WORKSHOP ON URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

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URBAN ADMINISTRATION IN CERTAIN
ENGLISH-SPEAKING AREAS IN AFRICA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I - INTRODUCTION

1.   Administration is a means and not an end.   The ends which it is intended to serve in the context of this paper are defined in other papers now before the Workshop, under the general heading of POLICIES AND ACTION, and may be listed, adopting a slightly different order, as town-planning;   low-cost housing;   public health and sanitation, including water supplies;   education;   and social welfare, including the adaptation of rural families to urban life, recreation and amenities, and the prevention and cure of crime and delinquency.

2.   This paper is concerned with the administrative problems encountered in providing them.

3.   The paper confines itself to large towns.   It is impossible to define exactly what this means, but in general terms it refers to towns which have a special importance because they are centres of government, trade and commerce, manufacturing industry or mining.   In British African terminology they would normally be towns which are given "municipal" as distinct from "township" status.[1]

4.   This limitation is justified by the fact that it is the towns which are already largest that are growing most rapidly.

5.   For historical reasons it is almost impossible to generalize about "the city in English-speaking Africa", and our region may be broadly divided, in the first instance, into two: East and Central Africa, and West Africa.

East and Central Africa

6.   In East and Central Africa it was not usually the practice of Africans in pre-European days to live in towns, which are accordingly foreign creations established for the purposes of government and trade, and later of manufacturing industry, or in certain cases, which are characterized by more sudden growth, of mining.   East and Central African towns were originally European/Asian in character;   the influx of Africans in overwhelming numbers followed.   In these towns municipal administration was ab initio 'modern' in conception, according to Western standards prevailing locally at the times and places concerned, and at least potentially efficient in execution - though of course the actual degree of efficiency varies widely.   The core of the contemporary problem of East and Central African towns, then, is:-

    (a)   the expansion of something which is capable of being expanded

    (b)   the internal integration of administration, which is necessary because of
        a tradition of separate agencies for the "advanced" and "backward" sections
        of the population.

7.   In the vitally important matter of low-cost housing, policies may partly differ as between provision for stabilized urban African family life, and for the continuation for an indefinite period of a migrant labour system under which the roots of family life are supposed to be in the rural areas.

8.   The contemporary trend, however, is towards a permanently urbanized population, and even if migrant labour should continue indefinitely in certain places the task of providing for permanent settlement is of sufficient magnitude in itself.

West Africa

9.   In West Africa, on the other hand, large towns were in many parts a pre-European institution.   It was an accepted fault of British colonial administration that they were administered as integral parts of a rural area (Province or Division) and were not recognized sufficiently early as posing major technical problems of administration in their own right.   (Ibadan, a city of some 750,000 population, was separated from the surrounding District, extending some 30 miles from the City, only in 1961).   Their administration was therefore built on tribal or traditional chiefs and councils, which were virtually irrelevant to municipal administration in the modern sense.   Modern services were, and still are, provided by the central government or by ad hoc agencies alongside the elected municipal councils, which, although considerably modernised in the last decade, are still inadequate to their proper responsibilities.   The core of the contemporary problem of West African towns is accordingly:-

(a)   the co-ordination, so far as is possible, of overlapping functions, and the placing of administrative responsibility in the hands of those capable of exercising it, who would not, generally speaking, be the elected municipal councils

(b)   the application of capital, through grants and loans, which would enable them to "take off" from the dilemma in which they find themselves, i.e. wrestling with current problems while carrying an insupportable burden from the past.

10.   Finally, it must be noted that any method of administration is conditioned by the degree of democratic or representative control to which it is subject.   It is characteristic of all African countries which have come under British Colonial Office control or influence that, in theory at least, great stress has been laid on the association of Africans with their own municipal government.   In urban councils which are effectively under European control this is seen in the ancilliary bodies, such as African Affairs Committees;   elsewhere it is inherent in the urban councils themselves.

The gap between technical achievement in Africa and the scale of the problems involved in urban administration is obviously very great.   In these circumstances the effort to combine efficiency with representative control is a major problem in itself.   It has also, in West African municipalities, given rise to serious problems of corruption.

11.   It is not intended here to pass judgement on the validity of the representative principle;   it is simply recorded as an important factor in the situation.

II – SEVEN TYPICAL PATTERNS OF URBAN ADMINISTRATION

> Note: Material on the first four sub-sections will be found in the
> Report of the Conference on Urban Problems in East and Central Africa
> held at Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, February, 1958 (published in
> the Journal of African Administration, Vol. X No. 4 of October,
> 1958.   The Sub-sections (a) and (b) rely largely on the Report
> of the Royal Commission on East Africa, 1953-55, Chapter 19.
> These two sources have been referred to frequently, and are
> essential reading.   Sub-sections (c) and (d) rely also on more
> recent Reports and on personal knowledge.

East and Central Africa

12.   In East and Central Africa there appear to be four principal patterns:-

(a)   Division of responsibility between a modern-type[2] Municipal Council and a traditional African Government

13.   Kampala and Jinja in Uganda illustrate this pattern, since Africans who live in them are subject to the African "local" Government, in the case of Kampala the Kingdom of Buganda.   The Municipal Councils provide the initiative and administer the social services, but Africans living within the municipalities pay their tax to the African Government and are subject to its courts of law.

