

48194

Distr.

LIMITED

PFUD/WP/2

3 September 1964

ENGLISH

Original: FRENCH

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA
Workshop on the rôle of physical
planning and urbanization policies
in development
Accra (Ghana), 28 September - 5 October 1964

URBANIZATION, DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND NATIONAL POLICIES WITH
RELATION TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION,
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS^{1/}

^{1/} Document prepared by Mr. Paul Sebag, in charge of research in the
Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Tunis.

URBANIZATION, DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND NATIONAL POLICIES WITH
RELATION TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION,
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

1. There has been an increase in the rate of population growth in Africa during the last few years. The rate of increase was 1.6 per cent, for the 1940 - 1950 period and reached 2.2 per cent in the 1950 - 1960 period.^{1/} This rate of growth, which is twice as high as that of the industrialized countries of Europe in the nineteenth century, will, in all probability, continue to rise in the years to come. In point of fact, while for centuries high birth rates were counterbalanced by high mortality rates, the mortality rate, thanks to better protection against disease, has now begun to decrease more and more rapidly, thus causing a genuine population explosion.

This upsetting of the equilibrium is shown in the most recent data available on the different African countries, where the gap between the birth rate and death rate is explained by a rate of growth that falls below the average of 2.2 per cent in some countries but is as high as 3 per cent in others. (Table I)

2. Africa has remained the least urbanized continent. The population established in the urban areas still represents only a small percentage of the total population. In about 1960, the population settled in localities of more than 20,000 inhabitants stood at 9 per cent in Africa, as against 13 per cent in Asia, 24 per cent in South America, 31 per cent in the USSR, 35 per cent in Europe, and 42 per cent in North America. The population settled in localities of more than 100,000 inhabitants stood at 5 per cent in Africa, as against 8 per cent in Asia, 16 per cent in South America, 18 per cent in USSR, 21 per cent in Europe, and 29 per cent in North America.^{2/}

In addition to these abstract averages, it may be useful to recall the data available for different African countries. (Table II)

^{1/} Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa, E/CN.14/239, p. 156.

^{2/} Ibid., p. 222.

TABLE I
Birth rates, death rates and crude rates of natural increase^{1/}
in various African countries

Country	Birth rate per (0/00)	Death rate per (0/00)	Crude rate of natural increase per (0/00)
NORTH			
Algeria (Moslems)	45	13.3	3.1
Libya	43	-	-
Morocco (Moslems)	48	20	2.8
Sudan	52	19	3.3
Tunisia	44	26	1.8
UAR (Egypt)	43	21	2.2
Spanish North Africa	23	8	1.5
WEST			
Dahomey	54	27	2.7
Ghana	51	27	2.4
Guinea	62	40	2.2
Ivory Coast	55	30	2.5
Mali	56	28	2.8
Niger	59	32	2.7
Nigeria	55	-	-
Senegal	40	18	2.2
Togo	55	32	2.3
Upper Volta	49	30.6	1.8
Cape Verde Islands	44.9	15.7	2.9

^{1/} Birth and death rates are taken from Table B.III.9 of the study: Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa, E/CN.14/239, p. 188.

TABLE I (cont'd) Birth rates, death rates and crude rates of natural increase^{1/}
in the various African countries

Country	Birth rate per (0/00)	Death rate per (0/00)	Crude rate of natural increase per (0/00)
CENTRAL			
Cameroun	42	-	-
Congo (Brazzaville)	47	27	2.0
Congo (Leopoldville)	43	20	2.3
Gabon	36	28	0.8
Central African Republic	48	30	1.8
Ruanda-Urundi	49.1	15.4	3.3
Sao Tomé and Principe	53.6	20.7	3.2
SOUTH			
Angola	49	37	1.2
Basutoland	40	23	1.7
Southern Rhodesia (Africans)	45	17	2.8
South Africa			
(Bantu)	42	11	3.1
(Coloured)	46.2	16.3	2.9
(White)	24.9	8.8	1.6
(Asian)	30.1	7.8	2.2
Zambia (Africans)	57	32.2	2.4
EAST			
Kenya (Africans)	50	20	3.0
Madagascar	45	14.5	3.0
Mauritius	39.6	16.6	2.3
Mozambique	47	27	2.0
Tanganyika	46	24	2.2
Reunion	44.2	11.1	3.3
Zanzibar and Pemba			
Zanzibar	32	21	1.1
Pemba	45	23	2.2

^{1/} Birth and death rates are taken from Table B.III.9 of the study: Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa, E/CN.14/239, p. 188.

