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Governance and management of urban infrastructure services in Lagos Nigeria

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Good governance is now recognised in a manner like never before, as a necessary condition for economic growth and poverty reduction. The focus of this paper therefore is to evaluate the effect of urban governance on the condition and provision of infrastructural services including citizens' perception of service delivery in metropolitan Lagos. The study is a survey research designed to obtain information from Lagos residents on the quality of governance in the city including the extent of stakeholder involvement in decision making. Structured questionnaires were distributed to two groups of 400 and 1040 households respectively. There was also a survey of the impact of road improvement on business premises. Findings from the study indicated that infrastructure provision in Lagos is supply-driven and that poor governance adversely affects business activities and economic development. Demand-side management in infrastructure provision and stakeholder communication and participation are highly recommended.

Key words: Infrastructure services, Lagos, Management, Stakeholder communication, urban governance, urban management.

INTRODUCTION

Good governance and management is very critical to efficient delivery of urban infrastructure services. There is currently a wide gap between public desires and government policy with respect to urban governance. In spite of the huge capital allocation to infrastructure, there is not much to be shown in ground in most Third World countries like Nigeria. In spite of this, cities in less developed countries are growing at unprecedented rates. The various tiers of government are struggling to cope with the pace of urbanization and there is an ever-increasing demand for infrastructure services. These include water and sanitation, roads, power supply, drainage, schools and waste collection. In all urban towns in Nigeria, the demand for services far outstrips the capacity to supply. Infrastructure deficiencies seriously constrain the productivity of private investments in most cities in developing countries including Nigeria, as firms must invest a good proportion of their capital on private electric power generator. Traffic congestion impedes the movement of goods and services and thus reduces the economics of agglomeration of urban markets. Traffic congestion and unreliable water supply in urban area

constrain manufacturing and households activities. Inadequate public collection and disposal of solid waste add to the deterioration of air, water and land. These public infrastructure services constitute needed intermediate inputs to economic activities. When such services are not available, private enterprises and households are forced to provide them on their own and most times from informal sources. And we know that the poor pay higher prices for services from informal and non standard infrastructural providers. They buy water from tankers at prices higher than that charged per litre by water utilities and use wood and kerosene for heating and cooking even though the cost per kilowatt hour of these inputs is higher than that of electricity (Vivien and Jean-Philippe, 2003; Lyonnareder, 1998) cited in Brook and Irwin (2003). They (the poor) in addition spend a lot to cope with the low quality of the service from their utility providers. For instance, they purchase storage tanks to compensate for intermittent water shortage. The poor are more often willing to pay more for services than the utilities charge. The problem here is that in spite of paying more; the quality of services provided may be very poor.

For instance, some have argued that people might not fully appreciate the benefit of consuming clean water if they are unaware of the cost of consuming polluted water or unable to assess the risk associated with doing so (Shirley and Menard, 2002). This problem should be of great concern to any government that is concerned about the welfare of her citizens. This requires a system where good urban governance and management is in place.

For the avoidance of any doubt, infrastructure assets (services) are the physical structures, facilities and networks which provide services which are essential to the public. These may include assets like transportation structures (roads, tunnels, bridges, seaports, airports, railways e.t.c.) energy and utility companies, communication entities and social services like hospital and educational facilities. While some of these assets are owned by the private sector, government entities own most of them in Nigeria.

Good governance is now recognized, in a manner that was only more vaguely in the past, as a necessary condition for economic growth and reduction of poverty. The notion of governance itself has expanded from focusing heavily on the reduction of corruption to embracing the range of key principles and practice affecting the exercise of public authority. Six dimensions of governance has been identified; governments accountability to its citizens, lack of political violence and terrorism, government effectiveness, lack of regulatory burden, property rights and rule of law and control of corruption (Kaufman et al., 2005). The level of good governance in any system is a function of good leadership while good management depends on good governance. According to Leautier, (2006) recent efforts to systematically analyse data available for large number of cities have found that the quality of governance and extent of globalization at the city level correlate quite strongly with the quality of service delivery at the city and economic success. Urban governance and management are somehow interrelated. All-Sopp (1978) cited in Stapleton (1981) defined management as the selection of goals and planning, procurement, organization, coordination and control of the necessary resources. Management is concerned with the dynamics of circumstances and activity and is generally motivated by the need to economise in the use of resources and time in achieving pre-determined objectives. The operational heart of management is the conversion of policy into action, leading to the questions:

- 1) What policy?
- 2) What action and by whom?
- 3) Is it the right action?

