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POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES RELATING TO HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

**ASPECTS OF URBAN LAND POLICIES AND OF POLICIES FOR RATIONAL URBAN PROMOTION
AND THE ELIMINATION OF UNCONTROLLED SETTLEMENTS AND SLUMS**

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Table of population distribution by subregion showing percentage of urban population a/

Subregion	Total Population	Urban population b/	Per cent
West Africa	88,278,000	10,161,000	12
North Africa	65,392,000	16,080,000	24
Eastern Africa	61,407,000	3,565,000	5
Central Africa	33,762,000	2,848,000	8
Other African countries	32,919,000	6,525,000	26

a/ According to the "Demographic Handbook for Africa" (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, June 1971), 13 per cent of the total population lived in cities of 20,000 inhabitants or more.

b/ Population of agglomerations of 2,000 inhabitants or more.

According to the United Nations Publication, Housing in Africa, 2/ (Sales No. 66.II.K.4), one sixth of the population was urbanized, half of which lived in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more.

Urban population in 1960 (share in total population in per cent) figures taken from African Housing)

	Towns with a population of 100,000 inhabitants and above	Towns with a population of 20,000 inhabitants and above
North Africa	17.9	27.4
West Africa	4.5	9.5
Central Africa	4.7	9.0
Eastern Africa	2.8	4.8
Madagascar	4.4	7.1 ^{a/}

a/ See map on urbanization in annexed material.

The same document reveals that although there were about 60 cities in Africa with a population in the vicinity of 100,000 in 1960, 13 countries had no cities this large.

Around 1960-1965 there were fewer than 500 towns in Africa with 20,000 or more inhabitants, almost half of which were in the North African subregion. The number of towns are especially high in Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, UAR, Nigeria and South Africa. About a quarter of the total number of towns have 100,000 or more inhabitants, and almost half of them have 50,000 inhabitants or more. There is, however, some lack of comparability between the data from different countries. Some refer only to the cities proper and some to the urban agglomerations. In many cases, there is no indication as to which of these is referred to by the given figure.

2/ This study covered 36 countries but did not deal with any cities with 100,000 inhabitants.

Distribution of agglomerations in Africa by size and subregion ^{a/}

Number of inhabitants in agglomeration	Number of agglomerations by subregion					Total
	North	West	Central	Eastern	Rest of Africa	
1,000,000 or more	3	-	-	-	1	4
500,000 or more	5	3	1	1	3	12
100,000 or more	37	32	9	13	15	133
50,000 or more	64	59	15	23	23	211
20,000 or more	202	124	34	57	58	475

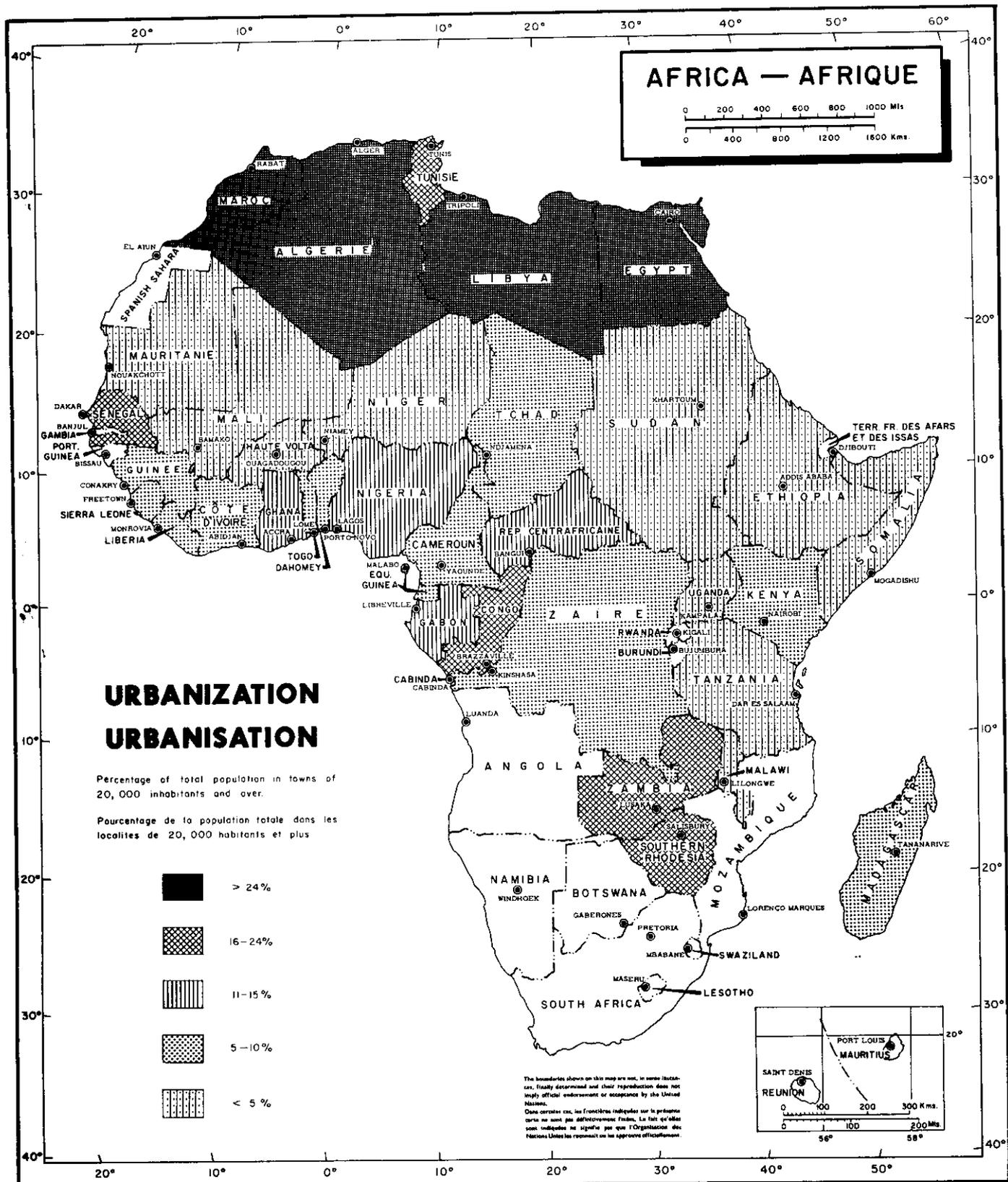
a/ See map on urbanization in annexed material.

It has been ascertained that around 1960-1965 "that it is the Northern sub-region which is the most urbanized in Africa. All the countries bordering on the Mediterranean have between 20 and 40 per cent of their populations in towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants. This is, of course, not surprising when we consider that many North African cities had been centres of trade and civilization centuries before the exploration of sub-Saharan Africa. The majority of Central and West African countries lie in the medium range, with proportions of their populations between 5 per cent and 20 per cent inhabiting the urban areas. At present the least urbanized subregion is the East; with the exception of Zambia, no sizable East African country has more than 10 per cent of its population in the towns, and even in the former, the proportion is only about 16 per cent. The remaining African countries do not form a homogeneous group, but excluding the highly urbanized South Africa, the level is generally low". ^{3/}

"In 1970, only 21 per cent of the total population of ECA member States lived in urban areas, compared to 16 per cent in 1960. Although during the intervening period, the annual urbanization rate of growth had been around 5.3 per cent, or the highest of any major region in the world, the area remained one of the least urbanized regions of the world. At the subregional level in 1970, North Africa was the most urbanized, having 35.2 per cent of its population in urban areas, followed in descending order by West Africa with 20 per cent; Central Africa with 16.5 per cent, and East Africa with only 9.7 per cent. The rate of growth was highest in Central Africa (5.7 per cent), followed by East Africa (5.4 per cent), West Africa (5.2 per cent) and North Africa (4.5 per cent). In North Africa, Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia had reached urbanization ratios above 40 per cent of the total population while Morocco had 35 per cent. Elsewhere in Africa, Mauritius had 47 per cent of its population in urban areas in 1970. Other countries with over 20 per cent of their population in urban areas were Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, Zambia and Somalia. The highest rate of growth of urbanization during 1965-1970 was around 6 per cent per annum; this rate was reached by Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Zaire and Algeria." ^{4/}

^{3/} United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Demographic Handbook for Africa, June 1971, p. 56.

^{4/} United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa," op. cit., p. 116.



AFRICA — AFRIQUE

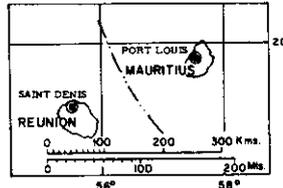
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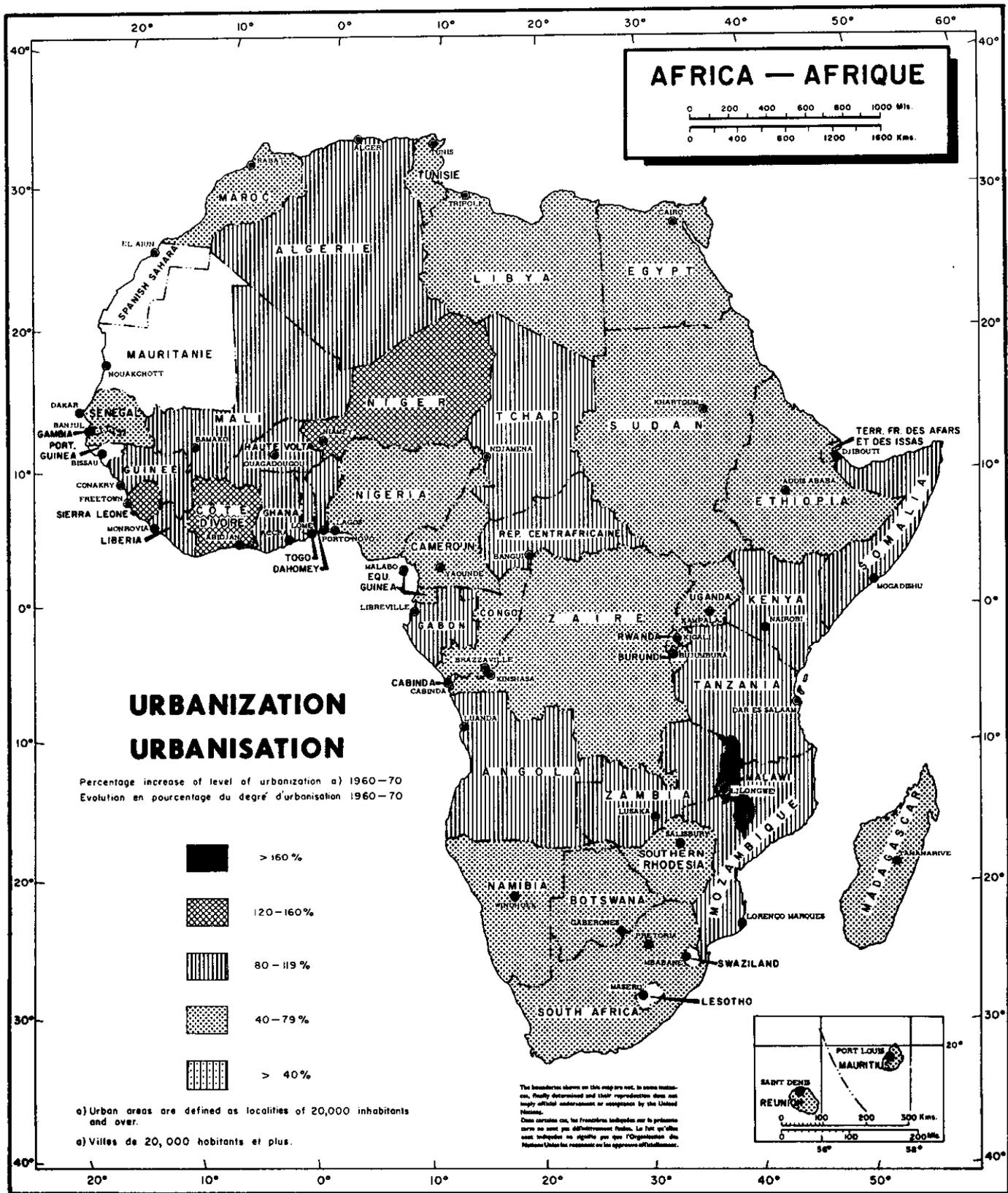
**URBANIZATION
 URBANISATION**

Percentage of total population in towns of 20,000 inhabitants and over.
 Pourcentage de la population totale dans les localites de 20,000 habitants et plus

-  > 24%
-  16-24%
-  11-15%
-  5-10%
-  < 5%

The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, finally determined and their reproduction does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
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AFRICA — AFRIQUE

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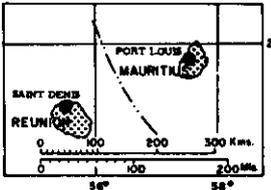
**URBANIZATION
URBANISATION**

Percentage increase of level of urbanization a) 1960-70
Evolution en pourcentage du degré d'urbanisation 1960-70

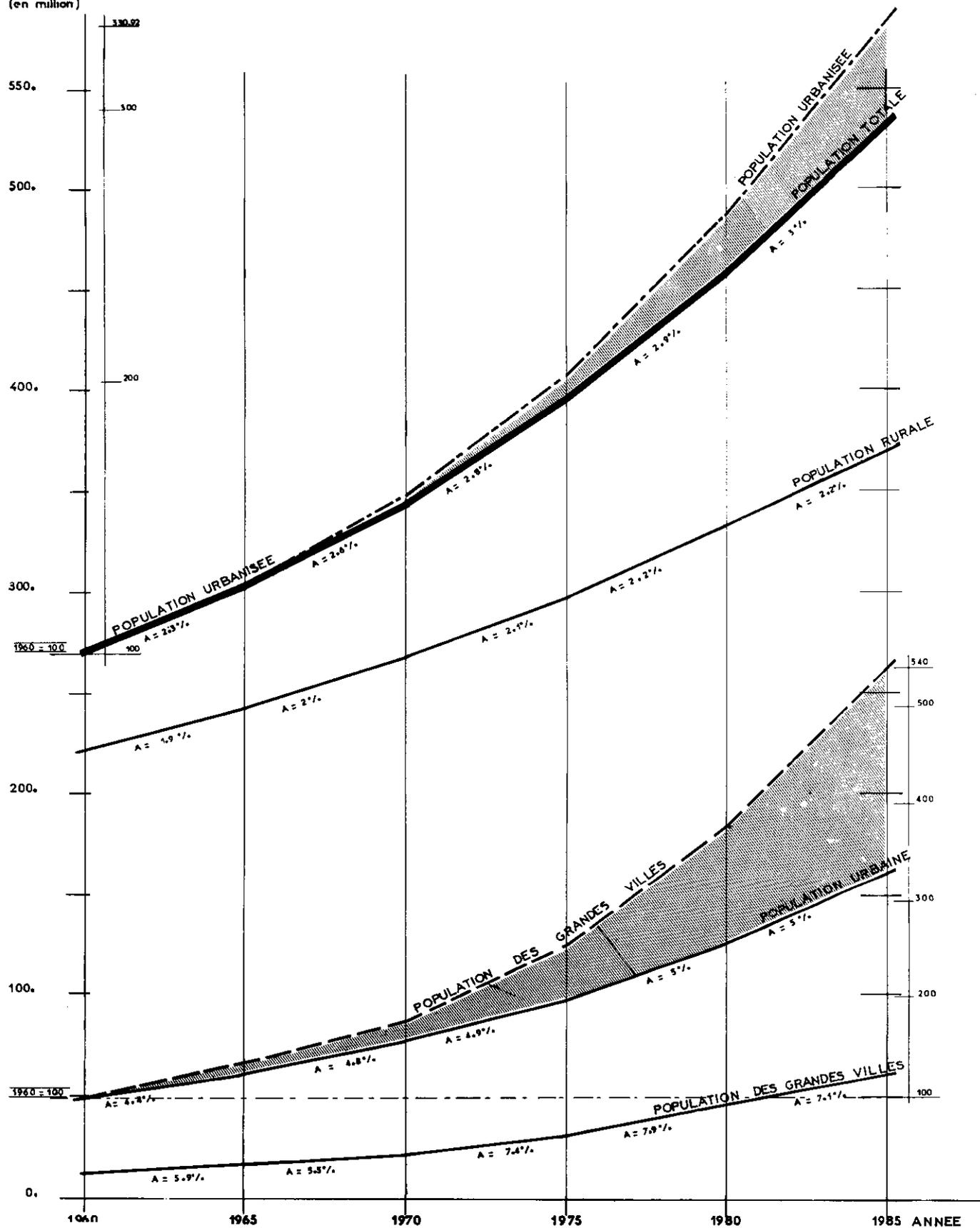
-  > 160%
-  120-160%
-  80-119%
-  40-79%
-  > 40%

a) Urban areas are defined as localities of 20,000 inhabitants and over.
a) Villes de 20,000 habitants et plus.

