

THE TRANSFORMATIVE VALUE OF JUST AND SUSTAINABLE URBANIZATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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The Transformative Value of Just and Sustainable Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa

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The Transformative
Value of Just
and Sustainable
Urbanization
in Sub-Saharan
Africa

01

The decade of action towards the United Nations Agenda 2030 has been declared, eliciting greater attention to sustainable urbanization. Of particular interest to cities and urban areas is the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 with its 10 targets.



Four targets of particular interest in this paper are those relating to housing, basic services and slums (target 1), transport (target 2), inclusive urbanization (target 3) and, the environment (target 6). Achievement of these targets is expected to enhance the overall value of sustainable urbanization (UN-HABITAT, 2020). This value is considered as the totality of four individual values: a city's economic, environmental, social and intangible conditions that have the potential to improve the quality of life of residents in meaningful, visible and concrete ways.

In reality, the very meaning of sustainable urbanization is often difficult to decipher – so are the consequences of a more sustainable urbanization for the majority of city dwellers, not only but especially in Africa. This paper, therefore, suggests to breathe life into the four conditions by linking it with the just city concept. The Just City (FES, 2020) makes a

compelling case that optimization of these values is most likely to be achieved in an environment that promotes dignity, equity and diversity, rights and responsibilities, and democracy – the core principles of a Just City. The Just City concept has the most potential to transform African urbanization based on a citizen-centered and more democratic approach.

The recent progress report on SDG 11 highlights the fact that before the Covid-19 pandemic, cities had rising numbers of slum dwellers, worsening air pollution, minimal open public spaces and limited convenient access to public transport (UN-ECOSOC, 2021). The report further determines that the direct and indirect impacts of the pandemic are making it even more unlikely that this Goal will be achieved, with more people forced to live in slums, where the quality of life is deteriorating and vulnerability is increasing.

The United Nations estimates that 71 million people were pushed back into extreme poverty in 2020, the majority being from Africa where a large proportion of the workforce has seen their wages and incomes affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, exposing them to a degraded quality of life. Besides Covid-19, the enormous speed at which Africa's cities are growing is linked to other key development trends, most prominent among them being accelerated economic and population growth, increasing migration from rural to urban areas, the youth bulge, and the worsening effects of global warming. These trends are strongly driven by perceptions that cities – in contrast to the continent's rural areas – offer an abundance of livelihood opportunities, including employment and income generating opportunities, food security, and access to finance, education and social capital, as well as social protection. Urbanization in Africa is linked to hopes, the hopes of many.

With this rapidly urbanizing Africa, a case on the roles of planning, managing and governing cities to create inclusive growth and prosperity, while driving sustainable and socially responsible investment, has been made. In this context, special attention is paid to the interface between public policies and grassroots actions to effectively tackle the critical challenges of attaining the values of sustainable urbanization, including inequality, unemployment, climate change and inadequate housing.

This paper interrogates the value of sustainable urbanization in a rapidly urbanizing sub-Saharan Africa with a population of 1.1 billion and GDP of USD 1.8 trillion (IMF, 2019). With a specific focus on two of the four values of sustainable urbanization, it espouses the social values through a planning and housing lens, and the intangible values through a governance and management lens as factors in promoting inclusive growth and spurring socially responsible investment in tandem with the Just City principles of dignity, equity and diversity, rights and responsibilities, and

democracy (FES, 2020). In doing so, it suggests avenues for improving the effectiveness of policy and democratic participation as a means of inspiring reversal of the critical urban challenges and accelerating the urban transformative force and, therefore, making cities more just.

The Kenyan urban case offers a classical illustration. This is particularly significant because it is one of the countries that is going through a period of significant urban transition, having recently adopted a progressive new constitution that fundamentally changed the relationship between the people and their government, as well as the urban governance and management configuration.

This change is primarily hinged on decentralization and the shift of power towards the citizenry through expanded democratic spaces and rights and freedoms that are embedded in the constitution. The paper argues that while people's influence in the way they are governed is a constitutional guarantee, the rate at which such guarantee translates into more inclusive growth, prosperity and well-being – into more just policies – remains impeded by intangible factors, which include institutional, governance, political, cultural and civic socio-economic perceptions. The paper concludes by justifying the integral role of the Just Cities principles in accelerating the realization of the value of urbanization as a catalyst for greater progress towards the SDG 11 targets and, therefore, sustainable development at large.

This paper interrogates the value of sustainable urbanization in a rapidly urbanizing sub-Saharan Africa with a population of 1.1 billion and GDP of USD 1.8 trillion (IMF, 2019).

It suggests an increased role of intermediary cities as the immediate frontier for transformation of Just Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Intermediary cities have been defined as cities with 50,000 to 1 million inhabitants that generally play a primary role in connecting important rural and urban areas to basic facilities, services and opportunities.

According to United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), there are over 1,400 intermediary cities in Africa that are home to over 20% of the world's population, which stood at 7.75 billion in 2020. They also accommodate over one third (36%) of the total urban population, which according to the World Bank, stood at 4.358 billion in 2020. These intermediary or secondary cities can play a catalytic role in fostering just and sustainable cities across the continent.



There are over **1,400** intermediary cities in Africa that are home to over **20%** of the world's population, which stood at **7.75 billion** in 2020.



The Value of Sustainable
Urbanization and Just
City Principles

02

Cities and urban areas continue to be home to a growing population around the world. They are key to improving development outcomes, as well as places of opportunity where aspirations can be and are often realized.

Most of this urbanization is occurring in intermediary (secondary) cities, which brings these cities to the core of the value chain for sustainable urban development. This growth is strongly driven by Africans' perceptions that cities, in contrast to the continent's rural areas, offer an abundance of livelihood opportunities, including employment and income-generating opportunities, food security, and access to finance, but also to public goods like education, housing and transport, social capital as well as social protection (Stapleton, 2015). The enormous speed at which Africa's cities are growing is also linked to other key development trends, most prominently accelerated economic and population growth, increasing migration from rural to urban areas, the youth bulge and global warming (UNCTAD, 2018).

On the global front, Africa is the world's least urbanized continent, and yet the rate at which its cities are expanding is faster than other regions – at an average of 3.5% per year (Huang, 2015). This growth of urbanization varies across the continent, ranging from the already heavily urbanized North Africa (47.8%) to the least urbanized sub-Saharan Africa (32.8%) (AfDB, 2012). Between 2000 and 2014, the world's cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants grew at an average

annual rate of 2.4%, with 43 of these cities growing twice as fast, 4 of them in Africa (UCLG, 2020).

The aggregate rate of urbanization on the continent is projected to grow from 40% in 2015 to 56% in 2050 (UNCTAD, 2018). In other words, in the next 25 years, Africa's urban population will double. By 2040, the majority of Africans will be living in cities. By 2050, more than half of Kenya's population will be urban. The problem, or let's call it the key challenge, not only but especially in Africa, is that millions of people are currently moving into "unjust" cities. The population in some African cities and urban areas has already ballooned beyond the 10 million mark. For example, Cairo, the largest city in Africa, has a population of about 9.1 million people, but more than 20 million people live in its metropolitan area.

