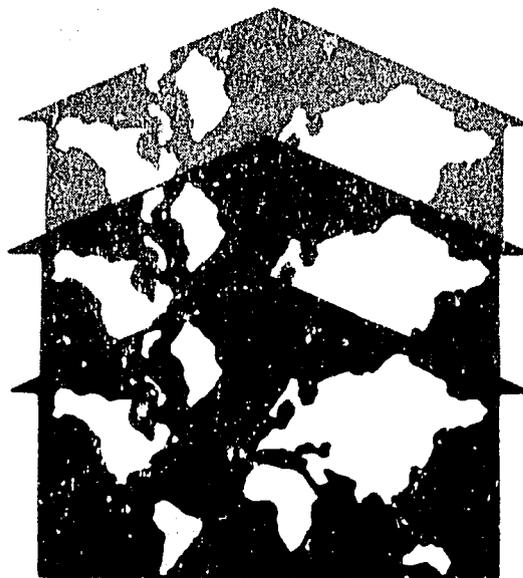


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**NINTH CONFERENCE
ON HOUSING AND
URBAN DEVELOPMENT
IN AFRICA**

**DAKAR, SENEGAL
APRIL 9-13, 1984**

**AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT**



OFFICE OF HOUSING

**PROCEEDINGS OF
THE NINTH CONFERENCE ON
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
IN AFRICA**

**DAKAR, SENEGAL
APRIL 9 - 13, 1984**

**Sponsored by
the Ministry of Urbanism and Housing
Republic of Senegal
and
the Office of Housing and Urban Programs
U.S. Agency for International Development**

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

Ninth Conference
on
Housing in Africa
Dakar, Senegal
April 9-13, 1984

It is my pleasure to present the Proceedings for the Ninth Conference. This was the second conference in which a Steering Committee representing all regions of Africa helped establish the theme and the presentation framework. It was the first of such meetings in which the traditional concern for housing was broadened to deal with larger urbanization issues facing the African continent, and specifically the role of secondary cities in economic and social development.

The format for this year's Proceedings is also different. In the past, the proceedings contained the various speeches and papers in their entirety. Because of the conference theme, this year USAID commissioned a large number of written papers, case studies, and panel presentations which were reproduced, translated, and distributed to the delegates at the sessions. Many of these papers are of publishable quality and too lengthy to package into a single volume. The Office of Housing and Urban Programs has, in recent months, edited and published several of the conference presentations in special formats.

This edition of Proceedings is truly a summary. It contains excerpts from the Ninth Conference, highlighting key points of the presentations and discussions. We hope in this fashion to underscore the major ideas which were exchanged during that most stimulating occasion.

Peter Kimm
Director
USAID/Office of Housing and Urban Programs

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Monday, April 9, 1984

- 08:30 Buses depart from Hotel Teranga
- 09:00 OPENING CEREMONIES Conference Hall
- The Hon. Amadou Sall,**
Mayor of Dakar, Senegal
- The Hon. Charles Bray,**
U.S. Ambassador to Senegal
- Dr. Arcot Ramachandran,** Executive Director,
United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
(HABITAT), Kenya
- Mr. Peter Kimm,** Director,
Office of Housing and Urban Programs, U.S. Agency for
International Development, Washington, D.C., USA
(Conference Co-Chairman)
- The Hon. Hamidou Sakho,** Minister of Urbanism
and Housing, Republic of Senegal
(Conference Co-Chairman)
- 10:30 PLENARY 1 Conference Hall
- Urbanization in Africa: Issues and Options*
- Speaker: **The Hon. John Mbogua,**
Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Local Government, Kenya
- 11:30 Break
- 12:00 PLENARY 2 Conference Hall
- Urbanization: The Senegal Experience*
- Chairman: **Mr. Landing Sane,**
Director of Construction and Housing,
Ministry of Urbanism and Housing, Senegal
- Speakers: **Mr. Macky Sall,** Director of Urbanism and
Architecture, Ministry of Urbanism and
Housing, Senegal
- Mr. Bachir Gaye,** Chief, Division of Urbanism,
Ministry of Urbanism and Housing, Senegal
- Mr. Roland Depret,**
Architectural Society of Senegal
- 13:15 Buses depart from Congress Centre
- 16:00 Informal discussion on Urbanization in Senegal
(Optional) Teranga Hotel, Room B
- 19:00 RECEPTION
Hosted by the United States Government

lundi, 9 avril 1984

- 08h30 Les Autocars partent de l'hôtel Teranga
- 09h00 CEREMONIES D'OUVERTURE Salle de conférence
- L'Honorable Amadou Sall,**
le Président du Conseil Municipal, Dakar, Sénégal
- L'Honorable Charles Bray**
Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis au Sénégal
- Dr. Arcot Ramachandran,** Directeur général,
Centre des Nations Unies pour l'habitat humain
(HABITAT), Kenya
- M. Peter Kimm,** Directeur,
L'Office des programmes d'habitat et d'urbanisme,
Agence des Etats Unis pour le développement inter-
national, Washington, D.C., EUA
(Co-président de la conférence)
- L'Honorable Hamidou Sakho,** Ministre de l'urbanisme
et de l'habitat, République du Sénégal
(Co-président de la conférence)
- 10h30 1^{ère} SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence
- L'urbanisation en Afrique: questions et choix*
- L'orateur: **L'Honorable John Mbogua,**
Secrétaire permanent, Ministère des
collectivités publiques locales, Kenya
- 11h30 Pause café
- 12h00 2^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence
- L'expérience Sénégalaise en matière d'urbanisation*
- Le président: **M. Landing Sane,** Directeur de la
construction et de l'habitat, Ministère de
l'urbanisme et de l'habitat, Sénégal
- Les orateurs: **M. Macky Sall,** Directeur de l'urbanisme et
de l'architecture, Ministère de l'urbanisme
et de l'habitat, Sénégal
- M. Bachir Gaye,** Chef de la division
d'urbanisme, Ministère de l'urbanisme et de
l'habitat, Sénégal
- M. Roland Depret,**
L'Ordre des Architectes du Sénégal
- 13h15 Les autocars partent du Centre de congrès
- 16h00 Discussion informelle sur l'urbanisation au Sénégal
(facultatif) Hôtel Teranga, Salle B
- 19h00 RECEPTION
Donné par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis

Tuesday, April 10, 1984

- 08:30 Buses depart from Hotel Teranga
- 09:00 PLENARY 3 Conference Hall
Allocation Debate: Investment in Primary Cities vs. Secondary Cities Development Programs
- Chairman: **Mr. Peter Kimm**, Director,
Office of Housing and Urban Programs, U.S.
Agency for International Development,
Washington, D.C., USA
- Debaters: **Mr. Alfred Van Huyck**, President,
Planning and Development Collaborative
International, USA
- Dr. Dennis Rondinelli**, Professor of
Development Planning, Syracuse University,
USA
- Discussion
- 11:00 Break
- 11:30 PLENARY 4 Conference Hall
Lessons In Secondary City Development from Other Continents
- Chairman: **Dr. Malcolm Rivkin**, President,
Rivkin Associates Inc., USA
- Speakers: **Mr. Edgar de Souza**, Coordinator, Medium Size
Cities Project, Ministry of Interior, Brazil
- Mr. Hendropranato Suselo**, Head,
Planning and Programming Division, Cipta
Karya, Ministry of Public Works, Indonesia
- Discussion
- 13:15 Buses depart from Congress Centre
- 16:00 *Urban Development Tour of Dakar* (Registration required)
Organized by the Office of Low Income Rental Housing
(OHLM)
- Informal discussions on Lessons from Other Continents
with Mr. De Souza and Mr. Suselo
(Optional) Teranga Hotel, Room A

mardi, 10 avril 1984

- 08h30 Les autocars partent de l'hôtel Teranga
- 09h00 3^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence
Débat sur la répartition des ressources: Investissement dans les villes primaires/programmes de développement des villes secondaires
- Le président: **M. Peter Kimm**, Directeur, L'Office des
programmes d'habitat et d'urbanisme
Agence des Etats-Unis pour le développe-
ment international, Washington, D.C., EUA
- Les participants au débat: **M. Alfred Van Huyck**, Président,
Planning and Development Collaborative
International, EUA
- Dr. Dennis Rondinelli**, Professeur de
planning en développement, Université de
Syracuse, EUA
- Discussion
- 11h00 Pause café
- 11h30 4^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence
Leçons tirés du développement des villes secondaires dans les autres continents
- Le président: **Dr. Malcolm Rivkin**, Président,
Rivkin Associates Inc., EUA
- Les orateurs: **M. Edgar de Souza**, Coordinateur, Projet
des villes de taille moyenne, Ministère de
l'Intérieur, Brésil
- M. Hendropranato Suselo**, Directeur,
Division du planning et de la programma-
tion, Cipta Karya, Ministère des travaux
publics, Indonésie
- Discussion
- 13h15 Les autocars partent du Centre de Congrès
- 16h00 *Visite des aires de développement de Dakar* (Sur inscrip-
tion) Organisé par l'Office des habitations à loyer
modéré (OHLM)
- Discussions informelles sur les leçons tirés d'autres con-
tinents avec M. de Souza and M. Suselo
(facultatif) Hôtel Teranga, Salle A

Wednesday, April 11, 1984

08:30 Buses depart from Hotel Teranga

09:00 PLENARY 5 Conference Hall

Case Studies of Secondary City Development in Africa

1. Ivory Coast

Chairman: Mr. Michael Lippe, Director,
USAID Regional Housing and Urban
Development Office (RHUDO),
Abidjan

Panelists: Mr. Isaac Brou Koua, Director of Urban
Projects, Ministry of Public Works, Con-
struction, Post and Telecommunications,
Ivory Coast

Mr. Scott Johnson, Technical Adviser,
RHUDO, Abidjan

The Hon. Jean Kaul-Memel, Mayor of
Dabou, Ivory Coast

Mrs. Tenin Toure, Sociologist, Department
of Urbanism, Central Studies Bureau,
Ivory Coast

2. Kenya

Chairman: Mr. Fredrik Hansen, Director,
USAID Regional Housing and Urban
Development Office (RHUDO), Nairobi

Panelists: The Hon. John Mbogua, Permanent
Secretary, Ministry of Local Government,
Kenya

Mr. James Mutero, Deputy Chief Planning
Officer, Ministry of Works, Housing and
Physical Planning, Kenya

Mr. Andrew Ligale, Managing Director,
The Kenya Housing Corporation

Discussion

11:00 Break

11:30 PLENARY 6 Conference Hall

*Case Studies of Secondary City Development in Africa
(continued)*

3. Tunisia

Chairman: Mr. David Liebson, Director, USAID
Regional Housing and Urban Development
Office (RHUDO), Tunis

Panelists: Mr. Mohamed Saad, Deputy Director of
Local Government, Ministry of Interior,
Tunisia

Ms. Sonia Hammam, Regional Housing
Officer, RHUDO, Tunis

mercredi, 11 avril 1984

08h30 Les autocars partent de l'hôtel Teranga

09h00 5^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence

*Etudes de cas: Développement des villes secondaires en
Afrique*

1. Côte d'Ivoire

Le président: M. Michael Lippe, Directeur,
Bureau régional de l'habitat et du
développement urbain de l'USAID
(RHUDO/BRHDU), Abidjan

Les membres M. Isaac Brou Koua, Directeur des
de la projets urbains, Ministère des travaux
tribune: publics, de la construction, des postes
et des télécommunications, Côte d'Ivoire

M. Scott Johnson, Conseiller technique,
USAID (RHUDO/BRHDU), Abidjan

L'Honorable Jean Kaul-Memel, Maire de
Dabou, Côte d'Ivoire

Mme. Ténin Toure, Sociologue, Départe-
ment d'urbanisme, BCET (Bureau
Central d'étude technique), Côte d'Ivoire

2. Kenya

Le président: M. Fredrik Hansen, Directeur,
Bureau régional de l'habitat et du
développement urbain de l'USAID
(RHUDO/BRHDU), Nairobi

Les membres L'Honorable John Mbogua, Secrétaire
de la permanent, Ministère des collectivités
tribune: locales, Kenya

M. James Mutero, Officier-chef adjoint
du planning, Ministère des travaux
publiques, de l'habitat et du planning de
l'environnement, Kenya

M. Andrew Ligale, Directeur gestionnaire,
Corporation de l'habitat du Kenya

Discussion

11h00 Pause café

11h30 6^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence

*Etudes de cas: Développement des villes secondaires en
Afrique (suite)*

3. Tunisie

Le président: M. David Liebson, Directeur, Bureau
régional de l'habitat et du développe-
ment urbain de l'USAID (RHUDO/
BRHDU), Tunis

Les membres M. Mohamed Saad, Sous Directeur à la
de la Direction Générale des collectivités
tribune: publiques locales, Ministère de
l'Intérieur, Tunisie

Mme. Sonia Hammam, Officier régional
de l'habitat (RHUDO/BRHDU), USAID,
Tunis

4. Nigeria

Chairman: **Ms. Amy Nolan**, Regional Housing Officer
RHUDO, Abidjan

Panelists: **Dr. Pius Sada**, Professor of Geography,
University of Benin, Nigeria

Dr. Andrew Onokerhoraye, Department of
Geography, University of Benin, Nigeria

Discussion

13:15 Buses depart from Congress Centre

16:00 *Urban Development Tour of Dakar*, repeated (Registration
required) Organized by the Office of Low Income Rental
Housing (OHLM)

Informal discussions on Secondary City Development in
Africa (Optional)

Ivory Coast and Tunisia
Kenya and Nigeria

Hotel Teranga, Room B
Hotel Teranga, Room A

4. Nigéria

La présidente: **Mme. Amy Nolan**, Officier régional de
l'habitat (RHUDO/BRHDU), USAID,
Abidjan

Les membres de la
tribune: **Dr. Pius Sada**, Professeur de géographie
Université du Bénin, Nigéria

Dr. Andrew Onokerhoraye, Département
de géographie, Université du Bénin,
Nigéria

Discussion

13h15 Les autocars partent du Centre de congrès

16h00 *Visite des aires de développement de Dakar* (Sur inscrip-
tion) (Répétition du programme de mardi) Organisé par
l'Office des habitations à loyer modéré (OHLM)

Discussions informelles sur le développement des villes
secondaires en Afrique (facultatif)

La Côte d'Ivoire et le Tunisie
Le Kenya et le Nigéria

Hôtel Teranga, Salle B
Hôtel Teranga, Salle A

Thursday, April 12, 1984

08:30 Buses depart from Hotel Teranga

09:00 WORKSHOPS Congress Centre

These workshops focus on special problems of planning and managing secondary cities development. Capacity of each is limited to 35 participants. All four will be presented at 09:00 and again at 11:30. Delegates are requested to sign up for their choices (one workshop for each scheduled time) at the Conference Secretariat by 13:30 on Wednesday, April 11.

WORKSHOP 1 Conference Room A

Management Capacity Building

Chairman: **Dr. Peter Amato**, Assistant Project Development Officer, Office of Local Administration and Development, USAID, Cairo

Panelists: **Mr. Charles Boyce**, Officer-in-Charge of Training, United Nations HABITAT, Nairobi

Mr. Earl Brown, Senior Development Planner
Research Triangle Institute, USA

Mr. Hudu Silta, Planning Officer,
Tamale, Ghana

WORKSHOP 2 Conference Room B

Public Finance and Private Investment

Chairman: **Dr. Michael Cohen**, Chief, Operations Support and Research, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA

Panelists: **Mr. David Grossman**, President,
Nova Institute, USA

Mr. Mohamed Saad, Deputy Director of Local Government, Ministry of Interior, Tunisia

Mr. Vincent Obongo, Treasurer, Mobil Oil,
Kenya

WORKSHOP 3 Conference Room C

Information for Planning and Management

Chairman: **Dr. Michael McNulty**, Chairman,
International Development Program,
University of Iowa, USA

Panelists: **Dr. Fatou Sow**, Research Sociologist,
University of Dakar, Senegal

Mr. Nicholas Ekra, Director of the Cadaster,
Ministry of Economy and Finance,
Ivory Coast

Dr. James McCullough,
Urban Administration Specialist,
Research Triangle Institute, USA

jeudi, 12 avril 1984

08h30 Les autocars partent de l'hôtel Teranga

09h00 ATELIERS DE TRAVAIL Centre du congrès

Les ateliers traitent les différents problèmes du planning et de la gestion du développement des villes secondaires. Le nombre de participants à un atelier est limité à 35. Les délégués doivent choisir un atelier à 9h et à 11h30 et s'inscrire aux ateliers auprès du secrétariat de la conférence au plus tard à 13h30, mercredi, 11 avril.