14.   The objections to this overlap are in part psychological, since it encourages the majority of the inhabitants of the town to feel that they do not belong to it, and that it is the concern of aliens.   Not only do they look outwards, to an authority which may be beyond the town boundaries;   they also look backwards, to a tribal past.

15.   There are, however, more strictly administrative objections, in that the staff of modern municipalities have to collaborate with urban staff provided by the African Government who have neither the ability or training required for the proper discharge of urban responsibilities.

(b) <u>A modern-type Municipal Council with an African Advisory Council (non-executive)</u>

16. This pattern was typical of the municipalities throughout Kenya and Tanganyika (with the exception of Dar es Salaam) at the time of the Royal Commission <u>Report</u> on East Africa. (The authors have not been able to verify recent developments).[1]

17. It is open to a number of administrative criticisms. First, that bodies which are purely advisory seldom command respect and usually lead to frustration; second, that if administration is properly integrated they represent an unnecessary stage in the process of getting things done (this was the main reason for their abolition in Dar es Salaam). A normal municipality in a developed country is directly responsible for the administration of slums and upper-class suburbs, the affairs of rich and poor, alike. The fact that administration was not satisfactorily integrated was shown by the re-introduction of District Commissioners (central government officials) into some of the municipalities, their function being, in essence, the smoothing over of difficulties.

18. The Royal Commission did not recommend complete administrative integration at one step, but it did recommend (at para. 133 Ch. 19) what amounts to a "two-tier" structure (see further comment on this in sub-section (c) below):-

> "that separate administrative organizations should be established for
> the areas now occupied by Africans inside and immediately surrounding
> the town. This does not mean that completely independent African
> townships need to be established (but) ..... a system of zoning should
> apply to all the component units. If members of other races choose
> to live in a predominantly African area they would be subject to the
> jurisdiction of the authority of that area".

19. It should be made clear that the system of zoning proposed was not one of segregation.

(c) <u>Modern-type Municipal Council with African Affairs Committee (executive)</u>

20. This pattern is typical of municipalities in Northern Rhodesia. It is in fact now a statutory requirement that such committees should be appointed, together with Area Housing Boards for each African housing area. The essence of this arrangement is that African affairs are regarded as being in a different category from other municipal affairs. This lays them open to the main criticism expressed in sub-section (b) above, with the important modification that they are executive and not advisory, and that it is possible to delegate substantial powers to them.

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[1] Editorial Note: Municipal Government in Tanganyika is now integrated. In Kenya, proposals for integration have been published in Sessional Paper No.2 of 1961.

21. The African Affairs Committees (though not the Housing Boards) have in fact been subject to recent responsible criticism, and it is for consideration whether the concept on which they are based is as valid as it once was. Some evidence received by an Urban African Services Committee[3] suggests that

> "all departments of 'African Affairs' should be abolished, departments of 'social services' (for Europeans and Africans) being established instead".

22. On the integration of services and administration the Report concluded (para. 175) that this

> "already exists at the executive level. For example, in most municipal areas the Town Engineer is the executive officer responsible for the provision and maintnance of all roads"

but that the same cannot be said

> "of integration of committee procedure and responsibility, in view of the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance ..... relating to the specially constituted African Affairs Committee".

23. The Ndola Conference (e.g. paras. 88-91) discussed some advantages of a "tiered" structure in urban local government in East and Central Africa as an alternative to African Affairs Committees.

24. There are conflicting views on the merits of the "tier" system, i.e. the system whereby two or three different elected councils are operating on the same ground, some dealing with major services and some with minor ones. It is an inheritance from British local government, where incidentally it is currently subject to criticism, and has proved unduly complicated in rural areas in Africa, and unacceptable to Africans. It may, however, have advantages in urban areas, though in the present context it would presumably mean that the "upper tier" was dealing with general (and European) municipal affairs and the "lower tier" with African municipal affairs.

25. In the long term, however, development can only be in the direction of greater administrative integration, since, as was stressed in an official Report of 1957[4] separate African urban authorities would not be compatible with partnership policies.

> An example from Nyasaland should be noted at this point, though it does not fall into the pattern of this analysis. Blantyre-Limbe, the commercial capital, is administered by a council on which there is no African representation. For an area adjacent to this township the Soche Authority (to which Africans pay rates direct) was established under the High Density Residential Areas Ordinance (5). It is planned to incorporate Soche into Blantyre-Limbe by 1964. Detailed study of the particular conditions and proposals would be of great interest in the evolution of peri-urban government.[6]

(d) Dual Administration

26.   The administrative pattern in Southern Rhodesia falls into a somewhat different category.   The operation of the Land Apportionment Act, the abolition of which is not being included (at the time of writing, January, 1962) in the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister's proposals for racial reform, distinguishes that territory from its northern neighbour.   Native Urban Areas, as they are known, are <u>outside</u> Municipal Areas - of which there are seven - Salisbury, Bulawayo, Umtali, Gwelo, Gatooma, Que Que and Fort Victoria, the phrase "Greater Salisbury ... etc." being used to describe the complete unit.   They are administered by the Municipal Councils to which they are adjacent, through Municipal Directors of Native Administration, though they may make representations through statutory "Native Advisory Boards".   In this sense they have something in common with sub-section (b) above, but they could not properly be included in that sub-section, since in the pattern of urban administration in Southern Rhodesia African local government is separate from, and non-equivalent with, non-African local government.