TABLE II
Population in localities of more than 20,000 inhabitants and
of more than 100,000 inhabitants^{1/} (percentages)

Country	Year	Towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants	Towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants
NORTH			
UAR (Egypt)	1960	16.0	-
Morocco	1960	24.0	18.9
Tunisia	1956	19.8	10.4
Libya	1954	18.3	11.9
Algeria	1948	14.1	6.6
Sudan	1955-1956	4.5	2.4
WEST			
Senegal	1956	19.0	9.9
Nigeria	1952-1953	11.4	8.9
Gambia	1958	7.7	-
Ivory Coast	1955	6.8	5.1
Dahomey	1955	5.5	-
Togo	1958	4.5	-
Guinea	1960	3.7	-
Upper Volta	1956	2.3	-
Mali	1956	1.8	-
Ghana	1960	11.9	8.3
CENTRAL			
Congo (Brazzaville)	1950	15.4	-
Congo (Leopoldville)	1959	9.1	5.9
Cameroun	1957-1958	6.2	3.7
Central African Republic	1950	3.9	-
Chad	1960	3.1	-

^{1/} These percentages have been taken from the study: Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa, (E/CN.14/239, Table 26, pp. 222-223), except for those relating to Tunisia, Ghana, Chad, Kenya and Tanganyika, which we have calculated from data available to us.

TABLE II (cont'd) Population in localities of more than 20,000 inhabitants and of more than 100,000 inhabitants^{1/} (percentages)

Country	Year	Towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants	Towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants
SOUTH			
Republic of South Africa	1960	32.9	25.4
Zambia	1960	16.8	-
Southern Rhodesia	1951	22.4	11.4
Bechuanaland	1946	7.8	-
South West Africa	1960	6.9	-
Angola	1955	6.0	4.3
EAST			
Zanzibar and Pemba	1958	19.4	-
Madagascar	1959	8.0	4.7
Kenya	1962	5.7	5.0
Tanganyika	1957	1.8	1.4
Mozambique	1956	1.6	-
Uganda	1959	0.4	-
Ethiopia	1962	3.8	2.6
Reunion	1954	45.0	-
Mauritius	1958	27.4	-

^{1/} These percentages have been taken from the study: Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa, (E/CN.14/239, Table 26, pp. 222-223), except for those relating to Tunisia, Ghana, Chad, Kenya and Tanganyika, which we have calculated from data available to us.

In terms of the percentage of the population living in localities of more than 20,000 inhabitants, the African countries may be divided into five groups.

0-4 per cent: Sudan, Togo, Guinea, Upper Volta, Mali, Central African Republic, Chad, Tanganyika, Mozambique, Uganda, Ethiopia.

5-9 per cent: Gambia, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Congo (Leopoldville), Cameroun, Bechuanaland, South West Africa, Angola, Madagascar, Kenya.

10-14 per cent: Algeria, Nigeria, Ghana.

15-19 per cent: UAR (Egypt), Tunisia, Libya, Senegal, Congo (Brazzaville), Zambia, Zanzibar.

Over 20 per cent: Morocco, Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Reunion, Mauritius.

Although Africa is still lightly urbanized, urbanization is developing very rapidly there.

