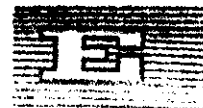


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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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## SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

1. The Economic Commission for Africa, in accordance with its terms of reference and relevant resolutions, has scheduled in its actual or projected work programme various studies connected with the economic development of Africa, including its social aspects, on which several projects have been proposed. For example, project 01-01 concerns the "analysis of the major economic, social and technical problems encountered by selected African economies in their development policies and programming." Project 01-15 is devoted to studies of social barriers to economic change and the social consequences of industrialization, the urban social structure and social conditions in relation to city and regional planning, housing and social services, analysis of rural-urban migration and changes of occupation, examination of social behaviour and processes in rural and urban African communities in relation to economic development, and advisory services to governments regarding social research and analysis of social problems. Project 01-06 comprises studies on educational requirements under development programmes. Project 01-07 concerns the analysis of the contribution of community development and other methods of mobilizing human resources to economic development, while under project 21-02 one of the main studies to be carried out in co-operation with FAO and the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs is on the factors involved in the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture, including land policies and agricultural credit and co-operatives.

2. Apart from these formally planned research projects and the workshops and surveys listed in the work programme, the Secretariat will do its utmost to meet requests from member governments for advice on problems related to social aspects of economic development. In view of the vital importance of these aspects, the need for research, consultation and advisory services cannot be over-emphasized. Most of the problems call for an inter-disciplinary approach; here, since

governments may not always have the time or personnel to spare for the study of the problems, the Secretariat of ECA should be in a position to render useful service. Social research and advisory services in this special area are not isolated from the larger context of development planning but are part of the Commission's total co-ordinated effort to meet the needs of African countries and governments.

3. This paper is intended merely to provide the Commission with general information, to define some problem areas in Africa that illustrate the importance of the social aspects of economic development, and to make suggestions for research which might be of interest to member governments.

#### I. Some Social Problems of African Development

4. Economic development implies new production patterns, which may necessitate changes in traditional methods of work, occupation and place of residence, and the provision of new incentives. Resistance to the use of new tools, new techniques and new forms of family life in new community settings must be replaced by a readiness, if not eagerness, to learn new skills in order to increase family income and raise the community's level of living. Economic organization being part and parcel of the culture of any society, changes in the economic structure and in production patterns must be accompanied by changes in the social framework. Failure to adapt the latter to economic changes may prevent the desired increase in production or cause social hardships, while social change may itself stimulate economic improvements. This principle of reciprocal consequences applies, for example, to changes in systems of land tenure, to the changeover from a subsistence to an exchange economy etc. Similarly, the ethical and moral standards of a particular society may obstruct or facilitate change.

5. The fundamental economic need of developing countries is usually to create more goods and services, or rather to create the capacity to create more wealth, which depends on factors covering the whole material

and cultural heritage of the society concerned. Any elements in that heritage which are likely to foster development should be carefully preserved, and those likely to impede it should be scrutinized for appropriate action.

(a) Rural development

6. In some parts of Africa the system of land tenure has become intensely individualistic and negotiable. In many others the communal system of ownership prevails, varying of course from country to country and from tribe to tribe. In some cases a family's right to the unit of land allotted to it may be as good as freehold, while in others no such security exists. The communal system has sometimes proved obstructive to development; it is often a serious brake on personal initiative and may prevent improvements in farming methods and capital development, largely owing to the lack of legal security of tenure and difficulties in obtaining loans for land betterment and the purchase of capital equipment.

7. Because under this system every family of the village or tribe is entitled to, and normally has, a piece of land - which is generally not negotiable - the system tends to result, particularly where there is population pressure, in over-fragmentation of the land. In such cases there is clearly a need for social and demographic studies to precede agrarian reforms.

8. Furthermore, in the close-knit village and tribal environment traditional methods of agriculture may remain static. Indeed, when in such an environment the individual improves his land and increases its productivity, the benefits tend to be distributed within the wide circle of the extended family so that no individual saving results. Hence the successful individual will often cease to apply himself, in the absence of any personal incentive. Thus, what is otherwise a good social system of sharing and collective security may adversely affect increased economic production.

