

Globalization, Cities and the Challenges of Governance: A Preliminary Study of Kaduna City, Nigeria

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INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, the world has experienced phenomenal levels of urbanization. According to informed estimates, in the near future more than half of the world's population will live in cities, and that the number of cities with more than five-to-ten million inhabitants will continue to rise. By its projections, the Berlin Roundtables on Trans-nationality expects that by 2015, about 60 cities will have more than five million people and megacities like Mumbai, Karachi, Mexico city, Lagos, Beijing, etc, are to reach an urban population of more than 20 million. Interestingly, as the Berlin Roundtables further noted, "it is the global South that is creating an image of an urban planet, which fundamentally challenges our Western, if not Eurocentric image of "the city"(2008;1).

That countries of the South are in the fore of this unprecedented growth of cities is not much of a big question as the implications. On a general note, this development is said to be driven by such factors as; global economic trends, surplus unskilled labour and the flow of global capital and information networks. Therefore, as one of the leading African economies, Nigeria couldn't have been insulated from the impact of these forces of urbanization. According to the 1991 census report, the number of urban centres with population of 20,000 and above was 359. It estimated that there would be at least 500 urban centres by 2001. A major concern with the exponential growth of urban population in Nigeria is the problem of meeting growing public expectations in the face of the increasing roll-back of the Nigerian state from the domain of public provisioning.. In other words, the roll-back of the state, on one hand, coupled with the rapid rate of urbanization in Nigeria is reconfiguring social, cultural, economic, political, etc, spaces in a manner that poses new challenges of governing such spaces. Like most "megacities" in Nigeria, Kaduna faces a number of transformational problems associated with its fast changing urban landscape. Of such problems, mention must be made of infrastructure collapse, population density, dual economies, poverty, crime, high levels of social fragmentation, etc, all of which constitute a credible threat to security in the state and beyond.

Using Kaduna as case study, this paper attempts a preliminary analysis of the governance challenges of urbanization in Kaduna. The paper argues that the governance challenges in Kaduna are not solely the result of urbanization. They also partly derive from a combination of demographic changes, economic development, historical legacies and the dearth of institutional and administrative capacity on one hand, and the impacts of the process of neo-liberal globalization on the other. Our argument is woven in subsequent parts of the paper thus: in the second part we clarify on the major concepts in the paper as well as develop a conceptual /analytical framework; in the third part of the paper, we attempt an analysis of the current governance challenges which rapid urban transformation of Kaduna poses. The paper is concluded in the fourth part with recommendations for policy process and directions for further research on the challenges of urban governance in Kaduna.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The Term "megacity" as against "city" is one of the most current notions in the discourses on globalization and urban transformation. Available literature reveals varied and at times conflicting meanings of the concept. On one side of the many view points on this concept, city is conceptualized as a "place", i.e a location with precise boundaries, but connected into global flows of people, finance and goods. On the other hand, "city" is seen as an

“outcome of sustained achievement in services provision to public interests over a long period of time. The first of these conceptions appears a bit reductionist and is effectively challenged by the realities of the new geography engendered by the process of globalization, in which territory is redefined more in terms of socio- economic and political contiguity rather than physical space. According to the Berlin Roundtables, megacity refers to urban agglomerations characterized by rapid growth, a new form of spartial density of population, changing infrastructure, formal and informal economies, as well as poverty, crime and high levels of social fragmentations. Megacities are distinguished from “world cities” and/or “global cities”- which constitute spaces of global economic and political power concentration.

According to Ezeani (2001), the phenomenon of urban transformation in Nigeria is characterized by urban slums, degraded environment, unemployment, poverty, etc, ... all of which are inherent with “potentially important political implications”. Indeed, there is no dearth of literature on the subject of governing urbanization in Nigeria, except that most of the available literature focus on isolated aspects of urbanization such as transportation (Atubi 1999), urban party politics (Obiany 2001), environment (Aina and Salau (1992), etc. (see also Momoh (2000), Abdu (2003), Mabugunje (n.d), Ezeani and Elekwa (2001) etc.). However, these studies were not specifically situated within the context of the discourses on globalization. Situating such narratives within the context of the globalization of neo-liberalism affords us the better prospects of isolating the peculiar challenges of exponential urban transformation occasioned by the process of globalization.