(a) The number of localities of more than 10,000 inhabitants shows an increase from one census to the next. In the United Arab Republic the figure rose from 87 in 1947 to 109 in 1960; in Tunisia, it rose from 20 in 1946 to 32 in 1956; in Ghana, it rose from 11 in 1948 to 36 in 1960; in Kenya, it rose from 4 in 1948 to 7 in 1962; in Tanganyika, it rose from 4 in 1948 to 11 in 1957.

(b) The ratio of the population of localities with more than 10,000 inhabitants to the total population of the country shows an increase from one census to the next. In Tunisia, it rose from 23.8 per cent in 1946 to 26.6 per cent in 1956; in Ghana, it rose from 9.2 per cent in 1948 to 17.1 per cent in 1960; in Kenya it rose from 4.3 per cent in 1948 to 6.2 per cent in 1962; in Tanganyika it rose from 1.5 per cent in 1948 to 3.2 per cent in 1957.

(c) High growth rates are shown for the populations of large towns from one census to the next. In Tunisia, the population of Tunis rose from 220,000 inhabitants in 1936 to 410,000 inhabitants in 1956 (an increase of 86 per cent).^{1/} In Morocco, the population of Casablanca rose from 682,000 inhabitants in 1952 to 1,000,000 inhabitants in 1960 (an increase of 40 per cent). In Chad, the population of Fort Lamy rose from 30,000 inhabitants in 1950 to 85,000 inhabitants in 1962 (an increase of 183 per cent). In Ghana, the population of Accra rose from 173,771 inhabitants in 1948 to 337,828 inhabitants in 1962 (an increase of 152 per cent). In Kenya, the population of Nairobi rose from 118,976 inhabitants in 1948 to 266,795 inhabitants in 1962 (an increase of 125 per cent). In Tanganyika, the population of Dar-es-Salaam rose from 69,227 inhabitants in 1948 to 128,742 inhabitants in 1957 (an increase of 86 per cent).

(d) The population of large towns are increasing more rapidly than the populations of whole countries. The annual rate of growth is 4.3 per cent for Tunis and 2.4 per cent for Tunisia; 5 per cent for Casablanca and 2.5 per cent for Morocco; 12.1 per cent for Accra and 3 per cent for Ghana; 6 per cent for Nairobi and 3 per cent for Kenya; 7 per cent for Dar-es-Salaam and 2.5 per cent for Tanganyika.

3. There is every reason to suppose that the natural rate of increase is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. In fact, mortality must be lower in the towns than in the country, whereas the birth rate is still equally high there, although comparative studies are still too rare to enable us to make this statement with full knowledge of the facts.

^{1/} While the population of Tunis almost doubled between 1936 and 1956, the Moslem population trebled, rising from 80,000 to 240,000 inhabitants.

However, the development of African towns is not only due to natural increase: it can also, and above all, be explained by an influx from the outside. Here as elsewhere, urbanization is a corollary of rural exodus. The reality of this exodus has been shown by all the research devoted to African cities over the last few years. In Morocco, 82.3 per cent of the population of Casablanca is of rural origin.^{1/} In the Sudan, in the city of Khartoum, half of the population were born outside their present domicile.^{2/} However, it is not easy to collect comparable numerical data on the rôle of internal migration in the growth of the towns.

4. The rural exodus is closely linked to a process of proletarianization which is more or less advanced according to the country of origin of the rural population.

(a) In some regions, especially in North Africa, European penetration went hand in hand with agricultural colonization. Owner-occupancy took the place of the traditional system of land-tenure, first of all on the lands of the settlers, then on the lands still held by the indigenous population. Thus the modern wage-earner gradually replaced the old tenant-farmer, subject to customary dues either in the form of labour or in kind.

(b) The old peasant communities have been profoundly affected by the progress of monetary economy. The hazards of agricultural production, fluctuations in commodity prices in the world market, recourse to loans at usurious rates of interest and

1/ A. Adam: Les origines ethniques de la population marocaine musulmane de Casablanca: "Les villes" Conference on Urban Sociology organized by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Paris 1958.