9. A mere changeover from communal to individual ownership is no guarantee of success, unless the new system is understood, is practicable, has meaning and provides incentives. It is probably as difficult to dissolve the political and social ties and interests attaching to some traditional systems of land tenure as it is to liberate the individual himself and set him on a new path to success. On the other hand, study of the given social system may suggest that it is not always desirable to switch from communal to individual ownership. Some forms of communal ownership may be so improved as to enable collective efforts and energies to be harnessed with better economic and social results than would arise from a straight shift to some completely new system of ownership that may be bought at the cost of village and family breakdown and social disorientation.
10. In crowded areas or in areas where the soil is over-worked, population evacuation and resettlement may suggest solutions to local economic and social problems; but these often meet with serious social obstacles. In Southern Rhodesia, for example, the agrarian reforms and the resettlement scheme under the Native Husbandry Act were complicated and retarded by social factors such as attachment to traditional homes, the ownership of cattle (which had also to be moved or sold) and resentment at measures adopted without popular consent by a non-African government. Again, the progress of the Aswan Dam project has been threatened by the refusal of some 40,000 residents in the Wadi Halfa area to move to a resettlement site chosen for them, though their present homes will be flooded on completion of the dam. In Morocco, an irrigation scheme has been held up, not on technical grounds, but on account of the system of land tenure. In Mali, resettlement programmes connected with the Niger scheme were impeded by neglect of local needs in house design, village planning and other social factors, recognition of which would have reconciled the prospective migrants to the new settlements.
11. In some parts of Africa the land question is further complicated by the existence of traditional societies in which the land belongs to

a small number of families. Here social reforms and agrarian reforms are closely interwoven. Similarly, there exist in Africa dual or plural or multi-racial societies in which land ownership is based on a system of race segregation. Utilization of land is hampered by restrictions imposed on racial grounds, which now adversely affect economic development, as clearly emerges from, for instance, the East Africa Royal Commission 1953-55 (Cmd 9475) and the Second Report of the Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives (Southern Rhodesia, August 1960).

(b) Industrialization

12. Diversification of economic activity, especially through

industrialization, is a major aim for most African countries, which are no longer prepared to play the traditional role of suppliers of raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods. As in other under-developed areas, industrialization in Africa has proved to be a difficult process which calls for deliberate government action to overcome obstacles of an economic as well as of a social nature.

13. One of the main obstacles is the shortage of entrepreneurial skills whether for the conduct of small concerns or the management of large undertakings. With the necessary conditions for a more spontaneous growth lacking, many African governments have no choice but to act as entrepreneurs by diverting domestic savings into productive investments and even assuming managerial responsibilities. At the same time, they must take appropriate measures to overcome the lack or the inadequacy of administrative, executive, technical and other trained personnel, which clearly affects the rate and pattern of industrial growth. This is a question at once of cultural background, education and training.

14. In most African countries not only are incomes low, reflecting low productivity and under-development in general, but often the level and distribution of income are determined by social factors, which may be racial in origin, as in the dual or multi-racial societies where personal income is directly related to the individual's racial origin.

or arise from industrial colour-bars, wage differentials or restrictive trade union practices. In such cases the African's purchasing power is so limited as to narrow and arrest the expansion of production for the domestic market, to say nothing of saving by the majority. The very high percentage of income concentrated in the hands of a small, often the politically dominant, group may of course sometimes produce a high rate of saving and investment by that group; but this minority may equally well be given to conspicuous spending and to consumption of goods with a high import content, or to investment of savings abroad.

15. Economic development is similarly checked in traditional societies where wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small section of the population while the vast majority live in dire poverty, and may be impossible without prior social reforms.

16. Just as there are social obstacles to industrialized economic development, there are equally important social consequences which, as shown elsewhere in this paper, may undermine the society and in turn, impair the process of development that was their prime cause.

(c) Urbanization and housing

17. There is no doubt that among the results of many development projects in Africa will be urbanization problems, which are often more social than economic. For instance, children are usually well reared in a stable rural community, where every parent knows the kind of life for which to prepare his offspring. But adults moved from the countryside to urban surroundings find difficulty not only in adjusting themselves but in training their children for life in a completely new setting.

18. The Report on the World Social Situation in 1957 (UN Publication E/CN.5/324/Rev.1 - ST/SCA/33) stresses the fact that urbanization often overlaps with industrialization; but the common assumption that city growth follows industrial expansion must be qualified in the case of Africa, where many industrialization projects have been launched to meet the problem of masses of unemployed or under-employed city-dwellers.



19. Under-employment is a good example of the social nature of certain aspects of urban development in Africa. Unskilled labourers are usually available in larger numbers than can be employed, though the lack or loss of employment is not so frightening for them as it might be elsewhere, partly because newcomers from the village do not realize how much rudimentary security they enjoyed in the village, partly because people temporarily unemployed in African towns find a measure of security in extended family ties, tribal associations and other forms of mutual support. This measure of security, however, is rapidly disappearing and has in fact already ceased to exist in some working areas.