ATELIER 1 Salle de conférence A

Développement des aptitudes de gestion

Le président: **Dr. Peter Amato**, Officier assistant de développement de projet, Bureau d'administration locale et de développement, USAID, Le Caire

La tribune: **M. Charles Boyce**, Officier responsable de la formation, programme HABITAT, Nations-Unies, Nairobi

M. Earl Brown, Planiste du développement,
Research Triangle Institute, EUA

M. Hudu Silta, Officier de planning,
Tamale, Ghana

ATELIER 2 Salle de conférence B

Financement public et investissement privé

Le président: **Dr. Michael Cohen**, Directeur des opérations et de la recherche, Banque mondiale, Washington, D.C., EUA

La tribune: **M. David Grossman**, Président,
Nova Institute, EUA

M. Mohamed Saad, Sous Directeur à la Direction Général des collectivités publiques locales, Ministère de l'Intérieur, Tunisie

M. Vincent Obongo, Trésorier, Mobil Oil,
Kenya

ATELIER 3 Salle de conférence C

Information pour le planning et le gestion

Le président: **Dr. Michael McNulty**, Président, Programme de développement international, Université d'Iowa, EUA

La tribune: **Dr. Fatou Sow**, Sociologue-Chercheur Associé, Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noir, Université de Dakar, Sénégal

M. Nicholas Ekra, Directeur du Cadastre, Ministère de l'économie et des finances, Côte d'Ivoire

Dr. James McCullough,
Spécialiste en administration urbaine,
Research Triangle Institute, EUA

WORKSHOP 4 Conference Room D

Market Town Planning and Analysis

Chairman: Dr. Eric Chetwynd, Jr., Chief, Regional and Rural Development Division, Office of Multi-Sectoral Development, USAID, Washington, D.C., USA

Panelists: Dr. Dennis Rondinelli, Professor of Development Planning Syracuse University, USA

Dr. Gerald Karaska, Professor of Economic Geography, Clark University, USA

Dr. Rickie Sanders, Africa Bureau USAID, Washington, D.C., USA

Mr. Avrom Ben-David Val, Senior Technical Officer, Regional Economics, USAID, Washington, D.C., USA

11:00 Break

11:30 REPETITION OF WORKSHOPS
Conference Rooms A, B, C and D

13:15 Buses depart from Congress Centre

15:30 *Utilization of Films for Training in Housing and Urban Development (optional)* Conference Room, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Chairman: Mr. Fredrik Hansen, Director, Regional Housing and Urban Development Office (RHUDO), Nairobi

Panelists: Dr. Norman Miller, Adjunct Professor of Environmental Studies, Dartmouth College, USA

Dr. Frederick Fisher, Regional Training Adviser, RHUDO, Nairobi

20:00 MECHOUÏ RECEPTION Residence de Medina
Hosted by the Government of Senegal

ATELIER 4 Salle de conférence D

Planning et analyse pour les villes de marché

Le président: Dr. Eric Chetwynd, Jr., Directeur, Division du développement rural et régional, Bureau du développement multi-sectoriel, USAID, Washington, D.C., EUA

La tribune: Dr. Dennis Rondinelli, Professeur en planning du développement, Université de Syracuse, EUA

Dr. Gerald Karaska, Professeur de géographie économique Université Clark, EUA

Dr. Rickie Sanders, Bureau Africain, USAID, Washington, D.C., EUA

M. Avrom Ben-David Val, Officier technique, économie régionale, USAID, Washington, D.C., EUA

11h00 Pause café

11h30 REPETITION DES ATELIERS DE TRAVAIL
Salles de conférence A, B, C et D

13h15 Les autocars partent du Centre de congrès

15h30 *Utilisation de films pour la formation en matière de développement de l'habitat et de l'urbanisme (facultatif)* Salle de conférence, Ministère des affaires étrangères

Le président: M. Fredrik Hansen, Directeur, Bureau régional de l'habitat et du développement urbain, (RHUDO/BRHDU), Nairobi

La tribune: Dr. Norman Miller, Professeur auxiliaire d'études sur l'environnement, Dartmouth Collège, EUA

Dr. Frederick Fisher, Conseiller en formation, RHUDO/BRHDU, Nairobi

20h00 COCKTAIL-RECEPTION MECHOUÏ Résidence de Medina
Donné par le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal

Friday, April 13, 1984

- 08:30 Buses depart from Hotel Teranga
- 09:00 PLENARY 7 Conference Hall
Summing Up the Lessons of the Conference
by the Workshop Chairmen and Rapporteurs
Country Presentations
by the Delegates
- 11:00 Break
- 11:30 *Continuation of Country Presentations*
- 12:00 CLOSING CEREMONIES Conference Hall
Mr. Peter Kimm, Director,
Office of Housing and Urban Programs,
U.S. Agency for International Development,
Washington, D.C., USA
The Hon. Hamidou Sakho,
Minister of Urbanism and Housing, Senegal
- 13:15 Buses depart from Congress Centre
- 15:30 Excursion to the Ile Goree (Optional)

The exhibition on urban development in Senegal that is mounted in the Congress Centre has been prepared for this conference by the Research Institute of the Ministry of Urbanism and Housing of the Republic of Senegal.

vendredi, 13 avril 1984

- 08h30 Les autocars partent de l'hôtel Teranga
- 09h00 7^e SEANCE PLENIERE Salle de conférence
Resumé des leçons de la conférence
par les présidents des ateliers et rapporteurs
Présentations de chaque pays
par les délégués
- 11h00 Pause café
- 11h30 *Présentations de chaque pays (suite)*
- 12h00 CEREMONIES DE CLOTURE Salle de conférence
M. Peter Kimm, Directeur,
L'Office des programmes d'habitat et d'urbanisme de
l'Agence des Etats-Unis pour le développement inter-
national, Washington, D.C., EUA
L'Honorable Hamidou Sakho,
Ministre de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat, Sénégal
- 13h15 Les autocars partent du Centre de congrès
- 15h30 Excursion à l'île de Goré (facultatif)

L'exposition sur le développement urbain au Sénégal que l'on trouve au Centre du congrès a été préparé pour cette conférence par l'Institut de la recherche du Ministère de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat de la République du Sénégal.

**The Ninth Conference
is dedicated to**

ALBERT N. VOTAW

**who devoted many years
to improving living conditions
in Africa**

**La neuvième conférence
est dédiée à**

ALBERT N. VOTAW

**qui a consacré de nombreuses années
à améliorer les conditions de vie
en Afrique**



Arriving at Dakar International Conference Center for the Opening Day.

Arrivée à Dakar pour le Jour d'Ouverture de la Conférence Internationale.



Mr. Peter M. Kimm, Director of Housing and Urban Programs, USAID, addresses the conference.

M. Peter M. Kimm, Directeur des Programmes Urbain et d'Habitat, USAID, s'adresse aux participants de la conférence.

Day 1, April 9, 1984

Opening Session

The Ninth Conference was opened with statements of greeting by the Hon. Amadou Sall, Mayor of Dakar and the Hon. Charles Bray, U.S. Ambassador to Senegal.

Speaking on behalf of Dr. Arcot Ramachandran, Executive Director of UN Habitat, Mr. Paul Bouda underscored his own agency's concern with urbanization in Africa and its commitment to research on secondary cities. He pointed out that the 1985 Annual Meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements would have as a theme the planning and management of human settlements, with special emphasis on small and intermediate size cities.

As a result, UNCHS is in the process of carrying out research on the subject and is preparing a theme paper for presentation to the Commission. Although the Centre is in contact with a series of research institutions both in the developed and developing world, the result of the effort will not be an intellectual disquisition on the role of intermediate settlements. Rather, its purpose is to offer practical guidance to governments on how to exploit, in a planned and co-ordinated fashion, the development potential of intermediate-size settlements, both as alternatives to present urbanization patterns and as key centres of activity in national economies. The emphasis of the analysis is on experience in developing countries, both in terms of deliberate national policies and in reference to spontaneous growth occurring without government intervention.

Mr. Peter Kimm, Director of USAID's Office of Housing and Urban Programs then addressed the conference. The following are excerpts from his remarks:

This is the ninth conference that USAID has co-sponsored here in Africa and for me it is a privilege to be able to speak for the ninth time at the opening session. It was twelve years ago in Abidjan when we first met, and there were about 25 delegates from eight African countries and a handful of interested donor agencies such as AID.

Essentially a donor agency can only help on the margin and provide assistance with a particular project that may be important to you which you could not accomplish without external assistance. But fundamentally the problems, and the solutions, rest with the African nations. The decisions are yours to make. If we do our job well, we can help you analyze the alternatives available to you so that you can make the decisions you have to make. . . .

I think it is not an exaggeration to say that we are in the midst of an ongoing crisis without precedent in the history of the world. There never has been anything like the urban growth that African countries are experiencing and will continue to experience. This, of course, was the case 12 years ago, and words very similar to the ones I just said were said then. Indeed things that were predicted came to pass And yet we were able to cope with urbanization, or more accurately you were able to cope with it. The cities continue to function. There are many strains. There are many problems. But I think it is remarkable that things have worked as well as they have.

That is a tribute only in small part to urban planning, but much more to the resiliency of the human spirit. I think we can look to the continued resiliency of the human spirit to carry us from here to where we need to go. And so I look forward to working with all of you this week, to use this opportunity to gather the best information that we possibly can to equip us all to meet the somewhat awesome responsibilities which we all face.

The Hon. Hamidou Sakho, Minister of Urbanism and Housing of the Republic of Senegal made the final welcoming address. The Minister summarized the conference theme and indicated its relevance to Senegal where 50 percent of the country's GDP is generated in Dakar. The contributions of rural areas and secondary cities to GDP are 30 and 20 percent respectively. Minister Sakho then reviewed the various administrative, economic, and social policies being undertaken by the Government of Senegal to redress this imbalance and concluded his presentation as follows:

Almost all the participants at this conference come from developing countries with limited financial and technological resources. We are obliged to exchange our experiences, basing them on the rich experience of foreign countries and on international solidarity in order to solve our problems. Hence the interest that my country accords this Conference.

This Conference on Housing and Urban Development in Africa shall . . . focus attention above all on the ways and means of attaining increased administrative decentralization and strengthening local management. It will examine the methods to adopt in promoting private and public investment in secondary cities as well as the avenues for training competent local cadres.

Your Conference will . . . examine in depth these important problems to which there are no rubber stamp solutions. I am convinced that the results of your deliberations will assist those in charge of improving the standard of living in our respective countries to assume a greater responsibility and become more aware of their mission.

I thank the Government of the United States and its Office of Housing and Urban Programs for this happy initiative. I wish your deliberations complete success and declare open the Ninth Conference on Housing and Urban Development in Africa.



The Honorable John Mbogua, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Kenya, making an important point in his keynote address to the first plenary.

L'Honorable John Mbogua, Secrétaire Permanent au Ministère du Affaires Régionales au Kenya, soulève un important argument au cours de son intervention.

Plenary I Keynote Address

The Hon John Mbogua

Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government

Kenya

Mr. Mbogua set the stage for subsequent discussions of the conference theme by reviewing some major continent-wide characteristics of urban development in Africa: the movement from rural to urban areas, problems of urban unemployment, squatter settlements, lack of housing, inability of national governments to finance urban infrastructure, and the profound social changes faced by the urban population. He illustrated his remarks with examples from his own experience as Town Clerk of Nairobi and now Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government. Mr. Mbogua challenged his audience to search for solutions to the institutional and economic issues which face urbanizing countries throughout Africa. Some excerpts from his address:

There are a lot of complex problems about the city--complex human problems. If you look at the overall situation in Africa, statistics show us that today, Africa has about 138 million people in urban areas. By the year 2000, we understand there could be as many as 346 million people living in urban centers throughout Africa. This is equivalent to the entire rural population of Africa today. And we know these people are not going to be able to get the jobs they want. They are not always going to be able to get clean water. They may not get schools, if they want them. These economic gaps are really our agenda for this meeting

The planners, some of whom are here, and some demographers are telling us these problems are manageable. But the tempo and style in which we approach the problem will have to change. We have based too much on traditional ways of planning, methods learned elsewhere which are not really, truly African methods. We need to formulate new approaches, and I think this is the main task before this conference. We have to plan within affordable costs

The underlying problems of urbanization in Africa have to be seen in the perspective of high population growth and the consequent rural-urban migration Agricultural development has not always kept pace with the increases in rural population. In some areas there has been a decline in agricultural production. Consequently, some of our rural population has been forced by sheer economic forces to migrate into the cities. This trend will not be easy to reverse, and we must plan for this influx of population into the urban centers

Public finance is a major factor. The way I see it, central governments in Africa cannot continuously help local authorities or the cities to plan urban growth, because the central governments themselves are also constrained. Particularly during this time when we are all experiencing serious international financial crises, it is very difficult for central governments to help local authorities effectively. I must confess I talk now very much as a national administrator of local government. When I was in the City of Nairobi, quite often I reversed the statement and said that the government must help us. But really, joking aside, there is a limit to what central governments can do in the way of subventions to municipalities. They do not have enough funds to be able to assist. They have limited sources of finance, and sometimes priorities do not tend to be quite right. What really must be done is for the municipal councils and local authorities to think in terms of helping themselves in housing, like many other municipal functions we have to undertake, building strong institutions, is the most important thing--particularly administrative institutions, because we all suffer from lack of trained and capable manpower Lack of manpower is a key problem. Sometimes it's a problem of competence. People do not have the right abilities, and, therefore, the administration becomes rather weak

I feel that democracy is a major tool for making the government work. This is my final point. Building institutions of democracy, social institutions which give people a chance to play a part in decision making, is a major factor. I am not here really to talk about one system of government against another or one position as against another one. But, where people make their own decisions, and they are free to air their own feelings and say we want this or that, I think that is a much better situation than where people are forced from the top to adopt certain methods. While we are now running the Nairobi City Council with a Commission, my government realizes only too well that this is going to be a very temporary thing. We really must allow the democratic system to prevail, for the Council to be run by elected officials, because the people know best. They choose people whom they know will represent them. There may be one or two cases where you may find the representative is not the best person. But if he is no good the people have a method by which they can kick him out. They vote him out next election.

And there is always that period where you wait and hope for a change. So a democratic system to me is a vital factor in helping deal with the problems of urbanization in Africa.

Let me finish Mr. Minister, Mr. Kiam, and ladies and gentlemen, by stating once more how pleased we all have been . . . to meet under these auspices. International bodies like AID, the World Bank and the U.N., all have very important roles to play in acting as catalysts to get us to think about positive ways in which we can make urban life in Africa more tolerable . . . but, in fact, the task is ours and we really must face the task headlong to deal with problems of urbanization. If we don't deal with the problems of urbanization, these problems may just deal with us. The urban crisis will deal with us, if we don't deal with the urban crisis. So we really must act quickly and there's not much time to wait. We must move and we must act now.



Mr. Bachir Gaye, Chief, Division of Urbanism, Ministry of Urbanism and Housing, Senegal, told the conference about some of the problems facing his country and solutions proposed.

M. Bachir Gaye, Chef de la Division d'Urbanisme au Ministère de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat au Sénégal, s'adresse aux participants et expose les problèmes auxquels son pays doit faire face ainsi que les solutions proposées.

Plenary 2 Urbanization in Senegal

Mr. Macky Sall

Director of Urbanism and Architecture
Ministry of Urbanism and Housing
Senegal

Mr. Bachir Gaye

Chief, Division of Urbanism
Ministry of Urbanism and Housing
Senegal

The Senegal presentation began with certain basic facts:

In 1980, Senegal's population was an estimated 5,600,000 inhabitants scattered unevenly throughout the land

Senegal is one country whose urbanization goes back to its colonial period. Indeed it was in Senegal that the first town (Saint Louis) was established in West Africa, three centuries ago. In 1960 Senegal and Congo-Brazzaville were the countries with the highest urbanization levels in West Africa at 23% and 26% respectively.

In 1980, the urbanization level for Senegal was estimated at 35% and it is believed by the year 2000, if the present trend persists, 48% of the total Senegalese population will be living in towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants. In other words, 1 out of every 2 Senegalese will be living in towns.

Faced with this rampant urbanization, the government of Senegal has, since independence, established policies in an attempt to find solutions to the problems related to urbanism, housing, employment, education, health

The presentation then examined the evolution of urban areas during the Colonial Period (military posts, trading and groundnut processing centers, administrative headquarters), the installation of railroad and road networks linking sections of the country, the evolution of manufacturing enterprise, all leading to the dominance of Dakar and the urbanized area of Cape Vert.

It was estimated in 1976 that Dakar held as many inhabitants (800,000) as all of Senegal's secondary towns put together (875,000) and nearly twice as many as the other regional capitals. The second largest city (Thies) had about 115,000 inhabitants at the time The Cape Vert region, which in 1980 was 85-90 per cent urbanized, contributed 55 per cent to Senegal's Gross Domestic Product This means that 45 per cent of the GDP is supplied by the Senegalese rural world and the secondary towns. Hence, one can deduct that the secondary towns' contribution to the GDP is quite low.

The concentration in Dakar of the economic infrastructure and of administrative and social services, and the State takeover of the groundnut trade after independence, by eliminating the intermediary traders, has nearly cut off the towns in the interior in their role as groundnut collection centers and staple product distribution centers.

These two factors will bring about increasing polarization of the flow of merchandise and migration into Dakar; a super-concentration of jobs and services in the capital, and a decline of the secondary centers as well as increased imbalance of the urban network.

However, the secondary towns have a certain number of functions: political and administrative, those involving small merchant production (goods and services), agricultural production and services (health, education, water, electricity, transport, etc).

The presentation continued by reviewing the array of institutions dealing with urban issues and the key role played by the Ministry of Urbanism and Housing and its constituent agencies. Progress in housing was also cited, particularly by the Housing Bank and parastatal agencies such as the Office of Low Income Rental Housing (OHLM), who have operated primarily in the Dakar region. Senegal has been struggling to formulate an appropriate urban allocation policy in light of severe economic constraints. The government is currently formulating such a policy, assisted by both the World Bank and USAID. The Senegalese presentation concluded with suggested directions for policy in respect to rural areas, secondary cities, and Dakar itself:

- selecting a limited number of the most promising secondary centers (e.g. those with some economic specialization already) for concerted investment in job generating enterprises and infrastructure.

- reinforcing the linkages between these secondary centers and their rural hinterlands to stimulate agricultural production and improve agricultural marketing practices.
- providing agricultural credit to establish incentives for increased production of foodstuffs for the domestic market as well as export.
- improving services and utilities for those economic activities (i.e. manufacturing) for which Dakar has locational advantage so that productivity of the capital can increase.

Day 2, April 10, 1984

Plenary 3

Allocation Debate: Investment in Primary Cities vs. Secondary Cities
Development Programs

Perhaps the most significant set of issues discussed at the conference dealt with allocation of resources to urban development. Many African countries have large "primate" urban regions that are principal targets for rural-urban migration and principal concentrations of contemporary economic activity. Secondary centers and market towns exist as well, but are hard pressed to amass sufficient resources to make productive contributions to national economic growth. Resources are extremely limited, and political/social/economic pressures for their application throughout the urban hierarchy are intense. What to do? The resource allocation issue was cast as a debate, with two experts, Mr. Alfred P. Van Huyck and Dr. Dennis Rondinelli asked to take opposite sides, so that the options could be clearly drawn. Mr. Peter Kimm introduced the debaters.