A good urban policy is a product of good governance and any action based on bad policy cannot be right. Also any policy implemented by people without the right capacity will be tantamount to mere academic exercise. According

to Dia (1996) African institutions tend to be weak. In addition the problem of capacity building and the related lack of social, political, and economic development in the post – independence Sub-Saharan Africa are highly attributable to the crisis of institutions. According to the author, African Management (AM90) study shows that the crisis is mainly due to a structural and functional disconnect, or lack of convergence, between formal institutions that are mostly transplanted from outside and informal institutions that are rooted in African history, tradition and culture, and that generally characterize the governance of civil society. The situation is not different in Nigeria. It should be noted that the tension between altered formal rules and the persisting informal constraints produces outcomes that have important implications for the way economies change.

This paper will therefore evaluate the effect of urban governance on the provision and condition of infrastructure service including citizens' perception of the style of governance in Lagos Metropolis, including its effect on property investments. In the absence of good urban governance, the quest for globalisation and attainment of property market maturity will remain elusive.

LITERATURE

Urbanization has been the dominant demographic trend since the last half of the last century especially in developing countries. Economic growth coupled with demographic changes is generally seen as the driving force for urbanization. Environmental degradation is often considered a direct effect of urbanization process (Enserink and Koppenjan, 2007). Economic development, population pressure, poor quality of work and rapid urbanization result in the lack of infrastructure, congested traffic, environmental degradation and housing shortage a major issue faced by cities and towns in their sustainable development (Khimura, 2003) cited in Koppenjan and Enserink (2007). There is therefore an urgent need for good urban governance and management for efficient infrastructure delivery.

This underlines the role of local political leadership, governors, mayor and city council administrators – in achieving compromises among the diverse interests involved in large and densely populated areas. The whole notion of the subject is central to urban sustainability. This arises from the fact that issues of governance and basic service delivery determine the morphology of the city, its nature, form and characteristics.

THE CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

There is a general misconception in some areas that governance is opposed to innovation. According to

Healey (2004), there is need to explore the relationship between the promotion of creative innovation – a major theme in both economic and cultural policy and practice of governance. Business people and creative artists often imagine that creativity and governance are somehow in dualistic opposition implying that more government means less creativity, whether measured as wealth generation or in terms of culturally enriching projects. Such criticism is one force driving attempts across Europe to modernize governance processes to develop more flexible and enabling promotional and regulating practice. The term governance therefore refers to collective action and arrangement designed to achieve some general benefits, and to government, it refers to the formal organizations of the public sector. Governance in this term is used in general terms not as a specific mode of governance (Cars et al., 2002). Healey (2004) further argues that this modernization initiatives have led to all kinds of experiments and initiatives which seek to transform established governance practices and create new governance capacities. Implicit in this effort is an assumption that innovation, experimentation and creativity are not qualities opposed to governance. Governance process may be creative in a double sense. In one sense, new governance capacities can be developed, whether through struggle, learning or evolution. In the second sense, some way of carrying out governance have better potentials than others, to foster the innovatory, creative mode sought by advocates of economic and cultural creativity. This creativity and innovative dimension have the capacity of transforming urban governance and improving urban service delivery and environmental management. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997), good governance is the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented. Good governance has eight major characteristics: it's participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and follows the rule of law. It assumes that corruption is minimized, the views of the minority are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision making. It is responsive to the present and future needs of the society (UNESCAP, 2005; UNDP, 1997) cited in Enserink and Koppenjan (2007).

Successful implementation of sustainable rural-urban planning is based on the recognition of the independence of all concerned parties. Realization of the demanding requirement of a sustainable urbanisation strategy relies on mutual efforts of public and private stakeholders and exchange of resources, goals and expectations. Participation is the bedrock of good governance (Figure 1).

According to Enserink et al. (2007) Participation can either be direct by the public or through legitimate intermediate institutions or organisation. Broadly

speaking, community participation is the best means of identifying and serving community demand. Most early urban development projects referred to community participation as a mechanism to gain beneficiary support for operation and maintenance (Kessides, 1997). The top-or command (supply side management) approach to infrastructure service requires re-engineering and innovation through an institutional mechanism to structure public choice. This may require explicit effort to build a community perception of shared interest (regarding health and environmental impact from poor sanitation), their understanding of technical and financial implication of specific options and their capacity to act on this information (Kessides, 1997; Mobogunje, 1993).

It is very important that stakeholders are timely informed and engaged in discussion before the commencement of urban projects in cities. According to Calabrese (2008), communication programs create mechanism for dialog with stakeholders through which expectations can be managed. Failure to use communication programs results in negative consequences found in countless development projects. Public opinion is the central part of any framework for thinking about good governance and accountability, the beginning of wisdom in this matter is the realisation that public opinion is the only true basis of power and legitimacy (Odugbemi, 2008).