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POPULATION
(en million)



Accroissement comparé de la population totale et de la population urbaine de la population urbaine totale et celle des grandes villes

Sources: Recueil des statistiques de l'habitation 1971 — "L'habiter en Afrique" —

Forecasts show that with an average annual rate of growth of 5.1 per cent between 1970 and 1980, 26 per cent of the total population of the countries members of ECA will be urbanized by 1980. In all the countries of all the subregions, a higher proportion of the population will be living in urban areas by 1980.

Estimated urban population (1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980)

Subregion	Population in thousands a/			
	1965	1970	1975	1980
North Africa	20,408	25,885	32,628	41,329
West Africa	12,625	15,920	21,220	27,855
Central Africa	2,805	3,650	4,780	6,150
Eastern Africa	4,623	6,148	8,003	10,364
Rest of Africa	8,172	10,454	13,015	16,143
All Africa	48,633	62,057	79,646	101,791

Source: Population Programme Centre, ECA.

a/ Figures taken from Document E/CN.14/POP/67.

Share of urban population in total population by subregion in 1960, 1970 and 1980^{a/}

Subregion	1960	1970	1980
North Africa	24	30	35
West Africa	12	14	19
Eastern Africa	6	8	10
Central Africa	8	12	15
Rest of Africa	20	25	30
All Africa	13	17	20

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Demographic Handbook for Africa, June 1971, National publications.

a/ Figures taken from Document E/CN.14/POP/67.

Growth of the large African cities (Population in thousands)

Country	1960	1970	1980	1985
Lagos	775	1,448	2,854	4,021
Ibadan	566	740	989	1,147
Accra	400	736	1,244	1,595
Abidjan	180	424	842	1,178
Dakar	360	590	959	1,227
Addis Ababa	405	796	1,658	2,393
Nairobi	261	567	1,204	1,744
Tananarive	250	436	779	1,045

Growth of the large African cities (Cont'd)

Country	1960	1970	1980	1985
Kinshasa	500	1,134	2,295	3,266
Cairo-Giza	3,737	5,736	8,945	11,059
Alexandria	1,500	2,089	3,001	3,560
Rabat-Salé	228	463	869	1,176
Casablanca	965	1,505	2,425	3,044
Algiers	875	1,110	1,667	2,020
Tunis	581	746	1,027	1,192
Johannesburg	1,153	1,435	1,857	2,121
Cape Town	807	1,112	1,575	1,882
Durban	681	954	1,356	1,624
Pretoria	423	713	1,148	1,461

Source: United Nations Population Division, Working Paper No. 45 ("The World's Million-cities, 1950-1985").

It is stated in Housing in Africa that at the end of the period for which it is both reasonable and necessary to make forecasts and plans, that is to say, twenty years (ending in about 1980), the African urban population will probably be 2.5 times as numerous as it was when the document was published.

Urbanization in Africa between 1950 and 1980

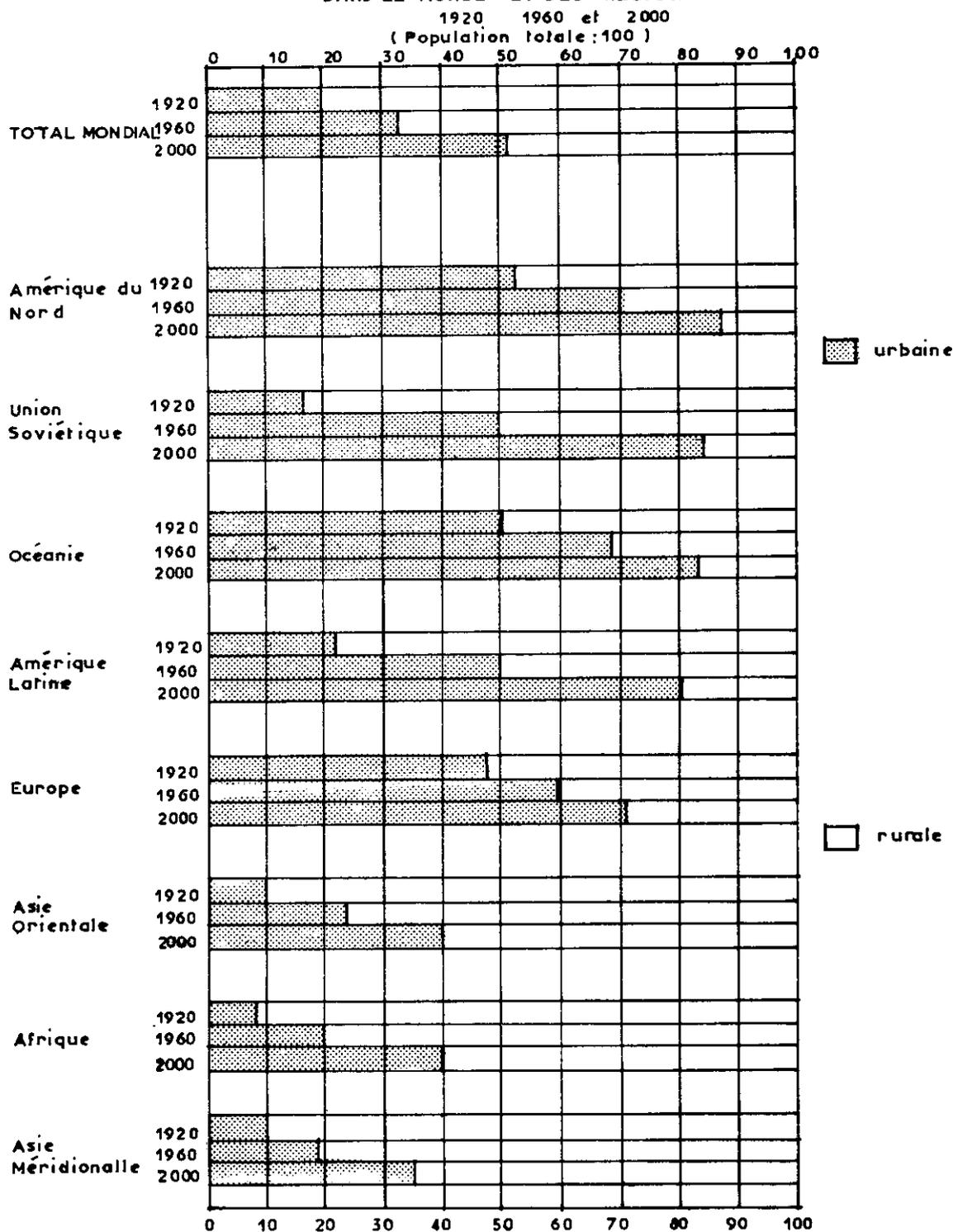
	<u>Growth of urban population</u>			<u>Share of urban population in total population (per cent)</u>		
	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980	1960	1970	1980
<u>All Africa</u>	4.7(4.8)	4.7(5.3)	5.0(5.1)	17.9(15.5)	22.2(20.8)	27.3(25.7)
North Africa	4.5	4.5	4.8	29.9	35.2	40.9
West Africa	5.2	5.2	5.4	15.3	20.0	25.7
Eastern Africa	5.3	5.4	5.6	7.3	9.7	12.7
Central Africa	7.1	5.7	5.9	11.5	16.5	23.0

Source: United Nations, Population Division, "Urban and Rural Population: Individual Countries 1950-1985 and Regions and Major Areas 1950-2000 (ESA/P/WP.33/Rev.1), 22 September 1970.

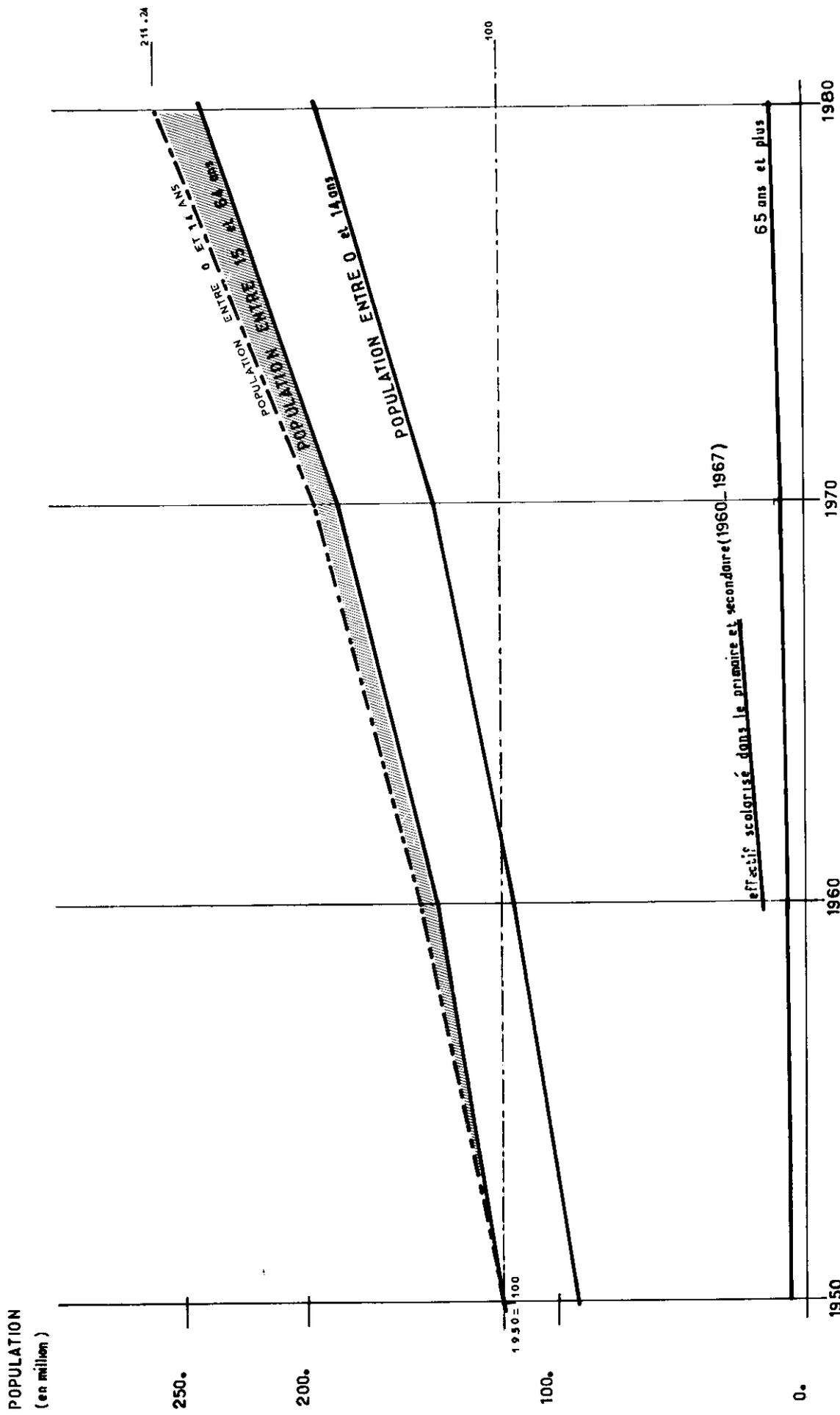
It is thought that the urban population of Africa will reach 320 million in the year 2000 whereas the estimated total population of Africa was 270 million in 1960 and 344 million in 1970. Thus, at the end of the century the urban population of Africa will be greater than the total population of the continent around 1960-1965.

"Rate of growth of urban population - Of greater significance than the actual levels of urbanization in the African countries is the rate at which these levels are rising. At present the least urbanized world region, Africa has the highest urban growth rate..... In most countries of the region the urban population is

GRAPHIQUE N° 11 - PROPORTION DES POPULATIONS URBAINE ET RURALE
DANS LE MONDE ET DES REGIONS PRINCIPALES:



EXTRAIT DU DOCUMENT: ESA/HBP/AC.5/4 LA DEMANDE DU SOL URBAIN ET SON UTILISATION



Evolution de la population des classes d'âge de 0 à 14 ans, 15 à 64 ans, 65 ans et plus —

Sources: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE, DEMOGRAPHIE ET STATISTIQUES SOCIALES, UNECA, 1970, Partie 6 -

ETUDES DES CONDITIONS ECONOMIQUES EN AFRIQUE - 1970 - Partie I -

Estimated Population in urban areas in the subregions of Africa, 1970⁵

Subregion	Total population ('000)	Urban population ('000)	Proportion (per cent)	Growth rate ^{a/} of urban population (per cent per annum)
North Africa	85,763	25,700	30.0	4.9
West Africa	111,755	15,900	14.3	4.8
Central Africa	41,591	4,600	11.1	6.0
East Africa	80,145	6,000	7.5	5.4
Other Africa	42,415	10,900	25.7	5.2
Total	361,669	63,100	17.4	5.1
Developing Africa	340,269	54,750	16.1	5.1

Source: ECA estimates.

^{a/} Fairly rough estimates based on past trends.

increasing at twice, and sometimes as much as 4 or 5 times, the rate of the total population, and in general the population in the cities is increasing faster than in the towns." ^{6/}

Growth of urbanized population - data on selected cities

Country	Urban agglomeration			City as such
Algeria ^{a/}	1960	1966	per cent	
	1,499,775	1,525,048	0.01	1960 = 1,972,198
Morocco ^{b/}				1960 = 1,972,198
				1971 = 3,181,950
				16 per cent
Egypt ^{c/}				1962 = 7,215,000
				1970 = 10,005,500
				38.6 per cent
Ghana (Accra)	1960 = 388,396	1970 = 738,498		
Ivory Coast (Abidjan)	1960 = 180,000			
	1964 = 282,000			
Senegal (Dakar)	1961 = 373,700		15.5 per cent	
	1969 = 581,000			
Cameroon (Douala)	1962 = 187,000		13.35 per cent	
	1970 = 250,000			
Kenya (Nairobi)	1962 = 314,760		17 per cent	
	1970 = 535,200			

^{a/} Algeria: Combined urban agglomerations of Algiers, Constantine and Oran.

^{b/} Morocco: Cities of Casablanca, Fez, Marrakech, Meknes, Oujda, Rabat, Tangier and Tetouan taken together.

^{c/} Egypt: Cities of Alexandria, Asyut, Cairo, Damauhur, El Mahallad, Rubra, Faiyum, Goza, Isurailia, Mausura, Minya, Port Said, Suez, Tanta and Zaguzig taken together.

^{5/} Survey of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1970, Part I (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.II.K.9), Table 10.2, p.156.

^{6/} United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Demographic Handbook for Africa, op. cit., p. 60.

To supplement the information contained in this table of population growth, two important aspects of the demographic problem on the continent should be noted; i.e., the composition of age groups and the forecasts for their growth and the employment problem arising therefrom.

The distribution of the population by age group is as follows (in thousands)

Total population	(a) 0-14	(b) 15-64	(c) 65+	(a)+(c)	(a)+(b)
					in total Per cent
1950	221,535	92,591	122,655	6,289	98,880 44.63
1960	272,877	117,560	148,003	7,314	124,874 45.76
1970	345,971	149,425	187,118	9,428	158,853 45.91
1980	448,871	195,592	240,611	12,668	208,260 46.39
					Share of active population (b) in total per cent
1950					55.36
1960					54.23
1970					54.08
1980					53.60

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Statistical Yearbook 1970, Part 6, Demography and Social Statistics.