The process of the globalization of neo-liberalism (with its correlates of free market and liberal democracy) has engendered widespread changes in almost every aspects of societal life among peoples on almost all parts of the world. Its impact is yet embroiled in controversy. The process is facilitated by such forces as the revolution in science and technology, more efficient transport systems, effective information and communication technologies (ICTs), the activities of Transnational Corporations, etc. It is characterized by the near unrestrained flow of finance capital, trade, persons and investment. It is this process that has increased the concentration of economic and political power resources in national, regional and global “growth centres”, thereby causing the agglomeration of human societies across time and space.

A number of theoretical constructs have been advanced to explain the phenomenal urbanization resulting from the process of neo-liberal globalization. The liberal theory, championed by the Chicago School of thought hinges urbanization on the dynamics of industrial economies and the re-configuration of the composition of labour away from agriculture in favour of industry. According to Wirth (cited in Ezeani 2001;5-6), large and heterogeneous populations resulting from this reconfiguration of labour attenuates primordial ties, structures and processes replacing them with modern values of individualism- inactivity, choice, competition, merit, etc.

On the other hand, materialist (Marxist) scholars posit that cities are loci for national and international economic exchanges that affects intra and inter urban structures and processes (see among others; Amin 1974). This perspective sees urbanization as cause and effect of uneven development between the local and global, and within the local growth poles. Along this conception, a cursory glance at the political geography of Kaduna reveals the causations of the slum clusters around the textile and other industrial set-ups in Kakuri (Kaduna South) on one hand, and their high brow counterparts around Challawa crescent and Gwari Avenue. From this perspective, urbanization is essentially a relational construct. We see cities along this view point as the essential consummation of the economic and political in the process of the production and reproduction of material sustenance in society. How then does globalization affect this relational process called “city”, and what are the possible

implications of globalization for the effective governance of such spaces? We seek possible answers to these questions in the context and process of the evolution of Kaduna as a Capital city over the past hundred years, especially in the last two decades.

KADUNA CITY AND THE CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS.

Kaduna is the headquarters of present day Kaduna state. The state is located in the North Central part of Nigeria. It is separated from the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja by a distance of 200km only. Kaduna state is said to be defined by latitudes 9° 10' N and 11° 30' N and longitudes 6° 00' E and 9° 10' E respectively. Kaduna was the headquarters of the former Northern Nigeria, and the municipal area was administered as a Capital city. As seat of Northern government, in 1952 the population of Kaduna was estimated at 45,000. This was attributed to the dynamics of colonial political economy (Abada, 2001; 66-70). By 1991 (census figures) Kaduna state was said to have a population of 3,969, 252 inhabitants. The 2006 population census provisional figures put the population of the state at over 4.5 million people. At least one third of the total population of the state are said to live in Kaduna and Zaria (separated by a distance of about 80 kilometers, or 45 minutes drive). Kaduna has sufficient features of a modern city. And like most other cities, it has its own share of urban transformation related problems.

In theory, the expected role of a city, and the process of meeting such expectations vary profoundly, depending on context. It suffices to say however, that as local, capital or world city, a city or municipal authority is generally charged with the responsibility of; a) enhancing livability for its citizens; b) serving as a leveler of economic opportunities; and c) a potential or actual world city serving as a base for global corporate accumulation (Douglass, 2005;1). The expected functions of city governments can also be categorized into economic: job provision, regulating cost of living, formalizing economic exchange, etc; Social; health services, education, water, etc; political; inclusion, participation, accountability, etc; infrastructure; transportation, electricity, etc, ; security and safety, justice and equity, etc.

It is necessary to state at this point that owing to reasons of space and need for analytical rigour, it is not possible to engage all the manifest challenges occasioned by urbanization in Kaduna. What we engaged here is a consideration of some of the critical issue areas, particularly as they relate to political governance and the realization of sustained positive transformation or otherwise in Kaduna. In particular, we focus on the following questions in relation to Kaduna city;

What is the impact of globalization on housing?

What is the impact of globalization on transport and mobility?

How does globalization affect urban infrastructure?

How does globalization affect state-society relations and the impact of that on “governability”?

To date, Kaduna can be said to still be the political capital city of Northern Nigeria, as crucial matters of state, especially those affecting the Northern region are discussed by Northern state governors in Kaduna. So also do Northern traditional rulers meet in Kaduna to discuss matters under their areas of responsibility. Indeed, as mark of the centrality of Kaduna in the political economy of Nigeria, it is said that when Kaduna sneezes, the rest of the country catches cold. Owing to this attribute, and as a point of relatively higher economic concentration, compared to all other cities in the North, excepting Kano, it can be safely said that Kaduna is very much a part of the national and global financial flows. This is evident in the visible growth of investment in real estate in the city. Although no official figures would be made available to substantiate this, an official of the Kaduna Urban Planning Development Authority described the rate of growth in real estate as “unprecedented”. Kaduna city is spread across all of Kaduna North, and Kaduna South, local government areas, and also occupies a significant parts of Chikun and Igabi.