2/ From a document presented to the Workshop on urbanization in Africa, Addis Ababa, 1962, SEM/URB/AF/26.

difficulties in repaying debts, have ruined many peasant land-owners, who have been evicted from their lands and have gone to swell the ranks of the rural proletariat.

- (c) A result of the demographic pressure during the last few decades has been a fragmentation of land-holdings in many countries. Following a process that is becoming familiar, holdings have gradually diminished in size, having been divided into a greater number of shares at each succession, because the fall in the death rate has increased the number of claimants. At the last succession, the land, now too small to be divided once again, remains in the hands of one heir, while the others are obliged to look for salaried employment; or else the land, parcelled out into minute plots, can no longer support anyone, and all finally abandon its cultivation and hire out their services.

However, this agricultural proletariat, which becomes more numerous every year, can no longer find employment in the country, since the area of arable land cannot be extended without costly investment; more intensive cultivation of the soil, using more manpower is not possible in every case, the increasing use of modern techniques - mechanization above all - reduces the possibilities of employment in agriculture. The unemployed agricultural labourer is therefore obliged to move to the town, in the hope of finding work and a living there. It therefore seems to us that the process of proletarianization, at least over the last few decades, has been determined by demographic pressure, and proletarianization opens the way to exodus. In the final analysis, the rapid growth of African towns can be very largely explained by the fact that they have become the refuge of the surplus population of rural areas that are relatively, if not absolutely, over-populated.

Certain secondary factors have accelerated the process. People move towards the towns not only to escape from unemployment and hunger, but also so that their children may have easier access to education,

medical care, and the numerous advantages of modern civilization.

Urbanization is precipitated by a desire for modernization, which is springing up in the most remote country districts, because of the spread of novelties from the towns. This process would not, however, be so rapid if the first emigrants, when they returned for a time to their birth-places, did not influence their close relatives and friends to follow their example, if, in fact, the rural world were not already on the move.

5. The recent influx of rural populations into African towns has resulted in a proliferation of "shanty towns", especially on the outskirts of large capital cities. As has been shown in numerous studies, their development goes back two or three decades and dates mainly from the time when the old balance of African populations was upset and demographic growth was sharply accelerated. Although there are local differences, African shanty towns present common characteristics, occupation of land on the immediate outskirts of the cities, without right or title, dissociation between land - and house-ownership; flimsy dwellings - shanties, shacks, huts, single rooms in rough brick - put up in hurry, without any preliminary division of the land into building plots and in contempt of the standards decreed in urban centres. After the event, it is difficult to bring order to these areas of spontaneous suburban growth by providing them with roads, water supply or a sewage system. The roads of beaten earth turn into quagmires in the rainy season. Families must obtain their water supply from the public fountains of which there are never enough, and waste water runs away in open drains. The houses, which were small to begin with, have become more and more congested because of the necessity of crowding in an increasing number of people every year.

6. The rural immigrants who have flocked towards African towns have not only settled in the shanty towns on the outskirts. They have also come to swell the population of the old districts in the heart of the urban agglomerations. The same evolution can be traced throughout

North Africa: the "medinas" of Tunis, Algiers, and Casablanca have been emptied of their former inhabitants, who have sought more hygienic dwelling places in the new districts or in the suburbs; they now shelter a wretched proletariat, which has aggravated the delapidated condition of decayed buildings and caused the wretched and over-populated slums to spread like a canker from year to year.