The focus of sustainable urbanization is, however, shifting to the more than 1,400 intermediary cities in Africa. This is because of their scale and spatial distribution, where they offer and decentralize housing, basic facilities, and services more cost-efficiently than the metropolitan regions, capital cities and mega cities.

Africa is the world's least urbanized continent, and yet the rate at which its cities are expanding is faster than other regions – at an average of **3.5%** per year



These intermediary cities hold the promise of a more “inclusive, safe and resilient” urbanism, and development of more balanced and sustainable urban systems, especially in rapidly urbanizing Africa.

In the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, the United Nations estimated that 71 million people had been pushed back into extreme poverty in 2020, the majority being from Africa. Some 1.6 billion informal workers, or half the global workforce, have seen their incomes affected. These circumstances highlight the importance of cities and urban areas, particularly in Africa, which are threatened with a diminishing quality of life against the backdrop of a rising urban population, the devastating effects of climate change and the persistence of the pandemic. In the same breadth, the Covid-19 crisis has pushed African intermediary cities to reflect on agricultural production, highlighting the urgent need to develop more sustainable food systems, more resilient family farming as well as better quality health care systems.

Furthermore, the development of intermediary cities is associated with high consumption patterns whose effects lead to the generation of high levels of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, thereby accelerating the adverse climate change impacts. Coupled with this, intermediary cities have to cope with the growing population of urban poor inhabitants comprising about 60% of their population, and occupants of fragile ecosystems and informal settlements (UCLG, 2020).

Climate impacts arising from rising temperatures, air pollution, inefficient energy consumption patterns and loss of biodiversity stress the resilience capacity of the population in the intermediary cities and increase the vulnerability of the urban poor.

African governments, as member states of the UN, ascribe to the global commitments that espouse the importance of cities. These include the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Paris Agreement, the New Urban Agenda, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, which collectively form the backbone of international development policy, recommendations, goals, targets and indicators for member states.

A common thread in each of these instruments is the recognition of local governments as important partners in the drive for a more sustainable future. Local governments – devolved power – therefore hold an important key to promoting the value of sustainable urbanization and have the potential to make cities more just.

It is also important to recall that the African Union (AU)'s Africa Agenda 2063 aims to deliver inclusive and sustainable development while embracing the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. This is a demonstration of a shift in focus from the “struggle”¹ to “inclusive social and economic development” characterized by, inter alia, continental and regional integration and cooperation, democratic governance, peace and security, amongst other inclusive socio-economic development strategies.

Under the banner of the Pan-African Vision of “an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena”, Agenda 2063 envisions a long-term 50-year development trajectory for Africa. It inspires Africa to revise and adapt its development agenda due to, amongst other factors, ongoing structural transformations; renewed economic growth and social progress; and the need for people-centered development, gender equality and youth empowerment.

1. The African Agenda has been dominated with the struggle for freedom and building democratic governments in the run up to the 2013 adoption of the 50 year Africa Agenda 2063

It is local governments that are responsible for creating and sustaining value in cities and urban areas, and therefore, they are best positioned to make urbanization more people- and less business-centred.

UN-HABITAT's vision is "a better quality of life for all in an urbanizing world". According to the UN program, the value of sustainable urbanization is defined as the totality of a city's economic, environmental, social and intangible conditions that have the potential to improve the quality of life of residents in meaningful, visible and concrete ways (UN-HABITAT, 2020). The intangible conditions include institutional, governance, political, cultural and civic perception. This definition recognizes the multidimensional and cross-sectoral nature of sustainable urbanization. The values are unpacked into four strands, as follows (see Figure 1):

- **Economic value** is depicted through the lens of the national economy, property development and prosperity across the urban-rural continuum. Rural to urban transitions can provide for a transformative power to re-engineer urban economies through value chain enhancement.
- **Environmental value** is depicted through the lens of cities and climate change, the built and natural environment and ecosystem services. For instance, measures to reduce emissions and policies that encourage the use of alternative sources of energy need to be in place in order to enhance the environmental value and curb the rising GHG levels. In addition, energy-

efficient buildings, low carbon public transport and encouraging cycling and walking are essential environmental values.

- **Social value** is depicted through a city's quality of life and focus on inclusivity and equity. For instance, transformations anchored on people-centered development, gender justice and youth empowerment principles are key to meeting the financial and human resource challenges in the management of intermediary cities in Africa.
- **Intangible value** is depicted through its governance systems, political institutions, cultural production and multi-level policy coherence.

Intermediary cities² play an important role here as they are increasing in number owing to Africa's rapid urbanization and their changing functions and stature. In this context, effective urban policy formulation and implementation ought to recognize the special place of intermediary cities, their nature and growth trends over time, their role in achieving inclusive and sustainable urbanization in Africa, and their integration into metropolitan regions.

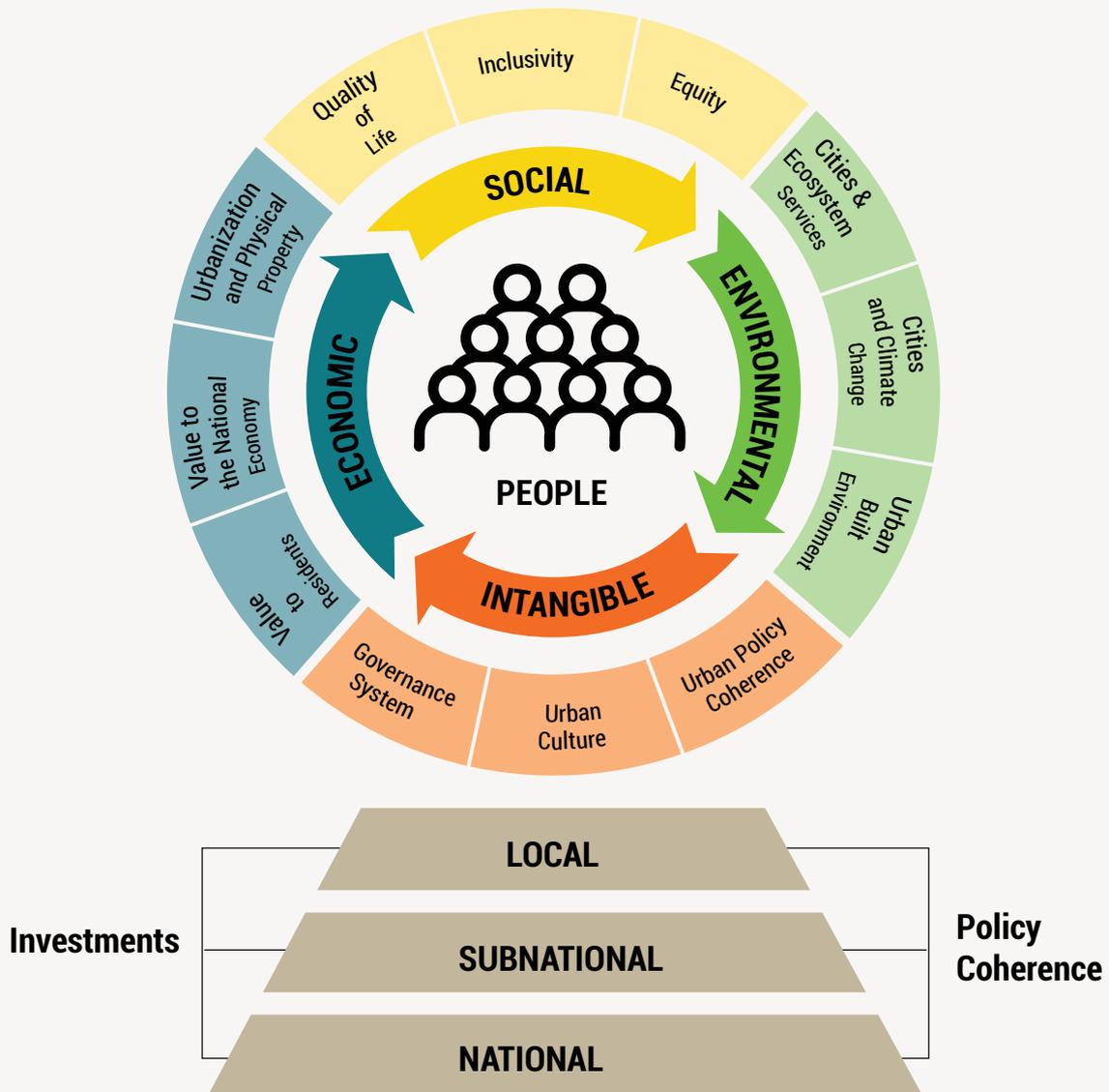
Urbanization, with its various dimensions, is a force that cannot be stopped, neither in Africa nor globally. The decade of action towards the UN Agenda 2030, particularly Sustainable Development Goal 11 with its 10 targets, brings to focus four specific targets that resonate with the Just City principles. These are targets related to housing, basic services and slums (target 1), transport (target 2), inclusive urbanization (target 3) and environment (target 6).