Good governance is not just about government. It is also about how citizens, leaders and public institutions relate to each other in order to make change happen.

The challenges of management and governance of urban services

Management and governance are specialist areas of urban studies that require special skill. Some of these challenges include: increasing population and demand for urban services, innovativeness and capacity building. The last calls for action that will include training and retraining of personal, certification and recertification of private consultant collaboration with research institutions and opening government door to new ideas that will enhance urban governance and management.

It is a known fact that successful cities are centres of entrepreneurship and innovation that attracts skilled and talented people which will also enhance greater urban productivity and growth. This growth will in consequence attract more population which gives in cycles, increasing demand for goods and services combined with enhanced spending power thus encouraging market expansion. However, it is also true that as cities grow and develop into mega-cities, they also acquire mega problems thus making governance complex and difficult, by challenging leadership capabilities. This has been the experience with Beijing in China, Lagos in Nigeria, Delhi and Mumbai in India, Bogotá in Colombia, Sao-Paulo in Brazil, and Yokohama in Japan. In addition, as globalization

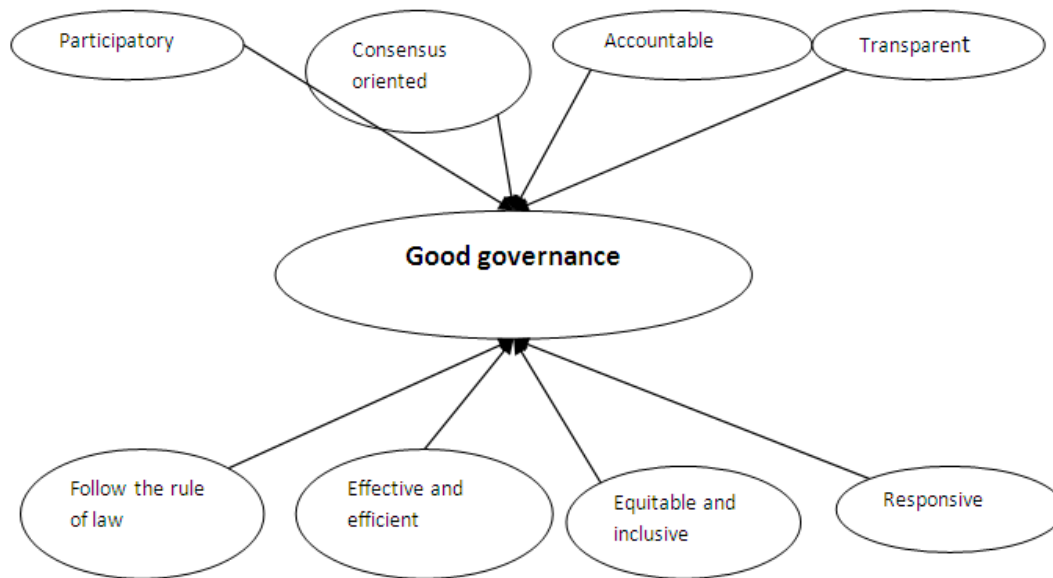


Figure 1. Characteristics of good governance adapted from UNDP (1997) cited in Enserink and Koppenjan (2007).

impinges upon cities, change in social political and spatial spheres either evolve or have obvious implication and challenges to the role and activities of urban government. The universalistic welfare state has been successfully eroded by neo-liberal reforms to the extent that entitlements are less widely available and the benefits of services provided less adequate. Also urban infrastructure provision is less universal and less standardized. This is more evident in urban utilities and telematics which combine shifts in the private, public and global spheres to affect fundamentally production and consumption in the cities (Graham and Marvin, 1995) cited in (Learns and Paddison 2000).

Review of urban governance in Lagos metropolis

Lagos used to be the capital city of Nigeria until 1994 when the seat of government moved to Abuja. The metropolis has a land area of 999.6k m². According to 2006 National Census, it has a population of 9,013,534. This figure is however in conflict with the census of Lagos State in the same year which is 17,552,942. It is a megacity and since the year 2000, it has been experiencing an enormous influx of immigrants which exerts enormous pressure on urban services. According to a BBC correspondent, Lagos is one of those places where you wonder how anything manages to function. Worldwide, Lagos features among the top nine emerging megacities. Its population has grown from 300,000 in 1950 to about 12million in 2010. Lagos city is also faced with serious environmental and infrastructural problems which require sustainable good urban management and governance to address. According to de Faria et al.