27.   For the future in Southern Rhodesia, however, one aim is the establishment of purely African towns or business centres in Native Areas and Reserves (Ndola Conference, para. 87 vi), which would be administered by the central government, presumably through the Territorial Native Affairs Department.

28.   It is of interest at this point to note that dual administration in the national, as distinct from the urban, sphere has recently come under informed and official criticism, in the Robinson and Mangwende Commission Reports and the parliamentary debate upon them.[7]

29.   Several passages in the many recent semi-sociological and other descriptions of race relations in Central Africa are relevant to any study of urban administration in that area.[8]

30.   It should be noted that in the foregoing patterns the central government also is directly responsible for certain services.   It is not, however, a major partner in municipal administration, and for simplicity it has been left out.   In patterns (e) and (f) which follow its responsibilities are much greater.

West Africa

31.   In West Africa, three different patterns of urban administration occur:-

(e)   <u>Division of responsibility between the Government and an elected Municipal Council</u>

32.   This pattern is typical of most medium-sized and large towns in West Africa. Excluding certain government and port municipalities of recent creation, the elected council derives from a former traditional authority.

33. Ibadan is taken as an example because it is the largest _African_ city on the continent of Africa, and demonstrates urban problems in an extreme degree - e.g. town-planning, slum clearance, sewerage and water, and the absence of many elementary amenities.

34. The operative authorities are:-

(a) The elected City Council, only recently modernized from a traditional form, and only in 1961 separated from the surrounding rural district. Its current revenue is just over £1 million, which is low for its population. It has no system of property rating, and relies on personal tax. It is responsible for such things as sanitary services, markets, the operation of bye-laws and water supply.

(b) The Government (Western Region), which is responsible directly for such services as education, and indirectly, through agencies, for town-planning (the Town Planning Authority dating from 1958, a Government-nominated Board of seven members) and housing (the Western Regional Housing Corporation).

(c) Electricity is supplied by the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, a Federal Statutory Corporation.

35. There are therefore four or five agencies on the same ground, and the overlapping leads to occasional friction (e.g. the Government plans and builds houses, but the Council administers the building bye-laws). On the other hand there is cross-representation and considerable goodwill, and the mere fact of overlapping is not in itself a necessary bar to efficiency.

36. The overwhelming needs are capital and staff which could make an impact commensurate with the problem. Basic needs such as sewerage (which is non-existent) have not been provided in the past as the town has grown, and recent rapid growth precludes any hope of providing them, even by Government agencies and Council in combination, without the application of massive capital grants and loans and the recruitment of qualified staff. The same applies to slum clearance and low-cost housing; the Government housing estates have so far been "middle-class", though the Government is now actively investigating the problem of prefabricated low-cost houses imported from overseas (see p.14 below).

37. Progress is continually made, but as it hardly keeps pace with the growth of the problem it is scarcely discernible as progress.

38. This is true of many of the larger towns, where the problem was allowed to grow too big before it was tackled at all ever to be tackled successfully by conventional methods. (Cp., below, the "crash" programme of the Lagos Executive Development Board).

(f) Division of responsibility between the Government, and elected Council and a special agency

39. It is thought justified to single out Lagos, partly because it is a capital city and port in special relationship with the Federal Government (which has a "Ministry of Lagos Affairs"), and partly because of the "crash" programme carried out by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB), which may throw some light on the main problem which the Workshop is considering.

40. The Lagos Town Council is of long standing but, until recently, it had been a junior partner of the Government. The exact relationship between the Federal Government and the Council has recently been under review,[9] and the policy is to extend the sphere of responsibility of the Council wherever possible, e.g. by the transfer of primary education and its ancilliary services. In the main, however, the Council has been responsible for a relatively restricted range of services, such as public health (excluding hospitals), sanitation, markets, a recently acquired bus service purchased from private enterprise, and various amenities. Its current revenue is about £900,000.

41. If the Council were working on a "clean slate" it could, no doubt, in conjunction with certain Government Departments, administer the city satisfactorily. There is, however, enormous leeway to make up, resulting from the unprecedented growth of slums on a crowded island; the rise of the capital city and port; the rapid spread of the city on to the mainland merging into areas within the jurisdiction of the western Nigerian Government; and the absence of many elementary amenities. There is no water-borne sewerage, and a recent estimate put the cost of its installation at £10 million; this figure would now have to be increased and the problem continues to grow; it might well be impossible in any case, as it would overstrain any foreseeable water supply. Piped water is supplied by the Federal Government, but it is a continuous effort to keep pace with demand.

42. Ten years ago, the physical problems of Lagos seemed virtually insoluble, but a considerable impact has been made on them by the LEDB, a body set up under the Lagos Town Planning Ordinance

> "with the dual role of planning authority and executive development authority within the Township of Lagos. The Board is therefore responsible for town planning control, together with improvement, development and re-development, by the operation of schemes under the authority of the Ordinance and within the direction of the Federal Minister for Lagos Affairs" (10)

43. It has now cleared and replanned the worst of the centre, transforming the appearance of the city, is engaged on an extensive housing programme, and is promoting an industrial estate. In 1960-61 it spent £2,768,000 in capital projects, and its capital programme to date totals well over £10,000,000. The sources of its capital monies have been:-

Loans:	Nigerian Federal Government	1,851,000	
	Colonial Development Corporation	1,250,000	
	Bank of West Africa Ltd.	110,000	
			3,211,000
Grants:	Nigerian Federal Government		4,983,890
Other sources			2,541,300

44. Of the last figure a considerable proportion is income from the Board's own capital projects (especially the sale of land and houses), so that the grants and loans have been in part a "priming of the pump".