It is local governments that are responsible for creating and sustaining value in cities and urban areas, and therefore, they are best positioned to make urbanization more people- and less business-centred.

2. According to United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), there are over 1,400 intermediary cities in Africa

FIGURE 1:
Values of Sustainable Urbanization

Source: UN-HABITAT, World Cities Report 2020



Achievement of these targets is expected to enhance the value of sustainable urbanization expressed as the totality of a city's economic, environmental, social and intangible conditions that have the potential to improve the quality of life of residents in meaningful, visible and concrete ways (UN-HABITAT, 2020).

The Just City concept makes a compelling case for meaningful, visible and concrete improvements in the quality of life inspired by an environment of dignity, equity and diversity, rights and responsibilities, and democracy, as the core principles of a Just City. A recent progress report on SDG 11 determined that the direct and indirect impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic are making it even more unlikely that this Goal will be achieved, with more people forced to live in slums, where the quality of life is deteriorating and vulnerability is increasing (UN-ECOSOC, 2021).

With this realization and as a transformative force, sustainable urbanization should, therefore, accelerate the ability of governments to meet the diverse needs of urban residents that fulfil their aspirations and

improve their well-being. This brings to the fore the importance of the intangible value, particularly in the placement of institutions that uphold inclusive governance systems that are responsive and accommodative of the popular interests of the urban populace. These values are complemented by the Just City principles (see Figure 2).

The specific intersection between the values of sustainable urbanization and just city principles is around social values and intangible values. In this context, social values embrace dignity (quality of life) and equity and diversity (inclusivity and equity). The Just City principles of rights and responsibilities, and democracy are embraced in the intangible values, primarily within the context of governance systems, urban culture (rights and responsibilities) and urban policy coherence (democracy). The concern, therefore, is how these intersections create a transformative force significant enough to make not just cities in Africa but also globally more just and better places for the majority, not just the wealthy few.

FIGURE 2:
Just City Principles



Dignity

This is the right of an individual or a group to be valued, respected, and treated ethically. It is to recognise the worthiness of a human individual or a group. It implies respect of the individual or a group regardless of their perceived socio-economic or political status.



Equity and Diversity

An equitable city is one where the city and its benefits are shared equitably among the citizens. A city of diversity is a city where there is an understanding that democratic processes may result in the exclusion of others (especially minorities) so measures should be put in place to ensure justice for all, including minorities and visitors.



Rights and Responsibilities

A city where the rights of all citizens and visitors are observed. These rights are counter-balanced by citizens taking responsibility in the affairs of the city and in developing their city.



Democracy

A city where citizens make collective decisions on the basis of informed majoritarianism, but in a manner that respects the dignity of all and that considers equity and diversity.



Social Value and the
Just City: Planning
and Housing Lens

03

Africa is urbanizing rapidly and is facing enormous urban challenges, such as the growth of slums and increasing inequality (UN-ECOSOC, 2021) intermediary cities, with their smaller economies and often less capacitated local governments compared to primary cities, face particularly severe challenges.

3.1 Planning

Furthermore, intermediary cities are among the fastest growing urban agglomerations in Africa. United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) notes that 210 million Africans live in one of the continent's 1,400 intermediary cities. Unlike urbanization in many other parts of the world, urban population growth in most of Africa has generally not been accompanied by a commensurate increase in formal employment, resulting in growing urban poverty and increased urban vulnerability (Bryceson & Potts, 2006; Fox, 2012). The capacity of government bodies to plan for and manage urban growth in Africa is generally relatively weak (Myers, 2011).

