continent.
Economic context

- Significantly lower levels of GDP per capita in African metropolises compared to all other world regions.
- Poverty rates are more than double the world average. Puts African metropolises under great pressure to provide services within severe economic constraints.
- A strong case can be made for metropolisation in comparing levels of fragmentation and budget per capita. Municipal fragmentation can increase costs of service provision and reduce equity of access to services.
- Generally, high levels of unemployment in African metropolises: almost twice that of the international average. This is significant factor in low levels of financial resources that are available to local governments.
GOVERNANCE CONTEXT
Governance: Local democracy scores across African metropolitan areas

- The figure shows the state of local democracy (which is calculated by country) for each of the metropolitan cities in Africa, using the Cities Alliance scoring. The size of the city marker represents the population size to indicate the number of people per metropolitan area who are impacted.

- The majority of countries with a functioning local government still use a majoritarian system of local government, where councillors are elected in wards using a First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) system. Increasingly, though, proportional representation systems are being introduced.
Metropolitan Governance Forms

• Powers and functions of local governments vary quite significantly across African countries.

• Usually, the greatest powers are allocated through legislation to urban and metropolitan areas.

• Metropolitan areas largely have fragmented forms of governance, where there is some horizontal cooperation amongst local governments.

• There are also many Metropolitan/regional authorities.

• In a few places, such as South Africa and Kenya, there are directly elected Metropolitan or Regional Government forms with single elected local government administering the whole metropolitan area.

• Scores of local government systems across 50 countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LG area</th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>HIGH (4)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1. Legislative Framework</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Local Democracy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>1. Financial Transfers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. LG own revenues</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Capacity Building</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1. Transparency</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1. Citizen Participation</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>1. Urban Strategy</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
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</table>
Key governance issues

- Average population of the 17 African metropolises studied is 4.3 million - Cairo and Johannesburg the largest.

- Population density is relatively high compared to world averages, but varies significantly.

- Rates of growth are slowly declining amongst African metropolises, but are still significantly higher than in urban areas in the rest of the world.

- West Africa highest number of urban dwellers.

- Speed of growth presents a significant governance challenge for African urban governments in keeping up with the required provision of basic services, infrastructure, health, social and transport services.

- Metropolisation requires development of governance models that can operate across jurisdictional boundaries.

- Management of multi-sector governance is a particular challenge although African metropolises have a slightly higher degree of coordination compared to other world regions, and a lower level of fragmentation.

- Urban growth is leading to higher residential densities.

- The African metropolises analysed have significantly low levels of economic density.
Powers and functions

African metropolises:

- On average, sum of budgets for local governments is around 2.6% that of national government, significantly lower than international average of 4%.

- Relatively strong degree of influence over development of policy in sectors influencing metropolitan development, in comparison to worldwide averages. This is essential to effectiveness of urban governance.

- Slightly lower level of fiscal autonomy than other regions – only three metropolises raise almost their entire revenue themselves and receive very little from national fiscus.

- Slightly higher score on leadership of policy sectors than the worldwide average, however, lower fiscal decentralisation average, often without the necessary fiscal power for implementation.
Service Delivery and Environment
Service delivery and access

- Water and sanitation: many cities do not even have functioning bulk sanitation and water purification works, no or very limited sewers, etc.
- Electricity: except for Southern and Northern Africa, electricity generation, transmission and distribution is very limited relative to the populations and businesses requiring access;
- Public Transport: few cities have a coordinated, efficient and accessible public transport system in place;
- Roads: often in poor condition and without an integrated transport system, the roads are generally getting worse leading to transport often being the major inhibitor of economic growth in African cities;
- Planning systems are rarely in place and often play no role in guiding growth;
- Solid waste disposal: This remains a growing problem, poorly planned and organized.
- ICT: whilst ICT growth across African cities has been remarkable, access to cheap broadband is still very limited.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Piped water (%)</th>
<th>Connection to sewerage (%)</th>
<th>Fixed telephone (%)</th>
<th>Mobile telephone (%)</th>
<th>Connection to electricity (%)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>84.1</td>
<td>69.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COV</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>120.7</td>
<td>133.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>36.7</td>
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</table>
Participatory Slums Upgrading

- More than 800,000 slum dwellers are being provided with secure tenure in nine African countries (Burkina Faso, Cameroon, DR. Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger and Senegal).