45. The membership of the Board is largely nominated by the Minister, with representation from the Federal Government, the Town Council, the Ports Authority and the Chamber of Commerce. Administration of the city is therefore in the hands of:-

    The Federal Government
    The Town Council
    The Executive Development Board
    The Port Authority and the Electricity
      Corporation of Nigeria, autonomous
      Federal Bodies

46. Administrative friction naturally occurs - for example, the Town Council aspires to much stronger representation on the Board and would eventually like to absorb its functions. The Council voluntarily refrains from exercising its own planning and housing powers, in view of the greater potentialities of the Board. Meanwhile the Board's achievements and its ability to attract qualified staff have attracted support for its continuation.

47. It would be useful for the Workshop to analyse the reasons for the way in which the representative principle operates in cities such as Lagos where, on the one hand, the most important urban services are provided by central government departments or a special authority which largely represents the central government and provides for little direct representation and, on the other hand, the elected council which repre- sents the populace deals in the main with the lesser services.

(g) Responsibility mainly within the orbit of local government (Example: Kano)

48. Kano, in common with other Moslem cities of Northern Nigeria, comprises three distinct entities - the old Moslem "City", where the bulk of the population lives, the

"Sabon Gari", or town of non-Moslem "strangers", and the so-called "Township", which is the modern commercial, industrial and government area, greatest in economic importance but relatively small in population.[11]

49. The Kano "Native Authority" is a well-organized (and modernized) traditional institution, with a revenue of about £2 million. It is responsible for a much larger area than the City of Kano, which however it also administers, with the assistance of a "subordinate Native Authority" for the Sabon Gari and certain other areas outside the City walls. (It should be noted that a "subordinate" authority is not the same thing as the "tier" system; in the tier system the lower authority is not subordinate to the higher; it carries out lesser functions, but in the exercise of those functions it is independent of the other authority, both being subordinate only to the central government).

50. Between them the Native Authority and the subordinate Native Authorities are responsible for all the City's services except water and electricity, which are provided by a Regional and a Federal agency respectively. Departments of the central (i.e. Northern Nigerian) government are not involved in local administration at all, though the Government retains town-planning powers. The "Township", on the other hand, is directly controlled by the Northern Regional Government.

51. The foregoing seven "patterns of administration" are not exhaustive, but they appear to represent the main types. It has been thought necessary to set them out in some detail in order to make plain the complexity of the problem in English-speaking Africa.

III SOME UNIVERSAL PROBLEMS OF URBAN ADMINISTRATION AND THEIR PARTICULAR APPLICATION IN AFRICA

Areas of Administration

52. In any country in the world problems arise because different services need different areas for their economical and efficient administration. Unless, therefore, there is a separate agency for every service there is bound to be a compromise between what is most efficient and economical, and what is acceptable on other grounds. Even if - ad absurdam - a separate agency were provided for each service, the problems of overlapping which this would create would outweigh the advantage gained from the best administration of each individual service.

53. Where, as in English-speaking territories, special emphasis has been placed on the association of people with the administration of their own services through elected councils, the problem is exacerbated.

54. There can, however, be no solution to it, nor is there evidence that overlapping is a _major_ difficulty, except in those areas where some degree of racial separation has been customary in the past. Elsewhere, though frictions naturally arise because of the human factor, there is a substantial amount of goodwill, compromise and common sense to mitigate illogical or overlapping patterns of administration.

55. Throughout English-speaking Africa the local patterns vary, but it is possible broadly to identify a group of services which are most appropriately provided by the central government (e.g. secondary education, hospitals and major public works); another group best provided by the elected local council (e.g. sanitation, public transport and municipal amenities); and another best provided by special agencies, generally Public Corporations (e.g. electricity). Some services, such as water supplies, may fall into any of these groups, as may town-planning and housing schemes.

56. It is suggested that these groupings are to some extent natural, or alternatively that the method of their administration depends on strictly local factors about which it is impossible to generalize. Nor is it profitable to regard "tidying them up" as an end in itself. The major problem is not the pattern of administration but the absence of capital, recurrent revenue and skilled staff to provide _any_ major service at the level which would be thought adequate in a developed country.

57. It may be added, moreover, that in Africa there is exceptionally wide disparity between the availability of resources at the local and national levels.

58. In Part II of this paper it was suggested that some of the administrative overlapping in East and Central Africa was a hindrance to good administration, whereas in West Africa it was unavoidable. This needs to be justified, and to be reconciled with the foregoing paragraphs.

59. It is suggested that overlapping is unavoidable in respect of the administration of different services, since some need a wide, and others a narrow, field in which to operate. This "functional" overlapping, however, is of a different order from that which is caused by the provision of different agencies for performing the _same_ service, e.g. one for administering housing, sanitation or amenities in the developed areas of a town, and another for administering them in poor and congested quarters. It is significant that in Southern Rhodesia the Minister of Native Affairs said recently[12]

> "I sincerely hope that at an early date we will be able to streamline all the administration in this country to see there is one system of administration throughout, instead of two as there has been in the past".