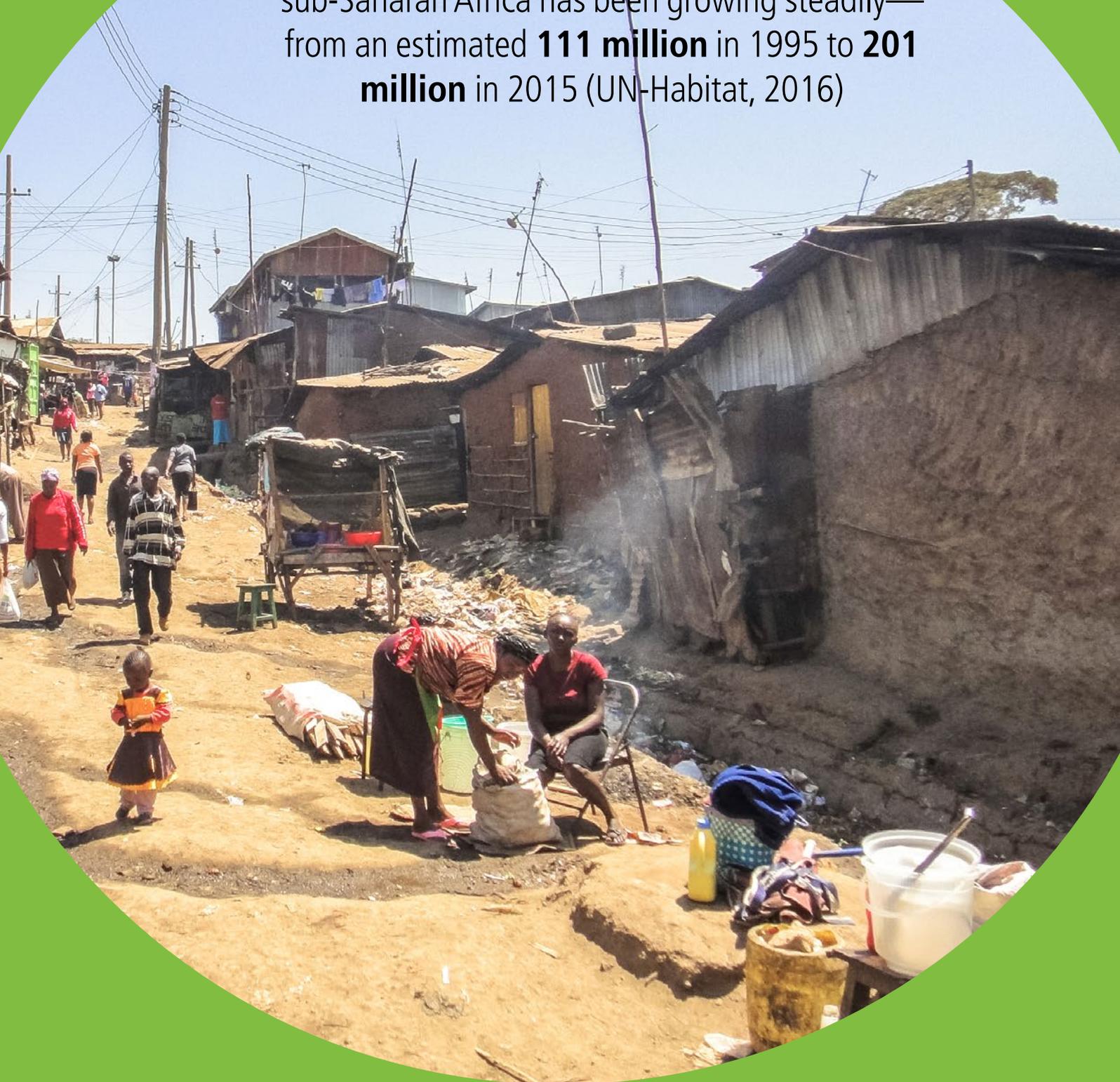
Most of the urbanization in the region is unplanned, is far from efficient regularization, and is unjust. Furthermore, local government institutions are faced with resource

This paper isolates **urban planning** and **affordable housing** as important entry points for assessing social value.

constraints, both human and fiscal, to meet the ever-increasing demand for services and inclusive development. The net result of rapid urbanization and inadequate capacity for planning or managing cities is a rise in inequality, an increasing prevalence of informality, and increased health risks.

The growth of “slums” is the most tangible manifestation of these issues. In 2014, an estimated 56% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population lived in informal settlements or other types of slums—that is to say, areas lacking adequate housing and public services. The number of households living in slums in sub-Saharan Africa has been growing steadily—from an estimated 111 million in 1995 to 201 million in 2015 (UN-Habitat, 2016). In Kenya's capital Nairobi, for example, over 60% of the population lives in informal settlements that occupy less than 10% of the city's total area. To illustrate the social value that embraces dignity, equity and diversity principles of the Just City, this paper isolates urban planning and affordable housing as important entry points for assessing social value.

The number of households living in slums in sub-Saharan Africa has been growing steadily—from an estimated **111 million** in 1995 to **201 million** in 2015 (UN-Habitat, 2016)



Proper planning is at the core of meeting the social value and providing dignity to the urban population. When cities are “just”,

- they are well-planned and managed,
- they can lift families out of poverty,
- liberate women from gender-based discrimination,
- point to bright futures for children and youth,
- offer comfort and support to older persons in their golden years, and
- welcome migrants looking for a better life (UN-HABITAT, 2020).

They can also contribute to a more inclusive economic development and sustainable growth path. However, social value is only achievable where intangible values exist in the form of institutions that respect and uphold the rule of law, rights and democratic participatory governance. To achieve dignity, recognition and respect ought to be granted to the diverse values inherent in the heterogenous nature of urban occupation in form of culture, traditions and norms.

The Kenyan case offers a classical example. Planning has evolved since the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010. Through Article 184, the Constitution of Kenya devotes the planning role to urban governance and management institutions, as guided by the urban law, the Urban Areas and Cities Act (2011). The same constitution obligates urban institutions to develop urban plans through highly inclusive processes that observe the participatory and citizen-centered doctrine of the constitution. Additional laws have been enacted to inculcate a culture of planning among all levels of government (national, county and urban). Such laws include the Physical and Land Use Planning Act (2019), the County Government Act (2012) and the Public Finance Management Act (2012). The National Urban Development Policy (NUDP) 2016 lays further emphasis on planning with clear social safeguards.

3. Government of Kenya (2022); Kenya Position Paper to 9th Africities Summit (unpublished)

4. GoK (2022); Kenya Position Paper to 9th Africities Summit (unpublished)

5. Interview with Eng Hilda Luoga, Project Development Officer, LVBC (Jan 2022)

A recent survey, (World Bank, 2021) however, reveals that the laws and policies on their own are insufficient to deliver the social value promise. Despite a significant investment in strengthening urban institutions for improved service delivery, the World Bank survey faults the current institutional planning practice, particularly its non-inclusive nature. In other words, the reality is very different from the rights granted under the 2010 constitution. As a result, there are a number of cases of displacements and evictions that have occurred in the process of pursuing development outcomes, thereby increasing social vulnerability rather than enhancing social values. Significant premium is put on the development of infrastructure at the expense of social development. Hence, Kenyans’ aspirations differ heavily from reality and the day-to-day experiences of the majority of the country’s urban population.

Kenya is home to over 70 intermediary cities that comprise about 63 municipalities and four cities³ Rapid growth of intermediary cities in Kenya has been observed and will increase with devolution, which has spurred decentralized development across the country. While most of these cities are headquarters for county governments, attracting people, funding, investments, business and tourism, amongst others, a majority fall short of fulfilling the participatory principles, thus alienating large populations in the city.

Networks of intermediary cities have an important role to play in encouraging research and experimentation and in sharing successful experiences in the planning and management of these cities. For instance, Kenya has recently established the Association of Urban, Cities and Municipal Managers & Authorities of Kenya (AUCIMMAK)⁴ to facilitate knowledge and experience exchange locally and with external networks. According to the Lake Victoria Basin Commission (LVBC)⁵, initial efforts are underway to set up a regional platform of engagement between the Lake Victoria Region Local Authorities Cooperation (LVRLAC) and AUCIMMAK to address a shared vision for

planning and managing the Lake Victoria region's resources.

For urban planning to improve, participatory urban planning accompanied by appropriate policies, regulatory and legislative frameworks must be put in place and made functional. To make participatory urban planning functional, various tools are available to facilitate citizen-centric planning. One such tool that has recently been deployed in Kenya. It is the U_CODE (TU-Dresden, 2019) e-participation, which enables the creative participation of the citizenry on a massive scale.

Through the co-design environment, U_CODE enables communication and collaboration between large numbers of citizens and professional experts. A key novelty is a public project space for non-professional civic users – a highly accessible, low-threshold public interface. For citizens who want to engage actively in the design process, a “Project Play Ground” is provided, which features highly experiential design tools. U_CODE enables professional creatives to utilize the public's creativity, to follow public opinions and sentiments, and to derive design intelligence from them. The design and decision-making process is informed and transformed by impulses of “citizen experts” as a driving force.