20. Cities in Africa have seldom been designed or located with sufficient care. When interest in town planning developed in recent years, attention was focussed on the absence of civic centres, irregular lay-out and the tendency to allot unreasonably large lots in the non-African sections of cities.

21. Re-designing their major cities is likely to be a pressing necessity for many African States. As the centres of economic activity shift, in a movement paralleling the growing importance of commercial agriculture and industry in relation to trade, new cities may develop, and these will require careful planning. The town-planning and housing units maintained at UN Headquarters, as well as the Economic Commission for Africa, can render valuable assistance in appraising the need for and cost of re-designing and re-location of towns.

22. As services such as the construction and maintenance of streets and the laying of sewers, electricity and water mains, as well as the provision of other public utilities increase, cities will be confronted with a problem of financing their own administration, which may become serious on account of the poverty of many of the people within their jurisdiction. Urban development may also call for the reorganization of municipal government, because a poorly organized municipality is necessarily a costly one. A municipality may be expected to finance its own management more easily when the urban community is well integrated and, it may be added, when the local government itself is equally so.

23. Housing projects are successful only where they really satisfy the inhabitants' needs. If a departure from local traditions is deemed desirable, a publicity programme may have to be launched to win the approval of those who will live in houses of a new design or layout. Slum clearance in all countries is a task notorious for the difficulties encountered owing to the people's attachment to their old familiar surroundings. Where the architects are foreign to the country in which they work, there is greater need for close contact between them and the local population. Many cases exist of modern settlements which have turned into slums through lack of understanding between those who built the houses and those who had to live in them.

(d) Manpower and training

24. Unskilled labour is abundant in most parts of Africa; but the effective utilization of manpower is hampered by frequent ignorance of labour market conditions, lack of incentives, disguised unemployment consequent upon subsistence agriculture and the restrictive labour practices that obtain in dual or multi-racial societies. Better use of human resources will not be achieved without social reforms designed to equip manpower with the necessary knowledge and skills and to replace traditional labour migration by a more desirable type of both geographical and occupational mobility.

25. The tribal structure and the illusory "self-sufficiency" of the subsistence economy tend to create a static situation in which the deployment of labour for productive purposes in the money economy is difficult. In the past, partly to overcome this obstacle and partly to secure cheap labour, various measures - e.g. the imposition of poll tax and hut tax and restrictive land reservations - were adopted in many parts of Africa for the purpose of forcing villagers out into industrial areas or on to European-owned farms. In the Rhodesias, the Union of South Africa and Mozambique organized and systematic recruitment of migrant labour has for long been practised by agents such as the Southern Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission and the Witwatersrand Native

Labour Association. But both methods of harnessing and deploying labour, i.e. by taxation or land reservation or by organized recruitment, have caused much hardship. The institution of cheap unskilled labour has proved in fact both costly and relatively unproductive.

26. Migrant labour is a common feature in many African countries, e.g. the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique, Nyasaland and the Union of South Africa. In West Africa, thousands of workers from the French-speaking areas cross into Gambia or Ghana in search of seasonal agricultural jobs. This system has serious social and economic effects.

27. The drift from rural to urban areas, whether it takes place for financial reasons or in response to the lure of urban life, or as a result of conscription or recruitment by government or private agents, raises serious social problems, such as the effects on village and family life and on the whole tribal political and social structure.

28. One result of the process is the creation of "a vicious circle in which the outflow of labour reduces productivity and falling productivity increases still farther the pressure on workers to seek wage employment". This vicious circle can be broken, at least to some extent - as is being done in Rhodesia, for example - by agrarian and economic reforms designed to increase agricultural productivity and to render rural life more attractive. Rapid urbanization and industrialization in erstwhile rural or predominantly rural communities will often result in an influx of labour into the urban-industrial areas, with consequent unemployment, increased crime, juvenile delinquency and other social evils. This is not only a social, but an economic, problem because not only of the above-mentioned unemployment and the burden on the authorities of increased expenditure to provide the services required by an idle labour force but of the fact that this redundant labour is unproductive.