Mr. Alfred P. Van Huyck

President, PADCO, Inc.

Mr. Van Huyck began with the case for the primate city. He cited the intense pressures to disperse national resources, but said:

. . . This paper argues that the practical realities of African development in the 1980s preclude any substantial diversion of capital resources to secondary city and market town development without potentially significant damage to already low rates of national economic growth. It argues that the primate city should be viewed as a positive force in national economic development--a friend rather than a foe. And, this is the decade to put in place the policies which will ultimately stimulate secondary city development and market towns in the future, but not redirect major capital investments away from essential, high productive sectors and places.

There can be no room for idealistic, impractical theories of urban development. In Africa the future is now. Long-term dreams must be subordinated to immediate reality.

What are the central issues which must be addressed ?

The creation of urban jobs in the maximum numbers at the least cost.

Access to urban land, shelter, and basic infrastructure for the largest possible number of households at costs which the nation and the households can afford.

The transfer of as much responsibility for job creation and economic development as possible to the private sector since government has neither the capital nor managerial resources to do the job.

The build-up of exports, particularly "non-traditional" exports to improve the balance of payments and allow for essential imports.

The essential response to these central issues must stress economic efficiency criteria for investments, capital resource conserving technologies, cost recovery from beneficiaries, adoption of appropriate standards, conservation of managerial skills and, above all, emphasis on productivity gains and short-term payoffs from investments.

Going on to stress that economic efficiency must be the chief criterion for resource allocation, he stated:

Therefore, the first reality to be faced is that primacy is the natural tendency of development. Secondary city/market town strategies sponsored by governments which seek to retard the growth of the primate city are going against this natural tendency. Insofar as governments do not have the capital resources nor the managerial capacity-nor the political will-to allow decentralized decision-making in other urban centers, such strategies are bound to fail.

While a secondary city/market town strategy seems a most attractive political theory because it promises inter-regional equity, Mr. Van Huyck said African countries just did not have the money or managerial talent in depth to afford it. He said that research has proven:

- Primate cities have demonstrably higher returns on investment
- Productivity increases with city size
- Creation of higher levels of external economies occur with agglomeration
- Economies can be achieved in urban service provision
- Transportation and communications are less costly and more efficient
- A wider range of job opportunities, including the informal sector, are available

At the same time, he recognized that countries can not realistically be arbitrary about their investment programs, and that many conflicting and legitimate concerns must be addressed in allocating resources. He called for formulation of national urban policies by African nations that would be linked to overall economic development objectives: "Affordable Decentralization" is what he termed the appropriate policy framework.

Urban policies . . . concerned with the performance of the economy and interpersonal equity issues (rather) than arbitrary spatial theory.

Some components of "affordable decentralization" are:

It would stress economic efficiency criteria in the choice of urban investment locations (as well as rural/agricultural investment), but would ensure that interpersonal equity issues are addressed in those locations of the greatest economic potential. This would mean deemphasizing investments made purely for inter-regional equity reasons.

It would ensure that sufficient investment was made in the primate city to maintain its overall contribution to national economic growth and provide minimum standard land and infrastructure to accommodate the expected continued population growth. It would not curtail the private sector's initiative in making investments in the primate city.

It would seek to reduce the policy and subsidy programs that encourage development of the primate city for other than economic efficiency reasons. The removal of distortions in economic decisionmaking will restore real economic comparative advantage criteria throughout the settlement system. Because primate cities already have strong economic advantages, they should not also be given additional subsidies. The objective should be to make the primate city self-sufficient and not a parasite on national resources.

It would emphasize selected urban investments in secondary cities and market towns which are essential to increasing agricultural productivity. These investments should be in urban centers serving those rural hinterlands which offer the best opportunity for substantial gains in agricultural output (rather than on inter-regional equity criteria). These investments would not be oriented toward achieving any particular population growth rates or arbitrary population targets, but solely focused on improving the performance of the agricultural sector in general (though increased population growth is also a likely outcome in those urban centers selected).

It would seek secondary city locations for all those non-agricultural productive investments (both public and private) which can perform as efficiently as if they were located in the primate city.

Mr. Van Huyck concluded as follows:

As time goes by, and the economic development emphasis of this strategy begins to pay off, additional increments of investment capital will become available that will allow the spread of decentralized investment to accelerate in the future.

The primate city has a crucial role to play in achieving this economic growth and ultimately to provide the capital needed to support an "affordable decentralization" strategy.

Dr. Dennis Rondinelli

Syracuse University

Dr. Rondinelli agreed that primacy is occurring throughout Africa:

In ten (countries) - Kenya, Mozambique, Uganda, Tanzania, Angola, Libya, Benin, Guinea, Senegal and Togo - more than half and up to 83 per cent of the urban population is concentrated in the largest city. In 13 other countries, at least one-third of the urban population lives in a single city.

But at the same time he disagreed with Mr. Van Huyck's fundamental premise.

Little evidence supports the contention that large primate cities are beneficial to the development of poor countries. Growing evidence suggests that if alleviation of rural poverty, increased agricultural productivity and employment and income generation are important goals of development policies, then the promotion of urban primacy may be in fact be detrimental. If governments in developing countries seek to promote socially and geographically equitable development, then investment in intermediate cities and market towns may be a more effective way of achieving that goal

The rationale for allocating investments to market towns and secondary cities, I believe, is based on two major arguments: first, that excessive concentration of population and investment in primate cities does not lead to higher levels of economic development and can produce adverse consequences for both national economies and for regional and social equity; and second, that intermediate-sized cities and market towns can and do perform important functions in promoting rural and regional development that should be strengthened.

He went on to state that the "trickle down" theory of distribution just does not work.

The stimulative effects have usually been restricted to the metropolitan areas surrounding the primate cities, thereby creating or exacerbating severe regional disparities between the metropolitan center and the rest of the country

By promoting the growth of primate cities to very large sizes in order to achieve greater economies of scale for large, capital-intensive industries, economic planners may be creating diseconomies of scale and adversities for a wide range of small and medium enterprises that are more important for economic development in most African countries.

Dr. Rondinelli stated there was little evidence to suggest scale economies could be achieved in cities over one million. The growth of massive metropolitan areas leads to housing and other social and economic problems with which governments can not cope. Research in other continents of the developing world indicates that economies of scale for most urban services and utilities and for most industrial support services are reached in towns of about 100,000 in population.

The need in much of Africa is to allocate investments in services, facilities, infrastructure and productive activities in a pattern of "decentralized concentration", that is in settlements with large enough concentrations of people and with a sufficient hinterland market to be able to support them economically and efficiently.

Even communities of 10-20,000 people play important roles in stimulating hinterland agricultural development. Dr. Rondinelli went on to cite other advantages of smaller centers, including:

They can provide convenient locations for decentralizing public services through field offices of national ministries or agencies, or regional, provincial or district offices, thereby offering greater access for both urban and rural residents to public services and facilities that must be located in towns with at least minimum population threshold levels

They often provide conditions that are conducive for small- and medium- scale manufacturing and artisan and cottage industries that serve local markets and satisfy internal demand for low-cost consumer goods. Some of secondary cities can also support large industries.

Many act as agro-processing and agricultural supply centers (for inputs, such as fertilizers, seeds, cultivation and harvesting implements, irrigation components, and pesticides) for farmers in their regions.

They are often sources of off-farm employment and supplementary income for people living in nearby rural areas, and through remittances earned by migrants provide additional income for household members remaining in rural areas.

Finally, in few African countries are secondary cities strongly linked to either other levels of the urban system or with market towns and rural hinterlands. Thus the rural population often lack access to the town and city-based services and facilities that exist.

Dr. Rondinelli said the prospects for realistic contributions by secondary cities had profound implications for national policy:

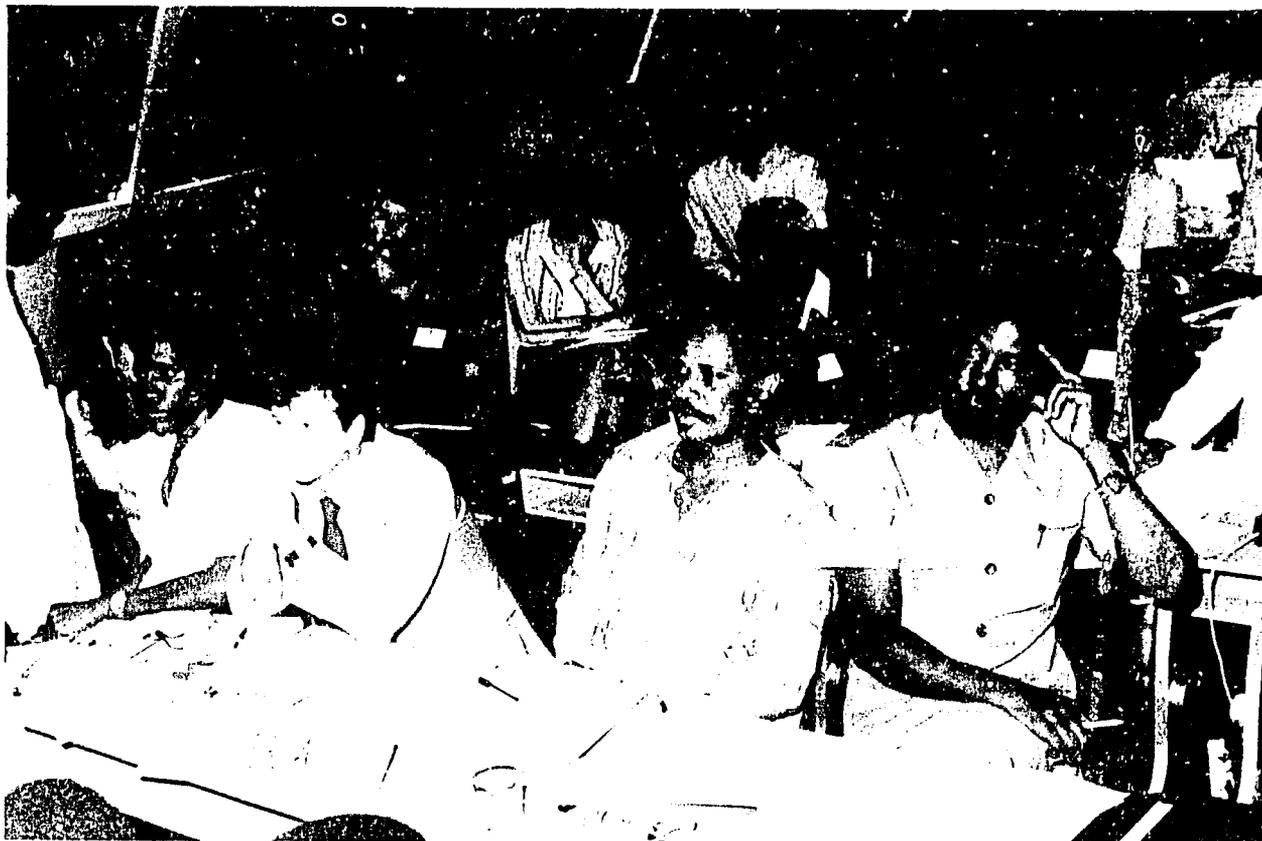
With proper investment, secondary cities and regional marketing centers can facilitate the development of the regions in which they are located The economic activities encouraged within them should be those that are related to the agricultural economies of their rural hinterlands and that stimulate productive activities in their regions. Spread effects and beneficial interaction do not happen automatically with urbanization and investment in cities of any size. Their economies, and the linkages among them and their rural hinterlands, must be structured in ways that are likely to stimulate internal production and demand and to raise incomes of people living in the region. This requires careful regional analysis and planning.

Significant changes can be brought about without massive new investment. Careful locational analysis and planning of current investment to promote a pattern of decentralized concentration focused on existing secondary cities and market centers can begin to strengthen the capacity of these places to facilitate rural and regional development.

In the last analysis, Dr. Rondinelli did find a common ground with Mr. Van Huyck, stressing the need for integration of spatial planning with other national policies bearing on economic development.

While appropriate spatial allocation of investment can provide the physical conditions for more widespread economic development, it alone cannot change the structure of the economy. National policies on international trade, foreign investment, population growth, migration, agricultural prices, and wages must all support and reinforce spatial policies if they are to have an impact in generating equitable economic growth. This requires a stronger integration of national and regional, and better coordination of sectoral and spatial, planning.

The allocation debate did lead to lively discussion in informal gatherings throughout the remainder of the conference.





The Liberian and Burundi delegations, along with those from Congo and Zimbabwe, were interested in the allocation debate.



Les délégations de Libye et Bouroundi ainsi que de Congo et Yimbabwe étaient intéressées aux débats sur les problèmes d'allocation.

Plenary 4

Lessons In Secondary City Development from Other Continents

At the request of the Steering Committee, the conference invited senior officials from Brazil and Indonesia to present papers on their countries' experience with investing in secondary centers. Each of these two developing nations had made considerable, albeit different efforts, and the conference organizers felt these might afford instructive lessons for African circumstances.

Introduction: Dr. Malcolm D. Rivkin
President, Rivkin Associates, Inc.

Dr. Rivkin, the Program Coordinator of the Conference, introduced the idea of learning from countries who had already made moderately successful attempts to grapple with the allocation issue. In presenting the speakers, he asked that the delegates keep in mind the differences between Brazil and Indonesia and African countries. Both nations however, had reached certain basic conclusions about how a secondary city development should be designed.

- A. Once a decision is made to work in a given city, it is necessary to design and apply a "package" of projects to that community. One activity -- a water system, an upgrading project, some administrative reform -- just does not address the fundamental constraints to community improvement and economic growth. If there is to be any real hope for success, related investments and administrative reforms need to be applied within the same physical setting over a reasonably brief period of time.
- B. Minimal cost solutions are critical. Although each of these countries may have more resources than many African nations, demands for improving the urban condition far exceed available funds. Each country has elected to spread these resources as far as possible within selected cities by mandating low cost solutions to water, sanitation, and other infrastructure systems.

- C. Community development -- whether intended to improve the quality of life or economic growth prospects -- needs to occur with significant participation by local people and institutions. This holds for design, finance, and execution components. The dynamic, ever-expanding process we call development can not be imposed from above, i.e. by national level institutions, and efforts are needed to enlist local participation and responsibility in some fashion. Otherwise the attempts are doomed to failure.

The Brazilian Experience

Mr. Edgar Bastos De Souza

Coordinator, Medium Size Cities Project, Ministry of Interior

Mr. De Souza began with a description of recent economic and urban development trends in this rapidly industrializing country of about 120 million people. Like many developing countries, Brazil faces serious problems of external and internal debt and very high inflation rates. structural imbalances are severe with chronic high unemployment and underemployment, unbalanced distribution of income and regional disparities.

In addition, the process is also unbalanced in terms of rural/urban population growth. While the total population grew about threefold between 1940 and 1980, the urban population showed a sixfold increase. Nowadays, more than 2/3s of the Brazilian population live in urban areas while 40 years ago only 1/3 did so. Moreover, while the total population growth rate has decreased a little in the last decades (falling from 2.99% annually in 1960 to 2.49% annually in 1980), the urban population growth rate still remains quite high (4.1% annually in 1980)

Since urban growth takes place at higher rates than the generation of jobs in industry (predominantly capital intensive), the cities usually face high levels of unemployment and underemployment. Large strata of the population earn their living as part of the so-called "informal sector", with very low productivity levels;

Unbalanced regional development gave rise to concentration of the population in the southern and southeastern regions and in few urban centers, generating an uneven and disconnected urban network;

The concentration of the population in the metropolitan areas and larger centers contributes to their congestion with the worsening of environmental conditions and the generation of diseconomies of scale;

The disparities in income distribution, unemployment and underemployment explain the existence of cities which actually swell rather than grow, excluding more than 60% of the country's urban population from the consumption of basic services.

The chronic deficit in housing forces the low-income population to become squatters in the outskirts of the cities and live in sub-normal conditions.

Faced with these issues, Brazil's National Council for Urban Development began some time ago to formulate national urban policy which recognized that different kinds of approaches would be needed for urban areas of different size classes and functions. Policies were formulated for the great urban centers, the medium size cities (of which there about 100 over 100,000 in size) and smaller cities as well. The policies attempt to coordinate activities of many federal, state, and local agencies with investment and development responsibilities.

The special program for medium size cities deals with a selected sample of 11 communities from the 100,000 size class. When the project was conceived in 1977, neither the World Bank (which has provided a loan) nor the government believed a larger sample would be cost effective as a pilot program. Institutional arrangements were established that are quite complex due to the three levels of government involved, although coordination at the federal level is achieved through a special unit in the Ministry of Interior which Mr. De Souza heads. In each selected city an implementation unit has been created which is linked with the municipal planning department of the state planning agency. Financing is complicated as well, since many agencies funnel resources to the program. The World Bank has lent 35 per cent of the project costs of \$200,000 (\$70,000). State and municipal contributions amount to 30 per cent, from their budgets and from loans. The project stipulates cost recovery where possible.

Development of the project is based on the following principles:

1. The different works and services shall benefit first of all the low income population and the city as a whole.
2. All the works and services shall be implemented according to minimum cost criteria. Alternative solutions must be investigated to meet the objective.
3. Every activity must ensure technical, financial, and economic feasibility as spelled out in the project guidelines.
4. Community participation has to be adequately addressed.

Mr. De Souza went on to spell out the step-by-step process employed in designing the specific investment activities for each city.

First of all, a profile is prepared of the city or relevant "urban agglomeration area". It presents data and analysis on administrative, economic, social, and physical characteristics as well as an assessment of principal issues to be addressed and the locality's development potential.

Out of the profile and its review comes a local development strategy. This document identifies general and specific goals, guidelines for governmental action, possible projects, and an expectation of results during the program execution period. It is a realistic blueprint for the activities to follow.

Activity charts are then drawn up which list a specific array of infrastructure, service, employment generation, and other activities which could be undertaken to meet the objectives.