3.2 Housing

In the housing sector, the World Bank estimates that by 2030, three billion people, or 40% of the world's population, will need new housing units. Rapid urbanization is pushing up demand for housing in sub-Saharan Africa (IFC, 2022). African cities become the new home of over 40,000 people every day, many of whom find themselves without a roof over their heads. Both state and non-state actors are putting in efforts to do more to develop the property sector, both to provide new and affordable housing and to encourage an industry that requires significant building materials and has the potential to be a major employer.

While the private sector may be driven by profit often enabled by government subsidies, non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) approach is predominantly humanitarian in nature, addressing gaps in housing provision among disadvantaged groups, or the so-called “urban invisibles” (FES, 2020). One of the NGOs in this category is Habitat for Humanity, (UN-Habitat, 2021) which recently worked with Cities Alliance and Slum Dwellers International under the Build Solid Ground project to compile a compendium of best practices for housing in Africa (Cities Alliance, 2003, 2011).

The NGO approach essentially addresses the right to adequate housing and shelter. This right is embodied through several core elements, namely:

- legal security of tenure, including protection against forced evictions;
- availability of services (safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, energy for cooking and lighting, refuse disposal, waste management, recycling);
- affordability;
- access to housing finance;
- accessibility;
- habitability (providing physical safety, adequate space and protection from the elements);
- location (in relation to employment opportunities, health care, schools, childcare centres, resilience and disaster risk reduction, transport, and security); and
- cultural adequacy. As this is recognized in the common understanding of the right — and in recent important global agreements — all of these elements must be addressed.

The World Bank estimates that by 2030, three billion people, or 40% of the world's population, will need new housing units. African cities become the new home of over 40,000 people every day.

A practical illustration of the non-state approach is the Habitat for Humanity Micro-Build Fund. This fund is a US\$100million housing-focused microfinance investment vehicle dedicated to helping low-income families. The fund lends to microfinance institutions, which in turn provide small loans to families to build safe and durable homes as much as their finances allow. The fund has grown rapidly; it provided access to better housing for more than 986,000 people as of December 2020.

Micro-Build has disbursed US\$136.9 million across 55 institutions in 32 countries. For example, through a partnership between Habitat for Humanity International and the Mastercard Foundation, technical assistance has been provided to nine leading financial institutions in Uganda and Kenya to develop housing microfinance products and services. To date, more than 69,000 loans have been disbursed, and US\$60 million has been mobilized for developing incremental housing finance in these two countries, supporting over 70,000 families⁶.

While this non-state approach is tailored to include vulnerable groups in the housing delivery value chain, the deficiency of supportive government policies remains a barrier. As the area of housing microfinance is relatively young, there is a need for promotion, knowledge exchange and capacity building for microfinance institutions and other non-state actors who could offer these products and services.

In respect to government subsidies, according to the World Bank (World Bank, 2015) government subsidy programs have done little to promote wide-scale housing affordability.

For example, over the course of more than 40 years, Nigeria's Federal Housing Authority had met only 15% of its goal of supplying 261,000 units (2012). An alternative subsidy program of discounted credit to developers has encouraged land speculation rather than housing production (Abdullahi & Aziz, 2011).

6 Habitat for Humanity and Mastercard Foundation, 2018.

In Tanzania, housing parastatals compete directly with the private sector, but provide affordable units to middle- and upper-income groups. In other countries, such as Zambia, Ethiopia and Liberia, housing subsidy programs are aimed at a single city, or in the case of Ghana, a single tenure type (home ownership). Kenya's affordable housing programme is also heavy on the single tenure type of home ownership. The government of Cameroon allocated US\$50.1 million to fund the Government Program of Construction of 10,000 Social Housing Units and Development of 50,000 Buildable Plots in 2009.

Despite the ambitious targets, only 1,175 units had been built as of 2015. Moreover, 80% of Cameroon's population cannot afford these social housing units. In conventional affordability terms, these units are far outside of the typical price-to-income range of between 3:1 and 5:1, with prices 44 to 51 times typical income levels. Indeed, even for public employees, price-to-income ranges for homes in these developments range from between 10.5-13.5 median incomes, or two to three times conventional affordability thresholds.

A World Bank report identifies two barriers to accessing the government subsidy programs (World Bank, 2003).

First relates to their poor design that often lacks targeting and monitoring criteria. This opens them to capture by the wealthier in society.

Second is the structural limits in the supply and demand chains, including land, infrastructure, construction materials and technology, which raise the production cost of housing. In this case, subsidies are unable to cushion affordability for low-income groups and, therefore, unable to bring the supply to scale to meet the demand. As such, in such situations, subsidies end up compensating for housing market dysfunctions and inefficiencies.

A different level of non-state approach is illustrated through the International Finance Corporation and Chinese multinational construction and engineering company, CITIC Construction, that launched a US\$300 million investment platform, CITICC (Africa) Holding Limited, to develop affordable housing in multiple African countries. The platform will partner with local housing developers and provide long-term capital to develop 30,000 homes over the next five years. IFC estimates that each housing unit will create five full-time jobs – resulting in nearly 150,000 new jobs on the continent (IFC, 2022). This model, however, has received criticism on account of its being “volume-based” as opposed to “value-based”.

A key element of the criticism arises from the minimal human interaction in the process, with the target recipients being pre-judged as needy and desperate for solutions in any form. Hence, it's far from inclusive and, therefore, not necessarily “just”. Other models, such as the Kenya Affordable Housing Programme (KAHP) that is fully reliant on shoring up capital from local investors and providing a so-called win-win situation through equal access to re-mortgage financing, appear to be more inclusive, though even there, the human interface remains relatively insufficient.

As sub-Saharan Africa becomes more urbanized, non-state approaches can help governments meet the critical need for affordable housing. Public sector instruments that address aspects of housing provision, such as affordable building technology, construction regulation, and service infrastructure, among others, are essential in ensuring end user affordability.

Furthermore, it is important to provide for multiple occupancy options instead of focusing purely on home ownership since a majority of urban residents are tenants because they don't have the financial means to own individual real estate property. With a combination of private sector financing and public instruments, the subsidy programs

interlaced with non-state approaches have the potential to transform Africa's housing markets by providing high quality, affordable homes for rent and ownership, creating jobs, and demonstrating the viability of the sector to local developers, focusing on regions where large portions of the population live in sub-standard housing and have limited access to credit to build, expand, or renovate.

Research conducted on the Kenya Affordable Housing Programme (KAHP) revealed the predominance of home ownership models as opposed to rental models (Omenya, 2019, 2020). Citing the German and South Africa affordable housing programs, the research suggested policy recommendations for affordable rental housing. These recommendations advance the concepts of “housing as a safety net” and “housing as a platform” for the vulnerable in urban society. In this concept, it is presumed that it is the government's responsibility to avail serviced land for housing development, as well as provide a conducive policy and regulatory environment for competitive delivery of affordable housing.