60.　In English-speaking Africa, as elsewhere, urban transport services, piped water supplies and electricity disregard statutory urban boundaries and supply a larger - and more economic - area.　As elsewhere, the growth of towns at their circumference leads to a situation where the statutory boundary no longer corresponds to the real boundary;　and as elsewhere, this leads to the promotion of legislation to extend the urban boundary, with inevitable opposition from the authority whose territory is thereby reduced.

61.　The ways in which this process is different in Africa from elsewhere are:-

(a)　That the opposition may be more bitter and unreasoning, where tribal or party political feeling (the two may be synonymous) is particularly high.　Lagos is an apt example of this since (i) the boundary between the Federal Capital Territory and the Western Region now runs through what is virtually one urban complex, (ii) the political parties controlling the two territories are in fierce opposition, and (iii) the extension of Lagos at the expense of the Western Region would not only injure political pride but would remove some of the most valuable revenue-earning property and plant from the Western Region.　There is, however, no simple administrative solution to this problem.　Administration and politics are inextricably involved.

(b)　That in places where the foregoing does not apply, there may be a special problem caused by the fact that settlement on the edges of towns has been unregulated and may consist of unplanned and insanitary shacks in which people are satisfied to live because they are near urban employment, but which are unacceptable to a civilized urban administration.　If, however, these areas are cleared and replanned, their former inhabitants could not possibly afford to pay for the higher standard municipal provision.

Personnel and Training

62.　It is generally true throughout English-speaking Africa that the local government service has far lower prestige than the civil (central government) service.　This is because until recent years the civil service was the de facto government of the country, while "local government" often meant little more than "native authorities", which were small tribal parliaments rather than executive organs of government.　In recent years the gap between them has narrowed (in terms of salary, status and function) but it is still considerable.　In some countries a unified local government service has been established under special Local Government Service Commissions, thus providing

for appointment on the basis of merit and more attractive terms of service and opportunities for advancement.

63. These considerations do not, however, apply altogether to the large municipalities, which frequently negotiate their own terms for senior administrative staff by public advertisement or private enquiry overseas and often fill senior technical posts through secondment from central government. In neither case would salary or status compare unfavourably with central government service.

64. The personnel aspects of urban administration problems are not, however, fully known to the authors, and it may be profitable for the Workshop to review methods of recruitment, appointment and secondment to municipal posts of different grades and to determine whether the terms of service with a large municipality are in fact comparable with those of service with the central government. This would shed some light on the extent to which organizational complications in the administration or urban services stem from differences in the terms of service of central government and local authority personnel. It may also be useful for the Workshop to assess the adequacy of pre-entry and in-service training for urban administration.

Low-cost Housing

65. Space does not allow a comparative analysis of all the main social services in relation to the patterns of administration outlined in Part II of this paper, but brief reference is now made to the most urgent of them all, i.e. low-cost housing. Ideally, a similar analysis should be made of education public health and social welfare.

66. The East African Royal Commission Report (para. 95 of Ch. 19) recorded "the impossibility of providing the whole urbanized African population with houses built to the standards imposed by township regulations". The Ndola Conference was in general agreement.

67. Four possible methods of meeting the problem of housing standards involve

    (a)   Subsidization of rents

    (b)   Wage structure change

    (c)   Making housing the responsibility of employers

    (d)   Permitting unregulated standards of house construction to owner-builders, provided that the land on which they were built had been laid out by Government and provided with basic services.

68. This analysis is fundamental. It is suggested that alternative (d) demands further consideration.

69.   The Ndola Conference considered that the problem could not be solved by any
single method, and drew attention to the Housing Boards in Northern Rhodesia and
Kenya, which are provided by the central government with capital sums not subject to
annual revote.   Descriptions of these Boards, which the Conference commended to the
attention of all other Territories, are given in paras. 53 and 54 of the Report.

70.   In Southern Rhodesia the Territorial Government has entered the arena of urban
African housing, with a large loan from the Colonial Development Corporation, though
Southern Rhodesia is self-governing internally.[13]   Housing in Southern Rhodesia may
also be a municipal project, e.g. at Umtali, where houses have been built for lease
some of which are "at par with those of many a Welsh mining village".[14]   The project
is subsidized.

71.   In West Africa the trend has been to establish Government-nominated Housing
Corporations.   These have shown good results in the middle ranges, i.e. as Building
Societies which enable people in regular employment to buy their own houses.   Low-
cost houses for rent, however, have proved as intractable a problem as in other parts
of the world.

72.   The Lagos Executive Development Corporation "low-cost" scheme, for example,
hardly meets the need of the low wage-earner, and is only of any use to him at all
because of a Government subsidy of nearly 100%.   The houses are rented on a room basis
of 25/- per room per month inclusive of rates.   Economic rent, inclusive of rates,
would be 48/- per room per month.   The estate is some miles away from normal places
of employment, so that fares are an additional burden.