Feasibility studies are then made of the most promising activities.

Finally, a series of Executive Projects are prepared. These are the final specifications for each activity, with detailed architectural, engineering, administrative, and financial documentation sufficient to commission the work.

He then described the specific kinds of projects which could be linked together in an investment program for a community,

- A. Physical and Social Infrastructure - Water supply and sewage systems at low cost; drainage; improvement of transport systems, including the paving of roads and the construction of terminals; garbage collection and final waste disposal; upgrading and sites and services projects; tenure legalization; construction of schools, health centers, nurseries and community centers; improvements of local/pedestrian ways, construction of squares, leisure centers, etc.
- B. Employment and Income Generation - Creation or enlargement of industrial areas, mainly oriented towards medium and small industrial enterprises; technical assistance for micro, small and medium enterprises; organization and equipment of cooperatives and associations; stimulation of several activities of the informal sector including artisans; professional training; incentives to the production and distribution of food; organization of fairs and free-markets, etc.
- C. Municipal Administration and Finances - Organizational Development of city administrations; building up human resources; set up and improvement of financial, economic, social and administrative records, etc.

A great number of projects have been started, and the mixture is very different for each city. Some 50 percent of the quantitative targets (facilities constructed, number of jobs generated) have actually been achieved by early 1984.

The project's positive results--besides the intrinsic benefits of the component activities, e.g., creation of new jobs, increase in the income of the target population, improvement of the cities' physical and social infrastructure, strengthening of the municipal finances, etc.--can be felt also through the impacts caused at the federal and local levels since its implementation. In first place it showed the possibility of executing projects with the participation of various sectoral entities, acting in an integrated way and propagating uncommon practices such as the implementation of works and services at minimal cost (e.g., the search for alternative solutions for sanitary and sewage problems), the community participation in the planning and implementation process, etc.

In all governmental levels, staff of high quality have been appointed. These teams are gradually improving their performance through on-the-job training. Moreover, the system as a whole is gathering experience in implementation of urban development projects which leads to an increase of their replicability for the future.

Mr. De Souza went on to say, however that a number of problems must be addressed as the present limited efforts continue and as new cities are added to the program. Too many organizations are involved, particularly at the national level, which results in overly bureaucratic and slow procedures. Some project components have not been successful, particularly those directed to assist small enterprise development in the informal sector. Greater emphasis is needed on improving the services and infrastructure for economic development. Involvement of local authorities must be deepened in order to achieve the political support indispensable to making such an effort succeed. Actual local control should increase as well.

Indonesia

Mr. Hendropranato Suselo

Head Planning and Programming Division

Cipta Karya, Ministry of Public Works

Indonesia also is a large country (30,000 islands, 160 million people). Its direct national investment activities in secondary cities go back many years. Unlike Brazil, however, which has packaged several economic/infrastructure/administrative projects in a few cities, Indonesia's approach has been to work with a limited variety of investments, but place them in a great number of centers.

Mr. Suselo traced the background to the Indonesian program. He pointed out that, while the country has hundreds of cities and towns, several of one million or more, it is still predominantly rural (about 75 percent). Most of the growing rural labor force have found employment still in the rural areas. The main "urban" issue facing the country on its independence after World War II was the very poor and deteriorated state of water, sanitation, and other urban services throughout the country. A series of 5-year plans have included objectives to improve these conditions.

One approach has been application of a grant program or subsidy, based on a formula, to all cities and towns. Called the Inpres, it is a transfer back to the communities of some of the nationally-collected tax money (Indonesian municipalities have limited revenue-raising ability) and is earmarked for public works. But this grant problem has had only limited effects.

With the start of the third development plan in 1979, the government realized that economic growth had also created an uneven distribution of wealth and services. Therefore, a more target-oriented, basic needs approach providing urban services was adopted as the main focal point of the National Development Plan.

For the purpose of implementing our urban development program, we needed to identify a target group. The target group consisted of 200 cities, including 10 big cities, 40 medium sized cities and 150 towns spread all over the country. For the purpose of our urban services program, cities are categorized according to population size: big cities having population over 500,000, medium cities having population between 100,000-500,000, and small cities having population between 20,000-100,000. We also implement programs in cities of population size between 3,000-20,000. This latter category is, in fact, "transition settlement" consisting of rural areas in the process of transition to urbanization.

Perhaps the most significant component of the basic needs approach has been the Kampung Improvement Program.

The principles of this program are to improve basic infrastructure in the kampungs with minimum disturbance or removal of the residences. The KIP components vary according to the conditions in the kampung, but can include local roads, footpaths, drainage, water supply, public sanitation facilities, solid waste collection and schools and clinics. The cost of the infrastructure is not directly recovered from residents, but land tax, levied on the user is raised in the improved areas.

During the second 5-year plan period this program still concentrated only on the two major cities, Jakarta and Surabaya. With the coming of the third 5-year plan in 1979, kampung improvement projects were planned in 200 cities (10 large and 40 medium size cities and some 150 towns, with respective target figures per place for improvement area of 200 ha, 100 ha and 60 ha for the smaller towns). In total, 15,000 ha of kampung area was to be covered by this program at a planned fixed average investment of US\$2,800 per hectare. Although we were able to start programs in even more than the anticipated 200 cities, only 78% of the planned area was implemented, or some 11,725 ha.

Nevertheless, even this was a major achievement. Mr. Suselo stated that the financing policy for kampung improvements differs by size class of city, and there is considerable effort to obtain local financing for portions of the investment from those communities which have some of their own resources.

. . . As a minimum improvement standard, it is estimated that the average cost for such improvement is US\$2,800 per ha. So, for the smaller cities the program is aimed at improving infrastructure up to the basic minimum standard, with full central government financial support. In the medium size cities, local government normally wants to have a higher standard of improvement. Assuming that the local jurisdiction is willing to bear approximately 50% of the project cost (either in the form of direct local government spending, or through long-term loans assisted by foreign aid), the cities are eligible to receive central government assistance for the remaining portion of the cost. In the case of the bigger cities, which normally wish to execute an improvement program up to considerably higher standards (normally costing up to US\$10,000 per ha) the local government has to absorb total project costs. Central government assistance is referred to as the "pioneering KIP program", in the sense that the initial investment is expected to stimulate better appreciation of program benefits by the local government and the community, which are expected to participate further with their own investments.

Responsibility for the KIP, and other components of the urban investment program is vested in a single division of the Ministry of Public Works (The general Directorate for Housing, Building, Planning, and Urban Development, "Cipta Karya"). But even within this agency, because of the number of individual departments involved, coordination has not always been easy.

A similar multi-city effort was initiated with water supply and sanitation, during the third 5-year plan.

. . . In this, emphasis fell on developing approaches to small scale and step-by-step implementation. Also modular systems, that could be easily extended and repeated, had to be developed. Furthermore, solutions had to be found for an integration of the three elements of sanitation (sewage, drainage and solid waste) along with inclusion of sanitation activities in public housing and in the low income neighborhood improvement projects.

The emphasis on cost recovery and "tailor made individual" systems in the second 5-year plan was probably appropriate for the big and medium size cities. But the approach was felt to be inappropriate for the smaller and more numerous cities. For these starting in the third 5-year plan, the government has applied standardization in planning, design and prefabrication of small package treatment plants consisting of multiple modules at a capacity of 20 liters per second. This new approach has worked successfully in shortening the period for execution of water supply projects in the smaller cities and has the additional effect of stimulating growth of domestic manufacturers of standardized package treatment plants. More than 105 small cities have been provided with water supply using the standardized system.

Along with the equity principle envisaged in the third 5-year plan, the government has changed its policy in water supply development towards the basic needs approach. Under the new policy, the national program was aimed to provide all the cities with an average of 60 liters per capita per day and to cover 60% of the 1985 urban population served. The policy was quite different from the previous "master plan" approach, aiming at serving the total long term population need of a city at a level of service based on individual local conditions. Financing policy for water supply was also adjusted to the basic needs approach, in which full central government financing was provided to the small cities up to the basic need standard. In accordance with each city's development and financial capacity, big and medium size cities normally require higher standard level of service which they now have to provide on a self-financing basis. Up to the limit of 125 liters per capita per day, cities can still rely on government equity and subsidized loan funding. Above the limit, however, cities must seek their own funding from commercial banking sources.

In the new plan period beginning in 1984, Indonesia will place particular emphasis on improving drainage and waste disposal systems for at least 100 cities. Minimum standard solutions will be attempted, and labor intensive schemes to improve maintenance of canals and drainage ways will be organized.

The program intends to assist local government in massive rehabilitation of these urban facilities, using labor intensive methods. But the central government is only providing one-time assistance. Thereafter local government is required to establish its own maintenance program and improve management by collecting at least minimum solid waste charges from the community and commercial areas.

Mr. Suselo continued by pointing out that while the sectoral or single facility approach to urban reconstruction had produced many benefits, his country, in evolving an urban policy framework, was now moving towards a more integrated method of providing urban services. He described this new conception as follows:

Learning from our past experience, we are fast becoming more and more aware of the need to develop a more integrated approach. Since the middle of our second 5-year plan we have attempted integrated urban projects together with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. These included identification of city needs for long term (normally between 4-5 years) investment in various facilities such as sites and services including core housing, water supply, drainage, solid waste, kampung improvement, sewage, and related urban services improvements. These services were planned in an integrated manner, and sources of funding were identified and committed from the external loans and central, provincial and local government budgets. Such urban development projects have been implemented in big and medium size cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, Medan, Semarang, Padang, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Palembang and Denpasar. Very recently we developed also an integrated urban development program for 38 small cities in Central Java Province, the first trial of such an approach for small communities.

The government intends to promote this integrated urban development approach further as national policy in the coming fourth 5-year plan. Although we appreciate the advantage of integration, we know from experience that many institution building efforts will still have to be made to establish the roles of various government agencies and to coordinate these agencies' efforts.

In conclusion, Mr. Suselo looked back on Indonesia's experience and summed up key achievements and issues:

In the field of housing, we have at times turned a blind eye towards what people were able to construct themselves. Rather than vigorously adhering to building standards, we have positively assisted the people in upgrading their environmental conditions. Research carried out in these upgraded areas has shown that in response to the attention, people do upgrade their houses. It has been found that every US \$1000 invested in kampung improvement programs encourages an additional US \$1900 in private improvements. Although land values and rents have risen markedly in these areas, there has apparently been little out-migration resulting from rent increases. The rise of land prices has been recaptured through increase of urban land development taxes for further expansion and investment in urban services. This is mainly so because 94% of the houses were owner occupants.

With regard to the supply of water, we have reached a considerably improved level of capacity. The big task ahead is to learn how to make a larger coverage of urban population with clean water supply. This means that we will have to examine how to make water enterprises self-financing and where exactly we must continue with grants to reach 75% of the urban population with clean water by the end of this plan period.

Although we are more pleased with increased industrial and manufacturing activities, this has created new problems in the field of pollution, in particular water pollution. Thus far we have not been able to address these problems fully. We lacked the expertise and the right approach. Because this problem had lower priority, we had only meager resources to embark on projects. Now, an estimated 9% of our budget will be devoted to sanitation problems, which is eight times higher than in the last plan period.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sometimes very worried about these seemingly ever-increasing problems. But when I look backward and reflect on the enthusiasm with which the planners, the engineers, the economists and administrators managed to apply innovative approaches to improve our water supply system, I feel confident enough that we will also be able to overcome the other difficulties that stem from rapid urbanization.



The Honorable Hamidou Sakho, Minister of Urbanism and Housing, Senegal, welcomes Mr. Peter M. Kimm, Director of Housing and Urban Programs, USAID, to a festive occasion hosted by the Government of Senegal.

L'Honorable Hamidou Sakho, Ministre de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat au Sénégal, accueille M. Peter Kimm, Directeur des Programmes Urbain et de l'Habitat, USAID, à un banquet offert par le Gouvernement du Sénégal.



All work and no play can often undermine a conference's objectives. The Senegalese ballet corps brightened everyone's spirits with their beautiful dancing and charming presence.

Travail sans distraction peut souvent saper les objectifs d'une conférence.
Un groupe de ballet Sénégalais enchante l'assistance par leur charme et leur grâce.

Day 3, April 11, 1984

Plenary 5, Case Studies of Secondary City Development in Africa

Note: Highlights of the discussions are summarized along with each of the case presentations excerpted below:

The Ivory Coast

M. Isaac Brou Koua

Director of Urban Projects

Ministry of Public Works, Construction

Post and Telecommunications, Abidjan

Mr. Michael Lippe, RHUDD Abidjan introduced the panel, and Mr. Isaac Brou Koua presented the main paper. Mr. Koua's paper began by tracing the post independence development of the Ivory Coast: a nation with several major ethnic groups, two main ecological regions--a rain forest in the South and West and dry savannah in the North and East, economically dependent on the world markets for cocoa, coffee, wood and other export crops, serious regional disparities persist between North and South and towns and rural areas. Rural-urban migration has been extensive. Migration from neighboring countries has been extensive also, with 20 per cent of the national population foreign born and 40 percent in the primate city of Abidjan.

Total population in 1980 was 8.2 million, of which 37 per cent was urban. Sixty per cent of this was in Abidjan, which had an even greater proportion of national economic and commercial activity.

At independence, 84% of the population of the Ivory Coast lived outside the towns, of which only ten (apart from Abidjan and Bouake) had more than 10,000 inhabitants.

Between 1960 and 1980 a sixfold increase in the urban population accompanied a doubling of the rural population. Thus the flight to the cities did not lead to a depopulation of the countryside, but acted rather as a safety valve for the very rapid growth of the rural population (both Ivorian and foreign).

As of 1985, there will be about 65 regional towns with populations over 5,000. In the future, while urbanization will increase, national policy calls for a shift in the pattern.

The reduction of the growth rate in Abidjan from 9.9% to 5.5% between 1975 and the end of the century assumes, on the one hand, the successful implementation of decentralization plans and, on the other, a reduction of the economic and social disparities between town and country. On these assumptions, the regional towns will enjoy a more vigorous demographic expansion than Abidjan between 1990 and the year 2000. At the end of this period, towns will contain 65% of the total population, and the regional towns, for their part, will account for 50% of the urban population.

With the increase in urbanization, Abidjan and more recently the new capital of Yamoussoukro, have become the models for town development.

Today the model for the growth and extension of any township in the Ivory Coast, other things being equal, is Abidjan, the country's showcase. Whether this is a good or a bad thing is not the point here; we must simply recognize the fact that it is the benchmark which guides the Ivorians in their decisions and actions. Yamoussoukro, the new capital and symbol of national unity, is a perfect laboratory for this post-independence urban model.

Given such ideas so deeply embedded in the national psychology, the question arises of how one might lend the Ivorians to accept other models, which might differ substantially from these two exemplary modern towns.

But the regional towns, are, however, extremely undeveloped in economic terms.

The regional towns still remain essentially administrative, productive of services (whether governmental or commercial), rather than of goods. The development of administrative facilities remains therefore the basic method of "decentralization".

This in turn has taken two forms. Firstly, the building of administrative centers (Prefectures and Sub-Prefectures), in order to tighten administrative control over the country.

Secondly, the improvement of government services, as required, or permitted, by economic development. It is hardly surprising, therefore, if, for the last 25 years, the mainspring of regional urban development has been the elaboration of administrative facilities.

The creation of a Sub-Prefecture, or its elevation to the rank of Prefecture, involves the provision of certain facilities, the appointment of a number of State (or parastatal) representatives, and an increase in local trade, recreating, in other words, the world of Abidjan on a local scale.

In the past few years a great deal of effort has gone into improving urban conditions. Most of the investment available through the national budget has been targeted to Abidjan (about 50 per cent) and Yamoussoukro (25 per cent). Due to volatile conditions affecting the markets for the Ivory Coast's export crops, the level of these investments may not be able to continue. President Houphoet-Boigny has articulated a new urban investment strategy (1982) emphasizing:

- The replacement of government intervention by local and individual initiative;
- The mobilization of personal savings;
- National and individual self-sufficiency; and
- the encouragement of private investment

Important assistance in helping the regional towns to improve their conditions is being furnished by the World Bank and USAID.

Before the regional towns can industrialize, if this is indeed to be their future, it was thought that the main towns, or regional centers, should be upgraded since they will eventually have to become administrative and commercial centers, capable of providing the full range of municipal services.

The Bank is working on two major centers (Daloa and Korbogo) while USAID's activity is as follows:

AID Programme 004 has the advantage of being flexible enough to take into account all categories of secondary town from the very biggest to the smallest, whilst remaining within the guidelines of the National Development Plan.

Each community has been chosen, so that final conclusions will be valid on as wide a scale as possible. 13 towns have been selected, containing a total population of about 400,000.

Besides Man and Dabou, which are fairly old towns, containing 85,000 and 50,000 inhabitants respectively, there are newer towns, like Oume, Issia, Sinfra and Lakota, dependent on the production of export crops; older towns in economic difficulty, like Bongouanou with 30,000 inhabitants; very small towns, like Yavoua and Bouna, mainly concerned with the production of food crops; and even two centers that are still in the process of being farmed, one linked to the production of sugar and the other to a major new road crossing.

A general survey of economic and social conditions in these towns, using as a basis of comparison statistical data gathered both on a national scale and in four test towns, has made it possible to identify the main development problems facing the regional towns, and to specify the aims of each project by reference to the amount of local funds available in the community concerned.

The fundamental aim of the programme is to improve the living conditions of families with incomes below the national median (60,000 francs CFA per month), with particular reference to housing, access to urban facilities and property ownership.

Project financing will depend on the income levels of the communities in question.

The main concerns of the programme are as follows:

Roads and communications in general.

Public amenities.

The purchase of refuse disposal equipment.

The upgrading of already existing sections of town.