7. The more fortunate immigrants have found in the town regular employment which has assured them of a decent life. The study of workers' associations in the urban centres always reveals a large proportion of members of rural origin. (For example, 82.5 per cent of the railway men at Tunis have come there from all regions of the country). Nevertheless a large mass of the labour force remains under-employed because of a glut on the labour market, owing to insufficient industrial development. The urban economy can offer only temporary employment in the seasonal industries connected with the cycle of agricultural production, or in construction or other public works. Therefore these workers must usually be content with the meagre earnings to be made from a vast number of small urban trades, as rag-and-bone men, second-hand dealers, street-porters, street-pedlars. Of course, this under-employment means poverty, malnutrition and disease. A survey undertaken in a suburb of Tunis, among a population made up for the most part of semi-employed day-labourers, showed that the monthly expenditure per consumer unit was higher than TD 4.5 in 25 per cent of the households; between TD 4.5 and TD 2.5 in 33 per cent and lower than TD 2.5 in 42 per cent. Although the families devote as much as two-thirds of their available income to food, analysis has shown grave deficiencies in the latter. The energy value of the diet was correct for 18 per cent of the households, slightly deficient for 29 per cent, seriously deficient for 31 per cent and very seriously deficient for 22 per cent of the households. In addition to the calorie deficiency there were also deficiencies in protein - above all in animal proteins - calcium and vitamins.^{1/} Finally, under-employment among these

^{1/} P. Sebag, Dr. M. Ben Salem, Dr. J. Claudian and Mme H. Taieb: Un faubourg de Tunis: Saïda Manoubia. PUF, Paris, 1960.

families, which have been torn from their traditional environment, leads to corruption of morals, of which prostitution, delinquency, and crime are the outward signs. A survey undertaken in Ghana showed that, in the town of Takoradi, 90 per cent of the gangsters known under the name of "pilot boys" were not of local origin but had come from different parts of the country.^{1/}

8. This outline, although too cursory to show the differences in regional situations, nevertheless suffices to make plain the gravity of the problems which face African States and which they are now striving to solve.

9. Since demographic pressure is at the root of all the present difficulties, a policy of family planning may be considered as a means of alleviation. Certain countries - Egypt and Tunisia - have made a move in this direction by adopting a series of appropriate measures: the prohibition of polygamy, the raising of the legal age limit for marriage, the abolition of family allowances for wage-earners after the third child, the dissemination of information concerning contraceptive measures, and publicity for the idea of family planning. However advisable this attempt to modify the natural course of evolution may be, it would be a dangerous illusion to count on it to halt demographic growth. It has been estimated that the population of Africa would increase by 74 per cent in the period from 1960 to 1980, given a natural demographic policy (with a death rate tending towards about 15 per thousand, the birth rate remaining at the present level of 47 per thousand); that with a moderately effective demographic policy it would increase by 61 per cent (with a death rate tending towards 15 per thousand, the birth rate being reduced to 30 per thousand) and that with a highly effective demographic policy it would still increase by 40 per cent (with a death rate tending towards 15 per thousand, the birth rate reduced to 25 per thousand). Therefore, even with the most determined intervention, the

^{1/} K.A. Busia: A social survey of Sekondi/Takoradi. Cf. A document presented at the Workshop on urbanization at Addis Ababa in 1962 SEM/URB/AF/18, p.14.

population of Africa would continue to increase.^{1/} A concrete example will help to measure more accurately the effect of a birth-control policy. It has been calculated that, at the present rate of increase, the population of Egypt will rise from 26.1 millions in 1960 to 45.7 millions in 1980 (i.e., by 75 per cent). With a lower rate of increase - brought about by a reduction of the birth rate - it would still rise to 43.3 millions in 1980 (i.e., by 65 per cent).^{2/} Under these circumstances, it is clear that nothing could excuse the African States from making every effort to promote their economies.

10. It would be useless to try to halt the rural exodus. It might, however, be possible to slow it down by means of an appropriate policy. Within the framework of their efforts towards development, the African States have taken numerous measures in this direction.

- A revision of the laws concerning landed property has cleared away the obstacles to rational cultivation of the land raised by traditional forms of land-ownership. In this way, the suppression of "habous" property, in Tunisia (1957) and the reform of collective-land system (1963) aim at the extension of private property in order to encourage the individual efforts of the farmers.
- The reform of agrarian structures allows the distribution of land to peasants who no longer had any. So, in Egypt, the agrarian reform decreed by a law in September 1952 and supplemented by a second law in July 1961, permitted the distribution of 645,642 acres (260,000 ha) among 226,000 families, comprising 1.5 million persons.