73.   In Central and East Africa the position is little different.   For Kitwe, a town
on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, the economic cost per annum of a two-room
semi-detached house with full ancilliary services is estimated at £64. 6. 0. per annum.
Rent charged for similar houses at present, but which do not enjoy ancilliary services
(e.g. domestic water and electricity is £29. 1. 0. per annum.[15]

74.   The inescapable fact is that so much building material is imported, and labour
is so inefficient and thus expensive, that house-building is a very costly operation
by European/American standards.   There have been several attempts by Governments to
discover a cheap, pre-fabricated imported house, easy to construct and resistant to
tropical climate and termites.   So far as is known none of them has been an
unqualified success.   This is an important matter into which, it is suggested, the
Workshop could initiate research, after a survey of the investigations already made

or in progress, e.g. by I.C.A. in conjunction with the Government of Northern Rhodesia.
(cp. also EARCR para. 103).

The cost of travel to work

75. This again is a universal problem, but its effect in Africa is more serious than
elsewhere because of the relatively greater poverty of the wage-earning population,
to whom fares to work may mean insufficient money for food.

76. It may be thought that in a paper of this brevity, where rigid selection of the
most important matters is essential, it is disproportionate to devote a whole section
to this topic. On the contrary, it is suggested that it is fundamental. It is basic
to town-planning, and in a country of low wages it is an important factor in the
domestic budget. In countries where any degree of separation is customary (even if
it is now in theory social rather than racial separation) it is all the more important;
whereas in Southern Rhodesia it is perhaps the major planning problem of all; for if
it cannot be solved the Government would be in a dilemma as a result of conflicting
policies - (a) that African urban settlement should be encouraged in order to provide
a labour force for industry (b) that African housing must be well away from town
centres, where employment is mostly situated. The dilemma would give rise to
decisions of the highest policy, involving either the location of industry or heavily
subsidized travel, or both.

77. Increases in the transport costs of low-income commuters has already been the
cause of serious 'riots' in Southern Rhodesia as well as in South Africa. As to
East Africa, it is recorded in the EARCR (para. 89 of Ch. 19) that "to travel by bus
daily to and from Kampala, for example, to a point four miles outside would cost more
than the total monthly wages of many unskilled workers".

78. This question of low wages is the crux of the problem in Southern Rhodesia as
well. We note that the Ndola Conference (para. 55) considered "that from four to
seven miles, depending on local topography, is a reasonable maximum distance to
expect workers to cycle from their homes to their places of employment". Beyond
that distance, the Conference concluded, public or employer transport should be
available.

79. In Southern Rhodesia (Transport Commission Report, Clause 242) it has been
suggested that "up to six miles (sic) a worker can walk to and from work, exacting
though this may be". Mabvuku township is twelve miles from the industrial centre
of Salisbury, and Highfield is little less.

80. In such circumstances the statement that "a bus subsidy is not a subsidy on African travel so much as a subsidy on European social snobbery and uneconomic wages"[16] might find wide agreement.

81. In West Africa, where the problem is not exacerbated by racial discrimination in housing estates, it is hardly less severe on account of the sheer rate of urban growth. The low-cost estates in Lagos are 4-6 miles from places of employment. Quite apart from the cost to the workers, public transport can hardly cope with the volume of traffic, and so severe is congestion on the roads leading to the city that the Federal Government and Town Council are at present negotiating for an overhead monorail system.

82. Throughout most of English-speaking Africa there seems to be an unnecessary shortage of cheap and reliable public transport in towns, and it is suggested that an investigation of public transport and of the possibility of improving it, could be a useful, if minor, outcome of the Workshop. It is by no means an unimportant aspect of urban administration.

Rural-Urban Immigrants

Law Enforcement, Welfare and Satellite Towns

83. Improvements in urban services are continually overtaken by the ceaseless flood of new immigrants, many of whom are unemployed and have little hope of employment. Control of rural-urban immigration has often been considered, but it is now generally held to be both illiberal and impracticable. The EARCR (para. 131 Ch. 19) goes further and considers it

> "undesirable on economic grounds because it restricts mobility and therefore inhibits the development of the exchange economy". Further — "it is impracticable; systems of control, although rigorously enforced, have broken down even in territories where the population is sparser and the towns more isolated than in East Africa".

84. If this is accepted, there seems none the less to be a strong case for a public relations campaign to discourage immigration to the towns without good reason, e.g. in the final-year classes of primary schools, since a fair proportion of emigrants are primary school-leavers determined to leave the family farm. Their ignorance of the facts of urban life, and of their chances of employment, is complete.

85. Although control of immigration may be impracticable, it is for consideration whether the same result could be achieved in part by more rigorous law enforcement in the towns, especially as to illegal overcrowding. Bye-laws regulating housing and sanitation are notoriously difficult to enforce, but their enforcement would restrict

the number of rural immigrants who leave home largely because they can crowd under the roof of a relative in the town.

86.   The "repatriation" of people without means of subsistence may be a more practical proposition than the control of immigration, and is certainly less open either to idealistic or economic objection.   In fact, the law already provides for it in almost every territory.

87.   Turning from restriction to welfare, the unemployed immigrant has two needs – information, and the basic human requirements of food, shelter and clothing.   Official propaganda does not easily reach him direct, and it is possible that unofficial or voluntary agencies are more appropriate instruments.

88.   The state in English-speaking Africa, both in areas still under colonial rule and in independent countries is, in concept at least, the welfare state.   In East and Central Africa, though there is sometimes some overlap between government and voluntary society provision for social welfare/social security, the trend appears to be for the main tasks in this field to be shouldered – where they are shouldered at all – by government.   In East and Central African towns there is far less liaison between government and voluntary societies than in some parts of West Africa, and a greater emphasis in government ideology on community development concepts, and community development liaison.[17]

89.   In West Africa, on the other hand, voluntary societies, and especially indigenous societies, play an important role.[18]

90.   Some years ago there were in Accra "some 70 societies which had between them a membership of 26,192 persons.   Of these 23,400 were female and 2,786 male, representing about 75% of all females and 10% of all adult males".