Projections of population aged 5-14 for subregions in Africa between 1965 and 1985 (population in '000) (United Nations medium variant projection) 7/

Subregion	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
North Africa	9,952	11,704	13,850	16,516	19,674
West Africa	11,609	13,247	15,169	17,640	20,870
Central Africa	3,973	4,405	5,003	5,835	6,822
East Africa	11,122	12,646	14,573	17,020	20,020

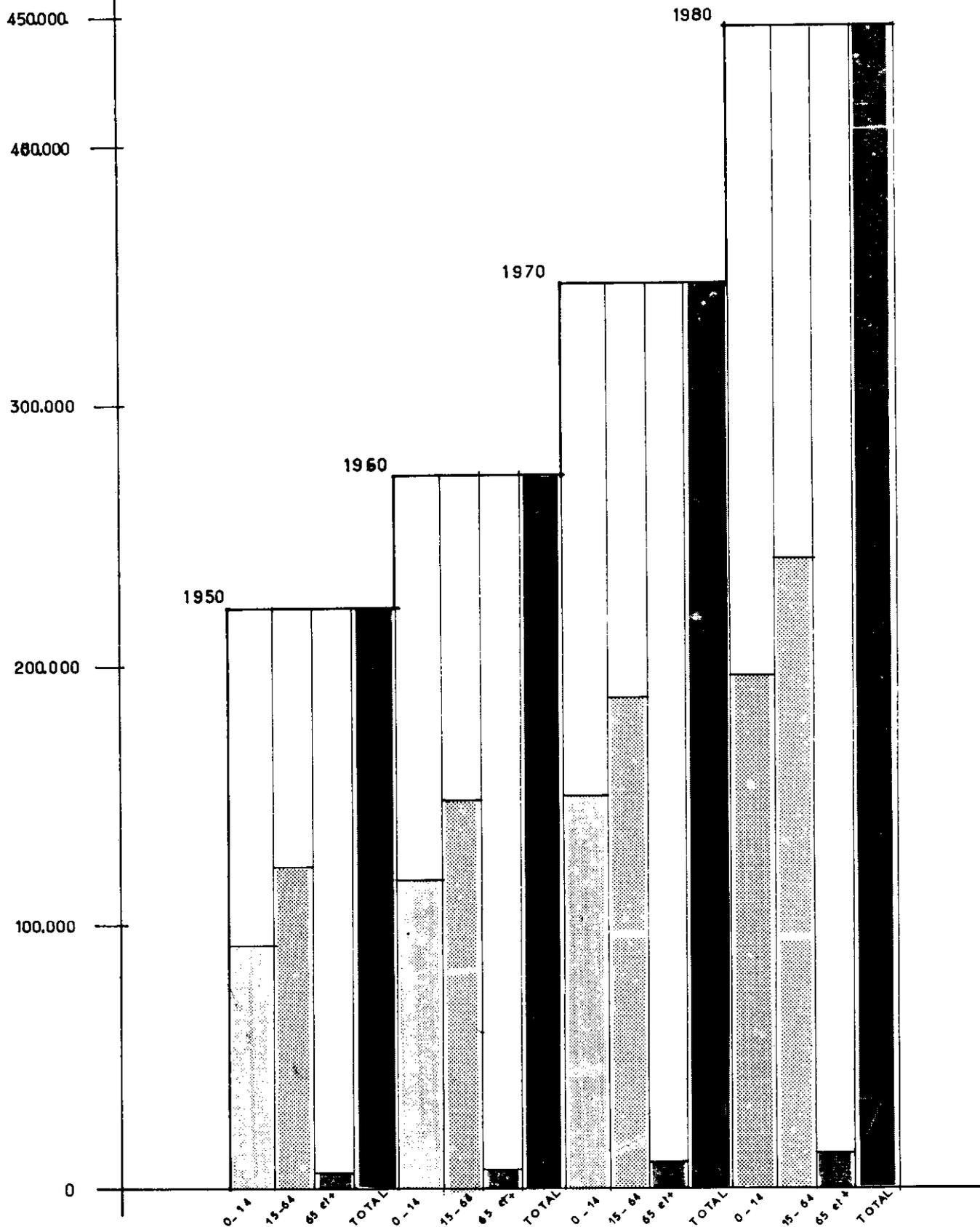
Source: United Nations, World Population Prospects, 1965-1985 As Assessed in 1968, Population Division, Working Paper No. 30, December 1969.

Share of each age group in total population, 1965 to 1985

Year	Percentage			
	0-5	5-14	15-64	65 & over
1965	17.7	25.8	53.7	2.8
1985	15.8	26.9	52.0	3.0

7/ Document E/CN.14/POP/46.

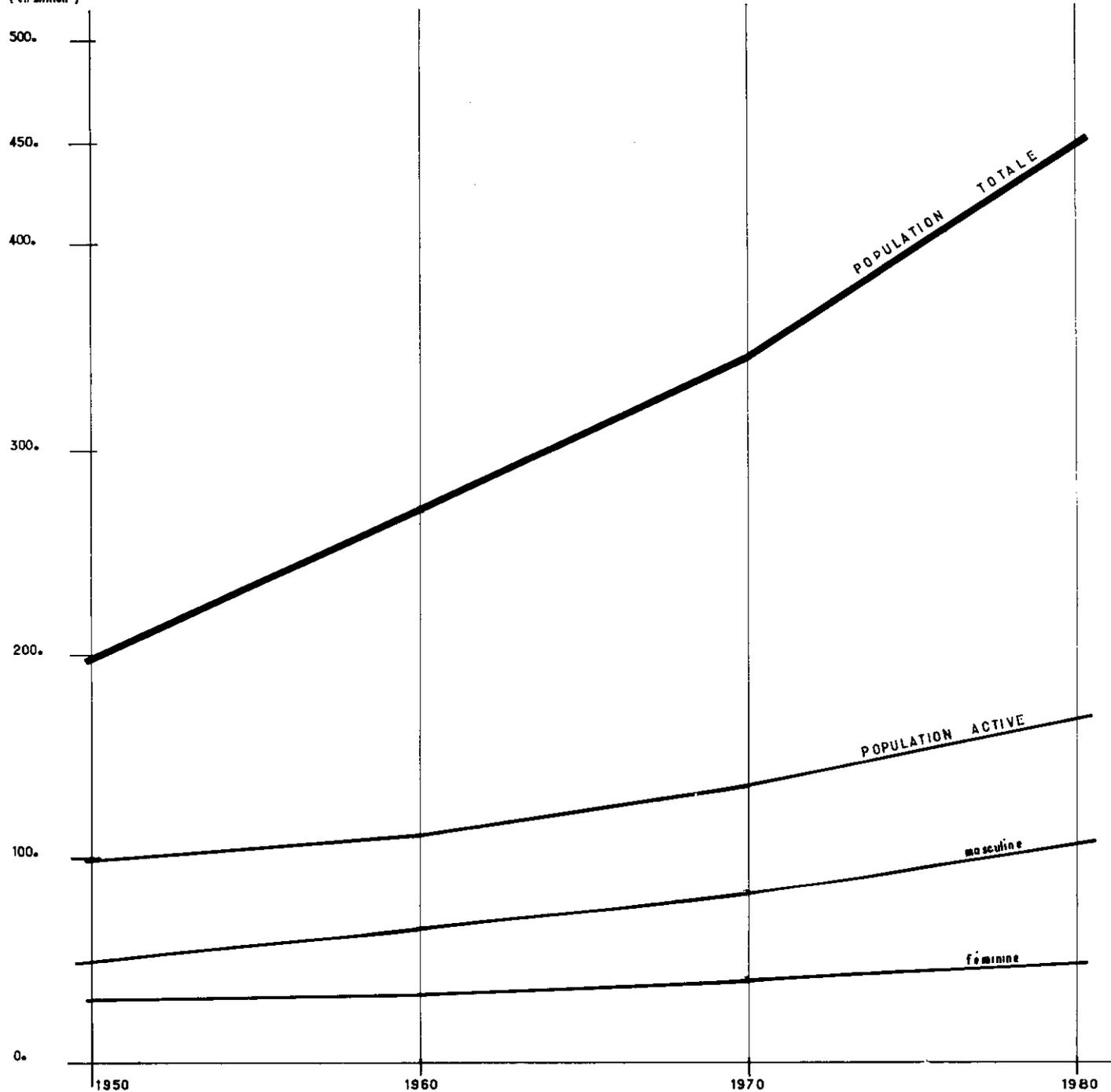
POPULATION
(en millier)



GROUPES D'AGE

Source: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DEMOGRAPHIE ET STATISTIQUES SOCIALES 1970 Partie 6 U.N.E.C.A. —

POPULATION
(en million)



Accroissement de la population totale et de la population active.

Sources: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DEMOGRAPHIE ET STATISTIQUES SOCIALES 1970 — RAPPORT SUR LA SITUATION SOCIALE DANS LE MONDE 1970 - NATIONS UNIES

Age structure of Africa's population by subregion, 1970^{8/}

Subregion unweighted averages a/	Age groups			
	Under 15	15 to 44 (in per cent)	45 to 59	60 and over
North Africa	45.2	41.2	8.8	4.8
West Africa	43.1	43.2	9.1	4.6
Central Africa	42.0	42.6	10.2	5.2
East Africa	44.0	42.3	9.0	4.7
Other Africa	41.8	43.3	9.9	5.0
Total	43.3	42.8	9.3	4.6

a/ Unweighted averages of countries covered in subregion.

It will be noted that in 1967 the 15 to 44 age group was in many cases 4 or 5 times larger than the 45 to 59 age group. ^{9/}

Moreover, by comparing the number of individuals in each age group, it can be seen that in 1967 the 0-14 group and the 60 and over group taken together represented 50 per cent of the population in 15 countries, that in 37 countries 40 per cent of the population was less than 14 years old and that during the period 1965-1970 the African population between the ages of 15 and 64 rose from 114 million to almost 127 million, or by an average annual rate of 2.1 per cent. This rate, which is quite a bit lower than the rate of growth of the total population of Africa, is bound to accelerate significantly in the years to come ^{10/}, causing a greater need for housing, employment and certain social facilities, such as schools and educational equipment.

Where the problem of employment is concerned, the study of trends in the composition of age groups is of interest and provides an indication of the importance of this problem now and in the near future both in general and in relation to African human settlements. Moreover, the following table, which was derived from estimates contained in the 1970 Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.IV.13), shows what the employment situation in Africa will be between now and 1980.

Africa	1950	1960	1970	1980
Total population (in thousands)	221,535	272,877	345,921	448,871
Active population (in thousands)	98,499	112,124	136,348	168,338
Rate of activity (percentage)	44.5	41.1	39.4	37.5
Total male population between 15 and 64 (in thousands)	51,900	68,300	85,300	108,300
Total female population between 15 and 64 (in thousands)	31,800	34,700	41,300	50,000

^{8/} Survey of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1970, *op. cit.*, Table 10.3, p. 158.

^{9/} United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, African Economic Indicators, 1968.

^{10/} Document E/CN.14/POP/46.

Employment policy analysis lies more in the domain of economic policy studies and analyses; however, in addition to showing the share of activities related to construction and to the provision of facilities and infrastructure in the gross domestic product, a study of policies and programmes related to auxiliary equipment for the production sector provides some indication as to the effort being made to integrate a human settlements component into economic development projects and to adopt it to them.

A comparison between GDP growth indices and "construction and other services" indices on one hand and indices of total population growth and urban population growth on the other gives some idea as to the extent of this effort. However, since conditions in individual countries are so dissimilar, such regional analyses can provide only a general indication of the overall situation and should be supplemented by country case studies. From the data available at present, it would appear that the capital-inhabitant ratio is increasing while the rate of investment remains constant. The volume of resources invested also remains fairly constant.

Finally, a study of population growth shows that the rate of growth in urban areas is relatively rapid. It is interesting to note that it has been estimated that in 1980 the total population will be 456,700,000, of which the rural population will be 331,400,000 and the urban population, 125,300,000. In other words, the urban population will account for about 38 per cent of the population. Of the urban population there will be 45,900,000 people, or 37 per cent of the total population and 10 to 11 per cent of the urban population, living in large urban agglomerations or cities of 500,000 or more inhabitants.

Population projects and estimated annual rate of population growth for total, rural, urban and city (localities with 500,000 inhabitants or more) population*

Population in millions
Annual rates of growth in per cent

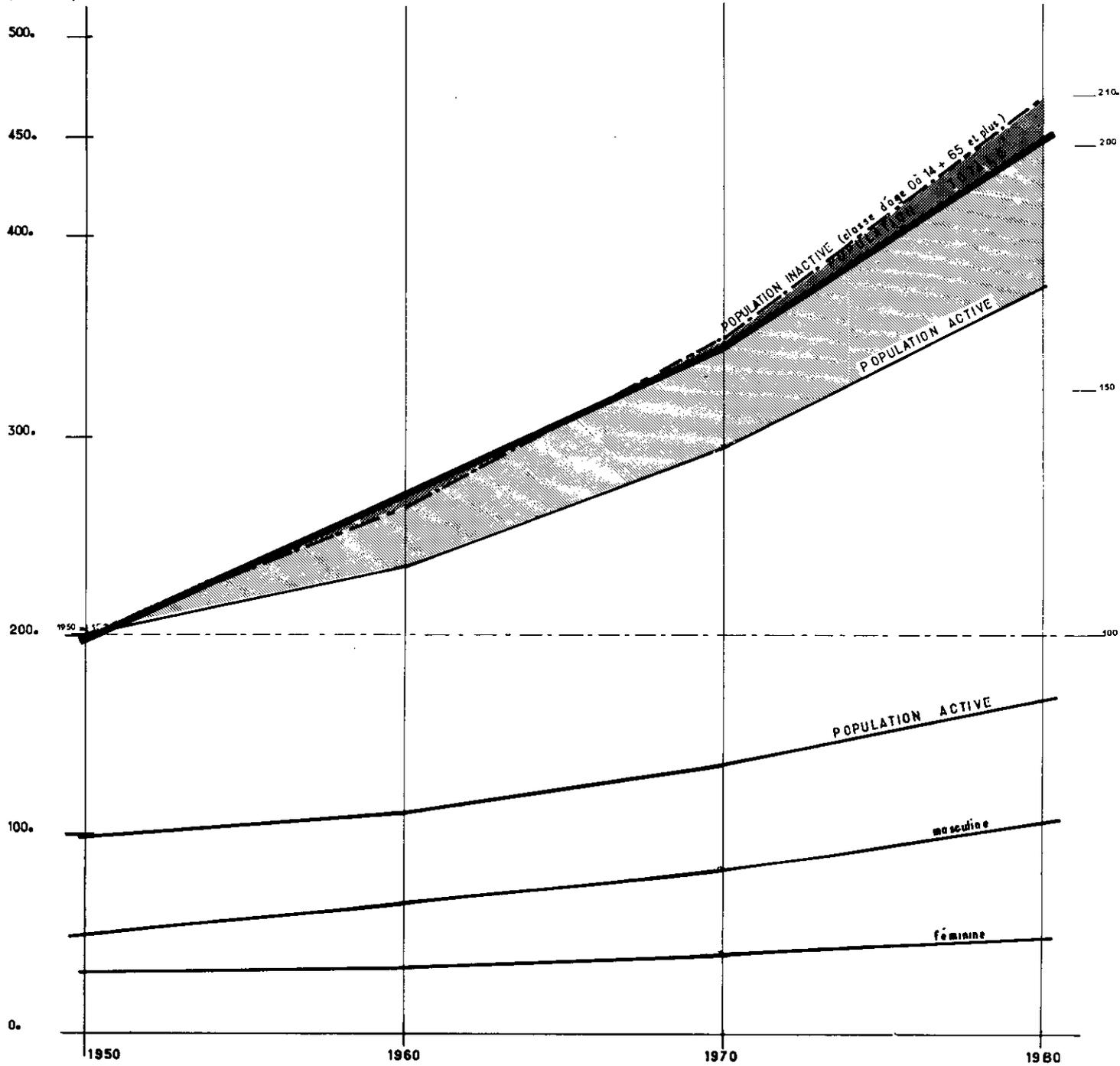
Africa	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Total population	269.6	303.1	344.5	395.3	456.7	530.2
Annual rate of growth	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9
Rural population a/	221.1	242.8	267.8	297.4	331.4	369.7
Annual rate of growth	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2
Urban population b/	48.5	60.4	76.7	97.8	125.3	160.5
Annual rate of growth	4.4	4.8	4.9	5.0	5.0	5.0
City population c/	12.1	16.3	21.4	31.0	45.9	65.4
Annual rate of growth	5.9	5.5	7.4	7.9	7.1	7.1

Source: Compendium of Housing Statistics, 1971, (United Nations publication, Sales No. 73. XVII.4).

- a/ Calculated by subtracting the urban from the total population.
- b/ According to definitions adopted by various countries in recent census.
- c/ Figures related to the population of urban agglomerations rather than to that of cities as such.

* (Kinsley Davis and other experts consider a country to be highly urbanized when at least 25 per cent of its inhabitants live in agglomerations of 20,000 inhabitants or more and 15 per cent live in agglomerations of 100,000 or more.)

POPULATION
(en millions)



Accroissement comparé entre population totale, population active et celles de 0 à 14 ans et 65 ans et plus, additionnées _

Sources: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DEMOGRAPHIQUE ET STATISTIQUES SOCIALES 1970 — RAPPORT SUR LA SITUATION SOCIALE DANS LE MONDE 1970 — NATIONS UNIES.