It is further presumed that the vulnerable in society are already suffering from deprivation and have developed various coping mechanism that ought to be integrated in the design of their houses. In these vulnerable communities, the house serves more than just a chamber for living as it often combines the possibility of doing business.

Informal settlements studied in Uganda, Tanzania and Senegal reveal that residential spaces host a wide range of economic activities and community services (Carrizosa, 2022). Space-use intensity in consolidated informal settlements demonstrates that houses are much more than just houses, and that informal settlements are more than residential areas; they are foremost economic sites of production. In other words, social protections and urban services are being co-produced by the citizens.

The point here is to acknowledge the extent of these activities, so policy is able to fine-tune itself to these realities, and hence be more effective and just.

Finally, by bringing together the strengths of state and non-state actors, policymakers have the ability to share a diverse range of resources, technologies, ideas and skills in

a cooperative manner that can work to improve how urban infrastructure assets and services are delivered to low-income communities (UN-Habitat, 2011). For such a co-production approach to be “just”, they ought to invest in the innovative potential of the target group and allow room for a varied landscape of inputs, which are not just limited to local labor, recycled construction material, and energy efficient construction methods.





Intangible Value
and the Just City:
Urban Governance
and Management
Lens

04

The essence of using a governance lens is recognizing that there are a wide range of actors involved in urban governance, with very different interests and agenda but with unequal distribution of capacities, power resources and financial means.

4.1 Urban Governance

The essence of using a governance lens is recognizing that there are a wide range of actors involved in urban governance, with very different interests and agenda but with unequal distribution of capacities, power resources and financial means. Large gaps often exist between poor and better-off urban residents in terms of access to social, economic and political opportunities (particularly decision-making) and the ability to participate in, and leverage, the benefits associated with urban living. Cities in Africa are often run by and for a rather small group of citizens and not the majority – the “urban invisibles”.

Warren Smit (2018) notes that governance does not occur for its own sake; there are particular objects, tangible or intangible, that are governed. UN-HABITAT’s World Cities Report (2020) identifies the intangible value of sustainable urbanization as being depicted through its governance systems, political institutions, cultural production and multi-level policy coherence. As pointed out already, the Just City principles of rights and responsibilities, as well as democracy, are embraced in the intangible values, primarily within the context of governance systems, urban culture (democracy) and urban policy coherence.

In this paper, we consider the description of governance as “*collective practices addressing societal problems*” (Förster, 2016). In an urban context, these “problems” are the collective issues that have always impacted the lives of residents whenever large groups of people live in close proximity to each other. These include “how to govern”, “who can do what where”, “how to ensure access to public services”, or “how to ensure there is a well-functioning and affordable transport system”.

The paper adopts three basic objects of governance, namely land, infrastructure and services, and mobility. Land is an assurance of security and a guarantee for dignity. Infrastructure and services ensure equitable access to affordable services and public goods among the diverse economic and social nature of urban populations. Mobility is essential in advancing the rights of the populace to exercise their responsibilities in different spatial locations and jurisdictions.

- The first basic object of urban governance is **land allocation** and **land use management**, which essentially is about who can do what and where.

- The second basic object of urban governance is the **provision and management of basic infrastructure/** services, such as water, sanitation, and waste management.
- The third basic object of governance is the **movement/accessibility system**, which is essentially about how people and goods can get around from one location to another.

Beyond these basic objects of urban governance, found in most contexts, there are also many other possible objects of urban governance, such as

- ensuring good health and well-being,
- ensuring safety from crime and violence,
- disaster risk management,
- education,
- social/cultural development,
- economic development,
- environmental management,
- housing and shelter, etc.

According to UN-HABITAT, governance is one of the key pillars of the intangible values of sustainable urbanization. It is argued that development outcomes can only be transformative if decision-making systems and structures are broken loose and made responsive and accountable to a broad section of civil society. In order for them to be just, they have to be inclusive. Cities need to be designed by and run for the majority, not just for the few minority.

There is, therefore, a renewed interest in the mechanisms through which decisions are made, particularly at the city level, where the impacts of development projects on different social groups have been particularly marked. Urban politics, it is argued, can only become truly sustainable if new modes of participatory governance are introduced alongside economic and environmental policy programs. Urban politics can only become truly

sustainable if the so-called “urban invisibles” are being heard and included because most often they are the key recipients of injustice with almost no means of escaping from it.

The Africa Agenda 2063 aims to deliver inclusive and sustainable development while embracing the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. This is a demonstration of a shift in focus from the “struggle” to “inclusive social and economic development” characterized by continental and regional integration and democratic governance, among other issues.

Agenda 2063 inspires Africa to revise and adapt its development agenda due to, among other factors,

- ongoing structural transformations;
- renewed economic growth and social progress; and
- the need for people-centered development, gender equality and youth empowerment.

Transformations anchored on people-centered development, gender equality and youth empowerment principles are key to meeting the financial and human resource challenges in the management of intermediary and tertiary cities but also in the management of metropolitan areas. Structural transformations that change the relationship between governments and the people to one that is symbiotic and complementary and facilitates realization of rights are fundamental in this context.

The Africa Agenda 2063 aims to deliver inclusive and sustainable development while embracing the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance.



As an illustration, Kenya, having embraced a devolved government system in 2013 accompanied by a transition in local urban governance and management, is undertaking governance transformations that are anchored in the supreme law of the country and that support the establishment of new institutions. These legal instruments, including the Urban Areas and Cities Act 2011, allow for public participation and interaction of duty bearers and right holders, as well as the establishment of various governance institutions, such as urban boards and citizen fora.

Applied within the spirit of the law, they guide and provide opportunities for urban governance and management that ensure that citizens have access to equitable and inclusive services and public goods while participating in the decision-making of urban areas, both at the local and national levels. Good governance, therefore, has the critical aim of promoting equity, increasing the quality of public service and fostering economic growth.

Assessment of the opportunities and challenges of good governance is limited to basic elements such as the rule of law, participation, accountability, transparency, efficiency, responsiveness and effectiveness. However, good governance does not necessarily equate to democratic governance, which is what the Just City advocates. “Smart cities” might be governed in an efficient and “good” manner, but very often they are not just. Democratic governance is needed to ensure a level playing field in which political, social and economic as well as environmental issues reflect the voices and needs of the

Democratic governance, therefore, has the critical aim of promoting equity, increasing the quality of public service and fostering economic growth

poorest and most vulnerable in society. Their voices must be heard in decisions regarding the allocation of public resources to improve their well-being. Balanced involvement of key urban actors is crucial for good governance, while popular engagement of the vulnerable and poor is key to democratic governance. Therefore, key actors in urban governance in African cities must include all levels of government, political parties, and civil society organizations, including representatives of informal settlements, traditional leaders, trade unions and organizations of organized labour, private sector organizations and informal business organizations (such as trade organizations), as well as international agencies.

As an entry point for transformative governance that has the potential to make cities more just, the following intangible values are important:

- The value of urbanization should be inclusive of all groups that live in cities, embracing the heterogeneity and diversity in groups of people, and responding to value aspirations.
- Urban areas can enhance social inclusion and reduce poverty through transformative commitments in cities, such as embracing the framework for the “right to the city” that is embedded in equitable policies that allow low-income or disadvantaged groups to benefit from socio-economic growth.
- Strong civic and cultural institutions are crucial for the realization of sustainable urbanization governed through sound institutions, a constitution, laws, regulations, social norms, and customs and traditions that foster a sense of civic identity among urban residents.

