

Essays in Honour of Professor Akin Mabogunje



Urbanism and Crisis Management in Nigeria

Edited by
Isaac Olawale Albert
Taibat Lawanson

Published by
Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies,
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria

© Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies (IPSS) 2019

First published 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior permission of the copyright owners.

ISBN 978-978-56555-2-0

Produced in Nigeria at The Archers Press by
JOHN ARCHERS (Publishers) Ltd.
Egun Isola House, 53 Gbadebo Str., Mokola
GPO Box 339, Dugbe, Ibadan
☎ 0803 4476 916, 0701 085 1055
e-mail: archersbooksonline@gmail.com
johnarchers@yahoo.co.uk

18. **Public Utilities, Population Growth and Dynamics of Urban Development in Owerri, 1927-1977 / 265**
– *Ononiwu A. Oparah*
19. **Socio-economic Transformation and Settlement Patterns in Kaduna Metropolis, 2001-2011 / 289**
– *Shu'aibu Shehu Aliyu*
20. **Structure and Formation of African City Model in Zaria Urban Area, Kaduna State / 304**
– *Saleh Yusuf and Shu'aibu Shehu Aliyu*
21. **A History and Description of Some Selected Buildings in Lagos, Nigeria – to c.2017 / 314**
– *Atiku Abubakar Uduku*
22. **An Interrogation of Akiwowo's Theory of *Ibi Marun* in the Analysis of Africa's Rapidly Urbanising Society / 330**
– *Michael A. Owojuyigbe and Dauda A. Busari*

SECTION VI: SOCIAL EXCLUSION

23. **Inequality and Social Exclusion: Recipes for Urban Anarchy in Africa's Urban Centres / 343**
– *Victor I. Ogharanduku*
24. **Contesting the Right to the City: Where Do Street Vendors Belong? / 356**
– *Adzande Patience, Kwaghsende Felix and Gyuse Timothy*
25. **Living Conditions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Northern Nigeria / 369**
– *Victor Onifade and Rasheed Osinowo*
26. **Socio-Political Crises Between South Africans and Nigerian Migrants: Causes, Challenges and Implications / 390**
Angela Ebele Udeoji and M T. Shaibu

SECTION VII: URBAN POVERTY AND INFORMALITY

27. **Street Trading, Hawking and Urban Governance in Ibadan City, 1930s-1990s / 407**
– *Mutiati Titilope Oladejo*
28. **Livelihood Strategies in an African City: Scavengers and Urban Renewal in Osogbo Metropolis / 419**
– *Monsuru Muritala*

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

An Interrogation of Akiwowo's Theory of *Ibi Marun* in the Analysis of Africa's Rapidly Urbanising Society

Michael A. Owojuyigbe and Dauda A. Busari

Introduction

Africa has half of its population living in urban centres, making it one of the fastest urbanising regions of the world (UN-Habitat, 2008; Lwasa, 2014). The rapid urbanisation (Collier, 2016) taking place in the continent unfortunately presents one of the greatest challenges to human security and sustainable development. Urbanisation refers to the increasing agglomeration of persons in a human settlement such that the settlement attains a higher level of complexity (economic, social, etc). The shift from a rural to an urban society should result in socio-economic, and technological growth and development; meaning that urbanisation should help drive upward national development in any given nation as can be observed in the case of China. However, in the case of many-an-African nation, rapid urbanisation unfortunately drives downward national development indices.

Central to lifting national productivity, there is the need to shift underemployed people from rural areas to more productive employment in urban areas, in a bid to ensure the provision of the much needed platform for future investment, growth and sustainable development. Getting urbanisation and the aforementioned right, however, has been a major challenge for developing nations. Indeed, managing urbanisation effectively requires developing nations to succeed in areas where they are typically the weakest: sufficient investment in physical and human infrastructure, effective policy coordination between central and municipal governments, appropriate and forward planning and enforcement, assuring effective governance at all levels of administration, provision of law and order, and creating an environment for private businesses to thrive and create jobs. It is therefore not surprising that in many emerging markets, urbanisation has been poorly managed. The results are plain for all to see in many cities in these countries: massive slums, lack of basic services for most urban dwellers, high urban unemployment and underemployment, chronic traffic congestion and gridlocks, chaotic zoning and lack of law enforcement, and overall poor and deteriorating urban quality of life. Thus, in failing to get urbanisation right, many developing countries risk falling

into the trap of creating massive urban sprawl of poverty that merely replaces rural underdevelopment with urban underdevelopment.