Although these statistics are based on estimates and an accurate evaluation cannot, therefore, be drawn from them, it seems permissible to think that the principal mark of urban demographic explosion is not necessarily an increase in the number of towns. In fact, an appraisal of the situation leads to the conclusion that the number of towns did not increase between 1960 and 1970 and that the population of some towns and market villages far from the large centres and capitals declined somewhat, particularly where young people were concerned. 11/

This "urban demographic explosion" is characterized by a faster increase of population in some towns, especially capitals. What it seems to amount to is not an explosion of new towns but a spreading of some towns in varying degrees accompanied by the depopulation of some geographical areas. This is known as the "impact of population migration", and its chief aspects are worth looking at in detail with a view to discovering the motivations for it. The reasons why some towns exercise such an attraction may appear obvious; however, as no recent regional studies on the phenomenon are available to us, we shall confine ourselves to noting its existence.

However, as is stated in Document E/CN.14/POP/67, "it is generally accepted that the growth of African urban areas ... owes more to migration than to natural increase". Unfortunately data on internal migration do not permit, either by their quantity or quality, an analysis commensurate to the magnitude of the problem. Moreover, in speaking of the "myth" of rural development as a factor in reducing migration, the author of a document on planning sites and services programmes published by the Agency for International Development in Washington, says that it is to some extent true that rural development is the corner stone of the development strategy of many developing countries.

Successful attempts at rural development are important for many reasons, including the development of exports and the establishment of an internal rural market for urban goods and products. However, the difference between rural and urban income is too great to be reduced by no other device than a rural development strategy.

There are three main migratory flows in Africa, each of which affects the countries of the region differently. First there is the flow of workers seeking employment in developed countries outside of the continent. It affects the urban centres more specifically perhaps, at least in so far as they are places of transit and departure. The second is the intra-African flow, which is seasonal in many cases and particularly affects border areas. This type of migration has been taking place for many generations and in some cases is, or was, of an official nature (the hiring of Mossi labourers to work on coffee or cocoa plantations in Ghana or the Ivory Coast). But the flow which should concern us the most is the rural-urban flow within individual countries. Several studies have been carried out or are under way on this type of migration, including one on the African population mobility project published by the journal of the University of Liverpool Department of Geography. This is a detailed study carried out in Uganda by A.D. Goddard and W.T.S. Gould around 1973.

Human settlements policies and programmes in the region during the period 1960-1973

Thus, the overall situation during the period under review is characterized by a substantial demographic increase, population movements towards large towns, an increase in the share of the non-active population in the total population and a high level of unemployment, especially in the towns.

11/ It should be noted here that, except for the North African subregion, such a degree of urbanization of populations is a new sociological phenomenon in Africa.

Faced with this situation and its economic and political as well as social consequences, Governments took steps to solve the problem or at least to keep matters from growing worse.

Although each country has its own particular problems, a certain similarity of approach is emerging, in which effort is channelled in three main directions, as follows:

- (a) Housing policy;
 - (i) Established standards;
 - (ii) Housing programmes;
- (b) Equipment and infrastructure policy;
- (c) Financial policies.

Because statistical data were in short supply and it was impossible to ascertain the needs and make a detailed analysis of the resources available, most Governments concentrated their efforts where the pressure was the greatest, i.e., mainly in the cities, with a view to closing the housing gap and combatting the spread of improvised districts and shanty-towns. Faced with the difficulty of obtaining a comprehensive picture of the housing situation and knowing how to resolve it, many countries were compelled to embark simultaneously on measures to tackle the problem and on studies aimed at comprehending its nature and scope. For example, since few data were available for purposes of obtaining an overall view of the needs and establishing standards for meeting those needs and the demand for housing with the resources available, many Governments decided to define standards both for housing and for equipping and laying a minimum infrastructure for urban districts on a conventional basis.

A detailed study of the different approaches taken by countries in their housing policy in the early 1960s will not be made here. The difficulties encountered and the attitudes generally adopted have already been described in the document Housing in Africa.

Financial policies will be dealt with in the discussion on financing later in this paper.

The urban housing problem

The housing problem in the human settlements of Africa at the beginning of the 1960s was described as follows in the introduction to Housing in Africa: "The housing situation in most African countries is characterized qualitatively and quantitatively by an utter inadequacy for which demographic and also socio-economic factors are responsible."

Many monographs on towns or urban districts, population and housing surveys, sample surveys on household budgets and studies of urban geography confirm the impression gained by anyone who does any travelling in Africa. 12/

12/ Robert Descloitres, Jean-Claude Reverdy and Claudine Descloitres, L'Algérie des bidonvilles (Paris and the Hague, Mouton, 1961).

In 1960, when the human settlements situation was serious and the rural exodus was gathering force, authorities were mainly concerned with finding the means to launch operations to (1) relieve congestion in existing housing; (2) improve or provide a minimum amount of sanitary and social facilities in improvised districts; and (3) equip districts with educational facilities.

According to their needs and the resources available to them, many countries established standards as to the number of occupants permissible. In general, this varied between 5 persons per urban household or dwelling and 6 persons per rural household or dwelling, and estimates were also made as to the number of persons permissible per room.

Standards of occupancy vary from one country to another. It is generally recognized that each household that so desires is entitled to a separate dwelling. The calculation of overcrowding in the UAR was made on this basis: the number of households (1.9 million) was ascertained by fixing the average size of a household in an urban environment of 5 persons; the deficit (200,000 dwellings) was arrived at by comparison with the total number of dwellings (1.7 million). Two recent estimates made in Algeria, one by the Directorate of Planning and one by the Directorate of Reconstruction and Town Planning, utilize a similar system, the former adopting a standard figure of 4 persons per urban household and 5 persons per rural household, the other assuming 5 and 6 respectively. In Libya the ratio of households to dwelling was noted to be 1.42; it has been agreed that it should not exceed 1.20.

In other countries, in Zambia for example, where data of size of households were lacking, it was assumed that the number of households was equal to the number of dwellings and attention was drawn to the ratio of persons to rooms. Even when data on the size of households are available, measurements are often made of overcrowding and standards per room laid down.

In Zambia, a dwelling is considered to be overcrowded if it has more than two persons per room. In a survey made at Oran, (Algeria) before independence, overcrowding was also considered to begin at the level of more than two persons per room, but it was considered as temporarily acceptable if the actual number of inhabitants was only one more than the standard figure (5 persons to 2 rooms, 7 to 3 rooms, etc.) and as critical, above that level (6 persons to 2 rooms, 8 persons to 3 rooms, etc.). In the UAR the following standards are envisaged for the second five-year plan:

	Economic dwellings	Average dwellings
Households of 1 - 3 persons	2 rooms	3 rooms
Households of 4 - 6 persons	3 rooms	4 rooms
Households of more than 7 persons	4 rooms	5 rooms

In Ghana where the present occupancy rate is 20 persons per house, 13/ in the three principal towns the objective formulated is to reduce this level to 10 persons per house.

13/ The Ghanaian concept of a house is extensive. According to the target standard a house should hold 10 people, or 3 "economic" households (socio-economic surveys show that, in the large towns, there are on the average 3 incomes for every 10 persons), or 2 natural families. Though the 1960 census data are not comparable with those for 1948; the following figures show that the high occupancy rate per house is slightly attenuated (though still very high) if the number of rooms is taken into account:

"These few examples show that there could scarcely be an average African standard; its determination depends on climatic conditions, habits of life, the size of the family, even on a political decision reflecting economic or financial exigencies. It will further be noted that, once overcrowding has been defined, the objective needs resulting from it may be satisfied either in full, partially, or not at all."

"The notions of temporarily acceptable overcrowding (not requiring immediate action) and critical overcrowding (which should be eliminated as a priority) may help in plotting out the successive stages of the programme; but this question has other implications, which will be considered below." 14/

Year	Persons per house		Persons per room	Rooms per house
	1948	1960	1948	1948
Accra	14.2	18.4	2.6	5.5
Kumasi	19.2	21.3	2.5	7.7
Sekondi-Takoradi	13.6	17.8	2.3	5.9

However, from the analysis of documents submitted by 29 countries in Housing in Africa, we see that faced with low financial allocations, the paucity of funds available to the beneficiaries and users of present and future housing, the pressure of urgency and the many needs and the great number of services working in the construction, public works and housing sectors (a legacy from the past), some countries have tended to focus their action on the construction of housing, independently of the equipment related to housing, which is of particular importance in the urban context.

However, in most countries the development of housing is considered to be, in the main, the task of the private sector.

In evaluating the results of the policies and programmes conducted during this period, no comparison can be set up between demographic growth and data on the number of dwellings built. The graph prepared on the basis of the index of growth of these two factors and included in the annexed material is presented merely by way of indication. It has been calculated on the basis of data for 1960, which has been indexed at 100. It shows the effort made by Governments with regard to construction in general. It appears that the relative number of investments, especially public investments, has increased. A study of national reports might clarify the situation in the case of some of those countries which have submitted detailed national accounts.

All in all, despite the efforts made, it is now estimated that about 10 dwellings for every 1,000 Africans should be built each year in Africa if the needs are to be met but that there is little likelihood that more than 2 dwellings for every 1,000 inhabitants can in fact be constructed each year in Africa as a whole. Moreover, many countries are tending more and more towards lots or plots of land which are provided with drainage and other facilities.

In Senegal this policy consists in acquiring building sites or urban plots, and providing them with infrastructure, services and space earmarked for businesses, small industries and cottage industries. By observing a minimum number of rules,

14/ Housing in Africa, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

residents can obtain permission to build using their own resources. This policy is reflected in the project carried out in Pikine (a suburb of Dakar) involving plots equipped with drainage. Four thousand such lots are being provided in an area of about 120 hectares. The project was designed for households of nine or ten persons. The infrastructure comprises, unpaved streets, water points and public sanitary facilities including toilets and baths. Stations for garbage disposal have also been provided. This complex is designed for 100 families, or a minimum of 1,000 persons.

The land is owned and will continue to be owned by the Government. The land has been developed with the help of the army engineers.

In Zambia three projects have been carried out: New Kanyama, Marrapodi-Mandevu and Chainama Hills.

New Kanyama was begun in 1963, and since it was intended for temporary occupation, the land was equipped with a minimum number of services and facilities. In response to pressure exerted by the people concerned, the Government will improve the facilities and grant permanent permission to use the land.

The Marrapodi-Mandevu project was designed to improve an existing district which had mushroomed.

Chainama Hills consists of 3,000 lots about 13 kilometres from the centre of town. The residents must dig their own septic ditch. Although the project was well under way, it was stopped for a number of reasons.

In Morocco plots are usually equipped in stages; i.e., the Government enters into a contract with the owner of a lot under which it promises to complete the infrastructure within 10 years and the owner undertakes to make regular payments in a fixed amount over a specified period of time. As far as is known, no such project has as yet been embarked upon. Kenya was planning a large sites and services programme for 1974 as part of a 5-year plan to construct 25,000; however, it seems very unlikely that this programme can be set up. 15/

The problem of equipment and infrastructures

Equipment in urban areas

The problem of housing in urban areas is not solved by the dictum "one dwelling for each household. The concentration of people in urban areas means that the land is so densely settled that it is essential to proceed systematically to establish a certain amount of facilities related to housing with a view to ensuring the maintenance of a minimum standard of living. This would include sanitary facilities, facilities for meeting the daily needs of families, such as schools, businesses and religious institutions, and equipment for public administration and management.

Most African countries inherited facilities established before independence; but in many cases these facilities were inadequate, and in the meantime new needs have arisen. Statistical data show the efforts made by Governments during the decade 1960-1970 and in the early 1970s to provide their human settlements with vital equipment.

15/ United States Agency for International Development, Planning Sites and Services Programmes (Washington) (Ideas and Methods Exchange No. 68).

A graph annexed to this document shows the increasing investment effort made during the period under consideration. Since it covers investment in construction as a whole, it does not distinguish among individual types of building and construction. Although few countries have included the construction of dwellings among their activities in the public sector, most have emphasized education and health. In the region as a whole provision is made for large allocations to the development of education and of health services, but priority will undoubtedly be given to education in all the countries studied. Most new students will probably come under the primary education sector. It is estimated that there will be about 4,487,000 new enrolments at all levels at a cost of US\$1,164,000,000. Nevertheless, even after the investments anticipated have been made, primary school enrolments in some of the countries covered in the table will still be low. 16/

Planned education enrolments by standard of education

Country	Primary enrolments		Enrolment rate a/ (Per cent)	Secondary enrolments		Higher enrolments End plan (thousands)
	Start plan (thousands)	End plan (thousands)		Start plan (thousands)	End plan (thousands)	
Algeria	1,758	2,622	76	183	445	27
Sudan	698	1,195	45 ^{d/}	85	135	16
Ethiopia	452	792	20 ^{d/}	71	118	5
Kenya	1,282	1,800	75	115	135	4
Tanzania ^{c/}	851	1,140	52	30	35	2
Senegal	222	263	45 ^{d/}	30	40	...
Nigeria	3,300 ^{b/}	4,800 ^{d/}	40 ^{d/}	240 ^{a/}	340 ^{a/}	15

^{a/} Planned.

^{b/} Approximate.

^{c/} Mainland only.

^{d/} Rough estimate only.

Vocational education and training have expanded rapidly. The rate of enrolment rose considerably during the 1960s and continued to rise in the early 1970s. By 1970 about half of the countries members of ECA had achieved an enrolment rate of 50 per cent; however, the rate of enrolment continued to be low in a number of the larger countries on the continent even though almost all African countries devoted a high proportion of their budget - ranging from 12 to 20 per cent - to education during the period 1960-1970. 17/

Even though the amount invested in school facilities cannot be assessed on the basis of this information, it gives us some idea of the situation and of the direction in which it is evolving in the light of the increase in rates of enrolment since 1960. Considering that the average age of primary school pupils is 5 to 14 years, while the average age of secondary school students is 15 to 19 years and that the 5-14 year age group represented about 30 per cent of the total population of

^{16/} United Nations, Survey of Economic Conditions in Africa, 1970, op. cit., p. 221, Table 12.9.

^{17/} Document E/CN.14/632/Part I.

Government recurrent expenditure on education and health services in developing African countries 1970 and 1973 18/

Country	Proportion of total expenditure (per cent)				Increase in total current expenditure
	Education		Health		1970 to 1973 (in per cent per annum)
	1970	1973	1970	1973	
<u>North Africa</u>					
Algeria	28	26	6	7	12.9
Libyan Arab Republic	19	22	8	10	9.6
Morocco	22	23	8	6	13.3
Sudan	7	10	6	5	10.5
Tunisia	32	32	9	10	6.0
<u>West Africa</u>					
Gambia	13	15	9	10	1.9
Ghana	16	23	8	8	16.4
Ivory Coast	21	25	11	10	13.5
Mali	20	...	12	...	11.4
Niger	13	15	9	8	7.9
Senegal	...	19	...	9	5.9
Sierra Leone	21	24	8	9	9.2
Upper Volta	17	18	9	9	7.8
<u>Central Africa</u>					
Burundi	28	24	7 _{b/}	8 _{b/}	7.9
Zaire	25	23	2 _{b/}	2 _{b/}	...
<u>East Africa</u>					
Botswana	7	8	7	7	31.9
Ethiopia	15	20	6	6	7.5
Kenya	24	26	6	7	12.8
Lesotho	20	21	7	8	4.0
Madagascar	...	13	...	6	13.1
Malawi	17	17	7	6	7.8
Mauritius	15	17	10	12	17.0
Somalia	7	6 ^{a/}	8	8 ^{a/}	8.6
Swaziland	19	22	8	9	16.5
Uganda	21	24	9	7	5.3
Zambia	17	17	8	8	12.7

Source: Data supplied by the ECA Statistics Division, based on country publications.

a/ 1972.

b/ Probably incomplete.

18/ Document E/CN.14/632/Part I, p. 122.

developing Africa, it may be concluded that in 37 of the 42 countries which were independent at the time these figures were collected, fewer than 50 per cent of the children in the relevant age group attended primary school. In 27 countries fewer than one-third of the children attended primary school and in 10 countries primary school attendance was lower than one-sixth. These figures are obviously relevant to the present supply of high-level manpower since the school system must be widely utilized if such manpower is to be available in adequate numbers. They also reveal the order of priority which should be adopted where education is concerned.

By looking at the share of the total population represented in the various age groups, it will be noted that, with the possible exception of Mauritius and Réunion, none of the countries under consideration was providing secondary education for as much as 50 per cent of its population in 1964. In fact in 39 countries fewer than 25 per cent of the young people in the appropriate age group attended secondary school; in 34 countries fewer than 10 per cent, and in 28 countries fewer than 5 per cent. ^{19/}

In the field of health, there is need to increase the total number of hospital beds by about 20,000, but the total investment in health services of \$340 million includes credits intended to develop dispensaries, training facilities and, preventive medicine services and for similar projects.