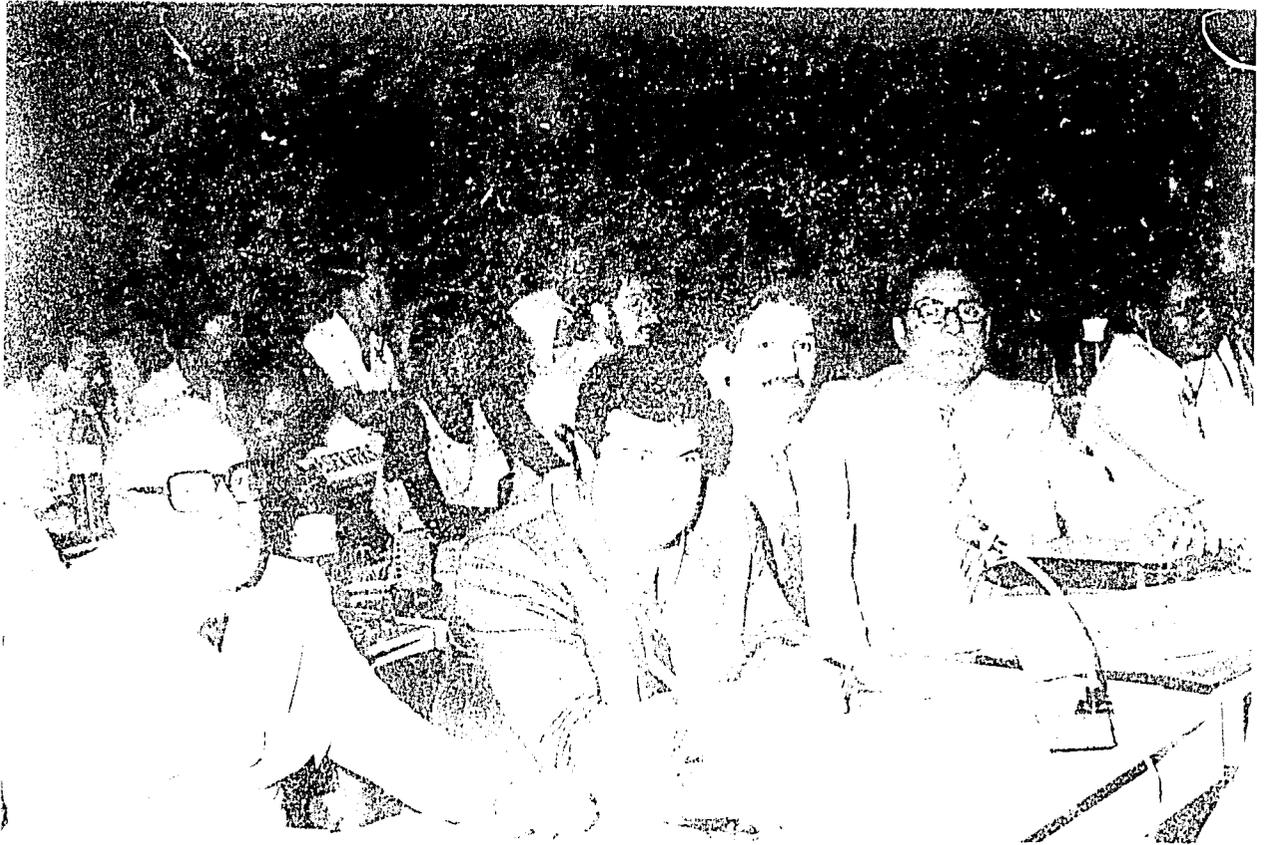
These programs represent a major departure for the country, and many issues are involved. Policies towards urban development need to be examined closely. Especially important is the need to make the new, more autonomous system of local government work. It has been only four years since a system of elected town councils has been established for many of the cities (36 in total), devolving some of the traditional centralized control over local affairs. The new local structure will need time before it can function effectively. Local communities will need to expand their revenue-raising ability. Given the country's complex land tenure system, cadastral reforms will be essential to permit additional local revenues to be raised. Despite limited resources much progress has been achieved.

The Hon Jean Kaul Memel

Mayor of Dabou

Mayor Memel described his city, one of the communities selected in the AID-assisted program. Dabou is a community of 38,000 situated 51 km west of Abidjan and the administrative center of a District of 100,000. It has numerous ethnic groups in its population.

Although Dabou is an important community, its infrastructure is in terrible shape; few paved roads, serious erosion and drainage problems, no covered market or recreation space, poor water distribution, and no community facilities. Since the position of mayor was established in 1981, there have been no funds for infrastructure. AID is now providing assistance through development of a new market, paving of roads, and a limited sites and services program. There have been some difficulties in meshing the community's priorities with the minimal standards of the AID program, but this nonetheless represents a major improvement of present conditions. Supplements from central government must be forthcoming in the future to help with other needed facilities, but Dabou is grateful for the present support.





The Togo, Zaire, Tunisia, IBRD, Botswana and Egypt delegations get back to work.



Les délégations du Togo, Zaire, Tunisie, Botswana et Egypte se mettent au travail.

Mme Tenin Toure
Sociologist, BCET, Abidjan

Mme Toure described a pilot program of self-help assistance tried in Abidjan and based on a model of participatory development employed in rural areas. The program, which proceeded along with neighborhood upgrading, focussed on improved hygienic practices and maintenance of neighborhood facilities. Mme Toure stressed the need to understand and work within the cultural patterns of the people: for social workers to target and inform the leaders, who would serve to inform the larger community. Once the social and political institutions have been enlisted in making people aware of what they can accomplish through their own efforts, technical staff can work with the community to stimulate self-help improvements and be available to monitor progress on a long-term basis. Even upgrading projects can be successful only if this process of working through existing cultural patterns is pursued.

Discussion following the presentation focused on the AID secondary cities support project and on the service capacity of Dabou. As for the latter, the Mayor indicated that growth had occurred so rapidly that provision for infrastructure and services has not been able to keep pace. Five year development plans for necessary public works are in place, however, and are followed when central government resources permit.

The AID loan is for \$6,000,000 to the central government which grants funds to 13 of the more than 60 regional towns. Expectation is that the towns will be able to generate revenues from facilities and services established with the money, so considerable effort is going into cadastral reforms and improving local tax collection in the selected communities.

Kenya

Mr. John Mbogua

Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government

Mr. Andrew Ligali

Managing Director, Kenya Housing Corporation

Mr. Frederick Hansen, RHUDO Nairobi, introduced the Kenya paper which concentrated on a special program of assistance to secondary cities.

Mr. Mbogua cited rising urbanization in Kenya and the challenge before many cities to meet basic facilities and infrastructure needs.

Kenya's answer to this challenge cannot be for the treasury of the nation to shift dramatically larger investments to local authorities. Given the heavy demands on the central government expected in the foreseeable future, it must be understood that local authorities will bear the major responsibility of providing for urbanization, both through the development of local financial resources and by innovative and cost-efficient methods of extending urban services. Local government organization must be sharpened and better local development planning and urban management must be implemented.

Kenya now has 100 urban centers, housing 2.5 million of its 18 million people. With a high birth rate and much internal migration, predictions are that by the turn of the century, there will be almost 200 centers with an urban population of 9 million.

The changing manner in which urbanization is taking place is also having profound impacts on our financial and institutional base for urban development. From one dominant capital city, the urban pattern is increasingly becoming one of numerous rapidly expanding secondary and smaller urban centres closely linked to our agricultural resource base. No longer can the distinct requirements of each urban centre be addressed efficiently from an agency headquartered in Nairobi. Local governments will simply have to assume greater responsibilities for their own problems.

Mr. Mbogua went on to indicate that the national government had tried to decentralize growth out of Nairobi and to strengthen local authorities, but that policies thus far had been relatively unsuccessful. On paper, local councils have considerable responsibilities to provide services and facilities. However, most authorities lack both financial and technical resources to manage development and have effectively relinquished the task to national agencies. The financial conditions of many authorities have deteriorated and new capital projects have been blocked. A new emphasis on local fiscal responsibility has thus been essential. It appears that the faster growing secondary cities in particular can obtain greater revenues: from land taxes, increased user charges for urban services, business licenses, etc.

. . . Many things need to happen. Local authorities need to identify their basic needs carefully and select those investment projects that will meet these needs as well as demonstrate high rates of return. Realistic standards must be adopted to keep costs to a minimum. Cost recovery strategies must be implemented that will ensure adequate revenues to cover all capital, maintenance, and debt-servicing costs. Improvements to budgetary procedures are required at both the national and local levels. Expansion of existing revenue sources such as land rates is required. And to accomplish these and other measures, a gradual and orderly shift of urban planning and management responsibilities from central government is required. Many local officials may find such increased responsibilities difficult and therefore must be fully supported with technical assistance and training.

To achieve these objectives the Government of Kenya with the assistance of USAID has embarked on the Small Towns Shelter and Community Development Project.

The project is designed to directly benefit fifteen towns ranging in populations from 5,000 to 50,000. Capital projects will include shelter, infrastructure, community facilities and employment generation activities. Advisors and short-term consultants will provide technical assistance for various aspects of the project as appropriate, including urban planning and management, financial management and estate management. In addition, a comprehensive urban management training programme for local authority staffs is presently under development.

The fifteen towns are in Kenya's second tier of urban hierarchy, following the six or seven largest centers. Most are regional market centers and many are district capitals. All have serious shelter and infrastructure needs. USAID is providing a \$16 million loan plus technical assistance for the effort.

An interministerial steering committee (ISC) supervises the effort. The two key implementing ministries are Local Government and Works, Housing, and Physical Planning. The Local Government Loans Authority and the National Housing Corporation provide the funding to the local authorities.

Leadership for project identification and implementation is, however, squarely on the shoulders of the participating local authorities. It is they who have responsibility for carrying out all steps of the project from identification of their basic needs to post-construction management. Assistance to the local authorities is provided by a Technical Assistance Team comprised of experienced professionals from MLG, MWHPP, and NHC; two USAID Technical Advisors; and a Peace Corps Volunteer. Necessary short-term consulting assistance is provided by USAID and coordinated by the Technical Assistance Team.

Mr. Mbogua then detailed the program preparation process to be applied in each community. The first step is for each authority to prepare a Local Authority Development Programme (LADP). LADP is a five year investment plan which outlines the town's development strategy and provides a basis for central government and AID assistance.

In the LADP, each town describes the physical, social, and economic conditions of its area; the basic needs of citizens; the development objectives of the local authority; and the proposed capital improvement projects that would best meet its needs and objectives. These projects are not limited by type (although not all projects may be eligible for USAID financing assistance). In the selection of projects, both the impact on the local authority's financial condition and the financial rate of return of individual projects are to be carefully assessed.

Once the steering committee approves the LADP, project feasibility documents are prepared, along with a project implementation strategy.

The feasibility statement and implementation strategy will be reviewed by the ISC, key implementing ministries and USAID. Project financing approval will be contingent upon demonstration by the local authority that the project can produce positive cash flows, that the local authority will be capable of managing all project aspects, and that full loan cost recovery can be accomplished. (For those projects which are anticipated to provide insufficient surplus to recover expenditure, the council will be expected to indicate the revenue sources from which such expenditure will be recovered).

A good deal of technical assistance thus far has been applied to preparation of LADP's for the target communities. Pleased with the results of the first efforts, the Government now requires that all 83 local authorities prepare LADP's as the basis for capital assistance. To help local authorities develop the materials a handbook has been published (both in English and Kiswahili) outlining and illustrating the process.

Several problems have arisen in applying the approach: time delays; need to overhaul both the central government allocation procedures and the local fiscal management systems, the need to train local financial officers to improve revenue collection, fiscal management, etc.

It is not easy to devolve authority to the local level. There are established procedures and attitudes that discourage local authority involvement in decision-making and prevent ministry officials from becoming effective technical assistance agents. For certain significant local responsibilities that are now almost entirely performed by central government (such as urban physical planning), it may take years before a gradual shift to being performed by local staffs can take place.

Conditionality is an essential element for national government to introduce as the program proceeds.

Capital financing can be used as a "big stick" to extract local authority management improvements. The allocation of loan funds might include such a criterion as demonstrated willingness to institute management improvements. The capital allocations should be incremental for sequential projects if possible and approval of loan increments should be tied to conditions and targets for performance-related improvements.

Results thus far have been encouraging, Mr. Mbougua concluded, but a lot remains to be done, and it may take years before real visible impact from the work can be felt.

Discussion

Kenya's activities in housing were discussed, especially its current efforts to achieve full cost recovery for sites and services and other projects. Work of the National Housing Corporation and the Housing Finance Company was cited. Much of the discussion focussed on issues of cost recovery for municipal services in the secondary towns. The panel gave water as an example in Kenya where full cost recovery is required, but pointed out that unless the public actually accepts responsibility for payment, funds will not be recouped. It was stressed that municipal services have to be provided regardless of whether the consumer fully pays. In some cases, such as public slaughterhouses, the consumer and the local authority share the costs. If a subsidy is involved for infrastructure, it has to come from the local council which--prior to fund allocation--must show it can repay the loan, support recurrent costs for the facility, and pay a 12 per cent interest fee.

Tunisia

Mr. Mohamed Saad

Director in Chief - Deputy Head
"Collectivites Publiques Locales"

Mr. Nouredine Chiha

Deputy Director of Town and Country Planning
Ministry of Equipment

Mr. David Leibson, RHUDO Tunis, introduced the panel.

Mr. Saad's paper described the evolution of centralized control in Tunisia and the present efforts to devolve more responsibility on local authorities. He began with an historical discussion of the numerous conquests which had imposed centralized control on Tunisia prior to independence.

With the liberation of the country, a choice had to be made. What type of development were we to choose for the country, given the enormous problems we were faced with then? After a few years . . . of experimenting and exercising independent authority, a choice was made: we opted for the "guided" development formula, that is to say a development steered from the Capital-city and responding to a centralizing view of development actions.

In addition to historic factors, others also made centralization necessary; the need to unify the country, the lack of a local government tradition, the need to create economic development for a poor population. Successive five year plans built on centralized control have been successful in achieving economic growth to the extent that this nation of 7 million now has an average per capita income of \$1,500 and is considered one of the most prosperous of developing countries.

In the course of development, some communities outside the primate center of Tunis were targeted to become growth poles. Two in particular have been successful.

SOUSSE

At Independence, Sousse, a coastal city well-known for its beautiful landscapes, its beaches and mild climate, subsisted economically on the basis of farming and olive oil. The rest of the year it barely survived. Today, with the spectacular development of tourism in the city; it has become a busy and bustling town. Unemployment is practically eradicated and, according to the classification system defined by the Ministry of Planning, it belongs to Zone I, that is to say those zones considered as having attained development.

GABES

Gabes, on the other hand, was a peaceful oasis at the border of the Sahara desert; its uniqueness, however, comes from the fact that it is on the Mediterranean. Its hinterland, the Deep South, contains phosphates. Phosphate was then sold raw. In 1959, the central government decided to change that village into an important industrial development pole. Today, that goal has been attained: a leading industry for the transformation of phosphates, proven Tunisian technology, and cement works have changed the landscape of the region.

This transformation had the most beneficial consequences on the communal and local finances of the city. Gabes can take part in the development of the whole area and has the means to carry out its policy.

At the same time regional disparities still exist.

The policy of excessive centralism led to an aggravation of the economic inequality between regions. It is true that this inequality is not new, but it was highly exacerbated by this policy. The government's concern for making the most productive investments and with creating the largest number of jobs possible led it to concentrate on supporting investment in the most viable areas. These were generally on the coast and had been economically well ahead of the rest of the country for a long time.

Due to this policy, some areas underwent a spectacular development and are now among the richest in the country, whereas others did not profit adequately from the fruits of this growth.

To reduce the disparities the government has embarked on a program of greater economic decentralization and greater local initiative.

One step has been to establish priority, since 1983, for projects in interior cities of government's specialized land development agencies (industry, housing, tourism). These agencies work with local councils to identify and implement projects, especially those that will utilize surplus labor.

Local jurisdictions are being encouraged to plan and to participate in infrastructure provision. A special industrial loan fund has been established, also with priority for interior cities.

This policy is being undertaken and emphasized with the promulgation of the June 23, 1981 Law which adapts economic incentives to the degree of development of the regions in which the enterprises and activities are to be located. It is, however, limited to manufacturing industries. The benefits to be derived require the preliminary agreement of the authorities concerned. In addition to geographical location, advantages are modulated according to:

- the decongestion of urban areas,
- the degree of integration of the manufactured product,
- the number of jobs created,
- 30% at least of self-funding,
- the undertaking of export operations.

As an example, in Zones 3, 4 and 5, the government builds infrastructure, provides exemptions for taxes on profit, custom duties and turnover taxes on the import of manufactured goods etc.

All these incentives should, in the short run, bear fruit by decongesting the major urban centers and by creating a prosperous economic life in poorer areas underprivileged in terms of natural resources.

Reforms have been enacted to provide municipalities with more status, responsibilities, and taxing power.

The present situation of municipalities has nothing in common with the situation inherited from colonialism. A first significant reform in 1975 has brought notable transformations in the municipal landscape: extension of the role of municipalities; transformation of their role, and revision of the local fiscal system. This reform has led in particular to a

new fiscal system which now collects modern, relatively profitable taxes, with a flexible range and an efficient collection system. A direct impact of this reform was the reinforcement of municipal resources in a substantial way which has enabled municipalities to participate in large scale undertakings.

Even greater reforms should be in place this year, to improve the basis for tax levies and collection, introduce taxes for real estate and infrastructure, and increase national allocations to the municipalities.

Borrowing by local authorities has become more accepted, and a special fund is now available to provide loan funds for public works, all in the name of increasing local administrative and fiscal responsibility.

Mr. Chiha's paper dealt with the town and country planning process, especially important because by the year 2,000 two-thirds of the country's population will be living in cities. He cited his department's activities to conduct studies on urbanization going as far back as 1970.

The towns in fact constitute one of the backbones of economic growth and it was therefore necessary to determine those which are to play the role of organization, serving as major centres with spheres of influence before proposing an urban development strategy

Developing an urban centre, a town, has . . . become a necessity for all Tunisian districts which have become aware of the urban phenomenon and the role of the town in economic development. For this reason, the urban authorities have been given full powers to this end. They fulfill this mission by drawing up with the appropriate bodies urban development plans.