The (rapid) urbanisation of many African nations to this day have been largely dysfunctional, resulting in the inadequacies of basic infrastructure, largescale unemployment, weakened institutions, economic inequality, corruption and fraud at all levels, and housing challenges as direct consequences. The task of scholars has over the years being to identify how the urbanisation of African countries may yet prove functional rather than dysfunctional, and how emerging markets on the continent may further develop to become the equal of their counterparts across the globe. The challenge is attempting to first comprehend the problems clearly, and then find a panacea to this burden. Without an adept understanding of the challenges of rapid urbanisation in Africa and the factors enabling it, policy efforts may be misdirected and in-turn prove fruitless.

Akiwowo (1980), a sociologist, borrowing from the "*Ifa*" oral tradition of the Yoruba people in what he termed the "*Orunmilaist*" perspective, concerned himself with understanding the social implications of the burden of rapid urbanisation and identified as major sociological concerns five serious social problems emanating from a rapidly urbanising, but largely unprepared Africa. These social problems which he termed 'Ibi Marun' included: increasing mentally-ill population, incidence of theft, reduced life expectancy, child abandonment, and the realisation of self-evident truths about our society. To avoid a further descent into the abyss of dysfunctional urbanisation, Akiwowo posited that the role of the Sociologist was to serve as the "*Atokun*" (a role of the light-provider as well as the mediator) to guide society right by engaging in "*ifogbon t'aiyese*" (the use of wisdom to restore the world). This chapter thus delves into providing, from the "*Orunmilaist*" perspective, an understanding of how these ills may deter sustainable development in any society, and how in turn, Governments may apply themselves to fix these issues before they progress further.

A Review of Literature on Urbanisation in Africa

Studies abound on the subject of African urbanisation, and many of them note it in a rather negative light (Hammer and Linn, 1987; Hardoy and Satterhwaite, 1986; Oyesiku, 1992; World Bank, 1993). Omoakin (2012) summarises that urbanisation in Africa is rife with diverse and multi-faceted urban problems. These problems range from housing shortages, inadequate and mal-functioning infrastructure and services to the resultant environmental problems of waste management, crimes and related social problems, traffic and transportation management. Other challenges compounding the problem include increasing birth rates and decreasing death rates, uncontrolled rural-urban migration, "urbanism", creation of more state capitals, and industrial centres, as well as comparatively low attention to rural economies on the part of the government.

These have the rather grievous consequence of undermining the central role of cities in Africa. Drakakis-Smith (1966), as well as Brooks (1990) and Venables (2010) have determined this central role to be “bringing about sustained development within the context of expanded or continued economic growth”. Unfortunately, this is not often the case as most of these cities, some of which are better described as “rural cities”, lack the ability to cater for the teeming populations. Agbola (1987) believes that this has resulted from a combination of a lack of proper physical planning, a neglect of rural areas, the absence of urbanisation policy, poor policy implementation and unstable leadership.

It is often erroneously assumed that industrialisation leads to urbanisation, and that clamping down on industrialisation could be a key to dealing with these issues (Freire, Lall and Leipziger, 2014), however, recent literature (Evenson and Gollin, 2003; Collier, 2006; McMillan and Rodrik, 2011; Gollin *et al* 2013) suggests that the link between urbanisation and industrialisation may not be universal, with the debate that urbanisation in some parts of Africa may have been triggered by other factors (Özden and Enwere, 2012) such as development of natural resource exports rather than by improvements in manufacturing productivity. The World Bank in 2008 did however note that the problem of urbanisation is not unconnected with government's failure to create the conditions required for higher densities, better connectivity, deliberate and targeted interventions, and inclusive development.

In the last 10 years, while Africa's economies and urban rates have grown rapidly (IMF 2012), the infrastructural development of the continent still lags behind both, with the consequence of high unemployment and mortality rates across constituent nations.