Development of education and health services^{20/}

Country	Primary and secondary education		Health	
	Investment (million US\$)	Additional enrolments	Investment (million US\$)	Additional hospital beds
Algeria	551	1,142,000	63	6,000
Sudan	63	551,000	24	2,300
Ethiopia	43	289,000	16	1,000
Kenya	46	550,000 ^{a/}	41	2,000
Tanzania	42	300,000 ^{a/}	14	1,000 ^{c/}
Senegal	32	55,000 ^{a/}	11	1,370 ^{b/}
Nigeria	389	1,600,000 ^{c/}	151	7,000 ^{c/}

^{a/} Approximate figure.

^{b/} Includes 1,100 beds in 3 hospitals started in the previous plan period.

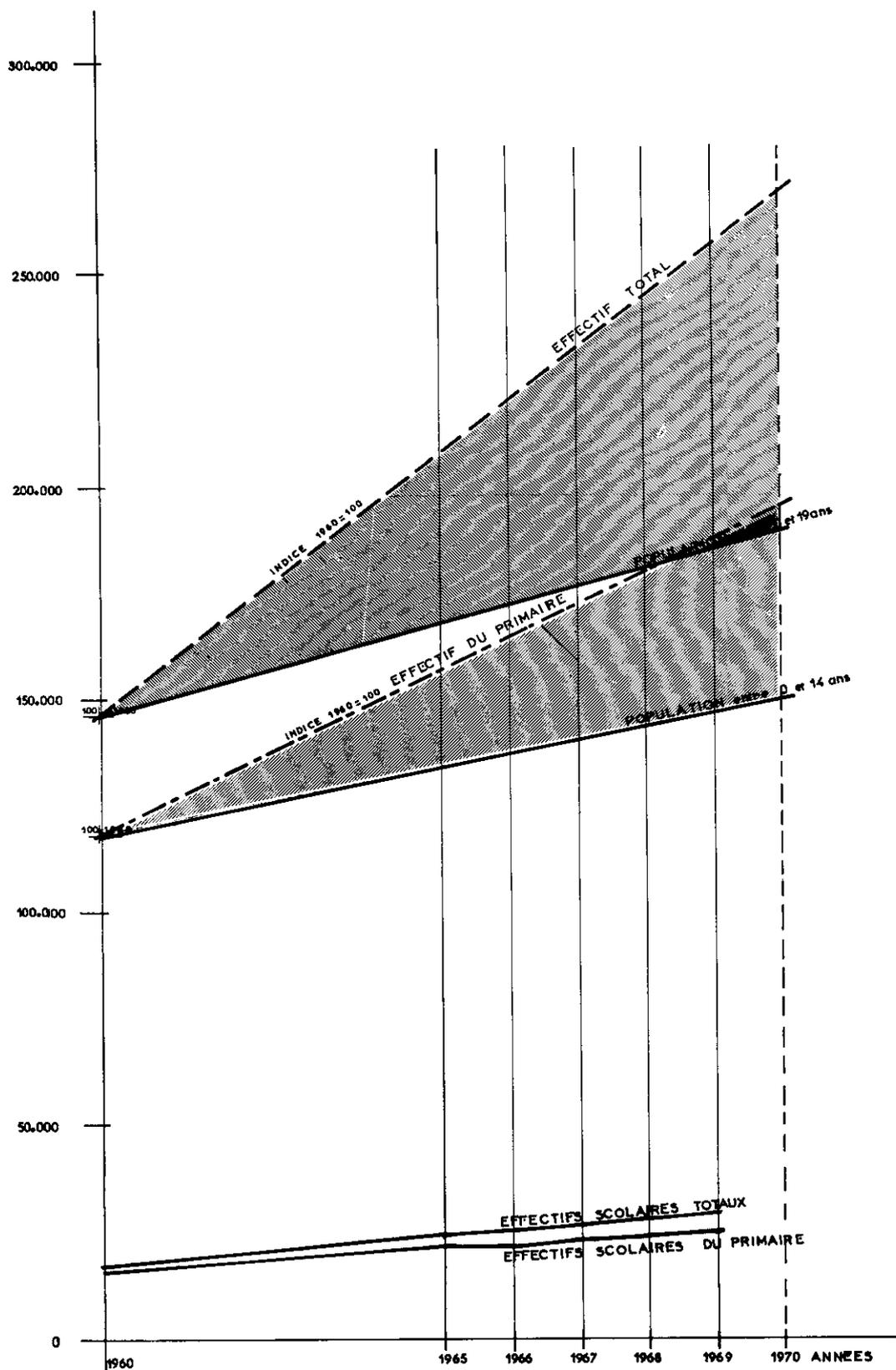
^{c/} Rough estimate only.

So far the development of infrastructure, transport and communications and electricity and water has depended on the needs of the economy and on its capacity to bear the cost of developing them. As a general rule even though the countries have attempted to improve their road and communications infrastructure, no thought has been given to the way in which such improvements affect life in existing human settlements. It is therefore impossible to describe the impact made by investments in communications infrastructures on the development of human settlements in Africa or on life in them during the period 1960-1963.

^{19/} Economic Commission for Africa, African Economic Indicators, op. cit.

^{20/} United Nations, Survey of economic Conditions in Africa, 1970, op. cit., p. 220, Table 12.8.

NOMBRE (en milliers)



Evolution de la population d'âge de 0 à 14 ans et de 0 à 19 ans et des effectifs scolaires du primaire et totaux.

Sources: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE 1970 — DEMOGRAPHIE ET STATISTIQUES SOCIALES — UNECA — Partie —
ETUDES DES CONDITIONS ECONOMIQUES EN AFRIQUE — UNECA — Partie I — 1970.

II. COMPONENTS OF A HUMAN SETTLEMENTS POLICY - THEORETICAL OUTLINE

Introductory note

Human settlements have a vital role within the context of national economic and social life. For one thing, they enter into activities to develop possibilities for economic growth, and for another, they constitute the frame in which the life of the population is organized.

When these characteristics are recognized, it becomes obvious that a meaningful human settlements policy must necessarily cover ground which is both extensive and complex. The various levels of action needed to find integrated solutions to the problems posed emphasizes and gives practical expression to the diversity of the issues to be solved. However, these multitudinous factors cannot be separated from each other and must be studied both as specific entities and in the way in which they interact with one another. To see the problem has having component parts explains the need for making choices and exercising options at key stages in the formulation of the policy with a view to maintaining its essential unity. In short, the facts determined by the components of the policy to be formulated are so many parametres which must be introduced into the equation as a whole if realistic solutions are to be obtained. For example, although the economic factor is indispensable in the spacial organization required for the rational exploitation of natural, physical and human resources, even if consideration is given to the social and socio-cultural contribution it makes by providing certain facilities necessary for the support and development of economic activities (commercial and educational facilities and facilities needed to operate the tertiary sector of the economy), taken alone, it might not enable human settlements to meet existing needs satisfactorily if at the same time the need for housing and related facilities is not taken into account.

Thus, the economic policy in operation defines the human settlements policy and determines the order of urban activities in economic life and the exploitation of resources, and, as such, is part of the housing policy. Similarly, to advocate that every household is entitled to a dwelling makes it necessary not only to identify both quantitatively and qualitatively the chances for a satisfactory solution on the basis of the ratio of housing needs to resources available for meeting those needs but also, where agglomerations are concerned, to formulate a housing policy which will determine the optimal size of towns and agglomerations and will have an impact on their guidelines and plans and hence on their economic role and potentialities.

In short the human settlements policy, while being a component of national economic development plans and projects, especially at the regional and sectoral levels, must also answer to the people's right to housing. Thus, it has a role to play in respect both to the citizens' right to work and to their right to housing, i.e., to the right of the population as a whole to better living conditions.

Thus, the policy followed in this particular sphere of activity is at times rightly considered to be an indicator of the level of national development as well as of the organizational potential of a given group.

In this connexion, there is hardly any need to stress the importance of devising a method for coming to a broad understanding of the problem at the national, regional, district and local levels. It must be worded in such a way that it makes it possible to maintain the continuity of the activities undertaken while at the same time being adapted to trends in national, regional and local.

The authorities and various technicians and experts involved in working on the preparation and implementation of human settlements policies and related programmes know that national needs in the areas of their competence can be met only if measures are adopted and organizations created for the purpose of making an exhaustive study of the data available and if machinery for the implementation of the policy is established. As far as these authorities are concerned, the effectiveness of their action depends on the quality of the instrument drawn up. The quality of this instrument of action and intervention depends on its terms of operation, on the method or methods of action provided for in it, on the way in which it relates to other administrative bodies in the government and to national services, both public and private, and on its legal authority in the realm of decision-making and even, when necessary, in determining financial possibilities, which it has at least in so far as it relates to the motive activities of economic development. Despite the urgency of existing problems, such an instrument can be created only gradually primarily because of conditions within the majority of countries in the region. This is due to the fact that such instruments are based on the number and quality of technicians and specialists available at all levels, on the gradual improvement of its components and of the bodies created under it and on their operation under the same direction and authority for the achievement of the same final objective.

Policy and related programme components

Theoretical rundown of the components of policies and programmes in the field of human settlements

It will therefore be seen that, because the problems posed have many facets, the components of human settlements policies must be approached through an economic study on the role and functions of settlements and another study on their social function.

Aspects of the economic function of human settlements

Without setting up or referring to any order of priority among the functions of human settlements, it may be said that because of its impact on economic prospects in the short, medium and long term, its economic function is of immediate importance in the key areas of the economic life of a country. This function is primarily determined by physical planning.

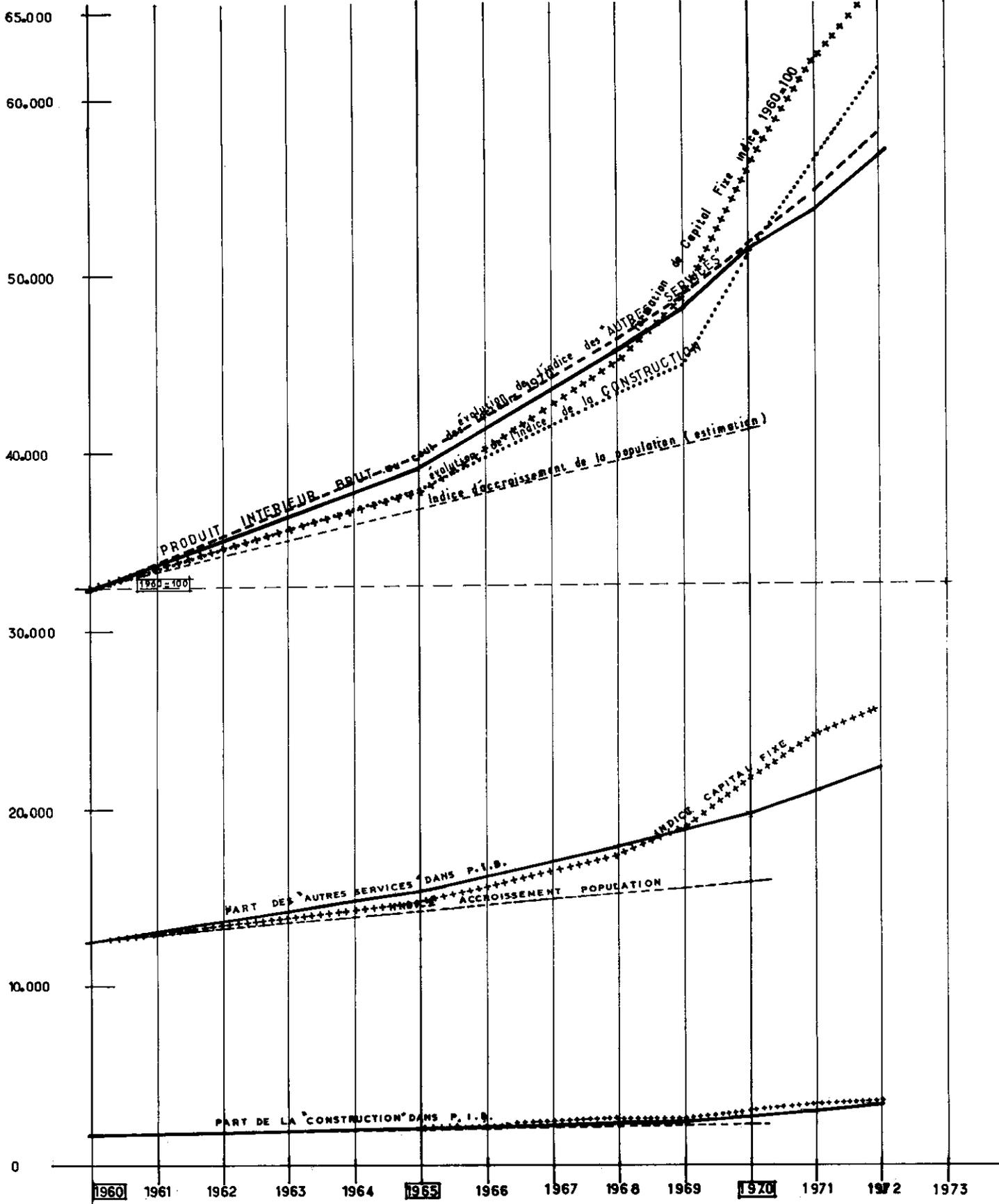
A. The role of human settlements in physical planning

The aim of physical planning

According to the United Nations publication Housing in Africa, issued in 1965, physical planning may be very broadly defined as being "the conscious effort to make the development process a rational and most effective one....." and the document goes on to note that "only a few African countries have..... given proper consideration to this mode of development." ^{21/} The reasons for this affirmation were given

^{21/} Op. cit., p. 178.

(en millions US \$)



above in the chapter on the situation in Africa in 1960 where human settlements were concerned and the way in which this situation has developed throughout the continent.

The various attempts at defining physical planning may be summed up by saying that it is aimed at the rational utilization of space for purposes of developing economic and social activities. It is the organization of economic and social activities in space. If looked at in this perspective, human settlements have a fundamental role in the structuring of national space.

B. The role of human settlements in the organization of national activities in space

A glimpse of the components of the economic function of human settlements

The way in which human settlements are distributed within a territory is linked to the number and quality of real, potential and planned activities.

Qualitatively speaking, an economic development policy implies both structural changes and an attempt at modernization in which human settlements play a role in that they effect economic shifts and changes in the economic and social structure and even in the mentality of the people involved. For example human settlements have a role to play in modifying service and distribution structures and in adapting new structures in that industries and agro-industrial undertakings and workers, chiefly those from rural areas, must be accommodated, the necessary tertiary activities, such as banks and credit institutions must be established, branches of the telecommunications network must be opened and socio-cultural and administrative facilities accommodated, to mention only a few urban functions in the economic and social life of a country. Human settlements provide the facilities needed to lay the groundwork for the development of activities and ensure that those facilities are distributed in space as they are needed. They therefore have a role to play in production plans and in plans for the organization of services and the administration. This function can be assumed only by human settlements of a certain size and not by scattered agglomerations, although these too are part of the economic life of a country. Settlements ranging in size from those of 5,000 inhabitants to major cities and metropolitan areas with millions of inhabitants have, in addition to sheer weight of numbers, an important qualitative role in the economic activity of a country because of their importance in the economic activity of their area.

Quantitatively speaking, the urban structure of a country is determined by number, distribution and location of its human settlements. This urban structure is made up of various types of settlements, whose relative importance depends on their functional potential in relation to their size, their relationship to their immediate environment and to the environment of their country and on the extent of their participation in the national life.

In short, the urban structure of a country must be judged on the basis of the position and role in geographical space of the human settlements which make it up. The role of human settlements within the urban structure is to serve as poles of regional development, and they play a part in the production activities of the area in which they are located. Since they provide a structural framework for development, they must be studied within the context of the urbanization which is a concomitant of national economic development. The information which will emerge from this study will be incorporated into national human settlements policies and programmes, but no attempt will be made in this short outline to analyse all aspects of these policies and programmes or the data pertaining to them. This analysis will be made in the chapter on

regional planning. At this point it will merely be pointed out that where there are measures aimed at spurring on development at the regional and district levels, the geo-economic space can be systematically conceived in terms of development poles and areas.

It is for economists, geographers, agronomists and development experts to identify development poles and areas. It is more important to note the role played by **settlements in the policy for the provision of facilities**, giving particular attention to the problems of town planning which the provision of facilities presents within towns and to its impact on the need for urbanized land and on town planning or the systematic organization of towns.

Consequently, an attempt will be made to deal with only one of the objectives of the study of conditions on which regional physical planning is predicated, i.e., the need to find the best location for the installation of facilities in terms of the predicted pattern of development of the activities of the population.