- The Ga Mashie community in Accra, Ghana, for example, has worked closely with the PSUP. Through this a partnership with local government was created to address the problems of storm water flooding, sanitation and security of tenure, as well as improve public spaces through paving of all alleys in use by the residents.

- In Dakar, Senegal, the neighbourhoods of Arafat and Grand Medina, housing some 154,000 inhabitants on 25ha have recurring floods during the rainy season. Their upgrading started with the provision of secure tenure following which a number of interventions are being made.

- In Sudan a significant range of projects in Khartoum has resulted in over 430 000 beneficiaries of housing opportunities over the past 25 years:

- Nairobi’s slum upgrading programmes differ in size and scale, from more formal approaches in Kibera whilst in Mukuru in the east of Nairobi, the government has agreed to the creation of a 'Special Planning Area' which will allow for much greater involvement of Muungano wa Wanavijiji, a social movement of Kenya slum dwellers, which has a long history of mobilising in Mukuru's neighbourhoods, collecting data through member savings groups, and lobbying for investment in basic services.
Environmental challenges

• 62% of the major metros have a high chance of a river flood and 40% have a high chance of larger scale urban flooding in the next 10 years;

• 24% of the cities have a high chance of water scarcity in the next ten years;

• 20% coastal flooding in next ten years; and

• 31% of cities have a high chance of extreme heat in the next ten years.
Environmental challenges (cont)

River flooding risk in cities

Water scarcity risk in cities
Environmental sustainability

- Between and within metropolises, **levels of access to basic services vary significantly**, with residents of informal settlements and slums having very low levels of access.

- Less than half of the population in African metropolises is served by wastewater collection – significantly lower than international average and with major health implications for residents.

- Africa is also **highly vulnerable to climate change** given its dependency on climate related activities and low adaptive capacity.

- Greatest challenges are water scarcity, increase in magnitude and frequency of extreme weather events, sea level rise, lower food security and rise of climate sensitive diseases such as malaria and cholera.

- In Africa, **rights and needs of women and girls are disproportionately affected** by climate change’s disasters. Providing targeted livelihood and protection support to women has direct effect on the wellbeing and recovery prospects of their families and communities.

- **Average carbon emissions from African metropolises are relatively low.** Whilst CO2 levels are relatively low, concentrations are higher in African metropolises than in other world regions.
Concluding Comments
Concluding comments

• Generally, African metropolitan spaces lag behind global averages, although largely this is due to colonialism inhibiting or distorting the economic-, social and infrastructural-growth of African urban spaces.

• Data draws an important conclusion: that metropolisation does lead to improvements in governance, economy, social development, gender disparities and the ability to address climate change and improve environmental sustainability.

• Given that African metropolisation rates are higher than global rates, as these spaces develop it is expected that in time the disparities between African metropolitan spaces and the rest of the world will reduce.

• However, this is only likely to happen if trends towards decentralisation of developmental powers and functions to subnational and particularly metropolitan levels of governance continue. In particular, provision or facilitation of basic services, including water, electricity, sanitation and waste removal, reduction of disparities and the like should all contribute to this process of improved governance.

• Metropolis database and studies using these data will hopefully lead to a wide variety of discussions comparing regions, explaining differences and more importantly learning across these metropolitan spaces as each strives to develop its own norms and standards.

• Further and ongoing work is needed to improve both the reliability, validity and representativeness of these data as the intention is to ensure that comparisons are meaningful and able to be contextualised. This is particularly given the crucial importance of metropolitan spaces in the environmental, infrastructural, economic and social challenges facing the world today.