Methodology

Data Collection

Keywords were defined (and centered mainly around the theme of the “ills/challenges of urbanisation in Africa”), and employed in sourcing literature from the internet, using search engines. Literature sources identified were first screened for quality and originality, and those deemed appropriate were critically appraised, with corresponding themes subsequently extracted.

Data Analysis

Extracted information was summed up, with analysis and presentation engaged in using a traditional narrative review. A review of this sort summarises different primary studies (and their conclusions) drawing holistic qualitative interpretations from these as well as the reviewer's experiences, and existing theories and models (Campbell Collaboration, 2001). Specific guidance on this review was provided by the

theoretical frame of variations in the theme of sociation espoused by Akiwowo in his inaugural work in 1980.

Theoretical Framework

Akiwowo opined that the task of the African sociologist is to employ *ifogbon t'aiyese* (the use of wisdom to restore the world) to correct the ills that afflict African society today. The first stage in Akiwowo's application of *ifogbon t'aiyese* relies on the development of an emic sociological paradigm of society, which he refers to as the Orunmilaist perspective. In Akiwowo's Orunmilaist perspective of society, Ifa divination serves as a source of sociological knowledge. Akiwowo's variations in the theme of sociation discusses the differentiations in the "*Ajobi*" (consanguinal bonds; which characterised traditional societies) and the "*Ajogbe*" (co-residentship; typical of urban centres and was froth with different occurrences of competition, strife and numerous vices) models of sociational life. Akiwowo opined that competition for scarce resources characterise urban centres in Africa due to the *ajogbe* sociational life which pervades the society. This is of course dependent on the provision of certain amenities and enactment of pro-active rather than reactive policies.

Thus, Akiwowo in this light discusses the notion of *ire gbogbo* as the set of common social values (a collectivity which go hand-in-hand) that members of society expect from their society as against the concept of *ibi marun* which refer to five serious social problems that might beset societies particularly those with *ajogbe* sociational life modes. The common social values encapsulated within the premise of *ire gbogbo* (Akiwowo, 1980) are:

- (i) *Ire aiku* (the value of good health till old age)
- (ii) *Ire owo* (financial security)
- (iii) *Ire oko-aya* (the value of intimate companionship and love)
- (iv) *Ire omo* (the value of parenthood) and
- (v) *Ire abori ota* (the value of self-actualisation).

While it may be argued that these values which encapsulate a conception of goodness (*ire*) are intangibles or immeasurable values, it is nevertheless on these seeming intangibilities that the life's choices of humans are based (Hartman, 1967). Maslow (1943) describes the human need for self-actualisation as the topmost on his hierarchy of needs, and alongside other values afore-provided, society becomes meaningful its members if it can assure the continued existence of these values. In other words, a good society, in the axiological sense, is one whose government actively and unceasingly pursues these values for its citizens through its policies.

The failure of a government to build upon these values of *Ire gbogbo* brings upon the society that which he termed the '*Ibi marun*'. The five social ills highlighted by Akiwowo bear striking similarity to those described by Bascom in 1969. However,

while Bascom represented them as (1) *iku*, [premature] death; 2) *arun* or *aisan*, illness; (3) *ija*, fight; (4) *aje*, owo the want of money; and (5) *ofun*, loss (1969:54-55), Akiwowo (1980) represented the *Ibi marun* as:

- (i) The phenomenal rise in the number of the mentally ill (*Were*);
- (ii) The ebb and flow in the tide of armed robbery (*Ole*);
- (iii) The rising mortality rate of young adults from the age of 25 to 45 years (*Iku-odo*);
- (iv) The unabating abandonment of children by young parents (*Aiduro t'omo*); and
- (v) The discovering of a self-evident truth in the world around us, to which the Nation can hold political leaders and upon which new sociations must be founded (*Olori ibi*).

These five societal ills highlighted by Akiwowo (*Ibi marun*) which we would further discuss in the following lines are those crucial problems that are evident in contemporary urban societies based on their failures to pursue the values of *ire gbogbo*.