C. Human settlements and problems related to the provision of infrastructures and facilities to development areas

Urban structure and rural centres

The quality and type of infrastructures and facilities which towns make available to their sphere of influence or environment depend on the nature of the activities pursued in the area or space in question.

In this connexion space may be divided into two major categories, as follows:

- (a) Space where little activity takes place;
- (b) Economically active space.

Once these development spaces or areas have been defined, the first study to be made should be one aimed at the selection of centres in terms of their location and of their importance to development programmes for which they supply the spacial framework without which the programmes could not achieve real effectiveness. Especially in rural areas, the identification of such centres in terms of the facilities which they provide depends on the scope of the services offered and on their distance from the population concerned. This is important in connexion with the struggle to contain migration from rural to urban areas in which it is often necessary and even essential to maintain or create collective facilities of doubtful economic viability with a view to ensuring a minimum standard of social activity in rural spaces whose rate of economic activity is at present low regardless of the size of their total population. However, in assessing the economic viability of such facilities, account should be taken of the economic cost of the migration of one individual to an urban area.

(a) Human settlements and the provision of facilities in spaces with a low rate of economic activity: Rural villages

Although, as stated above, it may sometimes be necessary to supply a minimum amount of facilities (albeit of doubtful economic viability) to areas whose level of occupancy and activity is lower than what may be desired, human settlements of little importance which are selected to accommodate such facilities cannot be considered to be part of the urban structure of their country. Very frequently they are merely villages that, by virtue of this new function, play the role of village centres, in which urban problems in the true sense of the term do not arise.

The only economic activities engaged in by these human settlements with small populations are rural activities, and although they are called on to furnish the minimum amount of services needed by individuals and for local social activities, those services are primarily of an agricultural nature.

(b) Human settlements in economically active spaces

These settlements usually play an active part in development activities. They include settlements which belong to a country's structure and rural centres.

Human settlements in the urban structure

1. Functions

It must be borne in mind that the urban structure has a part in production plans, in the organization of services and facilities and in administrative and policy organization.

2. Types

Settlements in the urban structure may be classified according to:

- (i) The principal sector of their economic activity, e.g., industrial towns, service towns, rural towns;
- (ii) The sphere of influence or the scope of the services and facilities they offer. Their radius of operation depends primarily on their location along the regional and national road network and on their role in the development of the area in which they are located and in the development projects being implemented in it;
- (iii) The advantages they offer as places for the installation of important regional facilities, both urban and rural.

Thus, for purposes of a human settlements policy within the spacial structuring of national activities, two main levels of activity must be considered:

- (i) At the level of physical planning and national regional development, an assessment should be made of:
 - (a) Their economic role within their development area;
 - (b) Their role in regional development projects;
 - (c) Their role in sectoral economic activities at the national level and the implications of this at the regional and local levels;
 - (d) Their regional and local socio-cultural role.
- (ii) At the urban level, there is need to identify the problems inherent in them by virtue of their very existence, their role at the physical planning level and the principal economic activity for which they are best suited by nature.

The architectural problems which emerge in the course of town planning and their social and cultural activities must also be identified.

3. Classification

Settlements are classified mainly by size 22/ although the influence which they exert in their environment by virtue of their demographic, spacial and economic components is also taken into account.

On this basis, towns may be divided into the following categories:

(a) Large towns, cities or urban areas. Such human settlements, which occasionally form conurbations, may have a population of from about 200,000 to over a million inhabitants;

(b) Medium-sized towns, which are sometimes called regional capitals, with 30,000 to about 200,000 inhabitants;

(c) Small towns or support towns with from about 5,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, which occasionally take the form of market towns.

Although in many countries in the region human settlements consist mainly of rural centres, this type of settlement will be classified separately since the only economic activity conducted in them is agricultural production.

(a) A large town of from 200,000 to over a million inhabitants may, in so far as its location in geographical space is concerned, constitute a conurbation; i.e., it may include extensive areas with a relatively high population volume and density and be largely, but not necessarily entirely, urbanized and may therefore contain various types of agglomeration and/or town (usually small towns) as an integral part of its space. It may also contain spaces which are used for agriculture.

In the African region, such a situation is often due to the expansion of capital cities mainly because of migration from rural areas. These large cities are the power centres, the financial capitals, the places where decisions are made and either the crossroads or the terminal points of the communications networks in our region. The upper social and ruling classes live in them while at the same time many tertiary or parasitic activities, both traditional and modern, are carried out in them, and they contain a large floating population of unemployed and unskilled labour. These metropolitan areas are of great concern to Governments where housing and unemployment are concerned.

(b) Medium-sized towns include towns of between 30,000 and 200,000 inhabitants. However, they cannot be defined precisely by this quantitative criterion, which must be considered in conjunction with the facilities and services they offer, i.e., their contribution to the territorial balance of the region.

(c) Small towns of approximately 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants

The role of small towns must be judged primarily on the basis not of their population but of their location in geographic space since they will have a special part to

22/ In our region in particular, size (i.e., the surface occupied by public land) is a relative criterion in that it must be considered in relation with other settlements. However, it is usually recognized that an agglomeration of 20,000 or more inhabitants generally possesses all the components which constitute a town.

play if they are located in areas over which the metropolitan areas do not exercise an immediate attraction. They are characterized by the fact that a single main activity clearly predominates over other activities. In many countries in the African region, they constitute the main urban factor and deserve special study.

In regional development plans medium-sized towns and smaller human settlements which are linked by a road network participate in the formulation of projects for the provision of facilities or in projects where the same development objectives are pursued jointly.

Spacial functions of human settlements in the urban structure

In order to play its role in the spacial organization of national activities, a town must contain:

- (i) Administrative, financial and trade facilities and services;
- (ii) Educational, cultural, artistic, sport and hospital facilities;
- (iii) Industrial facilities;
- (iv) Tourist facilities and accommodations.

Thus, it must offer its environment both public and private facilities, especially fully equipped administrative and technical services, sophisticated health and social services (hospitals and specialized clinics, facilities for higher education (terminal studies and higher education particularly in technology); cultural, sports and leisure activities; a diversified labour market and commercial services dealing in superior products. It must also be a place where goods produced in its vicinity are processed and consumed.

Rural centres

These human settlements are located in spaces where economic activity is entirely rural and agricultural in nature and thus offers little or no diversification. However, they must be equipped with the facilities and services needed to maintain and develop the activities of their area, particularly when they are located in economically active spaces with some density of human occupancy and play a role of considerable importance in the economic life of their country. This creates town-planning problems in such centres in both the public and the private sectors (education, health, telecommunications, trade, credit facilities and the liberal professions).

Role of rural centres in rural development operations

Rural development operations include the establishment or development of the facilities and services offered by rural centres and the selection of rural villages to be provided with those social and cultural amenities which are essential if a minimum standard of social activity is to be maintained in areas with a low level of economic activity, if the path to future development is to be opened up and if the rural exodus is to be curbed.

These rural development programmes include the provision of various types of facilities and services, as follows:

- (i) Facilities and services which have a direct economic relation to production, such as irrigation and drainage, the land redistribution and related activities and reforestation;
- (ii) Facilities and services associated with both economic and social activities, such as water and drainage pipes, roads and communications, telecommunications and electrification;
- (iii) Community service facilities, such as school, health, social, cultural and sport facilities;
- (iv) Facilities and services in the private sector, such as those connected with banking and agricultural credit, trade and the cottage industries.

Thus, taken together, both human settlements which are part of the urban structure and rural centres are expected to make certain facilities and services available to the area in which they are located. Some of these services, such as those in the field of small-scale trade, are quite banal, while others, especially in towns where there is a large transient population, are highly specialized.

It is these facilities and services which determine the quality of town planning and urbanization policies.

D. Town planning in human settlements and the components of an urban land policy

On page 161 of the United Nations publication entitled Housing in Africa, to which reference has already been made it is stated that "the modern town is defined not only by the spacial harmony of the different services and facilities that it offers to those who live in it but also, first and foremost, by these services and facilities. The new type of town planning that Africa needs will have to fit into the physical planning to be defined by the function of the town..... Finally, this form of town planning will not apply only to the towns; the policy of physical planning set out above stresses the development of central villages and market towns; a special effort will be needed 'to graft the urban world on to the rural world'. Morocco, Senegal, Ghana, the UAR and Tunisia seem to offer examples that would repay reflection and it will be necessary to study these more carefully and make known the results achieved..... To make a coherent unit of the city, its modern centre and its old districts, its one-time elegant zones and its erstwhile shanty-towns will be one of the tasks of town planning, and its co-ordinating function will then also be an integrating function. Often for the moment, it will be characterized, as much, if not more, by the installation of amenities suited to different sizes of housing areas than by the building of blocks of flats".

Because of the roles they are expected to play within the framework of the spacial organization of activities and of men, human settlements must organize the economic functions and the housing functions by integrating them and fitting them into their territorial boundaries. They are places where the functions related to the regional and local outreach of their authority, those to which their own specific economic identity gives rise and, finally, the functions of housing are reunited in an organic entity.

The most important economic functions of urban areas are:

- (a) Those which are associated with regional and local life and with areas within the sphere of influence of the town in question;
- (b) The sectoral economic function;
- (c) The social function, including housing.

The functions which are associated with regional life find their main expression in facilities of regional scope.

The following facilities are part of the regional economic function:

- (i) Facilities for processing the commodities produced in the region into finished goods and facilities for marketing these commodities. (Factories, workshops and warehouses);
- (ii) Public and private tertiary services, banking and credit facilities and business services (management, marketing);
- (iii) Telecommunications services;
- (iv) Interurban, regional and inter-regional transport;
- (v) Reception bureaux;
- (vi) Governmental and administrative departments, ministries or ministerial departments; police departments, judicial services, post offices, etc.;
- (vii) Accommodation and tourist facilities.

The sectoral economic function of a town gives that town its main characteristic by being its raison d'être. This is true, for example, of industrial towns (towns engaged in metallurgy or mining, etc.), and of towns located at points in the network for the transportation of goods where carriage is interrupted or trans-shipment or compulsory transit occurs (maritime and river ports, railway and road junctions etc.).

The sectoral economic function may be marginal to the economic life of the surrounding area, without bearing any relationship to it, since it may be just a part of a sectoral economic activity at the national level. In this case it is often the outcome of a deliberate policy regarding the creation of industry in employment areas or in regions that have energy resources and a developed communications network or it may be due to the fact that the subsoil is rich in minerals.

The scope and nature of the activity gives each town a life of its own and require the formulation of a policy which takes such matters into account in relation to the environment and the area coming under the economic influence of the town. Decisions concerning such towns should be taken at the national level as well as at the level of the town itself.

When the space within these settlements is being planned, the location of the principal activity, which is often the raison d'être of the settlement, and its distance from the town should depend on its nature and scope but it should be easily accessible within a reasonable time from residential areas, infrastructure and urban services.

The site of the activity is determined by physical conditions, the location and the need for link-ups with major transportation networks such as roads and railways. These are elements which are included in town planning and the use of urban space.

To recapitulate the components of the economic function of human settlements, the following may be noted:

With regard to physical planning, the function of human establishments is to devise the spatial distribution of the infrastructure and services required for regional economic development in the light of existing regional activities and development projects. In addition, apart from the function relating to the life of their sphere of influence, human establishments may form part of a national economic sector.

Their role in economic development implies that in national investment policies, human establishments should be given such a place that they can discharge their roles and functions which are vital to the development process. This matter is studied in greater detail in connexion with methods of financing policies in the field of human establishments. It may however be noted that although the sectoral economic activity relating to the construction of housing is one of the ways of contributing to and generating domestic capital, or in other words of creating and utilizing the means and possibilities of making productive investments, the role of human settlements in developing national economic growth makes investment in this field essential for planned national development. Some priority investments should be made in certain areas of human settlements within the framework of development projects and should be studied in relation to their implications as regards the creation of housing in which investment is not of a priority nature or generates few or no productive activities.

III. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

The problem of infrastructure particularly when its function is to provide a basis and continuity for development, (industrial financial, commercial educational and health infrastructure), and to ensure its effectiveness necessarily raises the problem of the social functions of human settlements. Economic activity is to some extent the vehicle for social development. The qualitative distribution of directly productive infrastructure frequently determines that of the purely social infrastructure which is indispensable as far as the organized life of society is concerned. When fully developed, the social function enables social infrastructure requirements which are not directly or visibly associated to production and whose role is to satisfy the human and social needs of the population to be met. This infrastructure more precisely falls within the scope of the habitat function and the solutions which it requires. These relate to the problems of housing and related matters and the infrastructure therefor.

Social infrastructure falls into two categories: social infrastructure of regional or socio-economic interest which is considered essential for keeping the population settled so as to ensure the continuation and development of economic activities in regions, zones or sectors of economic activity. Such social infrastructure is associated with and complementary to the infrastructure which is essential to the life of individuals and groups and more or less reflects the quality of life and of living of the population as a whole and the reason for economic development, as stated above. Such infrastructure relates to the qualitative aspect of the habitat function.

(a) Social infrastructure of regional interest comprises:

Cultural and leisure infrastructure: theatres, cinemas, meeting halls, cultural complexes;

Higher education infrastructure: final studies, technical and vocational studies, higher education;

Sports infrastructure: large meeting halls, sports grounds;

Large-scale and specialized commercial infrastructure;

Health infrastructure: hospitals and specialized clinics, regional health centre; and

Tourism and similar infrastructure: hotels.

(b) Urban housing and infrastructure and services and housing-related services.

Housing plays a leading role in attempts to meet social needs. Urban housing cannot be considered from the standpoint of an increase in dwelling units alone.

The cost of land equipped with the essential technical infrastructure and public facilities and services makes a certain degree of occupancy obligatory. These various types of equipment mean that urban housing must be approached with method and organization. In urban areas dwellings must be organized in developments which are classified and ordered in accordance with the amount of land they cover and the number of inhabitants or dwellings they accommodate.

The way in which residential developments are classified and the terms applied to them vary from country to country, but generally speaking they approximate each other in size and in the theoretical ratio between the number of inhabitants and the amount of facilities they contain.

Urban facilities related to dwellings

These are facilities for everyday use which are close to the dwellings concerned, such as small commercial establishments, basic health facilities and nursery and primary schools. They also include facilities needed in the life of a residential development, depending on its size, such as local administrative offices and security forces (police stations, fire departments, etc.).

The quality of urban developments also depends on their infrastructure, which provides them with a minimum amount of comfort and hygiene and makes it possible for them to meet the basic needs of their occupants. This infrastructure includes urban access roads; water, electricity and power supplies and telephones and the services and facilities needed to operate them and facilities for the evacuation of used water and waste of all kinds.

The size and quality of this infrastructure must be viewed within the context of the number of activities carried out on urban land and the degree to which it is occupied since these factors affect hygiene and health.

IV. PROMOTION OF THE ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN TOWNS

Problem of uncontrolled settlements and slums

The urban fabric and communications infrastructure

All of a town's functional components taken together represent the "urban fabric". They are distributed in space according to a design worked out by experts in urban development in their development schemes and guidelines to town planning.

To control the growth of human settlements it is necessary to set up an instrument which, by the use of appropriate techniques, can integrate their complexities into a single whole. These complexities represent the urban fabric, which is made up of the various functional components of the economic and social functions of human settlements in their role as centres of gravity of the spacial organization of economic activities. These functional components have been described above and are distributed throughout the urban fabric in zones of industrial activity, tertiary activities, commercial activity, administrative residential activity. To order the growth of this totality is to see that it develops in a harmonious and controlled manner. This is what is meant by the planned organization of urban space, the aim of which is to place the various components in a spacial location apt to produce the most effective operation of the whole, especially by promoting opportunities for the inter-relation and integration of service activities and of activities carried out in the different zones. A town should be seen as a grouping together in a relatively restricted area of facilities in which the exchange of goods, energy and services can and should be conducted in the best conditions of spacial occupation. Such a concentration of facilities favours communications and affects the cost of installing and operating equipment, the time it takes to move from place to place and the kind of transportation systems which should be established. It should be noted that the overall demand for transport depends very much on the way in which housing is distributed in space and on the location of employment, services, commercial establishments and leisure-time activities. The functional value of the parts and of the whole depends greatly on the spacial organization of the transport system, which provides a link between work, home and leisure-time activities.