(2009) international organisation has been pointing out to governance as the most important issue when facing urban environmental problems. The major problem of governance in Lagos is lack of citizen participation, social governance and transparency. This must be addressed before good governance can be achieved. This is supported by Cerqueira (2006) who argued that aiming at human development, environmental governance should be understood in three dimensions: social governance (human rights and fight against poverty), democratic governance (transparency and access to decisions), and economic governance (magnifying efficiency and controlling market imperfections). There is a general belief among political leaders in Nigeria that provision of urban services is underserved and a favour to urban dwellers and not a responsibility of government. This could be the only explanation why access to business premises and residents could be cut off for months without notice to those concerned. There have been cases where petrol stations have to close business for months for the same reason. The worst of it is that nobody talks of compensation for losses suffered.

Kaufman et al. (2005) cited in de Faria et al. (2009) posits that governance in its environmental dimension can be exerted in different levels: in the scope of the state and of public administration and in the scope of social movements. The first scope is regarded as good governance and represents a normative framework for an efficient, transparent and accountable public service with competent bureaucracies. The second includes the need to involve civil society, the protection of human rights, and inclusive development process. In this sense, democratic governance comprises also the mechanism,

they function? And how do they affect change? In order to understand institutions and how they affect us, we must understand our realities and connect them to the institutions. We have to determine how effective they are in tackling our realities. This call for a shift in urban management to urban governance to discontinue the present disconnects.

In Lagos as in other parts of Nigeria little or no consideration is given to interest of the populace. Petty traders doing legitimate business are displaced without alternative location in a country with high level of unemployment.

Toll roads are introduced in an urban setting without stakeholder participation. In 2006, a high-rise building belonging to a government owned bank collapsed and more than thirty office blocks within the vicinity were closed for four years for safety and precaution. The problem in this situation was that there was no explanation to more than 300 business outfits in the buildings.

The government need to put a "human face" to their policies and actions. Provision of services should be demand driven. Public participation in planning is the hallmark of democracy.

Urban management cannot be understood in modern times in terms of top-down or command and control models of governance (Healey et al., 1995 cited in Kearns and Paddison, 2000). But surprisingly, infrastructure services are provided without the consultation of stakeholders. Government is the main provider of infrastructure in Lagos State as in other parts of Nigeria. It is sad to note that households' access to basic infrastructure services like water supply is poor and irregular which forces people to go for their own boreholes or resort to vended water. There is also the problem of poor drainage and poor road network. The ability of most households to earn a living depends on whether this services work or not. It is important to recognise the link between infrastructure and economic development of the city. Good governance calls for linking creativity with innovation, the search for "new polices", "new projects", "new practices" and new people. It emphasizes modes of governance which have the flexibility both to adjust to new urban situations and to auto-transform in the reality of new challenges. This meaning places value on the non-routine, on the ability to learn and on the capacity to draw new ideas from outside and link them to the specifics of local circumstances (Healey, 2004)

The cities should be re-planned to accommodate small scale entrepreneurs whose daily life depend on their trading activities.

Most often you see government officials seizing and destroying goods displayed by traders occupying temporary sheds in the market or street corners on a daily basis even on Sundays without providing them with an alternative. Part of the culture in Nigeria as in most

African countries is that women boil and roast corn on the streets, some sell food cooked from their house at specific periods of the day. Others fry bean cake ("akara") and other indigenous snacks to make a living by providing services needed by the society, but government officials always put them on the run.

There is therefore an urgent need to provide for this class of entrepreneurs in urban planning and management. This calls for a rethinking and creativity in the provision and regulation of urban services as any urban planning that is not inclusive of all concerned is fraught with bad governance. This is typical in Lagos and other Nigerian cities. The need to encourage entrepreneurs need not be over-emphasized as examples are not lacking of small entrepreneurs that turn out to be flourishing over time.

Dia (1996) reported a study carried out by African Management Studies (AM1990's) on successful entrepreneurs and enterprises in some African countries. Two among others will serve our purpose in this paper: Mamadou Alliou Bah Bobo, a very successful Senegalese businessman of Guinean descent was born in 1940. His business career started the day he purchased 100 CFA francs' worth of bananas and started selling them on the streets, from banana selling, he moved to selling pancakes and later, by a stroke of good luck, he obtained a stand at the sandaga market in Dakar and later another one in Sadinery Street; the largest fruit and vegetable market in Senegal. From the profit realised in this business, he diversified into a company specializing in fresh fruit and vegetable imports.

In 1984 when opportunities opened in Guinea and due to the liberal policy of the new regime then, he returned to his country where he launched a number of projects. In addition to owning a supermarket, he runs with his family a limited liability company; Bobo Implex, a major player in the trade, brokerage (bauxite) and transport sectors. He also owns a paint manufacturing company and yoghurt producing plant as well as a project to distribute school supplies and office equipment.