Discussion With Policy Recommendations

Theoretical Discussion

The first problem highlighted by Akiwowo makes reference to increasing numbers of mentally ill patients (not only those committed to psychiatric homes, but include an increasing number of persons with health challenges arising out of worry, fear, anxiety, and subsequently in some cases the creation of multiple personalities, depressions and schizophrenics). The second challenge associated with rapid urbanisation explains an increase in theft (often start-stop in its occurrence, but each incidence graver than the previous) which also extends to capture the various forms of criminal trends, such as armed robbery, kidnapping, 419 / internet scam, corrupt practice, and so on, that are rampant in urban centres of many African nations. The third social problem raised by the scholar speaks to a lowered average life expectancy, that is a situation wherein persons particularly young adults die between the ages of 25 and 45 without reaching the ripe old ages encapsulated within the concept of "*ire aiku*" (long life). The fourth dimension of societal ills deals with the lessening value of parenthood wherein there is an increase in the number of dumped children, unwanted pregnancies and subsequent abortions, fatherless (as it is not only mothers who now abandon their children) and / or motherless children (not caused by death of the parent, but by abandonment), baby-mama syndrome and more. This particular problem is often but not always prompted by issues bothering on financial insecurity, lessened value for life, decreased moral values and other such issues. The final societal ill is that which makes reference

to the problems which have become self-evident truths and obviously may be tagged 'the head/culmination/climax of all problems'. This societal problem reflects the truths that society has to contend with and must find solutions to, but which society as it would discover has little or no answer for. The problems that fall under this category are those that members blame their political leaders for, and as such the continued existence provides the basis for the creation of new forms of *Ajobi* and *Ajogbe* within the society. Relatable examples of this type of social ill are corruption (Ogundiya, 2009), tribalistic sentiments, electoral violence, political thuggery, terrorism and so on.

Practical Discussion and Policy Recommendations

Rapid urbanisation is projected to continue in Africa, and many primate cities may double or triple in the next two decades. Good urban policies are required to maintain well-functioning cities (Freire, 2013). Some of these policies and the issues they are related to are discussed below:

Infrastructure

One defining factor in successful urbanisation attempts is the quality of the infrastructure. African nations unfortunately find themselves lagging behind their peers in terms of infrastructure provision particularly with regards to paved roads, power generation, and access to portable water and sanitation (World Bank, 2010). Perhaps more important, however, is the effect of infrastructure investments on income and job generation. Private firms are often prevented from tapping the potential of Africa's rapidly growing markets in urban centres due to the lack of infrastructure amongst other obstacles, with the direct impact being massive unemployment among the citizenry. In addition, the lack of investment in road construction and maintenance, alongside traffic management challenges have led to a lack of motorable roads, and high levels of congestion, with the consequences being lateness among workers, reduced productivity and subsequent loss of profits, rush hour issues, early risers and late sleepers with a consequence of health loss, mental disorders and increased suicidal tendencies among workers. The infrastructural decay is clearly represented in the following lines:

Yet, many sub-Saharan African cities have fallen into a serious state of disrepair since the 1970s under the strain imposed by rapid population growth, scarce foreign investment, and government mismanagement. Progressive decay in basic infrastructure such as piped water, electricity, sewerage, and roads have prompted people in large African cities like Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to move to unplanned settlements on the urban periphery where land is cheapest (Brockhoff, 2000; 12-13).

With regards to the mental health challenges cited by Akiwowo earlier, Okhasa

(2002) notes that a large proportion of the global health burden is due to mental disorders, which are on the increase particularly in African countries. He asserts that increasing poverty, violence and social unrest among others are major causes of growing psychosocial problems in urban populations, which include alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution, street children, child abuse and domestic violence, and that the lack of national mental health policies among many African nations is not helping matters. This was first pointed out by the WHO (2000) in the African Regional Strategy for Mental Health handbook wherein it was stated that populations in the African region are beset by numerous mental and neurological disorders. An alternative would be to put in place policies and practical measure to restrict rural-urban migration like in the Chinese urban centres. Also, with regards to fostering industrial competitiveness, particularly in the context of retaining trade and manufacturing competitiveness, low inter-regional transport costs would come in quite handy (World Bank, 2009).