(a) Instruments for organizing urban space

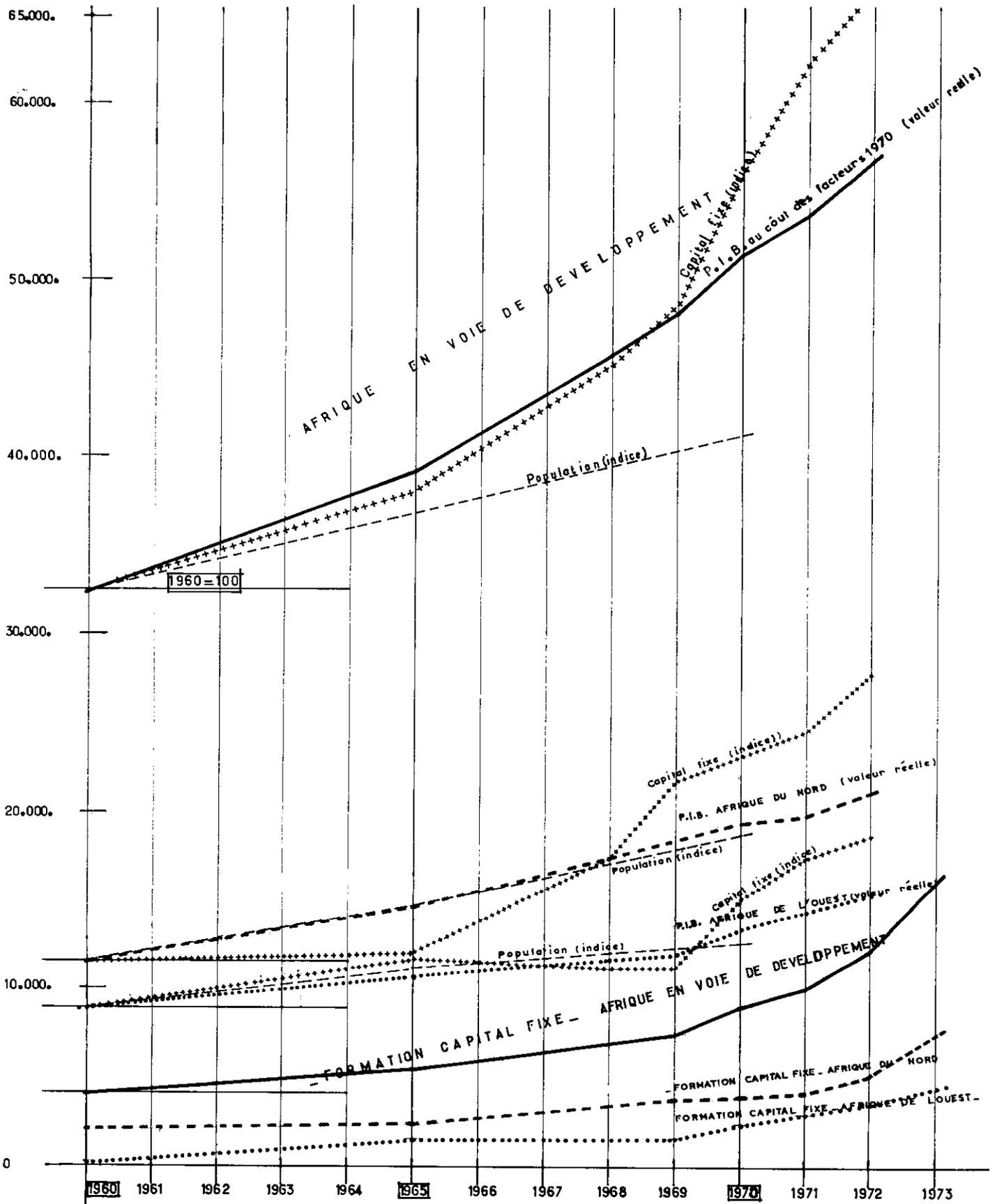
There are two types of instrument for organizing urban space - technological instruments and financial instruments, both of which should be organized on the basis of a defined policy.

(b) Instruments for controlling urban growth

Since the policy followed has grown out of certain needs and the ways and means of meeting them, the instrument must be one which makes it possible to identify and assess needs and ways of meeting them, to select and formulate programmes, to ensure that they are implemented and to oversee their implementation.

There are two categories of need. Those in the first category are covered by the physical planning policy and are determined by the relationship of a town to its national, regional and local environment, which was described in the preceding chapter. This relationship is of decisive importance since it justifies the town's existence and explains its growth or decline. It is therefore the most vital factor of all. The needs in the second category derive from those in the first. They are more specifically inherent to the town itself and relate to the town's impact on its regional environment.

(en millions U.S. \$)



Sources: Bulletin d'information statistique et économique pour l'Afrique - Annuaire statistique Démographie et statistiques sociales...

They include the components of the geographical space within the town boundaries and determine the size of the town and the amount of space required by it. All of this comprises the urban space to be organized. The means for doing so are technological in nature and include the techniques of town planning and the technique of financing in accordance with needs.

There are methods for analysing the development of the various components, for studying the way in which they inter-relate and for identifying objectives and the approach that should be taken to them. These methods are reflected in techniques which are essentially graphic in nature (maps, sketches and graphs) and in written matter, the idea being to put the physical reality of activities carried out in a given geographical location into symbols and then into material form.

(c) Documents relating to town planning as such are drawn up with reference to the directives contained in the physical planning policy, which comprises the framework for the policy for the organization of national space. In the latter policy the importance and role of the various towns within their spheres of influence and in the light of their development prospects are analysed and integrated into the regional and national context on the basis of their physical, economic and human characteristics. The importance and role of the towns is to be found in those documents which define the national and regional urban policy.

The basic document in the directives for the physical planning policy is the provisional scheme for physical planning in general, which is made up primarily of the long-term scheme for the physical planning of geographical zones and development zones and regions and includes the regional master plan for physical and town planning, whose purpose is to reflect the various items in the development plan at the regional level. The long-term physical planning scheme also includes the regional master plan and the plan for land occupancy.

The documentation includes a series of maps, sketches and graphs and a manuscript giving the guidelines followed and specifying their advantages and disadvantages. The maps deal successively with the location and the nature of rural zones, housing, employment, large facilities, infrastructure and superstructure. A general map combines the most important information given in the basic maps. Each temporal phase is shown with the help of maps drawn up with reference to the base maps. The scale used in these maps depends on the size of the area under study: Scales of 1:50,000, 1:20,000 and 1:25,000 are used. By this approach the orderly development of a town is integrated into the perspectives for long-term regional development. This ensures that the focal points of a given town's development will be decided in accordance with the provisions made for the development of the zone, the region and the nation. Town planning schemes as such rest on these long-term national provisions for programming at the urban level.

Moreover, the projective spacing out of action, from long-term action at the national level to the middle- and short-term action called for in plans and action programmes at the local level, makes it possible to include the time factor as well as the space factor in planning schemes.

Town planning schemes as such

Approach

The methodological approach at the technical level can be described in the following five phases:

- Surveys and analyses;
- Critical assessment of needs;
- Formulation of the master plan;
- Programmes and orders of priority;
- Detailed and finalized plans.

It is not to the point to make a detailed exposition of the technological approach, and only a few aspects of it, i.e., the surveys and analyses and the components of the town planning documents - will be examined. Although financing is important, it is described in a separate chapter.

The purpose of the surveys and analyses is to collect information on the needs and the demand and the means for meeting them. Attempts to find data on needs lie mainly in the realm of statistics and are based on demographic, geographical and economic surveys. The general picture which emerges is rounded off by information as to the existing situation, including data on measures undertaken.

The general plans and the finalized plans have the districts marked off on them and indicate the best locations for commercial centres, buildings housing administrative departments, schools and sport and cultural facilities and show the direction of the traffic flow and the pattern and location of the infrastructures for drainage and for supplying water, power and electricity.

These plans are made up of maps, graphs and written material. The scales used in the maps range from 1:50,000 to 1:2,000.

The growth of African cities - uncontrolled settlements and slums

The analysis of the situation with regard to the human settlements of the region made at the beginning of this document shows that the urban population explosion deserves special attention.

The rapid and large-scale urbanization of the population of Africa is a dominant feature of recent decades. This urbanization is largely due to population movements from the country to certain towns, involving mostly young people in the active population. These cities are receiving an influx of unskilled workers in numbers which are out of all proportion with the job opportunities available in them. In the meantime, normal urban population growth is also taking place.

The main feature of the growth of most African towns is that it is caused solely by a demographic thrust due to the urban migration of persons many of whom are in the economically active age group but have no skills. It is not the result of the combined pressure of development activities and a labour force attracted by the availability of employment or the possibility of engaging in a remunerative activity in an urban setting.

This makes the problem of controlling urban growth a severe one which is difficult to solve since this majority is composed of people who have been uprooted from rural areas and whose customs and life styles are ill-suited to city life. Furthermore, they have no income.

Méthodes d'établissement des Schémas
d'aménagement et d'urbanisme

Intentions de l'interlocuteur	Travail du groupe d'études
Instructions préliminaires	1
2	Enquêtes et analyses Synthèse Programme général d'aménagement
Choix du programme	3
4	Elaboration des hypothèses de schéma
Le choix du schéma	5
6	Mise au point du schéma d'aménagement et d'urbanisme. Directives pour la programmation et plans d'occupation des sols
Action	7

D'après document - Projet d'instructions sur l'élaboration des schémas
Directeurs d'aménagement et d'urbanisme - Août 1967 - Ministère de l'Equipement

The urban authorities are finding it impossible to obtain adequate amounts of financial resources from local sources. They must, however, find a way to ensure that these people enjoy the minimum standards of hygiene. This is an extreme example of the type of problem facing urban authorities but it is one which affects a large part of the urban population. It cannot be solved until employment opportunities are developed, which means developing the economic activities conducted in towns.

Town planning is affected by the fact that migrants in search of employment and shelter, attempt to solve their housing problem by their own devices. They gather on the outskirts of towns or in uninhabited districts in town, where they improvise shelters out of a mishmash of residue and waste materials. These migrant groups pile up on the outskirts of towns and in out-of-the-way urban districts and satellite cities, where they live in conditions totally lacking in hygiene and health.

Reception centres consisting of collective dwellings and facilities providing vocational training for adults, might offer a temporary solution. Several studies have been carried out in this connexion. 23/

However, the problem of uncontrolled districts and slums involves more than these people who have no resources whatsoever. These districts and types of shelter are also very frequently the solution adopted by those in the low-income category, whose income prevents them from aspiring to a proper dwelling at urban prices. Generally speaking, the authorities have tried to find solutions which would benefit these people, and these solutions are part of the urban housing problem.

Urban housing

The authorities have means of combatting the urban housing problem. For example, they attempt to lower the cost of urban housing, to raise the qualifications of the labour force and of local construction firms in the small- and medium-sized categories, to encourage the participation of the people concerned by adopting methods of self-help housing and co-operatives and to develop public savings and credit institutions.

Housing projects for low-income groups

Since the traditional solutions have proved to favour primarily the middle- or high-income groups, experiments have been made with new approaches aimed at the establishment of facilities at modest cost and at promoting the construction of dwellings.

Public authorities at the local and national level take responsibility for establishing a minimum amount of facilities on the land under certain conditions and leave it to the people concerned to build their dwellings on this land or help them to do so. These dwellings may be built on the principle of self-help housing or by building or housing co-operatives. The establishment of a minimum amount of facilities on the land is carried out in an attempt to control urban growth and combat the development of slums. It is a solution which makes it possible to gear the growth of a town to the programmes formulated by town planners. It ensures that the directives issued by the town planners and the legislation and regulations in force are respected.

Some remarks on the conditions for the success of such projects can be made on the basis of the experiments which have been carried. In the document Planning Sites

23/ A study made by an African architect in 1960 appeared in the October 1961 (No. 5) issue of the periodical Afrique.

and Services Programmes mentioned above, it is reported that there is enough experience now to begin to draw some guidelines on what factors are critical. Government attitude is the leading determinant of the success or failure of a project. One of the main reasons for failure is that some Governments approached projects as though they were temporary stop-gaps. Inadequately government support was given the projects administratively. In the same publication the following recommendations are made:

- (i) The starting point is a careful market analysis to determine for whom the particular project is designed (capacity to pay, locational preferences, number of households, etc.). An accurate market analysis will make it possible to select a site, draw up a financial plan and map out an appropriate strategy;
- (ii) The physical site should be acceptable to the people concerned. It must be located convenient to mass transportation, or preferably within ~~walking distance~~ of major employment sources. It must also be located within a short travel distance to the centre of the city. It should be able to meet improvements in facilities. Topography is important in this connexion;
- (iii) The standard of the basic facility should be predicted upon the ability of residents to pay.

Later on some systems of organization and operation are suggested, two of which are given below.

The effectiveness of the campaign to control the growth of towns and combat the development of uncontrolled settlements and slums depends on whether public authorities at the local and national levels are provided with the technical, financial and legislative means for the formulation and implementation of a policy to be carried out within the framework of the overall urban and physical-planning policy.

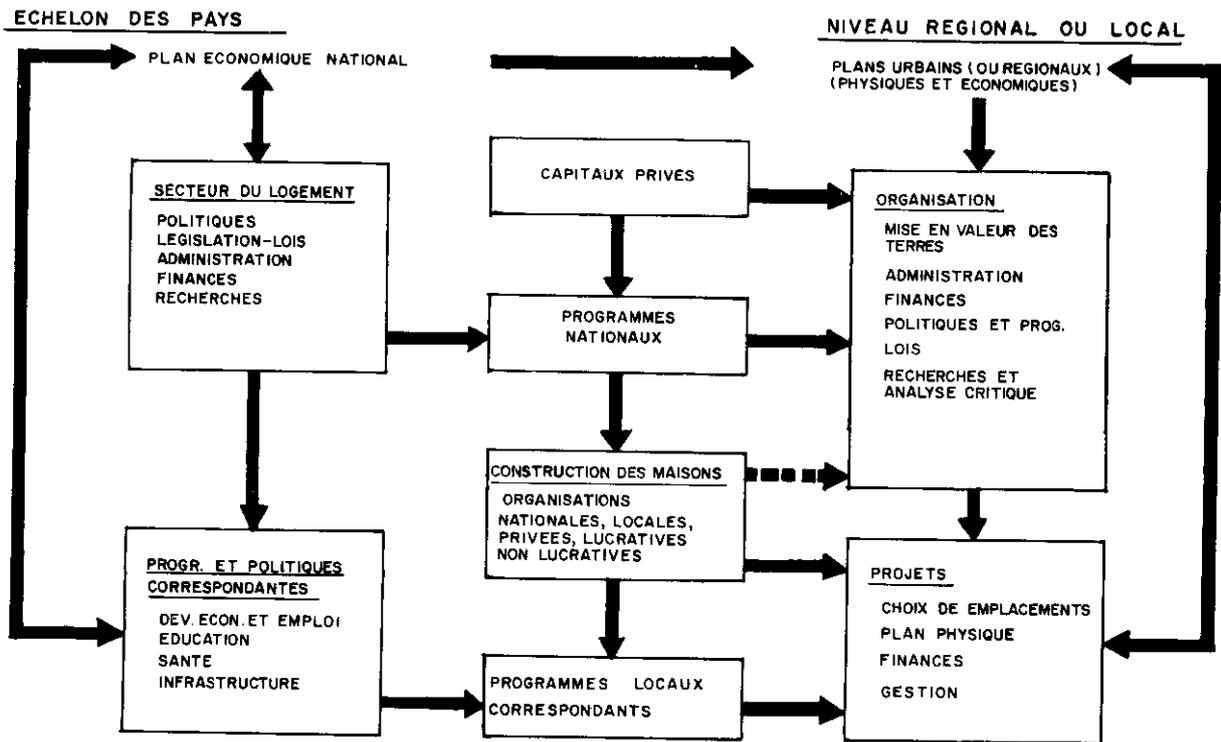
Formulation of a general housing policy

It is essential for housing policies to be based on clear definitions.