Against this background, it is gratifying to note that the 9th Africities Summit (2022)⁷ is taking place in Kisumu, Kenya, an intermediary city that provides a platform to make a case that in the aftermath of Covid-19, it is critical for African intermediary cities to diversify and improve productive capacities, and create economic opportunities for small-scale producers. This includes:

- Adopting targeted policies that guarantee access to vital inputs for agriculture, such as finance, land and technology, and rethink resource management including water, which is in competition between extractive industries and agriculture.
- Taking measures to reduce emissions through policies that encourage the use of alternative sources of energy in order to curb rising GHG levels.
- Investing in energy-efficient buildings, low carbon public transport and encouraging cycling and walking as essential measures to cut down GHG emissions in cities.

4.2 Urban Management

Increasingly, the urban crisis in Africa is being tackled by what has been called the “urban management” approach” (Stren, 1991). This approach simply refers to a body of techniques, rules, and practices for the planning and organization of modern urban settlements. According to Stren (1991), it encompasses at least four important elements:

- (i) a concern to situate urban development projects in the context of city-wide and institutional considerations;
- (ii) a concern to pay more attention to sources of local finance for more decentralized municipal government;

- (iii) a concern to devise alternative means of organizing and financing urban services, such as water supply, public transport, electricity, sanitary services, and waste disposal; and
- (iv) a concern to seek and promote local community and participatory sources of support for urban services and infrastructure.

On the one hand, city-wide and institutional considerations combined with a localized approach are key to ensuring that city diversities are accommodated in an equitable manner to build local ownership, an important precursor for urban dignity, especially amongst the vulnerable. On the other hand, concerns addressed through innovative and alternative models for urban service delivery do not only address the rights to services, but call upon a responsible interface with such services. This is further strengthened through promotion of local community and participatory support for the urban services. These attributes draw an intersection between Stren’s concerns and the Just City principles.

Any management process has a political base. In African cities, it is vital that this base shifts away from central government to local government.

This shift strengthens the role of democratically elected authorities and civil society generally. An example is the devolved system of government adopted in Kenya through the constitutional order of 2010, which established county governments and urban governance institutions accompanied by a share of national resources and functions.

While this is an important step, it points to a need to capacitate and strengthen local autonomy and to tilt center-local relationships in favor of the local level.

⁷ Africities summit is the largest democratic gathering organised in Africa. It is the main platform for dialogue on decentralisation and local governance that brings together every three years; African ministers, Mayors, Leaders and Elected officials of local and regional governments, Civil Society Organisations, Traditional Authorities, representatives of the African diaspora, Economic Actors, Experts, Researchers and Academics, Financial Institutions, and Development Partners. Source <https://africities.org/>.

The key questions to ponder are:

- What is being managed?
- Who is being managed?
- Do they have a say?
- What is the formula for resource allocation and management?

These are critical and fundamental questions, and they have to be asked and answered in a holistic way. This is the challenge for urban management in Africa now and into the future.

The “**what**” question must consider the city beyond being a mere “container” for people but one that embraces the “soul” of the city, **which** is reflected in the quality of life of the citizens. The Just City principle of dignity envisages value, respect and ethical treatment of the individual and collective rights of the citizens. The “**who**” question is essentially about stakeholdership, which more often than not means relegating the majority to peripheral stakeholders on the basis of their socio-economic stake in the city.

Equity and diversity as espoused in the Just City principles envisages a city where benefits are shared fairly among the citizens with no discrimination on account of social, economic and cultural status. The question of having a say is best viewed as a concern over the rights as well as responsibilities of the citizenry, and that of resource allocation and management as a product of democratic decision-making processes. Put into perspective, city management regimes are just if they view these questions through the four Just City principles.

For example, in recent times, the use of information communications technology (ICT) to improve urban management, particularly

in efficiency of delivery of public goods and services, has been deployed by a number of African governments.

A **good illustration** is the Huduma program in Kenya. Launched in 2013 as part of Kenya Vision 2030, the program established a one-stop-shop network of service centers, called *Huduma*, to provide citizens with access to various public services and information. By grouping different government departments under one roof, it increased the ease and speed of service delivery, reduced costs, and provided better services. To integrate service delivery, the program established five “one-stop-shop” channels, namely Huduma centres, Huduma web portal, Huduma mobile platform, Huduma call/contact centers and Huduma payment gateway. Popular public opinion is that the centers have eased access to government services, reduced the cost of service delivery and increased compliance among the public.

However, accountability concerns remain.

For instance, in the recent drive to accelerate registration of voters in the run-up to the 2022 general elections in Kenya, the electoral body fell way short of meeting its target, ostensibly due to large number of uncollected national identity cards issued through these centers, bringing to question the efficiency of service delivery in these centers.⁸

The use of ICT to improve access to health services in remote areas and to save lives is another example.

Rwanda has partnered with the American startup Zipline to launch the world’s first commercial drone delivery system, which transports medical supplies to remote hospitals by air. Previously, preventable deaths occurred due to delays in receiving medical supplies, especially in far-flung hospitals that provide services to the poor. Since December 2016, more than 4,000 units of blood products have been dispatched to hospitals using this means and the system now serves 21 hospitals across western Rwanda. A second distribution center is planned to serve the eastern part of the country.

8 IEBC (2022)

In Côte d'Ivoire, a new Drone Academy set up in 2018 by the country's biggest power provider, Ivorian Electricity Company, is training pilots to inspect the electricity network. The aim is to train 20 drone pilots to slash the inspection times of the 25,000 kilometers of high-voltage lines across the country, as well as to lower the costs significantly. Before, all inspections were done by helicopter or by teams on the ground. While the cost of purchasing a helicopter is around \$620,000, with each one-hour flight costing around \$1,850, a drone costs less than \$2,500 to purchase and has low upkeep costs. This is likely to impact the power costs to the consumer, giving commensurate reductions in the unit cost of power equivalent to the savings.

A multi-level cooperative administrative approach to urban management and planning, based on democratization and participation and focused on greater local initiative and control, would provide a flexible strategy that would be responsive and adaptable to future uncertainties (El-Shakhs, n.d.).

An illustration of this approach is the Kenya urban management and planning model where the county government grants autonomy to the municipal board to undertake management and planning functions as a corporate entity, while providing planning guidance through an

overarching instrument, the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP), that forms the basis for resource allocation. In all these processes, the centrality of citizen participation is embraced, and a formal space is guaranteed in law through the provision for citizens' forums with explicit legal mandate.

Such approaches would, at the same time, promote a more socially and environmentally sustainable development process.

In the Kenyan case, the approach has re-engineered the space of participation and value of citizens' engagement in planning and management of the affairs of the municipality. Participatory planning processes are embedded in law and policy instruments and, while adherence may vary, good practices are evident.

This approach, at least in theory, embraces the Just City principles, particularly in laying the ground for dignity that is founded on democratic processes and harnesses citizens' potential, all necessary ingredients for accelerating local action towards meeting the SDG targets.