Francis Pokon was born in 1916 in a village about 20 km from Kumasi, Ghana. A gift of \$4.00 from his mother helped him to start a trade in the district of Knabre. A stint working with a pharmacist attracted him to retail drug industry, and he started a business hawking medicines from village to village. In 1941, he opened a large drug store, contacts with the firms; UAC and G.Bollivant enabled him to diversify his stock to include a wide range of products. Growing revenues led to the purchase of second hand Bedford trucks, launching Pokon in the transport industry. He also won a number of lucrative government contracts including the delivery of mail and parcels. Along the way, he diversified into the sawmill sector and in 1979 he extended his business to Abidjan, where he set up transport and training company. He capitalised on the housing shortage in Ivory-coast to venture into real estate investments and has contributed

immensely in relieving the housing difficulties of institutions, schools and universities as well as private individuals.

In the light of the afore-mentioned, it now becomes urgent to reconcile formal and informal institutions in Nigeria. The solution is neither in formalizing (or getting rid of) informal institutions nor in formalizing the formal institutions but in reconciling and encouraging a convergence between adapted formal institutions and renovated informal, indigenous institutions. In Lagos and other Nigerian cities mutual legitimating, reconciliation and harmonious convergence between formal and informal institutions are essential to institutional relevance, enforceability, sustainability and performance.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study is a survey research and quantitative in nature. It is designed to obtain information from residents of Lagos on the quality of governance in metropolitan Lagos. Three (3) sets of data were obtained. The first was to find out the extent of stakeholder involvement in the provision of infrastructure. Under this, 400 structured questionnaires were distributed (with 356 (89%) responses) to residents along the Lekki corridor of Lagos where existing urban road is being improved and expanded through public private partnership arrangement. Cost recovery will be from toll payment. The second was to determine the extent of uncompensated losses suffered by business outfits during urban renewal of central business districts of Lagos Island. Questionnaires were distributed to service stations, car parks and fast food outlets.

The third part of the study was the distribution of questionnaires to 1040 households to find out the condition of infrastructure in eight (8) metropolitan local government areas of Lagos out of which 774 (74.1%) responded.

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPRESENTATION

User participation

Result from Table 1 shows that residents were not consulted as most of them received information about the toll road project from secondary sources. The project, from all indications, was an imposition on the people as there was neither a need – study or stakeholder participation.

About 37% of the residents became aware through mass media, friends and neighbourhood associations. This is a mark of bad governance and residents have maintained a sustained position to the project. This has resulted to toll collection on the first toll gate which has been completed as at the time of this study while government have continued negotiation with the residents to break the logjam.

Result from the Table 2 showed what stage residents became aware of the project. About 40% of them became aware when the project has already commenced, while 50% became aware between the planning stage and commencement of work. This calls for a policy that will emphasize transparency and empowerment of users of

public services through transparency and participatory mechanisms.

Infrastructure condition

The responses from Table 3, shows that water supply is not very regular in most local government areas as majority of them have water supply only thrice a week. Others enjoy water supply once a week, twice a week, once a month or twice a month. The pattern of supply in the various local government areas are well explained in Table 3. In Alimosho local government 38.2% household have water supplied thrice a week while 35.3% have it twice a week. In Eti-Osa 49.4% of households have water thrice a week while 75% of households also have water supplied thrice a week and 81.6% of households in Surulere local government, while 40% of households in Mainland local government enjoy water supply thrice a week.

The frequency of supply cannot be said to be adequate. The water supply situation could influence consumers' priorities in terms of water demand.

Data from Table 4 shows that majority of households in the study area have electricity power supply between 1 to 5 h a day more particularly Kosofe (62.8%), Shomolu (60%), Apapa (50%), Alimosho (40%), Mushin (34%) and Surulere (32.3%). Some do not even have power supply for some days. This is a serious problem considering the socio-economic importance of electricity to urban households. They may not be able to preserve perishable food items or make good use of other household's appliances.

Based on data from Table 5, a lot of problems emanate from poor road condition. The nature of road problems varies from local government to local government. In Apapa and Ikeja local government, the greatest problem is narrow roads. In Alimosho and Shomolu, the major problem is potholes. In Eti-Osa, Kosofe and Mushin it is lack of street light. The problem of street light in the study area creates insecurity at night. Potholes had been causing accidents and damage to cars, delay in traffic movement and robbery at hold-ups. This problem can also influence WTP.

Based on the result from Table 6, it takes between 1 to 6 h for flood to clear in most parts of the study area. This could be illustrated with; Ikeja (66.7%), Surulere (52%), Mushin (50.6%), Kosofe (48.4%), Eti – Osa (37.5%), Alimosho (36%) and Apapa (33%). The implication of this is that, most of those affected cannot move out from their home until the flood clears up reasonably. It will lead to last in man hours.