Today, the government realizes that a more extensive, national framework is needed into which individual town development plans can be integrated.

A master plan for town and country development is under preparation and will cover the whole country. Its objectives are the following:

First, serve as the basis for organization of space;

Second, define the development zones in accordance with the town and country planning scheme;

Third, provide an urban framework for economic activities as well as identify projects capable of leading to the desired goals of local development;

. . . In the new town and country planning scheme, the plans prepared at a higher level clearly define the framework within which the smaller towns can accomplish their tasks. This principle both facilitates cooperation between all the organs concerned with the implementation of town and country development plans and helps harmonize the preparation of local development plans.

Discussion

Much of the discussion revolved around the government's programs for financing projects at the local level. The panel pointed out that 45 per cent of the national funds allocated to communities from centrally-collected taxes are put into an incentive package geared to performance in local revenue-raising. Communities which show the best record of collections are rewarded by receiving proportionately larger grants from this fund . . . an approach which stimulates local responsibility.

Questions were raised on the extent of community involvement in projects conducted by the national parastatal development agencies. The policy is that preliminary site and technical plans are distributed in a community for comment two months in advance of a final recommendation by the local council. Both supporters and opposition can be heard, and the council takes its vote at a public meeting. Although it is often difficult to communicate plans to citizens, some decisions have been altered as the result of community comment.

Problems were cited in meshing national economic plans for an area with physical plans, to a great degree because the different technical experts have different points of view. In general, economic development imperatives prevail in case of conflict.

One participant asked how local plans could actually be implemented when resources were scarce. The panel noted that a new law was under consideration through which the national government would provide funds for communities to purchase key parcels of land destined for public use fore any other development could occur in conflict with an adopted plan.



Dr. Puis Sada from Nigeria makes a stimulating presentation on urbanization in the most populous country in Africa.

Dr. Puis Sada du Niger présente une simulation sur les problèmes d'urbanisme des pays les plus peuplés d'Afrique.

Nigeria

Dr. P.O. Sada

Professor of Geography

University of Benin

Ms. Amy U. Nolan, Conference Director, introduced Dr. Sada.

Dr. Sada began with some background analysis. The most populous country of Africa (90 million), Nigeria's economy has been growing rapidly as a result of petrochemical production, about 5 per cent annually for the past 12 years. Urban population has been growing rapidly as well and is now about 30 per cent of the nation. Unlike many sub-Saharan countries, Nigeria has a long urban tradition and cities such as Kano, Ibadan, and Benin were large even before colonial times. Urban development today is characterized by clusters of cities in various parts of the country. While Lagos is a huge primate of over 4 million, Nigeria has 250 cities with populations greater than 20,000 and 16 over 100,000.

Despite its relative prosperity, Dr. Sada noted that there are marked regional disparities in Nigeria and that cities have not been able to cope with the effects of rapid urbanization.

. . . The growth of revenue has not matched the rate of expansion of cities and therefore city expansion has been associated with environmental decay. The urban centres now face enormous deficiencies in both qualitative and quantitative terms. In regard to housing, close to 60 percent of the population live in over-crowded accomodation, less than 25 percent have access to modern water closet, less than 50 percent of the population have refuse disposal facilities and only about 70 percent have access to pipe-borne water supply - a supply which can be very intermittent. Social services are in short supply and the urban scene is marked by congestion - of traffic and transport facilities, of hospitals and health centres, of schools and even of markets.

The major goal of urban development in Nigeria is to relieve congestion through the dispersal of public investment and through the development of intermediate cities; and to improve the infrastructure of the cities.

Since Nigeria operates under a Federal system, state governments are an extremely important level of administration. Lagos has been the Federal capital, but many of the largest cities are also state capitals. In an effort to retard the runaway growth of Lagos, the Federal Government began to search for a new site of national administration in 1973. It's study committee concluded that:

- Lagos was incapable of functioning effectively.
- There was need for a capital city in a central location, while Lagos was at the far periphery.
- There was need for a capital in an ethnically "neutral" area.
- There was need for a capital city which symbolized Nigeria's aspirations for unity and greatness.

Thus, Abuja was selected as a site for a new capital and a Federal precinct of some 8,000 sq. Km. created. Work of construction began late in the decade, with an ultimate target population of 3 million.

Since 1982, there has been a gradual movement to Abuja by some federal government departments as well as contractors, businessmen, craftsmen and job seekers. In the next few years, Abuja will undoubtedly, attract to itself a new wave of national movement appropriate to the political nerve centre of the country. The probability is very high that Abuja will emerge as an effective political capital of Nigeria. It is estimated that over two billion naira has been expended on the capital development already. We are not in a position yet to critically evaluate the development costs because most of it has gone into preliminary surveys, plans and the first phase of the development, all of which will have positive bearing on the total development.

Both the federal and state governments have taken active roles in urban planning. During the decade of the 1970's urban analyses and plans were made of over 20 major centers under the auspices of both federal and state authorities. An overall national urban policy was spelled out in the 1975-80 national development plan.

It has six major aspects:

1. to pursue an integrated urban-rural development strategy;
2. to correct the inadequacy of physical planning;
3. to provide the necessary urban infrastructure such as roads, housing water, waste disposal, and other social communal facilities;
4. to reform systematically the machinery of local government to achieve more efficient management of towns and cities;
5. to develop a more direct responsibility and involvement of State Governments for the management of urban centres through the city manager;
6. to create a Federal Ministry responsible for housing and urban development and to initiate and coordinate urban policy.

Although the policy marked an activist role for the federal government, especially the new Ministry (FMHUDE), the complex governmental structure of Nigeria has prevented this role from being effectively performed.

. . . A Federal Ministry with power to coordinate urban development programmes was ideal; but it did not work because neither the states nor even the Federal Government agencies accepted the authority of FMHUDE. This is due to the nature of the Federal Constitution which Nigeria operates. Constitutionally, urban planning is a function of both the Federal and State governments. Since the state governments do not insist on taking full responsibilities in this area, the FMHUDE was not in a position to force the states to cooperate. More importantly, different political parties controlled the Federal Government and many state governments between 1979 and 1983 and this has led to competition between the federal and some state governments in their bid to win the favour of the people. FMHUDE eventually therefore confined its efforts to building low-cost houses not only in the secondary cities, although they had the bulk of the allocations, but also in the rural local government headquarters.

Although Federal planning has not been effective, the national government has made some improvements in secondary cities through a major housing construction program (including sites and services). Now the World Bank has joined with the federal government to plan and finance both housing and urban upgrading in a number of cities, mainly secondary centers. The federal government also influences the location of development through its efforts to distribute industry throughout the country.

Through the policy of industrial dispersal, the economy of the new secondary cities (state capitals) had been very much boosted and the effectiveness of the industrial policy is evident from the changing pattern of industrial concentration in the nation. For example, in 1965, 68 percent of the industrial plants were in the secondary cities, but in 1972, the percentage had risen to 72.

State governments in Nigeria play a major role in municipal planning and in the financing of urban services. Dr. Sada gave one successful example of State intervention in the industrial city of Warri, with a population of 200,000. There, the Bendel Development and Planning Authority prepared an urban development plan, rapidly and with much less detail than conventional master plans.

The Policy Plan is a set of codes and regulations designed to guide the orderly land use development of Warri. In spite of the apparent deficiencies, the Policy Plan turned out to be a better instrument for planning in the Nigerian environment than many of the existing master-plans because the Policy Plan represented the current state of ideas of the future of Warri; it is flexible and handy, based as it is, on a simple land use map plan.

The implementation of the plan was as pragmatic as the plan itself. The private sector is heavily involved. Private developers owning large estates are to draw up their own layouts and submit for approval, and it is the duty of the developers to provide for and develop the access roads as well as other services. The construction of a new major road was a condition attached to the approval of the site for Shell BP. The new road which has since been constructed with the assistance of Shell BP is a dual carriage way now serving as a major by-pass for the city traffic. Warri is thus a sterling case of a secondary city whose development has been largely shared between the public and the private sector - by means of development control and effective negotiation with firms, private developers and landlords.

One of the principal reasons for state-level intervention in affairs of the secondary centers is the inability of municipal government (despite its extensive responsibilities for services) to muster sufficient resources of revenue or personnel to manage urban growth.

From the preceding analysis of the financial status of the municipal authorities, it is evident that they are not financially strong enough to provide the services and progressively many of the basic services in the secondary cities are being taken over by the State administration in recognition of the critical demands for these services in the cities. Water supply is now being provided by Water Boards financed directly by the State Administration. Similarly, Refuse Disposal Boards have been set up to clear the refuse in the main cities by several States - Lagos State for Lagos; Oyo State for Ibadan and Bendel State for Benin. The other services already taken over by the state governments especially in the secondary cities include health centres, public libraries, street lighting, fire services, roads and drainages.

Yet even the state activity has not been sufficiently staffed or financed. The result is a proliferation of agencies with insufficient personnel that does not bode well for the future of secondary city development in Nigeria.

The existing administrative set up for the management of urban development in Nigeria is apparently not conducive to the effective management of the secondary city development. In the first place, the various agencies set up at the state level are not effective in carrying out the functions which they are supposed to carry out. This is due in part to lack of adequate funds and personnel The problem of finance has been an intractable one because the Planning Authorities depend mainly on grants from state governments as well as revolving loans for their operation while the Municipal Authorities have responsibility for raising funds at the local level. Another problem associated with the state planning agencies relates to the lack of coordination. The nature of these fragmented functionally specialized bodies dealing directly with the national or state government department severely impedes the possibility of developing an effectively centralized and coordinated system the keystone to unified and effective urban management and services provision because no particular authority has been specified to deal with them.

The limited role played by municipal authorities in urban management in Nigerian cities obviously influences the problems which the urban areas face. Ideally municipal authorities should play a major role in the execution of urban development programmes because they are nearer to the people and are likely to be more sensitive to the problems than state or federal agencies.

Discussion

Much of the discussion on Nigeria dealt with the federal government's housing programs and its increasing emphasis on upgrading conditions for people in existing informal settlements. Questions were posed about the movement of the capital to Abuja and its potential effect on the economy of Lagos. Dr. Sada pointed out that Lagos is the main commercial center of the country and will continue to exist as such even after capital functions are withdrawn. In response to a question on urban finance, Dr. Sada mentioned that the Federal and State governments began to provide considerable funding to secondary cities in the course of the petroleum boom. Now that oil revenues are diminishing, the transfer payments are not as significant and a much greater emphasis is being placed on revenue raising by local authorities.

Day 4, April 12, 1984

Day 4 was devoted to workshops dealing with major issues in designing and administrating urban development programs. Panel members of four workshops made brief presentations and participants engaged the panels in discussion.

Workshop 1: Management and Capacity Building

Chairman:

Dr. Peter Amato

Assistant Project Development Officer
Office of Local Administration and Development
USAID, Cairo

Panelists:

Mr. Charles Boyce

Officer in Charge of Training
United Nations Habitat, Nairobi

Mr. Earl Brown

Senior Development Planner
Research Triangle Institute, USA

Mr. Hudu Siita

Planning Officer
Tamale, Ghana

Dr. Amato opened the workshop citing the need to develop local decision making and administrative capacity as a strong imperative. He described an array of activities in Egypt which USAID is sponsoring with the Egyptian government. In Cairo and Alexandria, the largest cities, the work is focussing on several neighborhoods. Capital and technical assistance is being provided to local government to build small, rapidly

completed infrastructure to serve the neighborhoods (day care centers, schools, health units) and to learn how to manage the facilities.

In three provincial cities of 150-200,000 the program also provides capital facilities (mainly water and sewage disposal) but this is coupled with training of local government officials to plan, design, and maintain infrastructure and otherwise manage governmental operations in the cities.

Mr. Brown and Mr. Siita were counterparts in a 2-year AID-assisted project to strengthen local government in Tamale, Ghana, the country's fourth largest city (150,000). They described their participation in the project and its results.

Mr. Brown talked about the overall project which combined technical assistance with planning and organization for the District Council and other governmental bodies with capital support for infrastructure in two neighborhoods.

The problem was the inability of the district organization to coordinate their activities and that no forum or institutional structure existed that was designed to encourage such coordination.

One of the first activities was to conduct workshops with officials of the various agencies responsible for development.

A series of 35 sessions held over a 14-month period that involved more than six hundred participants, representing 35 agency/department mandates, plans, programs, budgets, physical and human resources available to the district. This represented the first opportunity for the district to identify all of the potential resources operating within its boundaries. One significant output of these workshops was the development of the Western Dagomba District Resources Handbook which contained all of the data available in the district. This was the first such handbook developed by any of the 63 districts in the country. It was the performance of this task from which the participants recognized the importance and need for a more formal structure at the district level with responsibility for coordination and implementation of the district development project.

A formal technical coordinating committee was established with Mr. Brown as advisor. It has been functioning since, expediting both the planning and implementation of projects throughout the area. The two neighborhood infrastructure projects served as catalysts for the committee's work.

It was important from the outset . . . to connect the planning and implementation activity. Although the theoretical framework existed at the national level, the practical implementation and institutional structure did not exist at the local level.

Mr. Brown talked also about working with the Council to improve its revenue generation. One successful activity was to enlist students in tax collection rather than the traditional government officers. Students were enthusiastic and were paid a fee based on what they collected. Even with the fee, the receipts were more than 25 percent higher than what was expected based on the earlier system.

Mr. Siita worked with Mr. Brown and handled much of project operations. He pursued three basic objectives:

One was to get the technical coordinating committee to work as a team and to have it become a permanent organ of district government. Before construction began, a calendar was established. The technical committee decided which step was to be taken in the sequence of events. It also provided an expert who supervised actual construction.

The second objective was to promote voluntary work and community participation from the neighborhood residents. It was necessary to make the target group aware that the Council did not have resources to provide all the infrastructure needs so that they had to participate in their own improvement program. The residents were involved in the decisions and later provided labor in the construction. Unskilled laborers were supervised and trained on the job by the technical committee specialist.

USAID donated heavy equipment for construction, along with an expert to train operators and mechanics. When some of the mechanics resisted, the technician concentrated on the chief mechanic for the operation, who himself was able to train the others to whom he could relate better than the American.

The third objective was to use provision of basic infrastructure as a technique for guiding urban development and gaining control over the inefficient sprawl pattern that characterized Tamale's expansion. By getting residents to participate in the project, the team was able to convey the purpose of development control. This seems to be working, and the residents are cooperating in carrying out development according to the plan.

Mr. Siita said the government of Ghana continues to support the project and the institutions established seem to be taking hold.

The stimulation of self-help, streamlining of revenue collection and the rationalization of land use through planning and the provision of basic infrastructure are potential policy responses to major urbanization consequences of inadequate infrastructure, lack of resources and a deteriorating urban environment.

Mr. Boyce remarked that the Tamale experience represented a good example of the type of carefully crafted training effort, specific to the circumstances of a particular setting, that was needed in Africa. Classic, diploma oriented approaches are just not sufficient. In trying to deal with the multi-dimensional, complex requirements of managing urban growth, many kinds of people require training specially tailored to their needs.

Traditionally, public administrators and technical staff have been the focus of human settlements training. However, while those professionals continue to need to enhance their job skills, it is increasingly evident that other groups must also receive training. Policy makers, who may be politicians or civic leaders, need to be informed of processes that affect human settlements. Senior administrators, who help set policies, similarly require special training. As projects expand, implementors require training in integrative approaches

to problem-solving. If the concept of community participation is to be transformed from a hopeful goal to a reality, community leaders and inhabitants of low-income settlements must be trained in self-organization, management and the techniques of participating in decisions that affect their futures. Finally, of course, trainers must be trained if the other groups are to be reached.

The needs require that new kinds of institutions and new approaches to training be established. Mr. Boyce went on to describe a combined effort by the World Bank, USAID, and the United Nations to identify the precise training requirements for urban development in Africa, institutions suitable for carrying out the work, and methodologies for the appropriate curricula.

Discussion

Discussion in the capacity building workshop was extremely animated. A sample of the questions and responses by members of the panel follows:

Q: The problem of decentralization: in Egypt does the basic target group have the capacity and power to define objectives and realize their development? For example in Senegal the administrators didn't reach the target groups they were supposed to.

A: In Egypt the low income urban groups are the target groups. Their needs and interests are expressed through the local elected council. For example a pedestrian bridge was built to satisfy the request of a community that had been bisected by a major roadway. Water taps and classrooms were installed in poor areas. Lighting was installed where a community feared for security. These activities addressed the local needs through the local councils. The technical innovations have all been low scale to respond to the interest to maintain these innovations. The councils are representative bodies of the districts. Their priorities reflect the compromise of all priorities presented to the Councils by the population. In the neighborhood project, their priorities are transmitted to the district council.

- Q: One of the three objectives of the Tamale project was popular participation. How far can the population participate if the project requires one year of implementation? Can people realistically be expected to volunteer for one year? Couldn't a payment system have been worked out?
- A: The project was not dependent entirely on voluntary labor. It was supported by paid employees of the district council who worked during the week. The volunteers came mostly on the weekends to decrease the costs of construction. They were enthusiastic because the project was taking place in their own neighborhood. The volunteers are not expected to leave their full time employment, only provide occasional aid. For a pedestrian bridge, the community workers volunteered only 6 weekends, twice to dig and four times to help with the concrete work.
- Q: Egypt and Ghana appear to be two cases that are too good to be true. Does the local government really have the capacity to get hold of developmental problems?
- A: In Egypt we have been working on decentralization at the village and urban levels for five years. We have been successful in allocating activities to the local level that were once central government responsibility. Therefore one can say that decentralization is working, but the only question is financial viability. The ability to do the work is there but the ability to raise revenue at that level is extremely limited.
- Q: How does one succeed in bringing qualified people to secondary cities, when most of them want to be in the capital?
- A: There are qualified and capable people who are trying to deal with problems in the secondary centers. Trained people will follow the resources and opportunities, therefore one must identify the need and train people to deal with certain problems.
- Q: If people are trained in French, Dutch, English and American methods that are all different how does one coordinate the systems?
- A: Local management capability must be developed and based on local customs and traditions. Sending people abroad limits the number of people who can be trained and is expensive. Training in country should be a normal activity.