91.   In Nigeria there is a movement of high significance, which though tribal in origin is modern in its purposes and methods.   The "tribal unions" (often known by such names as "improvement associations" etc.) have developed in the last thirty or forty years among urban immigrants from rural areas.   Their achievements, resulting largely from the export of cash to their home villages, go beyond the scope of this paper, but in the towns themselves they have been the most effective of all social welfare agencies;   indeed, but for them the growing number of unemployed immigrants would have produced a dangerous, and potentially revolutionary, situation.   They have provided the equivalent of national insurance.

92. It is for consideration, therefore, whether more use could not be made in this
aspect of urban administration of voluntary and unofficial agencies, whether exotic,
like the Red Cross, or indigenous, like the tribal unions of Nigeria or the secret
societies of Sierra Leone.

93. Mid-way, so to speak, between restriction and welfare, is the possibility of
halting the drift to the centre of cities by satellite towns where there is still the
possibility of some cultivable land; though the expression "satellite" is generally
used to denote new towns which take surplus or overspill from already over-populated
cities, and in the present context "buffer" towns might be a more appropriate
expression.

94. The principle was enunciated some years ago in Tanganyika.   There was an attempt
to provide (East African Royal Commission Report para. 128 Ch.19)

> "a ring of satellite settlements round Dar es Salaam situated on the
> main radial roads .... in areas where profitable cultivation is possible.
> The object is to provide attractive halting-places for the current
> drift of populations to the towns, to prevent over-centralization, to
> establish settlements which can produce food for consumption in the
> town at the centre, and to provide essential services at the perimeter".

95. It has been suggested elsewhere[19] that in Africa, where industrialization involves
very extensive social changes, the need for satellite towns with garden plots is greater
than in Europe.   It is true that hundreds of thousands of Africans have now settled
in cities with no cultivable land at all, but it has been a painful transition and is
the greatest deprivation of the new immigrant, as may be seen from the pathetic
attempts to cultivate odd scraps of earth on "locations".   Cultivation fills a
psychological as well as a physical need.

96. On the other hand satellite towns, unless they are self-contained for purposes
of employment, which is very rarely the case, only exacerbate the problem of the
journey to work.

IV - OBJECTIVES OF EXTERNAL AID

96. Generalizations are of little use in a situation as varied as the one which has
been described.   An examination would need to be made country by country before the
strategy of external aid could be determined, and it would probably be seen to turn on
a balance between the claims of administrators and engineers.

97. The problem of improving the towns is primarily one of civil engineering.   It
may be argued that while administrators cannot produce anything without engineers,
engineers cannot work fruitfully except under good administration, and that
consideration should therefore be given to administration in the first place.

98. Outside experts can contribute most toward urban administration by strengthening central departments, training institutions, local government public service commissions, municipal credit institutions, and other national agencies that can provide needed assistance to local authorities.   In special cases, the United Nations programme for provision of operational and executive personnel (OPEX) might be used to employ top administrators and planners for major cities.   But, generally speaking the multiplier effect of external aid will be greatest when applied to the organization or improvement of central services to local authorities rather than directly to local authorities.

99. At the same time, administration can only be improved if it is improved at all levels simultaneously.   A weakness of external aid in the past is that administrative experts have been sent to Africa only to find that they must themselves do clerical and menial work, e.g. they cannot get letters efficiently typed, trust the accuracy of clerks or delegate to subordinates initiative and responsibility.   Or if they came in an advisory capacity they have found that the advice they can give is, for the same reasons, of a somewhat elementary kind.

100. Improvement from below therefore deserves priority.   It is being fostered through Institutes of Public Administration, such as the Institute of Administration at Zaria in Northern Nigeria, which are in urgent need of expansion.   A detailed examination might show, however, that insufficient attention was being paid in their syllabuses to specifically urban techniques.   (For example, the first need of the city of Ibadan in introducing property rating would be the training of valuers).   This is a matter which would repay detailed examination, as would the quality of "in-service" training after leaving the Institutes.

101. Not until considerable strides have been made in the lower and middle grades would it be profitable to consider the more sophisticated techniques of "Organization and Methods" or the supply of higher administrative skills.   In any case the chief administrators ("Town Clerks" etc.) are already for the most part men of good qualifications and experience.   The fact that the administrative pattern is illogical (e.g. five different methods of dividing responsibility between agencies were quoted in Part II of this paper) is perhaps of theoretical rather than practical importance, since each derives from local history and tradition.   Any administrative system can be made to work given goodwill, integrity, skill and funds; no system, however perfect on paper, can work without these.   No doubt a combination of all would be ideal but if it is a question of arranging priorities the order would be (a) funds and skill (which are inseparable) (b) goodwill and integrity (c) administrative tidiness.

102. A more immediate impact could be made by the application of capital, in the form of loans or grants, and accompanied by the recruitment of engineering skill, for the physical improvement of the towns - slum clearance, drainage, lighting, sewerage, public transport, experimental low-cost housing - and for some of the less basic amenities such as open spaces, swimming-pools and community centres.