Uncompensated losses suffered by business outfits

Gas stations

We were able to get some attention from Oando. The

Table 1. How residents became aware of the on-going urban toll road project.

Means	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Valid percentage (%)
Through mass media	135	37.9	44.1
Through the government	66	18.5	21.6
Through friends	28	7.9	9.2
Through handbills	2	0.6	0.7
Through the neighbourhood association	22	6.2	7.2
Others	53	14.9	17.3
Total	306	86.0	100

Source: Field survey 2010.

Table 2. Stage when residents became aware of project.

Stage	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Valid percentage (%)
At the planning stage	81	22.8	23.8
Before work started	97	27.2	28.4
When the work started	144	40.4	42.2
Others	19	5.3	5.6
Total	341	95.8	100

Source: Field survey 2010.

Table 3. Frequency of pipe borne water supply.

Town		Once a week	Twice per week	Thrice a week	Once a month	Twice a month	Total
Alimosho	Freq count	9	24	26	4	5	68
	Percent	13.2	35.3	38.2	5.9	7.4	100%
Apapa	Freq count	15	15	28	14		72
	Percent	20.8	20.8	38.9	19.4		100%
Eti-osa	Freq count	10	15	40	7	9	81
	Percent	12.3	18.5	49.4	8.6	11.1	100%
Ikeja	Freq count	7	9	51	1		68
	Percent	10.3	13.2	75.0	1.5		100%
Kosofe	Freq count	5	18	30	2	6	61
	Percent	8.2	29.5	49.2	3.3	9.8	100%
Mainland	Freq count	10	20	40	10		80
	Percent	12.5	25.5	50.0	12.5		100.0%
Mushin	Freq count	12	23	30	7		72
	Percent	16.7	31.9	41.7	9.7		100%
Surulere	Freq count	6	8	26	9		49
	Percent	12.2	28.6	81.6	18.4		100%

Source: Field survey 2009.

management told us that they had not had power supply for two weeks and had been on generator for the period.

The impact of the scheme on sales was significant as can be seen from Figure 3. Before the scheme, their average

Table 4. Number of hours of electricity supply per day.

Town	On the average, how many hours do you enjoy electricity supply a day?						Total
	1-5 h	6-10 h	11-15 h	16-20 h	24 h	None for some days	
Alimosho	38	41	4	5	0	7	95
	40.0	43.2	4.2	5.3	0.0	7.4	100%
Apapa	30	20	10	0	0	0	60
	50.0	33.3	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%
Eti-osa	27	0	17	6	2	19	100
	27.0	0.0	17.0	6.0	2.0	19.0	100.0
Ikeja	24	21	13	13	3	9	83
	28.9	25.3	15.7	15.7	3.6	10.8	100%
Kosofe	54	19	3	2	0	8	86
	62.8	22.1	3.5	2.3	0.0	9.3	100%
Shomolu	60	30	0	0	0	10	100
	60.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	100%
Mushin	33	38	8	1	0	17	97
	34.0	39.2	8.2	1.0	0.0	17.5	100%
Surulere	31	32	14	0	0	19	96
	32.3	33.3	14.6	0.0	0.0	19.8	100%

Source: Field survey 2009.

sales figures were;

Petrol: 40,000 L/day
 Diesel: 2,000/day
 Lubricants: 20,000 gallons/day

When the scheme took off, the sales figures came to about;

Petrol: 25,000 L/day
 Diesel: 5,000/day
 Lubricants: 12,000 gallons/day

The increased sale of diesel is as a result of power disruption in the area. Furthermore, their car park had a capacity of 20 cars, but it was reduced to 10 cars as a result of the digging up of a section of it. In effect, we are experiencing a temporary injurious affection. The strange thing about this was that there was no prior notice.

Result from Figure 3 shows a fall in sale of petrol and lubricant in the affected station due to constraints imposed by the on-going road construction. The construction work also reduced available car park capacity from 20 to 10 cars. The construction work disrupted power supply in the area and in consequence, most

offices in the affected area resorted to the use of generators. This increased the demand for diesel from the petrol station. The demand is also increased due to the fact that trucks supply fuel to banks in the area stopped supplying fuel due to the bad traffic situation. The cost impact to Oando of the works is estimated at ₦13, 100,000 Naira as follows;

Reduction in sale of petrol (4000 L@N65 x 366) = 95,160,000
 Reduction in car parking space (10 cars @ N100 x 366) =366,000
 Total loss = 95,526,000

Less:

Increase in sale of diesel (3000 L @ N115 x 366) = 82,350,000
 Increase in lubricant sales (8,000 gallons (UK) @ 400 x 366) =

Car parks

The closure of a number of access roads discourages a

Table 5. Difficulties arising from poor road condition.