- Q: Are local people taught to train other local people?
- A: Yes. For example in Tamale one foreign trainer trained 3 local people who continued to do the training after his departure.
- Q: How do you insure that those you train remain on the job?
- A: It is difficult, but perceiving and responding to their contribution greatly enhances the chance that they will stay. Incentives (ie. pay) can be used. One problem is that after undergoing training many other institutions seek out the qualified people.
- Q: Demonstration projects are artificial and can't be replicated yet people expect them to be repeated with just as much success, is this realistic?
- A: Pilot projects are usually capital-oriented. One can always hope that they will be repeated with the same degree of success, but not at the same scale.

Workshop 2 Public Finance and Private Investment

Chairman:

Dr. Michael Cohen

Chief, Operations Support and Research
The World Bank
Washington, D.C.

Panelists:

Mr. David Grossman

President, Nova Institute
USA

Mr. Mohammed Saad

Deputy Director of Local Government
Ministry of Interior
Tunisia

Mr. Vincent Obongo

Treasurer, Mobil Oil
Kenya

Dr. Cohen introduced the panel and indicated that this workshop would try to grapple with the difficult financial issues that face communities trying to generate economic development and manage public services.

Mr. Grossman began by stating that better financial management by local government is a key to dealing with growth issues. This involves:

- Strengthening planning and budgeting of both current resources and capital investments;
- Raising more revenues from local sources as well as gaining access to a fair share of state and national funds;

- Controlling the pace and honesty of public expenditures through careful accounting and auditing; and.
- Monitoring the performance of public service functions and capital construction to assure the highest feasible level of cost-effectiveness.

He went on to outline several basic principles to achieve improved budgeting (both capital and recurrent), revenue raising, expenditure control, along with approaches to tracking actual performance. Doing all the things that are ultimately necessary in financial management may seem like a formidable task to a small city, but Mr. Grossman said that it would be wrong to take this type of attitude.

. . . A better way of thinking would be to see the road to better fiscal management as the start of a journey that even the smallest city can make. Here are some starting points:

First, look at your present budget process and see how well it meets your needs. Is it a realistic plan for where your money will come from and how you'll spend it? How does it compare to the goals I've described?

Second, what are some useful starting points for improvement? In some cities, the best place to begin will be by working on better collection of revenues. In others, it will be by pulling together all spending plans into a single document. In yet others, getting department heads to report on what they've spent and what they've accomplished is the best starting point.

Third, where can you get help? Perhaps the ministry of the interior or of local government is the best place to get advice; in some countries even the hard-pressed ministry of finance will help because better local budgeting can ease its tasks.

Finally, you don't need to spend a lot to build a better budget. In fact, efforts committed to this goal ought to repay the cost many times over through such things as more efficient tax collection and less wasteful service delivery. If you're going to plan to meet future growth, a good way to begin is with this type of financial plan.

Mr. Saad talked about a special Municipal loan fund which the government of Tunisia had established to lend money to local communities. The fund is responsible to the Ministry of Interior. Its resources come mainly

from the national government and from interest repayments by the recipient communities. Terms are as follows: For profit-making ventures (such as a municipal slaughterhouse) the interest is 4 per cent with a 10 year repayment. For a basic public services (e.g. water) terms are 2 per cent interest for 20 years.

Municipalities must agree to repay the loans, and indebtedness is limited to 15 per cent of the municipal budget. World Bank assistance is now going to the fund, which will soon be converted to a bank. In 1982, \$30 million was loaned to communities through this vehicle, and the Fund is now going to provide technical assistance to help municipalities establish more viable projects.

Mr. Obongo talked about the difficulty in providing capital to entrepreneurs in secondary cities. He cited the case of Kenya where, for many years, all banks and financial institutions were headquartered in Nairobi, with few branches elsewhere -- putting potential business people outside the capital at a disadvantage.

Now the main banks have many offices in secondary centers, and conditions are improving. Mr. Obongo is himself involved in a unique enterprise in one of the secondary cities. He is helping a church organization establish a finance company that will lend to entrepreneurs in the city and surrounding region. Only with unusual solutions of this kind can the flow of capital to the smaller urban areas be stimulated.

Discussion

Excerpts from the extensive discussion on financial management are as follows:

Q: Doesn't a municipality's financial policy (i.e. taxation) have a major effect on how individual areas within a city develop?

- A: The influence of tax policy on the development pattern of urban centers, especially in the primates can be easily exaggerated. Tax policy generally follows, and does not lead the development pattern of cities. Only the real property tax has a significant geographic component, and most other kinds of taxes are neutral in respect to geography. However, most cities' real property tax is just not large enough to have locational impacts. It is really other economic forces (accessibility, transportation, existence of labor) that are more telling. It is very difficult to use municipal taxation to guide development.
- Q: Most governments recognize the need for local authorities, but they are not willing to let them have taxing authority to support their own development. This is a critical problem for local governments. What can be done?
- A: There is no question that this is a common occurrence throughout the developing world. However there are some solutions. The World Bank was recently asked by several West African governments to examine whether municipal property taxes needed to be increased in order to increase local revenues. The Bank found in a survey of eight West African cities that large portions of the urban areas were actually outside municipal boundaries and could not be taxed. We suggested that the boundaries be changed and the jurisdictions enlarged in concert with improved cadastral surveys. Bamako is an example of a city that has significantly increased its revenues over the past 18 months. In rapidly growing African cities, there is an opportunity to take advantage of this growth.
- Q: But one reason why secondary cities can not come up with reasonable plans and programs is that they don't have the resources to retain the skilled people to do this kind of work. Until they become more autonomous and do revenue raising on their own, how can this be achieved?
- A: There are a couple of examples (India and Brazil) where the World Bank worked with the countries to permit some municipalities to borrow from a central fund, but only to the limit of their own revenue-raising capacity. There is a lot of concern about communities being able to maintain the public works and services that are created. But if communities make efforts to improve their revenue raising performance, they could be entitled to have access to increased funds. In situations of scarce resources, central governments could reward communities which show real effort, and not provide funds to those which don't demonstrate such effort. These are basically political decisions, but could be used to help the more viable secondary cities. If a municipality can begin to generate funds from its own efforts, it will not be so dependent.

- Q: In Kenya's secondary cities, what kind of security is offered when a Bank provides financing for a business investment?
- A: First of all the banks provide advisory services to examine the viability of a loan. They do feasibility studies. Then the project sponsors have to put up at least 25 per cent of the value of the project to show they have a stake in the outcome, and the feasibility studies have to show that the project can pay for itself through its cash flow.
- Q: In trying to increase the production of agriculture for export in order to earn more foreign exchange, most governments in developing countries are also developing secondary cities. When the World Bank or other financial institution assesses the viability of agricultural loans, does it take urban support facilities into account?
- A: In the last ten years there have been a lot of evaluations of agricultural projects in Africa. One of the things that seems to be missing are those supporting facilities that are location specific and situated in a strategic place, such as processing, storage, repairs, etc. There is a strong case for building up secondary centers in support of agriculture. These things are linked. One has to link the approach to secondary centers to the economic base surrounding them and vice versa.
- Q: Could you explain more?
- A: What I was trying to suggest is that the cycle of investment in secondary towns can not be regarded in isolation. If economic investment is to occur in particular towns, one has to place that investment in a much broader context. It is very unlikely that towns will develop if they are not in regions where there is some economic base, either agriculture or mining, natural resources or industry itself. For the private sector or the public sector to move into a town isolated without economic potential, one is in effect placing investment that is likely not to have a very good economic return. There are many examples where very elaborate roads have been built or public infrastructure in areas where there is no economic base. So what we are saying is that the process of investment in secondary towns must be very selective and related to an analysis of the economic potential of the town in its regional situation. Without that it is very difficult to create the conditions for take-off and continued development.



The Malawi, Mali and Ivory Coast delegations.

Les délégations du Malawi, Mali, et Côte d'Ivoire.



Workshop #3 Information for Planning and Management

Chairman:

Dr. Michael McNulty

International Development Program
University of Iowa, USA

Panelists:

Dr. Fatou Sow

Research Sociologist
University of Dakar, Senegal

Dr. Nicholas Ekra

Director of the Cadaster
Ministry of Economy and Finance, Ivory Coast

Dr. James McCullough

Urban Administration Specialist
Research Triangle Institute, USA

Dr. McNulty began the sessions by posing the need for information and the dilemma which faces many working in the field.

Information is essential to informed decision making and planning. Frequently the information available to the decision maker or planner is inadequate or inaccurate at best. Decisions cannot be postponed, but a decision taken without adequate information may be costly. Often, the decision maker has neither the time nor the resources (fiscal or human) to collect the type of data required. This problem is particularly acute in the secondary cities of Africa where data of even the most rudimentary sort are generally unavailable. In such situations the decision maker or planner may have to rely on experience and intuitive judgement to select a particular course of action, or choose to delay the project until sufficient data are collected to make an informed judgement. If the former path is chosen, the planner is open to criticism for being arbitrary and unscientific. If the latter path is chosen, it too often leads

to the design of elaborate data collection efforts and studies which delay project implementation, result in mountains of data which ultimately are unanalyzed and uninterpretable, and lie buried in the undigested appendices of final reports and plan documents filed away in the corner of an office or library. The problem is that the decision maker and planner may have too little information on the one hand and too much on the other.

This workshop, he continued, would seek to discuss realistic approaches to information gathering for secondary city development activity in Africa.

Dr. Sow reviewed the economic disadvantages at which secondary cities are placed in relation to the national capitals. If a decision is made to undertake a development program for a given city, she indicated data needs in the following areas:

- General physical and economic background
- Demographics
- Historical, political, and cultural information

Here she provided a listing of "dynamic" factors which merited investigation.

History of the city or area. Origin of the population -
Struggle for power and influence between ethnic groups.

Hierarchy of authority in the city - Decision-making power -
Interest lobbies - Land-related problems - Municipal
cooperations, pressure groups, cooperatives.

Data on ethnic and linguistic influences - Attachment to the
land - Communication between social groups - Nature and roles of
associations (age-groups, youth, women, political, ethnic and
religious groups, etc.).

Influence of ethnic cultures on housing and way of life.

Socio-economic characteristics

Information on housing, neighborhoods, living conditions

She talked about the need to develop data-gathering methodologies specific to the given city circumstances and emphasized the desirability of socio-economic surveys as the primary basis for identifying actual conditions and constraints.

One of the most essential areas for accurate information is real property, since this is the basis for revenue raising by many local governments and is significant to planning as well. Mr Ekra talked about an Ivory Coast program to develop a computerized property record system and its results.

The Ivory Coast has a "customary" system of land tenure, as do many African countries, making accurate ownership identification difficult. Mr. Ekra described a pilot project in the city of Toumodi (5 sq. km. in area and 21,400 people) where in 1982 only 300 plots were formally registered and the tax yield was 8 million CFA.

The survey work was done with the aid of "simplified" cadastral maps, utilizing all existing sources of data, subdivision plans, etc. Following the initial mapping, field investigation added hitherto unidentified plots, paced out existing buildings, and superimposed their locations on the maps.

All the information concerning the owner and for the purposes of taxation was gathered on the spot and entered on what are known as 'declaration forms', thus ensuring the full identification of every individual liable to property and related taxes.

Office work was then undertaken to refine the material:

Surface areas were calculated;

Code numbers were carefully completed, using the conventional symbols;

Buildings were clearly shown on each site drawing, thus indicating for the purposes of any subsequent updating the structures already taken into account;

The rental values of the various properties were next assessed (this was done either on the basis of the taxpayer's declaration or by comparison with other properties); and

All this information was then computerized in a form compatible with the data processing system used to apportion property and related taxes.

A total of 2,992 plots were demarcated on the new maps. Once this was done, taxes were levied. Total tax yield in 1983 was over 78 million CFA, almost 1,000 times the preceding year's amount. Mr. Ekra concluded as follows:

It is true that certain difficulties were encountered at first, due primarily to the fact that people were not familiar with this kind of systematic inventory, based on parcels of land. But it is worth noting that after an information campaign to explain the activity, the work proceeded very smoothly.

Dr. McCullough then described a computerized record keeping system his organization had developed and was applying, with USAID assistance, to secondary cities in Tunisia. He accompanied his remarks with a demonstration of the system on the computer, a matter of considerable interest to the delegates.

Dr. McCullough saw important roles for microcomputer application. First was in records management, as Mr. Ekra had demonstrated for the Ivory Coast. The second was in municipal financial analysis.

Microcomputers have immediate application in municipal financial analysis, both in analyzing current financial position and in evaluating potential capital investments. For example, at the Research Triangle Institute we have used microcomputers to analyze the yield of different revenue sources across a number of cities in the same country. We then use these comparisons to identify where revenues have the greatest potential to be increased for a single city or for a group of cities.

In evaluating capital investments, microcomputers can quickly carry out financial analyses on different alternatives and under different assumptions (for example, differing interest or inflation rates). This allows city officials to assess the impacts of different investments, even comparing "worst case" and "best case" scenarios to see what magnitude of risk they are incurring.

Computers can also be used in training municipal staff to obtain new skills. Dr. McCullough then provided details on how the system is being designed and applied in Tunisia and indicated that it was relatively inexpensive.

. . . To handle up to twenty thousand records, the total hardware costs are about \$10,000 in U.S. prices. In addition, there are modest costs of training local staff and customizing the software for the specific application. The time required to implement the system varies. The major time required is in entering the information on individual properties into the system; this varies by the amount of information recorded on each property and the number of properties in the system.

In Tunisia, the prototype is being pilot tested this spring in one city: and then it will be fully implemented in a second city. The plan then is to introduce it into all secondary cities across the country. The impact is expected to be great in Tunisia. From earlier analyses, we expect property tax collections to double when the systems are operational.

While there are problems and costs involved in introducing and maintaining computerized systems, Dr. McCullough indicated that results in increased tax yield can more than pay for these costs in a short time.

Discussion

A sample from the many questions posed, and the panelists responses, is as follows:

- Q: Have you discovered cost effective methods for collecting information?
- A: Using para-professional staff to collect the data instead of hiring outside consultants and financing long studies, has proven to be a quicker, more cost effective method.
- Q: What "difficulties" are encountered and how are they resolved when inventorying parcels of land among people unfamiliar with the procedure?
- A: In the Ivory Coast for example, the person unfamiliar with the procedure has two fears: that the tax imposed will be too great, and that the state may expropriate his land.

The point is to make them understand that the state is not going to expropriate the land, and in fact it will help assure them of their property rights if the land is registered with the state . . . also that taxes will be less for everyone if they are distributed among the entire population than if they are paid by only a few large property owners.

Q: What are the possibilities for cost recovery of a micro-computer for a city of 20,000 with 3 to 4 thousand tax records when the initial cost of the computer is \$10,000?

A: Assuming that 75% of the taxes will be collected with the use of the computer, the system will pay for itself in one or two years. The major costs of the system are customizing the program and training the staff.

Q: Although the micro-computers permit administrators to reduce clerical work, when it is the only resource available to them will it not create a distance, and accentuate the disequilibrium of development in the country where most people live without the essential things in life?

A: Workers who no longer are engaged in clerical functions will pursue the non payers of taxes and therefore will not be displaced from their jobs, and in fact will become more effective in their job and have increased contact with the general population.

Q: Can micro-computers be used for other purposes such as socio-cultural questionnaires, land use planning, and demographic analysis?

A: Programs already exist for spatial analysis and planning. One has been developed and used in Kenya. Other programs exist to examine population impacts on various sectors (ie. education - the demand for schools, teachers, and drain on budget). They can be used to identify optimum sites for facilities to serve the rural population so that the greatest impact can be made on that target group. They aid in effective planning, population control and can even be used to produce revenue. At this time however, they are principally used for tax collection purposes.

Workshop 4 Market Town Planning and Analysis

Chairman:

Dr. Eric Chetwynd Jr.

Chief Regional and Rural Development Division
Office of Multi-Sectoral Development
USAID, Washington

Panelists:

Dr. Dennis Rondinelli

Professor of Development Planning
Syracuse University, USA

Dr. Gerald Karaska

Professor of Economic Geography
Clark University, USA

Dr. Rickie Sanders

Africa Bureau
USAID, Washington D.C.

Discussant:

Mr. Avrom Ben-David Val

Senior Technical Officer
Regional Economics
USAID, Washington D.C.

Dr. Chetwynd introduced the workshop by stating it would deal with a long-term USAID Research and Development undertaking entitled "Urban Functions in Rural Development" (UFRD) designed to strengthen the contribution of market towns to regional productivity and employment.

Many of AID's rural development projects are designed as region-based projects; that is, they are intended to have a developmental impact on a specific subnational area and to benefit especially a particular segment of the population in that area, usually the poorer farm and non-farm households. The UFRD project was started in the mid-1970s because these rural projects generally were not dealing with regional settlement systems. Comprised of complex aggregations of sectoral activities, the projects lacked spatial or locational orientations that would help identify specific gaps or weaknesses in the settlement system of a region. Without an adequate settlement system, many farmers had to depend upon the village and periodic markets to sell their produce and acquire basic goods and services. This meant that a large portion of rural households were excluded from the economic mainstream and from the benefits of national or regional development activity. It is no wonder, then that the results of these rural projects were, on the whole, disappointing.

The starting point of the strategy is an assessment of the structure of the regional settlement system, its strengths and weaknesses, gaps in service provision, and linkages among the settlements and between them and their surrounding areas.

Dr. Rondinelli stressed that market towns and rural service centers play an important role in rural development.

A system of centrally located villages, towns and small cities that act as periodic and regular markets and that provide basic services and facilities for people living in surrounding areas is essential for rural development.