1/ Recent demographic levels and trends in Africa. E/CN.14/239, p.167.

2/ National Monograph: United Arab Republic, PPUD/National Monograph/6, p.2.

- The redistribution of peasant holdings makes it possible to bring back over to an economically viable system of exploitation for under-exploited microfundia. Thus, in Kenya, the Government is trying to substitute plots farmed by a single tenant for widely-scattered parcels of land.
- The development of irrigation allows an increase in the amount of land under cultivation, and the transition from extensive to intensive cultivation. So, in the United Arab Republic, the High Dam of Aswan, now under construction, is to permit the irrigation of 2 million acres (800,000 ha), which will be reclaimed from the desert. Although not of such a spectacular nature, the Tana River Catchment project, in Kenya, provides for the irrigation of 75,000 acres (30,000 ha).
- The absorption of rural unemployment by the initiation of State public works projects is a means of settling the labour force by making it co-operate in the development of the country. In this way, in Tunisia, the State has taken over the unemployed, hiring them at a moderate wage, paid partly in kind and partly in cash, on a wide variety of work such as land conservation and reclamation, drainage of periodically flooded areas of land, reafforestation, highway maintenance, construction of low-cost housing. It has been possible to mobilize the unemployed in the struggle against under-development pending their genuine integration into an expanding economy. A similar experiment has been undertaken in Madagascar.

All these measures are of such a nature as to slow down the exodus towards the towns by developing agricultural production and increasing the possibilities of remunerative employment in rural areas.

11. While it is true that urbanization is accelerated by the desire for modernization, which today animates even rural populations, it is at the same time advisable to reduce the gap between living conditions

in the country and the town. All the measures adopted by the African States to spread education, develop medical assistance, and improve housing have this end in view, no longer only in certain privileged cities, but throughout the country. It is indubitably difficult to provide even the smallest village with satisfactory social services. Nevertheless, many States are striving to introduce the advantages of civilization to the rural world. So, in the United Arab Republic the development projects for the areas irrigated by the High Dam, provide for a network of rural agglomerations: five villages grouped around a central village; five central villages grouped around a principal village, in such a way that the area covered by these twenty-five villages, i.e. 60,000 acres (24,000 ha), is provided with complementary social services capable for satisfying all the needs of the population. In Kenya, efforts are being made to set up new villages and to regroup the surrounding populations in order to provide them with a reasonable minimum of services.

12. Even if the rural exodus can be showed down, it cannot be halted, since it has a place in the necessary evolution of all countries. The reduction of the primary sector, first in favour of the secondary sector, and then of the tertiary sector, is at once the sign and the condition of economic progress. In spite of an effort to increase agricultural production and reduce the disparity in living conditions between town and country, it is hardly likely that the country districts will be able to retain all their excess population. Therefore, in the years to come, a further development of African towns must be expected, not only because of their natural population increase, but also because they will continue to receive a part of the excess population from the entire country. Meanwhile, industrialization must progress at the same rate as urbanization so that the towns do not become the refuge of a growing mass of destitute job-hunters. Industrialization holds an important place in the development plans of the African States, which are making an effort to increase their resources in energy (prospecting for petrol

and coal; building of thermal and hydro-electric power stations); to undertake domestic processing of their raw materials, which were exported in a crude state during the colonial era (ores, textile materials, agricultural products); to import raw materials to be transformed into finished products in the country itself. It would be easy to give examples of this industrialization, which aims at increasing the national revenue, improving the balance of trade, reducing dependence on outside sources, and raising the former colonies to the status of industrialized countries. In the social sector, it signifies an increase in the possibilities of employment in urban areas.

Industrialization can also play a part in the development of agriculture, in so far as it creates new outlets for old products and leads to the introduction of new ones. In this way, the seven-year development plan in Ghana provides for the investment of £ 67.5 million in agriculture to supply the new industries with the raw materials that they demand (cotton, sugarcane and rubber). A policy of industrialization may also be expected to lead to an increase in rural employment.