Town	What difficulties have you encountered as a result of bad road?					
	Damage to car	Delay in movement	Robbery	Air pollution	Car accident	Total
Alimosho	67	28	1	0	0	96
	69.8	29.2	1.0	0.0	0.0	100%
Apapa	30	20	0	0	0	50
	60.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Eti-osa	50	43	2	1	1	97
	51.5	44.3	2.1	1.1	1.1	100%
Ikeja	44	31	3	4	2	84
	52.4	36.9	3.6	4.8	2.4	100%
Kosofe	34	42	3	1	3	83
	41.0	50.6	3.6	1.2	3.6	100%
Shomolu	90	10	0	0	0	100
	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%
Mushin	25	39	10	9	15	98
	25.5	39.8	10.2	9.2	15.3	100%
Surulere	19	40	12	14	13	98
	19.4	40.8	12.2	14.3	13.3	100%

Source: Field survey 2009.

lot of people from taking their vehicles into the area as of traffic congestion became very serious. Some car parks cannot be easily accessed. Marina along which most car parks were located was closed to traffic. Temporary access to parks was created through outer marina (Plate 1).

Further, sections of parting walls demarcating car park boundaries were demolished to create access to some car parks that were completely cut off. This was the case in Union Bank, First bank and Conoil parks. The general impact of this is to reduce the capacity of most car parks especially as a result of digging of large drainage channels. The closure of Marina meant that staff of establishments who used to park within their premises could no longer do so. This further increased the pressure on the car parks.

Again most persons who before the scheme, would park their vehicles in the morning but take them out later in the day to come back to the car park later thereby creating spaces stopped doing so as a result of traffic congestion. When works commenced, cars were now being parked all through the day. This limited the available car parking spaces (Figure 4).

The attendants complained about the pressure on them to make spaces available for as many as would wish to

park their cars, especially the staff of the establishments to whom the car parks belong.

The management of one of the public car parks on Marina told us that part of the park had been taken over by Julius Berger for their plant and machinery (without any compensation) limiting the capacity of the park put at 317 cars before the works. They stated that revenue from the parks had been significantly reduced but would not give figures.

Fast food outlets

These are concentrated on the Broad Street/Marina axis. We conducted our survey on the two areas specifically Eatrite on Broad street opposite UBA house and Chicken Republic on Marina at the premises of Oando gas station.

Eatrite had 3 No car parking spaces, which were all lost to the construction works (Plate 2). They had not had power supply for one month as a result of a cut cable. This has in turn affected water supply to the premises. The place was seriously in bad shape and the management had estimated 75% loss in business.

The management of chicken republic estimated a "drastic reduction in customer traffic count to about 48%"

Table 6. Flood duration.

Town	How long does the flood take to clear on average?						
		1-6 h	7-24 h	1 Day	2-3 Days	More than 3 days	Total
Alimosho	Freq count	24	18	20	1	2	65
	Percent	36.9	27.7	30.8	1.5	3.1	100%
Apapa	Freq count	20		20	10	10	60
	Percent	33.3		33.3	16.7	16.7	100%
Eti-osa	Freq count	31	16	16	14	5	82
	Percent	37.8	19.5	19.5	17.1	6.1	100%
Ikeja	Freq count	40	9	6	2	3	60
	Percent	66.7	15.0	10.0	3.3	5.0	100%
Kosofe	Freq count	31	8	5	17	3	64
	Percent	48.4	12.5	7.8	26.6	4.7	100%
Shomolu	Freq count	30	10	30	10		80
	Percent	37.5	12.5	37.5	12.5		100%
Mushin	Freq count	41	19	8	9	4	81
	Percent	50.6	23.5	9.9	11.1	4.9	100%
Surulere	Freq count	39	16	11	4	5	75
	Percent	52.0	21.3	14.7	5.3	6.7	100%

Source: Field survey 2009.