There has been a remarkably high rate of growth of estates (residential and commercial) in Kaduna city. However, the dialectics of this process is that it further distorts and worsens housing problems in the city. In most instances, new urban buildings are commercial estates (often stalls and shopping malls), which take up space

for residential accommodation. An immediate implication of this trend is that it increases population density in residential areas, especially those on the fringe of the city such as Rigasa, parts of Sabo, Rigachukun, etc. These communities harbour urban slums with all the attendant consequences. For instance, high residential density as in such neighbourhoods, exert undue pressure on the scanty public infrastructures in those locations, thereby leading to infrastructural decay and collapse. Remarkably, these communities hardly have some of these infrastructures. Both Rigasa/Hayi and most parts of Sabo do not have intra community graded road networks; Angwan Boro in Sabo, for instance has only lately been reconnected to the epileptic public power supply grid, after over two years of public power blackout. On urban housing in Kaduna city, there is an obvious challenge of balancing between urban population growth and housing needs of the populace. Although the state government had constructed a few units of residential houses in parts of the city in such locations as Kurmin-Mashi (33 units), Barnawa (25 units), etc, the manner in which they were allocated and eventually sold to those who occupied them has been the subject of strong criticism of the state government.

With regard to road transport network and mobility of goods and persons, the situation speaks volumes on neglect and planlessness in the city. For a start, a large part of urban roads are in advanced stages of decay or have collapsed completely. Indeed, the available good road networks are located in or lead to such high brow areas as the Government Reserved Areas (GRAs) in the city centre (around Lugard Hall, Yakubu Avenue, Alkali and Isa Kaita roads etc.) Roads leading to major commercial areas, such as Kawo/Badarawa, Tudunwada, etc, are hardly in any good state. As a result of the poor state of motorable roads in the city, most motorists prefer to use the few good ones, as a result of which road traffic hold-ups are fast becoming a permanent feature of Kaduna city. For instance, between 7:00am to 9:30 am and between 6:00pm to 7:30pm, it takes an average of thirty to forty minutes to drive cover a distance of less than five kilometers between Kachia Road to the stadium roundabout at the intersection of Junction/Constitution roads. Other traffic bottle necks in the city include the junction at Ranch Bees stadium, between Leventis roundabout to Katsina road roundabout, Dutsenma by Western bye pass, etc. Other than the occasional accidents which characterize traffic hold-ups in the city, the added cost to government and private businesses in terms of lost man-hour can only be imagined. The poor state of roads, growing number of urban vehicular population and the rush to connect the local to the global economy all combine to reveal the state of transport infrastructural crisis in Kaduna city. Further more the state of social infrastructures such as educational and health facilities and the services they provide is yet another indicator of the crisis of urban governance in Kaduna. Indeed, with due consideration on the part of the efforts by the Kaduna state government to provide these services, service delivery in this sector by far lags behind public demand. This disjoint is said to be the result of such other problems as official corruption, red-tape and other hindrances inherent in the public bureaucracy.

Of major significance to this study however, is the impact of the not so visible process of urban social decomposition and the increasing informalization of economy, polity and society in Kaduna, as in other cities in the country, and their combined effects on public governance. Our argument here is that globalization makes for the illusion of limitless opportunities in centres of high economic resource concentration. This imagination is widely shared among the populace by the improvement in the infrastructure for information and communication as well as transportation. Thus, opportunities are easily communicated between persons and / or groups in any point in

the global flows occasioned by globalization. This partly accounts for the large proportion of in-migration between other settlements in the vicinity of Kaduna, and between Kaduna and other cities such as Abuja and Kano. However, it is obvious that there is a gap between urban population growth and state capacity to meet the growing expectations of its citizens. Indeed, globalization encourages minimal state (in terms of social provisioning), while at the same time advancing the interests of capital. This process engenders social differentiation, fragmentation and the transformation of identity (Jega, 2003). The result of this is the informalization and dualization of economy and polity, especially among the teeming majority who feel excluded by this same process that empowers a few at their expense. Thus, politically, we notice the organization of a large urban majority around ethnic, religious, gender, professional, etc groups, away from the suffocating role of the state in their live. This wide spread exclusion denies government (at the city and other levels), control and influence over these segments of society. These segments now instead organize and rally around new points of shared identity such as, religious, ethnic/cultural groups, women, professional and trade associations, etc.