29. Efforts to stabilize and rationalize labour as a means of mitigating the social evils of migrant labour and improving labour's quality and efficiency invariably run into difficulties. In most of Africa to-day villagers are likely to continue to supplement their poor incomes from subsistence agriculture by wage-earning, so that rural-urban migration will proceed to the detriment of labour stabilization. Employers are not agreed on the best policy to adopt in the circumstances. Some argue that ties with the villages should be kept strong, and therefore only temporary housing and other services provided in town; others maintain that permanent services are essential to the creation of a stable labour force and that full urbanization is desirable if the quality of labour is to be improved. Stabilization raises the problem of increased unemployment, as the emphasis is on skill and quality rather than quantity of labour, unless redundant labour can be absorbed through parallel economic expansion.

30. As in the case of land, there are additional labour problems peculiar to the dual or multi-racial societies, in which European workers have been traditionally reluctant to share their skills with indigenous workers for fear of competition, or at least have failed to reach long-term agreements on labour conditions with the indigenous workers. Where attempts have been made to conclude such agreements, the question of equal pay for equal work has raised other problems, such as whether an African country can afford to pay its workers wage rates previously established for European workers.

31. Generally speaking, production costs in the dual society have been increased by social rather than economic factors, partly because of the obstacles to the attainment of skilled status by the indigenous workers, partly owing to the inflation of the cost of skilled labour through the need to attract it from overseas - the high cost being maintained by restrictive and sometimes racist political systems and trade union practices. Where indigenous workers have attained skilled jobs, as for example in parts of West Africa, wage rates have been maintained because

they are based on standards set by imported skilled labour.

32. There is in general a serious scarcity of skilled labour, and of trained personnel in the administrative and related sectors. The need is desperate for trained teachers, economists, doctors, engineers, clerks, statisticians, supervisors, etc.

33. The inadequacy - sometimes the complete lack - of such trained personnel not only militates against efficient methods of economic development but also makes the servicing of capital difficult and costly, as overseas administrative, executive and technical staff are required in the foreign investment sector.

34. Accelerated training is crucially necessary. Both the International Labour Regional Conference and the Conference of University Heads in Africa, held recently in Lagos and Khartoum respectively, stressed the gravity of the situation and the need for speeding up training at both ends of the manpower scale.

35. International assistance in training programmes will of course be available through the specialized agencies of the United Nations and through other channels, whether on a bilateral or multilateral basis. In this connexion, the Economic Commission for Africa is already committed by its work programme to carry out, in co-operation with UNESCO, studies in selected African countries on "the number of persons possessing the various types of skill required for the achievement of development objectives and ... the facilities for training such personnel" (project 01-06).

## II. SUGGESTIONS FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

36. In the choice of research projects two main approaches are possible. One may aim at broad problems, such as the urban structure in large African cities, research then being directed towards the collection and analysis of basic information and the identification of the problems. The second approach is to take a problem already identified on which a

programme of action is to be initiated; in this case the aim of research is to find answers to specific questions related to planning and to ways and means. This second method has the advantage of being directly related to the solution of problems and to programmes already under way.

37. Many examples could be quoted of research possibilities in social aspects of economic development based on either or both of the above-mentioned approaches; but only a few of these, necessarily confined to the area of the Commission's competency and work programme, will be given here.

(a) Collection of statistical data

38. The Statistical Survey of Africa will undoubtedly constitute one of the major tasks on the Commission's work programme in coming years. The development of statistical data on the comprehensive basis envisaged will continually involve sociological aspects at the data collection stage. For example, some of the specific problems of concept connected with data obtained from population censuses concern household, place of birth or origin, ethnic characteristics etc. Censuses on the basis of the "household" have usually been conducted in accordance with the experience of highly individualistic countries outside Africa. The problems of cultural and economic differentiation faced by African governments in recent times have often shown that the familiar definitions of "household" have little application to the countries concerned. During the Ghana census, for instance, it was decided to omit questions regarding relationship to the head of the household, as it was found that the standard definition, namely a family sharing the same housing unit, was inapplicable to existing family patterns in Ghana, which permit differentiation by region and tribe<sup>1/</sup>.

39. Another problem related to the "household" concept, and one of far-reaching importance to all African countries, is the treatment of non-monetary (subsistence) transactions within the framework of national accounts. A substantial proportion of output in the traditional sector is both produced and consumed within the household and thus has no cash counterpart. In view of its relative importance in the total domestic

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1/ 1960 Population Census of Ghana: Report on the first field test  
(25 May - 6 June, 1959), pp. 33-34.

product, this situation cannot be ignored and, in fact, all African countries include estimates of subsistence output in their national accounts series. This treatment of non-monetary (subsistence) transactions at the national level raises a variety of problems concerning both the definition of the boundary of production and the valuation of the output. An initial attempt to solve these problems was made by a working group of national accounts experts, convened by ECA in June 1960. The recommendations of this working group are the subject of a separate report<sup>1/</sup>.