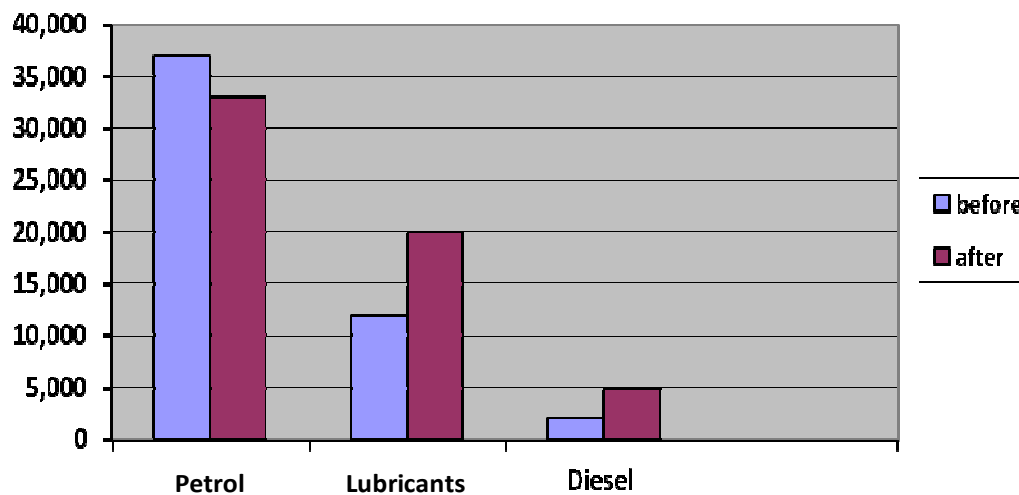


Figure 3. Change in Oando sales volume.

they also now pay more for supplies because of the difficulty in accessing their premises due to the road construction work.

DISCUSSION

In all the situations business operators were not given

prior notice of likely disruption of power/ water supply and disruption of movement in the affected area. The government did not follow the rule of law and did not consult or communicate to the operators and investors in the area. It lacked public participation, it is also not consensus oriented. Equity demands that both the government and construction companies should have

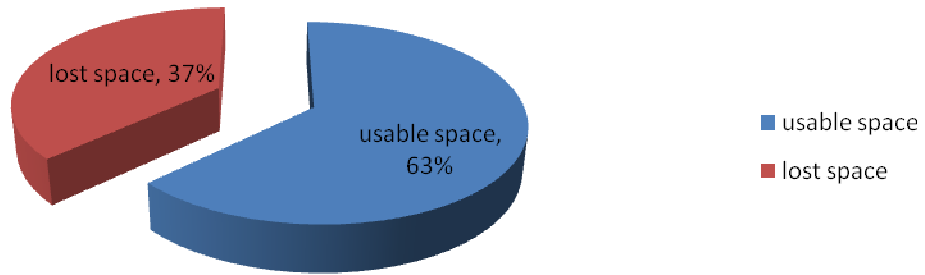


Figure 4. Loss in car park space.



Plate 1. Temporary car park access.



Plate 2. Eatrite frontage post-renewal.

planned the work in a way that will not make the area to be a construction and junk yard.

Poor project planning arising from bad governance affected most business outfits in the neighbourhood negatively, by disrupting their business and cutting off utility supply in the problem dragged for months. This single act could make it impossible for the business concerns to meet up with their financial obligations in terms of salaries, rent, payments for supply and other statutory obligation like taxes, utility bills, etc.

Summary of findings

- 1) The challenges of urban governance is directly linked to the complexity of cities.
- 2) The major problem of governance in Lagos is lack of citizen participation, sound governance and transparency.
- 3) Lack of integration between formal and informal institution is a major constraint to urban governance.
- 4) Governance practice in Lagos leans towards the top-bottom management approach.
- 5) Most households resort to self help and informal sources to meet their infrastructure needs. This their way of coping with the losses created by the failure of governance.
- 6) Governments in Nigeria as in most third world countries are yet to grasp with the role of small entrepreneurs in economic development.
- 7) Poor governance in Lagos has directly or indirectly negatively affected the economic fortunes of investors or entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

The performance of government is critical to effective management of urban growth as urban management and governance are concerned with policies, plans, programs and practices that seek to ensure that population/city growth is matched by access to basic infrastructure, shelter and employment. This is however constrained by poorly articulated public policies. To ease up the current problem, there is need to encourage reform that emphasizes increase in transparency and empowerment of users of public services including decentralization and a participatory mechanism that will determine rational allocation of resources and enthrone good governance

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made to address the findings of this study

- 1) As urban areas grow into megacities, there is need to groom personnel with the appropriate capacity for good governance.

2) Decisions on infrastructure delivery should be taken with transparency and stakeholder participation. In addition, top-bottom approach to management practices is obsolete and should be discarded and replaced with a democratic approval like the bottom-top approach.

3) Government should address the problem of infrastructure provision with the urgency it requires to curb its scissors effect on urban poverty

4) Improvement in urban governance is a necessity for development and growth. This calls for informed consultation during which rapid assessments are conducted and issues clarified, key actors are drawn in, political commitment is achieved and priorities are set through town meetings and formal consultation meetings.

5) Government should recognise the importance of small scale enterprise in urban economy. They exist because the economy of the city needs them and that they play a major role in the urban economy.

6) There is also an urgent need to integrate formal and informal institution for the enhancement of governance in cities.

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