Housing policies must include:

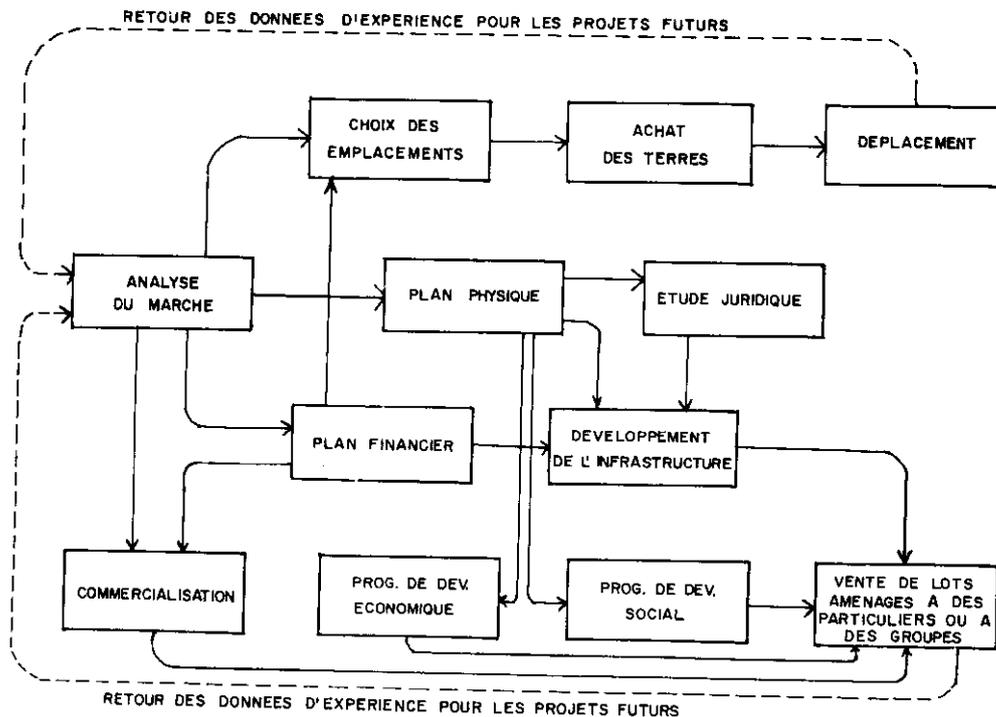
1. Preservation of existing housing stock;
2. Encouragement of the private sector and individual initiative to play a larger role in the construction and finance of housing programmes;
3. Commitment to provide every household with the opportunity of purchasing, renting or leasing sufficient land at reasonable rates to meet their minimum requirements for living space at locations which are convenient to their needs and upon which they can build or rent a house with their own resources.

Appropriate legislation, as well as administrative and financial organization, should ensure the application of programmes and in so doing allow them to meet these objectives. Such legislation is the cornerstone of any institutionalization of a housing policy. It reflects governmental objectives in the field of housing, opens the way to an urban land policy and incorporates rules governing the taxation of real property, modern building codes, urban legislation and regulations for the financing of housing.



SCHEMA 4

PLANIFICATION DU CADRE POUR LES EMPLACEMENTS ET LES SERVICES



SCHEMA 2

PLANIFICATION DU CADRE POUR LES EMPLACEMENTS ET LES SERVICES

Reference: Planning sites and Services programs—Ideas and methods exchange No. 68 prepared for the Agency for International Development—Development of Housing and Urban Development Office of international Affairs—Washington D.C. 20410

National, regional and local administrative framework for a housing policy

At a symposium on urbanization in developing countries held under the auspices of the International Union of Local Authorities at the Hague in December 1973, administration was defined as being all the tasks performed by the State in the fields of planning, deciding on and utilizing the services provided for an urban region.

At the national level, it is necessary to establish an agency to deal with housing programmes, either as a ministry or as a ministerial department. This agency may also be a semi-public or even a private body. This agency may be a ministry or a ministerial department or a semi-public or even a private body. The advantage of a semi-public body is that it might make for greater efficiency without adding to the workload of government personnel (and is more likely to be resistant to political pressure). A solution which is often adopted is that of putting both a semi-public and a private body in charge of the implementation of the housing programme under the overall responsibility and supervision of a ministry, which also has the task of formulating the policy.

Housing operations must be decentralized, at least at the regional level and if possible, even in urban centres. Decentralization depends on the number of qualified staff available and on the experience acquired by the national housing centre. It makes the agency or centre better able to deal with local needs and potential and to perform its work on time. In the beginning special attention must be given to seeing that the administrative procedures are well adapted to the existing situation.

Urban land policy and its components

"Cities are artificial environments built by man to fulfil various economic, social and cultural purposes..... (Its) functions are located within the national territory: that is, they determine specific uses associated with the urban land in each town or city. Therefore, as a society becomes urbanized, they assume a fundamental importance for the economy of the country and for the living standards of its population." 24/

The geographical establishment of a human settlement requires that a land policy be drawn up since urbanization will have an effect on the use, function and morphological, demographic and economic character of the settlement. Such a policy calls for special attention since urban land cannot fulfil its function unless it is suitably equipped with various infrastructures, but usually its value can be raised in this way only by the use of public funds. This justifies the exercise of social control mainly to forestall excessive price increases, fight speculation and ensure that land is available where and when it is needed.

The use of urban land is therefore the central problem of town planning. All urban activities give rise to a demand for land, and urban growth gives rise to a particularly heavy demand. Policies must ensure that the uses to which this land is put are rationally assigned by taking present and future needs into consideration. These policies must be based on a careful study of the growth pattern of numerous factors. It takes time to plan, but the urgent needs of a rapidly growing urban population must be met quickly.

24/ Hardoy, Jorge E., "The demand for urban land and its use" (paper prepared for the Inter-regional Seminar on Urban Land Policies and Land Use Control Measures, Madrid, 1-13 November 1971), pp. 22-23.

It is hard to conceive of urban planning unless work is done in the field of laws and regulations aimed at giving the community control over urban land. When the necessary measures are absent or inadequate, urban land speculation may slow down or prevent the implementation of housing projects. Therefore in countries with a liberal economy, the State abrogates the right to private property in cases where land is needed for public purposes. In socialist countries which have a centrally planned economy, land is collectively owned, but the owner State or community guarantees that individuals have the right to use it under certain conditions.

In 1970 a meeting of a United Nations group of experts organized by the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning drew attention to the need to develop a new concept of land ownership, in which land would be considered to be a natural resource. In such a concept the leading principles of a modern urban land policy would be the recognition of the social function of the land and of each owner's responsibility towards society. 25/

If this land is to be made available, the public appropriation machinery requires that the right of ownership be regulated appropriately and that legal procedures be established for the appropriation, use and administration of this land by the public authorities. There is therefore a need for cadastral studies, and land policy registers must be put together so that the way in which the public domain is divided and the use to which it is put can be known. The legal instruments available to the public authorities are the rules and regulations governing land occupancy and utilization, including those relating to town planning, zoning and building. Local peculiarities are defined in town planning programmes and in the various phases of their implementation.

Despite all these measures, the price of urban land is the major obstacle to the operation and development of settlements. In so far as their monetary value is concerned, urban land prices are affected by a number of variables and by the law of supply and demand. The supply can be increased only at the price of a great deal of facilities, which turn the land into an urban asset. These facilities give land which was once agricultural an added value by making it fit into the urban context. This is one of the main reasons why there is a permanent shortage of urban land which is equipped with facilities and can therefore be built upon. The value of equipped land depends on its location, the ease of communication with the centre or centres, the permissible density of dwellings and the social environment, i.e., the quality of the town planning programme, especially where access to the centre or centres and the time required to reach it or them is concerned. It is important to determine the way in which these variables inter-relate and the role of each of them in the establishment of land values in the zones of a town. However, it must be borne in mind that these values change with time and that a dynamic approach is imperative in making cost evaluations.

There is no need to draw attention to the importance of taking this cost into account. It accounts for a large share of housing expenses and service costs.

An urban land policy must therefore ensure control over the land and make provision for the financing or self-financing of its facilities.

Conclusion

The success of attempts to draw up and implement a human settlements policy depends greatly on the administrative organization. An exposition on the procedure for drawing

25/ See document E/C.6/118.

up, and implementing a national human settlements policy would be incomplete unless some mention were made of the administrative set-up responsible for that policy. Suggestions are made below which are intended to serve as the basis for discussion on the organization of responsible governmental and administrative bodies.

The administrative organization

The Director of the Operation

The key to an effective and realistic solution lies in the organization of the human and material resources available. These resources must be organized in such a way that they become viable and are able to improve steadily to the point required in view of the importance of the problem of human establishment in economic and social development.

For a clear view of this aspect it will be useful first to establish who is responsible for the operation in its various stages and in the physical planning process of which the urban policy is one component. By this is meant the public official or authority responsible either for formulating or implementing the policy or for both phases. This public official or authority is the "client" for whom the work must be performed and who for that reason has the power to make decisions with regard to the technical procedure and the end results of the technological action.

The official or authority who bears the final responsibility must share it with the various authorities who represent the beneficiaries of the action carried out, who take on a specific role according to the phases of the policy. These phases are ordered as follows: determination of objectives, decision, financing and implementation; whereas the general procedure includes the assessment of needs, the overall estimate, the assessment of national and community financial resources, the establishment of priorities in terms of facilities and their distribution in space, the scheduling of the installation of facilities and their actual installation.

The importance of facilities to economic and social development, the diversity of the problems involved and the need for the balanced development of regions mean that a global national outlook must be maintained at all times in respect of determining sectoral priorities, regulating the competition between requests from regions and those from localities, co-ordinating the decisions taken by the various authorities and establishing a balance among investments in infrastructure and basic services, which complement productive investments and ensuring that they correspond to needs which are truly of a priority nature. It is necessary that the State, the regions and the communities co-operate in determining the objectives, with a view particularly to securing the participation of the people concerned. Governmental bodies at the national level are the only ones which have the means at their disposal to form a comprehensive view of the national situation and hence, in the last analysis, are the only bodies capable of taking a decision of national consequence.

Where financing is concerned, the wide range of resources required also makes it necessary for the State to play the leading role. However, since the development of activities at the regional and local levels is related to the need to provide facilities which meet regional and local needs, the beneficiaries must direct the operations to some extent and make a reasonable contribution to the financing. On the other hand, since there are so few possibilities for financing at the regional and local levels, the State must assist the regions and localities in their task by granting them subsidies and financial help for the provision of facilities which can serve the purpose of the nation as a whole or by extending loans to them or making it easier for them to borrow the funds they need to obtain the facilities agreed upon by national, regional and local authorities.

The proper distribution of these responsibilities and tasks among the various authorities and the co-ordination of their activities depend on the administrative organization. In the field of physical planning, the programming, administration and financing of the plans require as much, if not more, attention as their preparation. In a document on the administrative aspects of urbanization issued by the Public Administration Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in April 1968, it is pointed out in many countries of Africa responsibility for urban and regional development is at present spread out over a number of ministries, departments and divisions.

The organizational set-up presented is an outline of organic needs within national, regional and local governmental bodies. It is based on the organization, or attempts at the organization, of physical planning in selected countries with a certain amount of administrative experience. It is predicted on the principle that final decisions in the field of physical planning as well with regard to the economic development plan must emanate from a governmental body at the highest level and that the physical planning department should be at the ministerial level. This high-level body is assisted by an interministerial committee responsible for providing it with the data needed to take decisions. The ministry in charge of equipment and housing is in direct contact with this committee, and the services it provides are extended to the regions and principal localities.

This system is characterized by the centralization of power and the authority to make decisions. It presupposes the existence of an adequate number of technical offices and technicians and a sizable operating budget. A problem which arises fairly frequently in connexion with such a system is that of co-ordination among the various departments, ministries and authorities. An interministerial group may be assigned the task of co-ordinating the studies carried out and of submitting decisions on programming and appropriate administrative measures for implementing them to the interministerial committee on physical planning. The services provided by these high-level governmental bodies would appear to be fundamental to any organization of activities relating to a physical planning and human settlements policy. There can be no doubt that those decisions which affect an entire nation where urban facilities and policy are concerned must be taken at a level which gives them enough force to ensure their implementation by national, regional and local bodies.

It is essential that a technical body or office should be able to furnish all the data needed in taking these decisions. This body or office must co-ordinate its work with that performed by other ministries or departments in such fields as housing and public works, national education, health, industrial development and agriculture.

If the resources available do not permit the establishment of similar subsidiary offices in the various regions, an office with sufficient authority should work in co-ordination and together with the regional and local departments of the various ministries concerned. The central office or principal technical bureau should, in that case, have teams at its disposal which can, when necessary, work in the various regions making evaluations, formulating policy, supervising operations, etc.

The activities carried out by this central technical bureau, which may be either a governmental department or a competent private or semi-private firm, should be performed by technicians working together or by interdisciplinary teams. The main disciplines involved are statistics, human and physical geography, agronomy, economics, sociology and disciplines related to town planning and architecture.

These teams must be equipped to study all data related to the development of human settlements, i.e., data related to the following three fields:

Spacial development, sectoral programming and financial assessment

Consistency in the organization of studies and in taking account of the various fields of interest involved and of the way in which they inter-relate the part they play in the total operation and their financial situation will be promoted if the whole procedure is carried out under the same leadership and, if possible, by the same interdisciplinary teams. This will also ensure that the phases of the operation are programmed rationally. The fact that there is some dichotomy between that part of the procedure which involves pure economics and the part related to physical planning makes this all the more important.

It is because of this basic dichotomy that consistency is sought through a combination and complementary of the work performed in the two fields. Although the whole significance of an economic plan depends on its being a short-term operation with a duration of 4 or 5 years, physical planning, which is by definition, formal and visual, is a long-term operation which takes 20 or 30 years to implement and is carried out on the basis of a conceptualization of the way in which national, regional and local geographical space will or should be organized in accordance with established development hypotheses. Moreover, the diversity of the studies required makes it imperative to seek consistency. It is therefore vital to establish an appropriate framework in which these studies can be organized and account can be taken of the various fields involved and of their relationship, role and financial situation. An attempt is made to achieve this harmonization by formulating documents at the same time and - in so far as this is possible - by using the same technicians to carry out the studies and prepare the documents.

It is necessary to co-ordinate the various documents and the phases of study and implementation. Consistency can be ensured by giving proper consideration to the time factor in the light of the financial means available. It is of basic importance to establish ways of assessing the relationship between economic development and spacial and urban development and between technical and financial constraints and habitat.

It is of interest and may be useful to draw up a plan of action in which the most important phases of the economic procedure are shown in juxtaposition with those of the spacial development operation.

At the symposium on urbanization mentioned above, it was pointed out that if administrative principles and procedures do not combine to guide urbanization and to develop urban facilities, urban living standards may drop qualitatively even in cases where economic development continues to advance rapidly. There are problems of national growth and policy and can be solved effectively only within the framework of national policies on urban development and assistance to urban development. The greatest failure of urban administration so far is the lack of a national concept of urbanization.

CONCLUSION

The graphs which appear at the end of this paper on the components of policies and programmes for the development of human settlements are intended to give a comprehensive summary of the components, procedures and instruments of action aimed at the establishment of such a policy within the framework of national development policies.

Human settlements are so important to the economic life of a country that attention must be given to the existing situation within this continent in regard to them. It is necessary to establish a system of co-operation among the States members of the Commission, which, if it is to serve its purpose, must be centred around a single basic element or document so that divergent approaches are not taken and a common language and points of reference are established.

Such a brief summary of a field which is so vast is necessarily incomplete and probably inadequate in many respects, but it provides a summary description of the problem in the hope that priorities will be established or that preference will be given to certain aspects. In this sense it is intended to be a working paper which will serve as the basis of a document describing the situation in member States and their views and the extent of their efforts in the light of the general situation in Africa and the situation in each country.

Thus, an attempt is made in the first part to present the most important factors in the global situation in the region and in the second part to trace points of reference by identifying objectives and ways of attaining them. In the conclusion a general picture of administrative means is given. From the whole, it would appear that in general attention should be given to:

(a) Administrative organization. The extent and range of the problems to be solved and their importance to economic development make a highly qualified administrative and technical body and offices essential. A survey carried out in the period 1965-1970 by the Association of Commonwealth Planners showed that there was a shortage of qualified personnel in a number of countries.

Results of the survey conducted by questionnaire by the Association of Commonwealth Planners

Country	Total number of planners	Total number of planners recruited abroad	Number of students in the field of planning	Number of unqualified assistants
Nigeria	37	0	52	210
Sierra Leone	9	1	0	1
Uganda	20	16	11	1
Kenya	20	17	8	4
Tanzania	8	4	4	14
Malawi	3	2	2	0

A common policy in connexion with the training of technicians and specialists would help all countries to establish and develop an administrative organization adequate to their needs.

In addition, one or more centres for the exchange of information, technicians and technology might be established now. Such centres could moreover be incorporated into the continent's facilities for the training and retraining of technicians and specialists. These facilities, whether they are institutes or other establishments, should not fail to provide specialized training for technicians, such as statisticians, whose work is needed in the formulation of policies and programmes. They should also provide for research, especially in connexion with the methods of analysis and organization and the techniques of forecasting.

(b) Ways of financing. The high cost of facilities, their specific type and nature and the relatively long time it takes to design and install them means that their financing must be included among those long-term financial operations which are realitively costly. However, many of these facilities should not be dissociated from economically dynamic development activities which produce work and employment since they give these activities their viability. Among other things, they make it possible to spread the inductive impact of these dynamic activities throughout the region. Therefore ways of overcoming the difficulties of financing such facilities must be examined, and attempts might be made to agree upon a common approach or a regional policy.

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