103. The problem of subordinate skills exists in engineering as in administration, but experience suggests that technical skill at the artisan level is more readily acquired in situations of rapid social change such as in present day Africa, than managerial skill at a corresponding level.   It would, however, be an obvious advantage to investigate what technical training is available, corresponding to the managerial training of the Institutes of Public Administration.   (There is in fact a great deal).

104. The third level in civil engineering, that of labourers, presents less of a problem.   The standard of labouring work is not always high, but under supervision it is adequate, and more easily attainable, for example, than a high standard of junior clerical work.

105. Both in administration and engineering, the question is often raised of the value of training schemes abroad.   Experience suggests that only in exceptional cases, and in the higher ranks, is it as profitable as training on the spot, whether this is institutional or in-service training.   To train alongside highly-skilled personnel, using tools, equipment and material of the most advanced standard (whether in offices or workshops) is not an appropriate preparation for work in urban Africa.

106. Most local training, especially in administration, has to be given by expatriates who originally came to the country for other purposes, as regular members of a service. Both in administration and engineering there are other pressing claims on their skill. To some extent it is essential that training should be given by such men, who are thoroughly familiar with the conditions of the country.   But external aid would be valuable in those techniques, either in administration or engineering, which can be taught independently of local knowledge.

Research

107. Urban sociological research in Africa has naturally concentrated more on processes of urbanization such as affect labour migrants, and less on urbanism, the urban norms and socio-administrative structures themselves.   A survey of the different structures of urban administration - such as is attempted in Part II of this paper on a miniature scale - is not available.   It is the studies of rural not urban local government that have pride of place in the existing literature.   There are few studies of urban

morphology in the English-speaking Africa of this paper, and fewer still of other aspects of urban social geography and urban settlement patterns.   The extent to which the spatial distribution of functions in African cities resembles, or is different from, that in occidental or oriental cities, is not known.[20]   Studies of African urban sociology have begun, but are still in their infancy, and there is little co-ordination between present and projected West and Central African studies in this sphere.   In more specific vein, research is needed, for instance, to discover whether the community development concept which has established itself in many parts of Africa in rural government, is equally valid and applicable in urban contexts.

108. There is then great need for research into the topic which is the subject of this paper, and for improved research organization, and for technical assistance towards these ends.   At the national end of the spectrum, sub-committees of national research councils or similar bodies are needed, for the co-ordination of ongoing and projected research (by universities, governments, institutes, statutory bodies etc.), and for the determining of research priorities.   At the international level, there is need for a permanent Bureau or Clearing House of Urban Research.   Possibly this could be formed under the auspices of UNECA.   Perhaps the greatest need in the sphere of training of personnel is that for trained, but not necessarily degree'd, research assistants. Technical assistance could provide for the building up of teams of research assistants by financing, for instance, short-term courses of instruction at suitable institutions.

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1. It should be noted, however, that English terminology is illogical and confusing. The words 'town' and 'city' tend to be used indiscriminately, as do the adjectives 'urban' and 'municipal'. For 'towns' in Kenya, for example, see J.M. Golds "Africanisation in Kenya", Journal of African Administration, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January 1961, pp. 24-28, at p.28.

2. In speaking of this or any other council as 'modern-type' we do not of course imply that it is totally modern, however that might be defined. Merely, that it is modern-type. We do not confuse social history with social evolution. Some sociological opinion has it that the convergence in developments of "rational bureaucracy" in different parts of the world may be subject to an essentially Darwinian form of explanation. Obviously this is a relevant consideration to any study of urban administration, as well as a justification for using the word 'modern-type'.

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5. Report of the Advisory (Monckton) Commission on the Review of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Appendix VI, 1960. At para. 73.

6. A relevant sociological enquiry is Bettison, D.G. and Apthorpe, R.J., "Authority and Residence in peri-urban Ndirande, Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland". Nyasaland Journal, January, 1961. pp. 1-33.

7. Nathan Shamuyarira, Central African Examiner, October 1961 pp. 2-13.

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9. Report by Sir John Imrie, C.B.E., into the Relationship between the Federal Government and the Lagos Town Council, 1959, Federal Govt. Printer, Lagos.

10. Lagos Executive Development Board, Annual Report, 1960/61.

11. See "Towards a Plan for Kano", by D.R. Ball, Town Planning Officer, Northern Nigeria. Paper presented to the Inter-African Conference on Housing and Urbanization, Nairobi, January, 1959.

12. Nathan Shamuyarira, op. cit.

13. Franck, op. cit. pp. 141-2.
14.   "   "   "   "   "

15. Calculations from the Coleman Report.

16. Franck, op. cit.

17. See, for example, Apthorpe, R.J. (Editor) Social Research and Community Development. Based on the 15th Conference Report of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

18. See, for example, Little, K.: 'The Role of Voluntary Organizations in West African Urbanization', American Anthropologist, Vol. LIX, No. 4, 1959; 'The Organization of Voluntary Associations in West Africa', Civilizations, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1959; 'West African Urbanization as a Social Process', Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, No. 3, 1960, pp. 90-102, esp. pp. 97-100.

19. Gray, op. cit. p. 268.

20. See Irving, J. - 'Ecology of City Growth in an African Context', in Present Inter-relations in Central African Rural and Urban Life, ed. R.J. Apthorpe, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1958, at pp. 53-74.

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