Densification

Densification is yet another important element to watch out for. This is particularly more so because patchy development with increased costs of providing basic services would be the resultant effect of the rapid expansion of peri-urban cities that lack adequate planning and proper infrastructure. This will only further hurt connectivity and mobility of labor. It must be noted that inadequate provision of basic services in urban centres does not deter the in-migration of people to these areas, with people often not minding the inadequacy, and being geared by the need to access these services no matter how inadequate. This is captured below by Brockerhoff in 2000:

Despite the slower pace of growth, cities in less developed countries are adding more new residents each year now than in the 1950s and 1960s because the growth rate is applied to an expanding population base. The average annual growth rate declined in Cairo, over the last 50 years. But Cairo added 4.6 million to its population between 1975 and 2000, about 1 million more than were added between 1950 and 1975 (Brockerhoff, 2000; 10-11).

Thus meaning that to avoid population density becoming a problem in urban centres, basic services regardless of the source, public or private should be spread across all areas, rural or urban. People should also be encouraged to embark on urban-rural migration. Jamal and Weeks (1994) wrote on the matter as such:

wage-earner households re-established their links with the country-side, reversing the labour force stabilisation process of the 1960s. Trips back to the family farm (shamba) became common, and some members of urban households were sent permanently to tend farms. Further, urban households began to grow their own food, something that

had always been practised to some degree, but had declined because of increased rural and urban specialisation, and the influx of migrants who had no access to cultivable urban land. With the departure of these migrants, Kampala became a more Baganda city . . . Unlike in other African countries, urban migration actually slowed down or even changed its net flow up to 1985 (Jamal and Weeks, 1994: 68).

Furthermore, issues arising from densification are congestion, pollution, and slum-creation, due to the inability of immigrants to acquire land or rental space for accommodation. If left unregulated, premature mortality would become a major issue due to the dangers associated with untreated sewage and contaminated water sources. To prevent this, infrastructural investments and policies regarding housing such as the erection of well-managed regulated-commercial multi-storey residences would go a long way in solving the slum-creation conundrum. Provision of accessible and affordable health care should also be considered in such parts.

Security

Another major challenge in highly-populated urban centres is security. Rapid and unregulated urbanisation as would be shown below has been associated with increased rates of violent crime. Governmental inability to keep up has undermined public safety perception, a situation which complicates the public provision of security and justice to citizens. Nolan (2004) showed that property crime rate and population size are related. Another study suggests that the rates of violent and property crimes are positively associated with highly-populated urban areas, one-person households and unemployment rates (Kepple and Freisthler, 2012). Studies have also attributed crime in urban centres to other factors such as unemployment (Omotor, 2009); presence of young populations (Andresen, 2006); combination of industrial/commercial land use with household dwellings (Shopeju, 2006); urbanisation, weak criminal justice system and negative role models (Hassan *et al* 2012). These densification allows for cultural heterogeneity which leads to the collapse of traditional crime control mechanisms, allowing for the rise of street gangs who not only reduce the quality of life for residents by terrorising them, but also increase the costs of business for firms through acts of vandalism. As the UNDP (2007) notes, such areas become 'breeding grounds' for armed criminal gangs. These potential criminals are aware of loopholes in the criminal justice system, and often exploit them (Adebayo, 2013; Kunnuji, 2016). Allegations leveled against the police include misuse of its powers of arrest and prosecution, corruption and perversion of justice, use of crude techniques of investigation, collusion with criminals and incessant cases of accidental discharge of lethal bullets. These are just a few of the many issues that unfortunately have ensured that public sentiments and attitude towards policing have taken a downward turn, with residents of urban settings resorting to 'jungle' justice. These can be countered through street lighting and proper policing, and security policies.

Child Abandonment

Tadele (2000) quotes UNICEF as defining abandoned children as having no home, either due to the death of or the rejection by their parents or the unavailability or rejection of their extended family. Rejection in such instances could be a result of serious economic challenges, such as poverty, or it may be a rejection of the child per se. These economic challenges which may prompt such incidences of child abandonment, are clearly captured thus:

the urban poor are the most severely affected. A survey of 100 households from different townships of Lusaka showed that as prices rose, poor families stopped buying meat, chicken, fish and bread. They also cut back on vegetables and even on mealie meal. Most families reduced from two to one meal per day in order to save money and this has had an adverse effect on health especially that of children (Mulenga, 1991: 45, citing Clark and Allison, 1989).