Together with the seeming incapacity of the state to provide basic infrastructures and services in Kaduna city, this process of mass exclusion attenuates the “governability” of the relevant city authority in several ways viz;

-It removes a large part of the urban economy out of the regulatory and other vital functions of the city authority, thereby denying it basic but critical information about that segment of the urban economy. This adversely affects planning, control and governing capacity of the city authority by way of diminished loyalty.

- Second, this conjuncture occasioned by globalization, by excluding a large segment of the urban economy and society out of the formal domain, the Kaduna city authority loses part of its authority to levy and collect taxes in such underground informal (black or gray markets in petroleum products, public land, vehicle number plate, utility bills/rates, etc.). Cumulatively, these affects the internal revenue generation capacity of the city government, its ability to provide even the minimal public services, foster the growth of criminal economy in illicit drugs, small arms, prostitution, gambling, corruption in public service, etc. Indeed, mass exclusion interrupts dialogue between the governed and the government at any level of society.

Another governance challenge which the phenomenal urban transformation of Kaduna could visit upon its government and society is the reordering of the hierarchy and roles of groups in the society. For instance, we must begin to ask and try to answer questions bordering on the impact of globalization on work and the growing number of women in both formal and the non-formal work sectors of society, the impact of changing role of women in the economy on, for instance, religious, ethnic and cultural perceptions and tolerance; we need also to begin to re-conceptualize the roles and significance of ethnic, religious and other populist groupings in the reconfigured urban spaces in Kaduna.

Other than the complications arising from popular exclusion of urban majority, ala globalization, it is noted that insufficient institutional and administrative capabilities, lack of knowledge prevails among key public policy officials about what goes on in this dizzying pace and complexities of urban transformation in Kaduna. This adversely affects policy conception, design, implementation, etc.. Further to this therefore, more and more developments occur in informal and illegal networks and structures. This scenario clearly points to loss of “governability” by the state or relevant city authority. The challenge in this context therefore is: how can city authority of Kaduna obtain or re-

establish “its governability”, and how best can it deliver on its promises? How do we employ the services of grass root networks organized along gender, ethnic or religious lines in the management of community or neighbourhood affairs? The challenge, in other words, is about how to convert the problems of societal fragmentation, political marginalization and economic exclusion engendered by globalization into to more positive uses in a more inclusive, participatory and equalitarian system despite such unprecedented changes in society? Above all else, the major challenge which globalization poses to governance of Kaduna city is how to make Kaduna an urban flow (centre) in which citizens have and enjoy not only the right but also the fair chance to pursue their aspirations.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND PATH FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The instantaneity which has come to characterize the globalization of the ideals of neo-liberalism, particularly in the flows of capital, goods, persons and services impacts urban communities in varied ways. But central to such impacts has been the transformative power of the process on human societies. And because urban settlements, particularly cities are the highest points of consummation of the economic and political life of society, they have been impacted differently and, at times in contradictory ways. Although the process has been beneficial to some societies (the benefits often unevenly spread), the uneven distribution of such benefits has transformed human societies (cities) in fundamental ways that challenge existing patterns of organization of society, thereby necessitating new arrangements and processes for coping with such challenges.

Like most “megacities” in Nigeria, Kaduna has had and will continue to have its (un)fair share of such challenges. Notwithstanding how one see the globalization cup in respect of urban transformation and governance challenges in Kaduna, the conclusion of the matter and, the central challenge still remains how to make Kaduna capital city a place in which its inhabitants have and enjoy both the right and opportunity to pursue their legitimate aspirations.

In other to make this aspiration realizable, it is hereby recommended that kaduna city authority undertake the following;

- improve its policy making resources and capacity, especially its human resources. Policy makers, especially at city levels should be encouraged to up-date their understanding and engagement with the relevant trends and best practices in their terrain;
- reduce the size and roles of informal sectors (economic and political) in the ordering of society. This will enhance “governability” on the part of the government;
- embark on urgent massive (re)construction/ rehabilitation of social and physical infrastructures;
- partner with relevant international, local and community based organization(s) to address the evil trinity of poverty, illiteracy and disease;
- ensure the prevalence of an atmosphere of equity, peace, security and justice.

These are by no mean exhaustive recommendations or perfect cure-all elixirs. But they can be reliable starting policy review points or credible directions for further research on the subject.

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