13. The African States must, however, strive not to aggravate the imbalances inherited from the colonial era, while they are in the process of industrialization. Until a few years ago, processing industries were highly concentrated in a small number of towns which continued to become industrialized in countries that remained essentially agricultural. An industrial survey undertaken in 1952 in the United Arab Republic showed that 42 per cent of the industrial establishments were situated in Cairo and 20.5 per cent in Alexandria. The same survey showed that 27.2 per cent of industrial workers were employed in Cairo and 27.7 per cent in Alexandria.^{1/} In 1955 there were 182 industrial establishments with more than 50 employees in Tunisia; 128 of these (70 per cent) were situated in Tunis. This state of affairs can

^{1/} National Monograph: United Arab Republic, p.11.

to doubtless be explained by the many advantages offered to industries by the large urban centres: availability of power, easy water supplies, proximity to a port, the presence of abundant manpower. It is none the less, necessary to react against this trend by striving to decentralize industrial activities. A report presented by the Government of Ghana says: "The development of the rural areas of Ghana, and especially those of the hinterland, which is rich in iron-ore in particular, may be jeopardized if industrial development is too actively pursued in the large urban centres. If industrial enterprises are located scientifically, this may also help to stop the excessive flow of migrant populations towards the large urban centres, which have great difficulty in providing an ever-increasing population with the housing, schools and services that it needs".^{1/} This anxiety on the part of the Government of Ghana finds concrete expression in its Volta River project which is to entail the development, or rather establishment, of secondary towns. In the new five-year plan of the United Arab Republic (1965-1970), provision is made for setting up new industries along the Red Sea coast and in the Upper Nile Valley, where the Aswan High Dam will provide cheap power. In Tunisia, the new industrial enterprises have not been installed in Tunis, but distributed throughout the country: a sugar refinery (Béjà), an oil-refinery (Bizerta), a paper-pulp factory (Kasserine), a textile complex (Ksar Hellal), a lorry-assembly plant (Swssa), and a fertilizer plant (Gabès). A more balanced distribution of industries will decentralize urban growth by relieving the congestion of the already hypertrophic capital cities.

14. Industrialization, above all when accompanied by an attempt at decentralization, implies new development of means of communication - roads, railways, navigable water-ways, ports - to link the sources of raw materials with the processing industries, and the processing industries with internal and external consumer markets. So, in the United

^{1/} Industrial Estates in Ghana, a report presented to the United Nations by the Government of Ghana, May 1961.

Arab Republic, work is in progress on the extension and improvement of the road network, railways and river transport; new ports are under construction on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. In Ghana, the Volta River project provides for an extension of the railway network in order to link the bauxite deposits with the aluminium smelting works under construction at Kpong, and to transport the aluminium produced to the coast; it also provides for the establishment of a new port at Tema, as Takoradi, the only existing port, cannot cope with the current increase in imports and exports. In Tanganyika, work has just begun on an extension of the great central railway line in order to serve the fertile Kilombero valley. It would not be difficult to find many other examples.

15. If urbanization calls for an effort in industrialization, to employ the surplus labour force which demographic pressure and the rural exodus are concentrating in African towns, it also calls for an effort to be made in organized planning. The master plans of certain towns, dating from the colonial era, are being carefully revised. Towns, which until now were without plans, have prepared and adopted master plans. So, the city of Fort Lamy, in Chad, has been controlled by a master plan since 1956. In Ghana, town plans have been drawn up for ten urban centres and many others are at the survey stage. In Kenya, development plans have been adopted for all the urban centres. Nevertheless, numerous African towns, for lack of the necessary technical help and funds, have not yet been able to plan their growth.