Tadele's definition is so broad that it includes physically-abandoned children who were abandoned during their early years; homeless children who have lost their parents and are found in child-care institutions; and children who have either been abandoned, or lost their parents, or for whatever reason have been left without a supporter, and are on the streets. This category includes those children who are supporting themselves by working on the streets after the death of their parents, the collapse of their family, or after having been rejected and/or abandoned by the family. Urbanisation, it must be noted, is straining the family structure; changing it from an extended unit to diverse weaker forms such as single-parent family or blended families, leading to an increased abandonment of children due to the need for social and economic survival, who without proper guidance become street urchins and in the absence of proper role models join gangs, thus contributing to the problem of insecurity (Cripe, Curran, Lockett and Verhey, 2002). Strict policies and enforcement regarding child-care, and training as well as compulsory education of such children can be used to deal with this issue.

Conclusion

African urbanisation is on an increasingly rising curve, along with the statistics of unemployment, crime and disease. What this portends for the future of African urbanisation is that if urban policies within the region remain unchanged, future urbanisation is likely to result in similar, or far worse outcomes. Far-sighted and pro-active policies by Governments are required to ensure a scenario within which successful urbanisation and economic development in the region as an end-product is not out of place, and mass poverty, ill-health, crime, as well as political unrests resulting from disaffection, become rarities.

References

- Adebayo, A. A. (2013). Youths' unemployment and crime in Nigeria: A nexus and implications for national development. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 5(8), pp. 350-357, December.
- Agbola, T. (1987). Urban Renewal: "A Case Study of Lagos Metropolitan Area" in Urban Renewal in Nigeria, Onibokun, A. G.; Olokesusi, Femi; Egunjobi, Layi (eds), Ibadan: NISER/URP URP Series Vol. IV.
- Akiwowo, A. (1980). "Ajobi and Ajogbe: Variations on the Theme of Sociation" Inaugural Lecture University of Ife Now Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Series 46 (Ile-Ife: University Press Ltd. 10th June, 1980), pp. 18-20.
- Andresen, M. A. (2006). A spatial analysis of crime in Vancouver, British Columbia: a synthesis of social disorganization and routine activity theory. *The Canadian Geographer*, 50 (4), pp. 487-502.
- Bascom, W. R. (1969). *Ifa Divination: Communication between Gods and Man in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brockerhoff, M.P. (2000). "An Urbanizing World," *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, September 2000).
- Brooks, D. (1990). What does Sustainable Development Really Mean? IDRC Reports 18, 4, 24-25.
- Campbell Collaboration (2001). Campbell Collaboration guidelines. Retrieved 10 July, 2017. www.campbellcollaboration.org
- Collier, P. (2016). *African Urbanization: An Analytic Policy Guide*. International Growth Centre.
- _____ (2006). "Africa's Economic Growth: Opportunities and Constraints." Centre for African Studies, Department of Economics, Oxford University.
- Cripe, L., D. Curran, D. Lockett and B. Verhey (2002). Abandonment and Separation of children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Drakakis-Smith, D. (1996). "Third World Cities: Sustainable Urban Development" in *International Perspectives in Urban Studies*, Paddison, R. Money, J. and Lever, B. (eds.), London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Evenson, R.E. and D. Gollin (2003). "Assessing the Impact of the Green Revolution: 1960-2000." *Science* 300:758-62.
- Freire, M., S. Lall and D. Leipziger (2014). Africa's Urbanization: Challenges and Opportunities. J.Y. Lin and C. Monga (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, Volume 1: Context and Concepts, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Freire, M.E. (2013). "Urbanization and Green Growth in Africa." Growth Dialogue Discussion Paper. The Growth Dialogue, Washington, DC.
- Gollin, D., J. Remi and V. Dietrich (2013). "Urbanization with and without Industrialization." Working Paper 2013 290 26. Department of Economics, University of Houston.
- Hammer, A. M. and J. F. Linn (1987). "Urbanization in the Developing World: Patterns, Issues and Policies", *Hand Book of Regional and Urban Economics*, E. Mills (ed.),