Conclusions

05

This paper illustrates the integral value of the Just Cities principles in accelerating the realization of the value of urbanization as a catalyst for greater progress towards the SDG 11 targets.

It points to an increased role of intermediary cities as the immediate frontier for transformation of just Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Defined as cities with 50,000 to 1 million inhabitants that generally play a primary role in connecting important rural and urban areas to basic facilities, services and opportunities, these intermediary or secondary cities' increased role is based on their scale and spatial distribution, where they offer and decentralize housing, basic facilities and services more cost-efficiently than the metropolitan regions, capital cities and mega cities.

While current progress on SDG 11 suggests an unlikelihood to achieve the targets, a deliberate injection of the Just City principles in the governance, management and planning regimes of local government would present some hope during this decade of action. Additionally, focus on strengthening local government institutions is key to delivering on the commitments towards making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. This is particularly important in the target areas of housing, basic services and slums (target 1), transport (target 2), inclusive urbanization (target 3) and environment (target 6).

The choice of the 9th Africities summit to focus on intermediary cities and their role in delivering towards the SDGs and Africa Agenda 2063 is an important entry point for embracing the Just City principles. These principles complement the inclusive and sustainable development agenda that is anchored on the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity. Under the Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance call, African intermediary cities will be at the forefront of shifting focus from the "struggle" to "inclusive social and economic development".

This paper has illustrated the value chain for the transformation to inclusive social and economic development through a combination of economic, environmental, social and intangible values, as well as democratic governance.

Focus on strengthening local government institutions is key to delivering on the commitments towards making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

On the **economic front**, examples that illustrate the value of transformations anchored in people-centered development, gender justice and youth empowerment principles in meeting the financial and human resource challenges in the management of intermediary cities are presented. In this case, structural and institutional transformations that change the relationship between governments and the people to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities are advanced.

The case of devolution in Kenya and the attendant establishment of new urban institutional architecture accompanied by structural transformations in government business through one-stop service centers is one such illustration. It is the conclusion of the paper that robustness of local government institutions ought to be anchored in an inclusive, participatory and open governance model that exercises high levels of transparency and accountability to build the trust and confidence of the citizenry.

On the **social front**, the paper acknowledges that the most recent progress report (UN-ECOSOC, 2021) on SDG 11 determined that the direct and indirect impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic are making it even more unlikely that this goal will be achieved, with more people forced to live in slums, where the quality of life is deteriorating and vulnerability is increasing. The Covid-19 crisis pushes African intermediary cities to reflect on agricultural production, highlighting the urgent need to develop more sustainable food systems and more resilient family farming systems.

The paper suggests the adoption of targeted and inclusive policies that guarantee access to vital inputs for agriculture, such as finance, land and technology, and rethinking resource management, including water, which is in competition with the extractive industries and agriculture. The Urban

Economic Planning (UEP) model that is currently being implemented in Kenya by 12 intermediary municipalities under the Sustainable Urban Economic Development Programme (SUED)⁹ presents a typical case. The investments are based on agriculture value chains that are guided by the green – blue development – concept and climate proofed.

In addition, the space of ICT in extending services and supplies to remote locations is integral in promoting inclusive and ideally also affordable service provision. However, ICT applications in public goods and services delivery must not just focus only on efficiency, security and productivity, as proposed by the “Smart Cities” concept, but also on upholding citizens’ rights and democratic participation, as proposed by the Just City concept. A link between social and intangible values is drawn, noting that social value is only achievable where intangible values exist in the form of institutions that respect and uphold the rule of law, rights and democratic participatory governance.

Furthermore, to achieve dignity, recognition and respect ought to be granted to the diverse values inherent in the heterogeneous nature of urban occupation in the form of culture, traditions and norms. It is the conclusion of the paper that the rallying call of “leaving no one and no place behind” is apt to drive social value affirmative action for increased urban social value.

On the **environment front**, the paper argues that the development of intermediary cities is associated with high consumption patterns whose effects lead to the generation of high levels of greenhouse gases, thereby accelerating adverse climate change impacts. Coupled with this, intermediary cities have to cope with growing populations of urban poor inhabitants comprising about 60% of their population and occupants of fragile ecosystems and informal settlements.

⁹ <https://www.suedkenya.org/>

Climate impacts arising from air pollution, inefficient energy consumption patterns and loss of biodiversity tests the resilience capacity of the population in the intermediary cities and increases vulnerability of the urban poor. Illustrations presented through models for affordable housing in different countries of Africa suggest that inherent value of diversity reflected among the citizens is a basket for innovation that can be borrowed to accelerate the delivery of basic services and mitigate against climate impacts to dignify the lives of the poor and vulnerable majority.

On **intangible value**, the paper reasons that development outcomes can be transformative if decision-making systems and structures are broken loose and made responsive and accountable to a broad section of civil society, including the majority of city dwellers – the so-called “urban invisibles”. Cases reviewed show mixed patterns of governance responsiveness and accountability. Central though is a positive trend in the development of urban policies, with the recent SGD progress report (UN-Habitat, 2018) revealing that over 90 countries have formulated urban development policies as part of their commitment to the SDGs.

An example is offered through the National Urban Development Policy in Kenya. This policy has unlocked investment worth US\$ 300 million from the World Bank through the Kenya Urban Support Programme (KUSP) targeting institutional strengthening and improved service delivery. According to the mid-term review, (World Bank, 2020) the program has financed the construction of 230.25 kilometers of roads and non-motorized transport, 31.08 kilometers of storm water drainage, 11 recreational parks, 11 markets, 1,027 parking slots, 3 fire stations; and installation of over 1,189 street lights and 38 high masts in Kenya’s urban areas anchored in strengthened urban institutions.

On the **governance front**, transformation from devolution that is merely constitutionally obligated to one that is symbiotic and complementary and facilitates realization of rights is fundamental in this context. Governance has to be “good” but more importantly, it has to be democratic.

Kenya, having embraced a devolved government system in 2013 accompanied by a transition in local urban governance and management, exemplifies such transformation that is anchored in the supreme law of the country. Such trends are a useful point of departure in the conversation around Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. The platform offered through the Africities Summit is rich for knowledge and best practice exchange, as well as building networks among the like-minded.

As this paper has shown, urbanization has the potential to transform whole societies; it is an unstoppable force, especially in Africa. For this transformation to ultimately improve the living conditions of millions of Africans, cities not only have to be made inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable (SDG 11), they also have to be made just. For urbanization to drive inclusive and sustainable socio-economic development, it clearly has to be more just. One cannot live in dignity in an unjust city. The intermediary cities numbering over 1,400 in Africa provide the best hope for actualizing this transformation due to their scale and spatial distribution, where they offer and decentralize housing, basic facilities and services more cost-efficiently than the metropolitan regions, capital cities and mega cities. These intermediary cities hold the promise for a more “inclusive, safe and resilient” urbanism, and the development of more balanced and sustainable urban systems, especially in rapidly urbanizing Africa.



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THE TRANSFORMATIVE VALUE OF JUST AND SUSTAINABLE URBANIZATION IN SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA

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