16. Within the framework of suitable plans, town-planning in Africa must set itself a certain number of objectives:

- (a) The inter-mixture of land use for industrial, commercial and residential purposes must be remedied by judicious zoning. In the Egyptian towns in fact, the absence of planning and appropriate legislation has had a whole series of deplorable consequences: the haphazard siting of dwelling houses, business premises and industrial establishments, overcrowding in many

districts, aggravated by the absence of green spaces, maldistribution of the services intended to meet the needs of the population traffic congestion.^{1/}

(b) It means bringing environmental sanitation to the central areas of large towns which are, most often, covered with dilapidated buildings. This task is extremely delicate in the old centres of civilization, where its execution must be associated with the safeguarding of venerable monuments of the past and of the national artistic heritage.

(c) The spread of shanty towns must be halted by prohibiting the occupancy of land without right or title, but above all by making the towns able to absorb the expected influx of new populations. As for the existing shanty towns, if it is difficult to remove them all from one day to the next by re-settling their inhabitants in new districts with hygienic dwellings (the uncertainty of employment and lack of resources often make families unable to meet the expense of even a modest rental), then an attempt can be made to urbanize them progressively with the aid of a minimum of communal services.

(d) Preparation must be made for the expansion anticipated in the coming decades by setting aside the necessary land and preventing speculation in real estate. As was recommended during the Workshop on Urbanization in Africa, held in May 1962, at Addis Ababa, the State and the municipal authorities should not alienate the land they own in areas adjacent to towns. They should also already give their attention to acquiring the land which they expect to need to cope with urban growth, taking due account of the rights of present owners.^{2/}

^{1/} National Monograph: United Arab Republic, pp. 5-6.

^{2/} Report of the Workshop on Urbanization in Africa, E/CN.14/170, p.95.

(e) The urban areas must be provided with the various services which they require; highways, water supply, electricity, sewage systems, public transport, schools, hospitals, cinemas, and community centres.

In all these spheres, the African States have achieved notable progress over the last few years. Comparisons on a wide scale would be desirable to find the most effective and least costly solutions.

17. In short, the African States are working hard, to the extent that their financial resources permit, to improve the housing conditions of urban populations and, to begin with, of the economically weak sector of the population, by opening credit facilities for individual contractors or co-operative groups and by the adoption of standard types of low-cost houses, which can be built by the parties concerned themselves. In the United Arab Republic, the 1960 - 1965 five-year plan provides for the building of 189,275 dwelling units in urban areas, of which 60 per cent are intended for the poorer classes, 30 per cent for the middle classes, and 10 per cent for the higher-income bracket. A body created in 1962 in Tanganyika - the National Housing Corporation - proposes to build low-cost houses and improve techniques for self-help projects; a plan has recently been drawn up for a new district at Dar-es-Salaam with a population of 22,000 inhabitants.

In all the countries, however, there is still a wide gap between the work done and the ever-increasing needs that must be satisfied. Now, the resources of the African States are limited; it would be dangerous to reduce economic investments in order to increase investments aimed at improving housing. The solution must therefore be sought in a reduction of building costs. The United Arab Republic has taken the line of abolishing profit margins by nationalizing enterprises responsible for carrying out programmes of general importance. Kenya has adopted the idea of standard houses, made of light materials and built by the future occupiers at a cost not exceeding £150 sterling, including communal installations. The development of national industries - and especially of the building-materials industry - should help to smooth out the existing difficulties.

18. The African States have already set themselves to the task of solving the problems raised by a rapid population growth and urbanization. The reform of land laws, the reform of the agrarian structure, redistribution of peasant holdings, the development of irrigation, the transition from extensive to intensive cultivation, the struggle against rural unemployment, the development and servicing of rural areas, industrialization, the decentralization of industrial installations, the development of the communications network the physical planning and servicing of large towns and the improvement of urban housing. It has not been difficult to find examples of achievements in these various directions in the policies of African States. It is not certain, however, that within each State, all the measures adopted form part of a coherent and harmonious plan. The time seems to have come for the African States to integrate their various projects into genuine national plans. In fact the object of the present Workshop is to show the necessity for this and to make a study of methods.

- - - - -