40. The examples given above show the need for revised concepts adapted to prevailing social conditions, applicable not only to censuses but to every type of statistical data collection conducted in the African region. A basic problem in social research seems to be how to adjust international statistical techniques to specific cultural conditions in the region. Again, there is very little quantitative information available on variations arising from cultural patterns as applied to geographic or sectoral groupings, although field research already done shows that recognizable patterns do exist and that concepts and techniques must be varied for the African region<sup>2/</sup>.

41. Scientific study of migration is of particular importance for African economic research. Migration in Africa involves both long-term international movements within the region and intra-national short-term movements, which frequently complicate the definition of "birth-place" normally used as an indicator of migration in census practice. That apart, migration can only be studied in relation to the reasons for it, problems of adjustment in newly-settled areas etc. Census concepts of birth-place and place of residence frequently ignore ethnic affiliations, which are of special moment in African migratory movements.

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<sup>1/</sup> Report of the Working Group on the Treatment of Non-monetary (subsistence) Transactions within the Framework of National Accounts (E/CN.14/60).

<sup>2/</sup> Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara, UNESCO, 1956, pp. 54-55.

(b) Social barriers to economic change

42. Regarding the broader side of social barriers to economic change, one subject of research might be the economic and social structure of selected African countries, the purpose being to collect data not only on the actual social economic aspects or factors themselves but also on their general inter-relationships, including perhaps the value patterns and forms of social organization of the society studies, individual and collective contributions, incentives for and availability and efficiency of labour, products and methods of production, methods and patterns of goods distribution, consumption patterns etc.

43. Studies might also be made of forms of land tenure and their history and of changes in land tenure systems, before governments are advised on the desirability of carrying out agrarian reforms. Neither individual nor communal ownership has any intrinsic merit as such; any merit either may have may be due to social factors that go deeper than mere forms of tenure. Among the Chagga people of Tanganyika, for example, the communal system has proved no impediment to remarkable agricultural development. Co-operative production and distribution of coffee has been superimposed on, and perhaps facilitated by, the communal system. However, as was mentioned above in connexion with land, the individual approach may be the most suitable in other societies. Each country must assess for itself the best way to tackle its agrarian problem, while of course taking advantage of comparative studies on earlier forms of land tenure and any changes made in them.

(c) Social factors in resettlement

44. Many countries in Africa have development programmes under which groups of people have to be resettled. If large sections of the population have to be moved, a demographic analysis by working ages, kinds of skill, educational attainments etc. will contribute to a realistic assessment of their economic potential in the new location, and might even lead to a re-planning of economic activities in the new community or to a re-training programme for the labour force.



45. The "morale" of the people, i.e. in fact their attitude to moving, affects their willingness to work for the success of a resettlement project, and is in turn affected by the relation between the old community and the resettlement area. Generally speaking, plans should provide for re-location within the same language and culture area and in the same sector of the economy. Radical changes almost always provoke serious social unrest and destructive reactions.

46. Resettlement plans for a specific population must be handled by skilled researchers conversant with the language and culture of the people concerned and able to identify the important symbols of their way of life. A further requirement is the ability to assess what degree of change may be desirable or acceptable, leading to a definition of possible lines of action and of alternatives to be avoided because of the difficult problems they would involve.

(d) Social impact of the changeover to an industrialized exchange economy

47. Research could also be done in order to ascertain, for specific countries in Africa, the social and cultural effects of modernizing the economy by introducing mechanization of production in former agricultural countries with pre-industrial social structures. Among these effects are urbanization and stabilization of labour, which entail new forms of family life and the need for social services, unemployment and old-age benefits etc. Research might also aim at establishing methods of meeting the added burden on new governments of providing the security formerly provided in the village community by the mutual and collective efforts of the extended family, as well as ways and means of minimizing by careful planning the social effects of industrialization, such as the breakdown of family life, increased crime, juvenile delinquency etc.

48. Similarly, studies might be designed to follow up some of the social effects connected with consumption patterns of the changeover from a subsistence to an exchange economy, which may be beneficial or detrimental, leading either to personal and social betterment or to discontent and disorganization.

(e) Urban growth and re-development

49. Authorities confronted with problems of urban growth might make use of a research programme on the following lines. A beginning could be made with surveys made at various times in various urban areas designed to take advantage of experience gained by other authorities elsewhere. The problems of rapid urbanization have already been studied in, for example, Athens, Cairo, Casablanca and Tripoli by the Urbanization Survey Mission for the Mediterranean region. In Cairo, it was discovered that some 145 regional associations had been founded to help new migrants to find work, homes and friends. Similar organizations exist in all African cities. Specific research should reveal details of the social structure and its functioning, and hence suggest what is lacking and must be introduced through community development programmes in order to alleviate social disorganization and produce a stronger and healthier citizenry.

50. Studies should also be made of changes in family life and of the problems that arise and the adjustments that become necessary when families move out to the suburbs or to the city from the rural areas. Family and neighbourhood social structure should be considered when decisions are taken regarding the use of land or, for example, street design, since planning should facilitate and not impair a sound social structure. Where changes in the use of land are resisted, intensive study may bring out alternatives less hard and more effective than those which completely disregard local feeling.

51. Again, studies are needed of the special problems affecting children and youth in the urban environment. Growing up in cities demands adequate schools and recreational facilities. Any studies made in this sector should become the basis for planning the necessary urban social services.

52. Lastly, city development plans should be examined in relation to industrialization and broader development plans for the entire country. Under certain circumstances a government may be justified

in spending money to relieve congestion or eliminate unhealthy conditions; but investments in urban development should as far as possible add, at least indirectly, to the country's productive capacity.

(f) Housing

53. Another sphere in which more social research is needed is housing. This research should aim at ascertaining, not only requirements but what interest exists in better housing and what social groups can afford. To that end, the researchers would identify social strata in the city, their various interests in housing and their ability and readiness to pay for it. Next, on the basis of the data collected, it should be possible to ascertain what persuasion and finance would be needed to launch a housing programme for a particular stratum of the population.

54. In addition, architects should know whether there are strong traditions in house design or any housing taboos, or whether they have a free hand in designing the dwellings required. Further important data are needed regarding the location and size of dwellings, together with basic demographic data for the specific group to be housed. The latter is hardly ever obtainable without a special local enquiry.

55. In planning the financing of housing, the most effective forms of ownership and of tenant-landlord relations demand not only careful economic analysis but a knowledge of the social components of the problem. Points to be ascertained are whether the families are mobile or likely to be long-time residents, whether they are wage-earners and, if so, what is their source of income, whether there is more than one wage-earner in the family, whether there is a stable form of marriage, what customs are observed in regard to house tenure and whether these customs are consistent with the proposed plan or, if not, amenable to change.

(g) Manpower and training

56. With regard to manpower and training, research could be conducted into educational requirements under development programmes, either on a specific basis or in a broader form designed to define the general labour problems, needs and prospects of African countries, although the latter data would probably prove to be too general. If the results are to be useful and manageable, research on the lines envisaged in project 01-06 (E/CN.14/87) would appear to meet African needs more adequately. (Under this project surveys will be made in selected African countries of the numbers of persons possessing various types of skill required for the achievement of development objectives and of the facilities for training personnel).

57. In the dual societies, where skilled labour has been until now done only by a particular social or racial section of the community, and where a freer labour market must be established, the problem arises of how best to advance to skilled jobs those workers hitherto restricted to unskilled jobs. Other questions arise: what training is to be given and what wage rates paid, whether jobs will be fragmented, whether the "rate for the job" will be paid and what its implications will be, what the effects of competition will be on the section of the community which has been so far protected from it by law or by trade union practices. These are serious problems; for, if the general effect is to lower wages, the hitherto privileged workers must make sacrifices in consumption, and this may well have serious social and economic consequences. On the other hand, if the effect is to maintain the wage and consumption standards of the privileged section, the economy may be unable to absorb the resulting inflated labour cost, unless it attains an accelerated rate of expansion. In such cases it is not easy to advise on one course of action or another. Some of the countries concerned have proceeded by trial and error on an empirical basis. It might prove useful to compile and evaluate the experience gained in given cases.

58. Regarding all these and other related problems, it seems clear that the social aspects are of vital importance, whether as obstructing or facilitating factors, in the process of economic development. Basically, it is a question of human investment, of education and training, and of a general awareness in the people concerned of the connexion between their social values, organizations and institutions, on the one hand, and of their economic requirements, on the other. Here research, consultation and advisory services can be invaluable, and it is to be hoped that member governments in need of assistance will not hesitate to call upon the Secretariat of the Commission.

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