But in many rural areas of Africa, these systems are not sufficiently developed or integrated. Many areas lack the critical services, and others are not linked together effectively. Dr. Rondinelli then described the data-gathering and analytic approach employed in UFRD investigations. He outlined a detailed 10-step process, the last three elements of which were:

Identification and integration of specific projects into "investment packages" for various areas and settlements within the region to improve the distribution of functions needed for economic development and to strengthen the linkages among market towns and service centers and with their rural areas.

Creation of an evaluation system for monitoring the implementation of projects and for assessing their impact on the region's settlement system.

Integration of methods of spatial analysis into community, regional and national development planning and policymaking processes to improve locational decisions on a continuing basis.

He concluded his remarks with the following general comments.

A variety of methods are used at each stage of UFRD. The process is intended, however, to provide a flexible framework for local and regional planning. The methods selected for each phase of the analysis should be appropriate to the data available, the skills of local planners and the particular needs of households, communities, and government agencies that are involved in regional development. The UFRD approach provides a process and a framework within which planners and policymakers should experiment with, adapt and test the most appropriate methods and techniques for their own regions.

Dr. Karaska reviewed various aspects of the methodology as it was applied in pilot studies in several developing countries. He felt that it permitted a good depiction of settlement patterns, their functions and linkages, and the constraints facing efforts to improve economic performance. Dr. Sanders talked about specific applications in Africa (Upper Volta and Cameroon). The African experience indicated that more attention should focus on how rural people get access to goods and services. She also mentioned considerable resistance on the part of planners in Africa to accept the importance of spatial (as distinguished from sectoral) planning applied to rural settlement issues. Dr. Sanders stated that USAID's Africa Bureau would give the rural settlement issue research priority under a new "Rural-Urban Common Theme Initiative". This will include depth studies in specific countries of the rural settlement pattern and its relationship to secondary cities. Out of this work will come practical guidance for development project commitments. Mr. Ben David Val led the discussions, which are summarized below.

Discussion

Much of the workshop discussion concerned the question of whether the URFD methodology was too theoretical, or whether it had real practical applications. A sample of questions posed and panelists responses was as follows:

- Q: Can villages be self reliant or must there be links between the villages and service centers and market towns? Why can't villages develop themselves?
- A: One of the reasons villages don't grow in the peripheral areas is because they aren't connected to market areas or to each other in a way that facilitates agricultural trade. Without the linkages there are periodic markets due to the lack of access to the regular market place and market goods. If the analysis shows this pattern, it might indicate the need for investment in a farm to market road system in the peripheral areas.
- Q: Is the methodology based on the central place theory and if so is that valid for Africa, especially the metropolitan areas?
- A: The methodology is based on empirical studies that cities perform essential functions for agriculture and rural development.
- Q: The research methods are all connected to the formal economy, isn't there also an informal economy (ie. accessibility and transport networks)?
- A: Yes, there are different economic structures in different countries. In some countries the formal system is representative of the true economic structure. In other places it is more complicated with the informal structure being important. Therefore one must understand the relationship between the two.
- Q: Given the limited resources, sparse population and low incomes of the third world countries, what size of population is necessary to support a market town and provide certain functions to maximize the limited resources?

A: This methodology tries to avoid defining a market town by population size. It must be seen in terms of the functions it serves. It is dependent on the basic services offered and the region covered, not the population.

Q: Therefore the methodology is only descriptive and doesn't really identify where the gaps are?

A: If the methodology is only descriptive it isn't a good planning method. In the beginning it is descriptive because one must understand the system before one makes an analysis. This is only a preliminary approach to providing information on the system. It must be combined with spatial analysis to judge what should be done. For example if you find a sub area without marketing functions there are several alternatives:

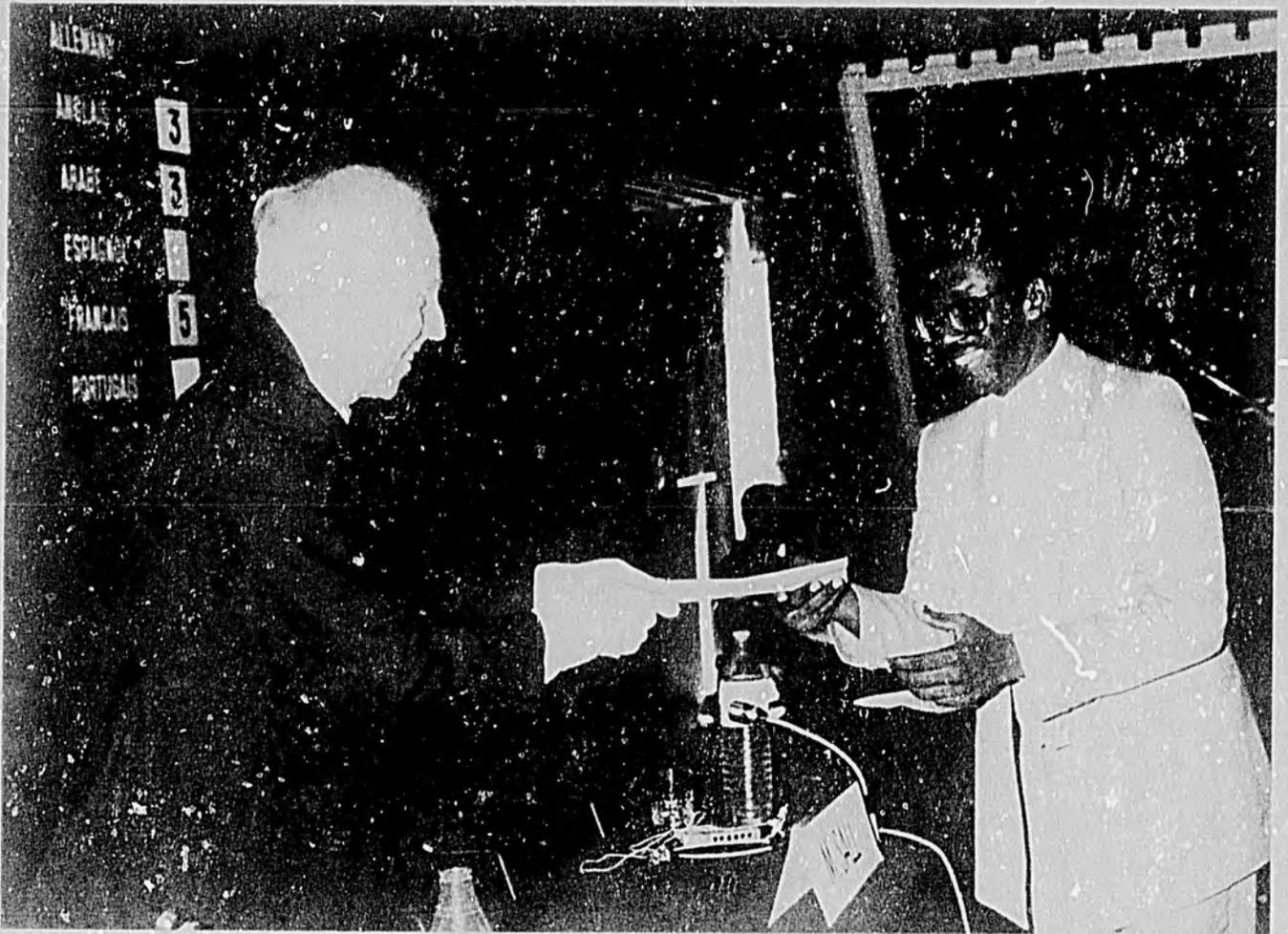
- a) develop road connections to existing markets;
- b) find periodic markets in the area that will grow to regular marketing centers with investments (ie. transportation, loans);
- c) various other possibilities.

The methodology doesn't give an instant answer. One can only decide what is the best alternative once one knows what the system looks like. The methodology only provides the information to allow planners to choose the best alternatives.

Planners must choose between investing in subregions with little economic potential (poor areas) or those with potential (rich areas). It is often a political decision because the resources are scarce and there's more to investment than filling in the gaps that have been found. The investment must be strategic, and placed where it will have the desired impact on the specific activities. Supplying the market and providing goods is not necessarily sufficient to achieve the goal of increased production or other objectives.

Q: UFRD approach is theoretical. It is only applicable to small countries with strong central governments and scarce populations. The approach doesn't go beyond discovering what is there. It doesn't include the private sector and it doesn't take into consideration that the government is not always the decision maker when it comes to investment.

- A: One can't look for a model or a method that gives all the answers because it presupposes relationships. It can only direct planners to critical questions, the answers must be found by the planner. The methodology is deliberately limited to spatial and physical aspects because if it were overloaded with other factors the value of the analysis would diminish. The methodology assumes that economic and social analysis are made and they are all combined to make the most effective decisions. No methodology can do all of these things, if it attempts to it does nothing. Also markets function imperfectly. The information from this approach can be used by the private sector to aid in determining where to make investments.
- Q: What region do you apply the criteria to - how does one choose?
- A: Planners must work with the national and local government who have goals. They are the ones who choose the region according to the values and goals. In Ecuador the goal was maintaining regional surplus within the target regions.
- Q: Isn't it necessary to have a national focus before implementing the methodology in order to understand the national policy of agriculture and marketing?
- A: The methodology is used with local and national governments who express a desire in using the methodology, and think that it will work in conjunction with their policies.
- Q: After the analysis is there a technique for prioritizing investment?
- A: There are techniques, but they are western in orientation and one must have the local government articulate the values and interests of the area.



Mr. Peter Kimm presents a certificate to Mr. Isaac Brou, Director of Urban Projects, Ivory Coast.

M. Peter Kimm présente un certificat à M. Isaac Brou, Directeur des Projets Urbains, Côte d'Ivoire.

Day 5, April 13, 1982

Closing Sessions

Mr. John Mbogua and Mr. Maquis Sall began the final day by summarizing the main points of the conference. An outline of their remarks follows:

- I. The theme on issues and options was a good one. The conference served to identify the major issues facing rapidly urbanizing countries throughout Africa and to narrow down the range of choices countries can pursue.
- II. Four major areas of urban issues were identified:
 - A. Institution building at the local level is critical. Municipal communities, whether primary or secondary, can not continue to depend on central government and must develop their own institutions. Training, for all levels of municipal management skills, is of great importance;
 - B. Financial management is a particularly significant issue now that resources are dwindling and urban populations requiring services are growing;
 - C. Much more care must be given to defining the relationships between national and municipal governments, and municipalities must be permitted to take on greater responsibilities for revenue generation and control over their affairs;
 - D. A whole new attitude towards the informal sector is needed. For the informal sector possesses the economic energy, in business enterprise and housing, which must be embraced and directed for either primary or secondary cities to succeed;

- III. The debate on primary versus secondary cities was particularly useful. It polarized the options, as many countries are polarized in dealing with the situation, and permitted the delegates to view the allocation problem in some perspective. "North-South" conflicts are present in many countries, political as well as economic. Major cities command the resources, but political pressures push for expending resources elsewhere. Investments outside the primates are scattered around and do little good. Very often international assistance contributes to this scattering and dissipation of investments outside the main centers in the mistaken belief that this approach somehow benefits agriculture and the rural poor.
- IV. The idea of beginning with general themes was good because it permitted delegates to understand what they have in common. But it was in the individual workshops -- on country case studies and on finance, management, etc., -- that directions for solutions began to emerge. For while the problems may be common, each country has its own special political, economic, and social conditions and its own approach to planning and development of territory, which have to be accommodated in any valid approach.
- V. One theme that emerges from the conference is the need to deal, at a policy and a strategy level, with both primate and secondary cities, relatively rich central areas and relatively poor outlying regions. Within the limits of resources, choice should be made, but these choices need to support both reasonable activities in the primate centers and greater attention to the smaller cities and towns.

- VI. In the individual cities or towns selected for attention, mere physical planning which lays out streets and housing areas is not much good. There must be development planning frameworks for these communities that relate their growth to linkages with agricultural areas, that set priorities for investment, that involve institution building and training.
- VII. A five-day conference is only the beginning for such exploration and investigation. Ideas emerged from the workshops and informal discussions that merit testing. African countries need to look at the issues and options in greater detail. The foreign assistance agencies need to coordinate their own efforts in this field. They should join the countries in exploration and should place the development and management of cities high on their own agenda.

Following this session, Mr. Kimm called on individual country delegations for remarks and distributed certificates to all of the delegates. Then, he and Minister Sakho declared the Ninth Conference to be adjourned.

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	DIAGNE Ousmane	Technicien horticole
	DIAL Amadou Lamine	Urbaniste-Aménagiste
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ANNEX

An Overview: Urbanization Issues in Africa

by

Goldie W. Rivkin and Malcolm D. Rivkin

April 1984

I. The Urbanization of Africa

The last twenty years have imprinted a striking new urban pattern on the fabric of the African continent. By screening out the pattern and focussing only on the background, one may continue to see Africa in its old rural image. To make national policy on the basis of so limited a vision, however, would be a grave error. For the imprints of the cities and towns are indelible. Moreover, they are growing larger and more numerous.

Urban areas represent problems and promise greater in proportion, by far, than the 28 per cent of the continent's population that live in them today. Actually, this over all population statistic is misleading because it obscures important features of the urban pattern and significant differences among the individual nations.

Let us consider the following:

In 1960 there were 22 African countries (of the 53 for which we have data) where 90 per cent or more of the population lived in rural areas. Twenty countries had between 11 and 75 per cent of their population in urban areas. In 11 countries urban population was 25 to 49 per cent of the total. Nowhere in Africa did urban population exceed, or even reach, 50 per cent of the total. (Table 1 and Figure 1)

By 1980 only seven countries were 90 per cent or more rural. An equal number were predominantly urban, having passed the 50 per cent mark. (Table 1 and Figure 2)

By the year 2000 the group of predominantly urban countries will number 22 -- as many as there were in the least urbanized group in 1960. Only three countries are projected to be less than 10 per cent urbanized and only a dozen altogether will have less than a quarter of their population living in urban areas. (Table 1)

In terms of scale this means that today's urban population of 138 million will increase two and a half times by the turn of the century. Africa's cities will be home for 346 million people. That number almost equals (i.e. amounts to 97 per cent of) Africa's rural population today.

The effect of such growth on the pattern of urban settlements is also very dramatic.

In 1960 Africa had only 12 large cities of a half million or more population.¹ Most were national capitals and most were port cities on the perimeter of the continent. (Figure 3) By 1980 there were almost four times as many cities of over 500,000 population, and a growing

Table 1
 CHANGES IN PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTRY
 1960, 1980 and PROJECTIONS FOR 2000
 (N= Northern, E= Eastern, S= Southern, W= Western, M= Middle, I= Island Nations)

<u>Country and Subregion</u>	<u>% Urban</u> <u>1960</u>	<u>Country and Subregion</u>	<u>% Urban</u> <u>1980</u>	<u>Country and Subregion</u>	<u>% Urban</u> <u>Proj 2000</u>			
Botswana	S	2	Burundi	E	2	Burundi	E	4
Lesotho	S	2	Rwanda	E	4	Cape Verde	I	9
Rwanda	E	2	Cape Verde	I	7	Rwanda	E	9
Eurundi	E	2	Swaziland	E	8			
Mauritania	W	3	Uganda	E	9			
Swaziland	S	4	Mozambique	S	9	Lesotho	S	11
Malawi	E	4	Malawi	E	10	Swaziland	S	16
Mozambique	S	4				Upper Volta	W	16
Comoros	I	5	Upper Volta	W	11	Benin	W	18
Uganda	E	5	Comoros	I	12	Mozambique	S	18
Tanzania	E	5	Lesotho	I	12	Comoros	I	23
Upper Volta	W	5	Tanzania	E	12	Botswana	S	24
Ethiopia	E	6	Tanzania	E	12	Uganda	E	24
Niger	W	6	Niger	W	13	Niger	W	24
Cape Verde	I	7	Ethiopia	E	14			
Kenya	E	7	Kenya	E	15			
Chad	M	7	Benin	W	15	Tanzania	E	25
Angola	S	10	Botswana	S	16	Kenya	E	26
Togo	W	10	Gambia	W	18	Ethiopia	E	28
Sudan	M	10	Madagascar	I	19	Togo	W	30
Guinea	W	10	Malj	W	19	Gambia	W	31
Benin	W	10	Chad	M	19	Madagascar	I	32
			Guinea	W	20	Nigeria	W	33
Madagascar	I	11	Nigeria	W	21	Guinea	W	33
Mali	W	11	Togo	W	21	Chad	M	33
Gambia	W	12	Angola	S	22	Mali	W	34
Nigeria	W	13	Sierra Leone	W	22	Angola	S	36
Zimbabwe	S	13	Zimbabwe	S	23	Senegal	W	37
Sierra Leone	W	13	Guinea-Bissau	W	23	Seychelles	I	38
Cameroon	W	14	Mauritania	W	24	Zimbabwe	S	38
Guinea-Bissau	W	14				Guinea-Bissau	W	39
Sao Tome, Principe	I	16	Sudan	M	26	Sierra Leone	W	40
Zaire	M	16	Seychelles	I	27	Sudan	M	42
Gabon	W	17	Cent Afr Rep	M	29	Somalia	E	46
Somalia	E	17	Somalia	E	31	Liberia	W	49
Ivory Coast	W	19	Sao Tome, Principe	I	33			
Liberia	W	21	Liberia	W	34	Sao Tome, Principe	I	50
Nauibia	S	23	Senegal	W	34	Congo	M	50
Libya	N	23	Gabon	W	36	Mauritania	W	50
Zambia	M	23	Cameroon	W	36	Ghana	W	51
Ghana	W	23	Zaire	M	36	Gabon	W	54
Senegal	W	23	Ghana	W	37	Zambia	M	54
Cent Afr Rep	M	23	Ivory Coast	W	41	Malawi	E	54
			Morocco	N	41	Ivory Coast	W	55
Seychelles	I	26	Zambia	N	44	Morocco	N	55
Eq't'l Guinea	W	26	Algeria	N	44	Cameroon	W	56
Morocco	N	29	Egypt	N	44	Zaire	M	56
Algeria	N	30	Namibia	S	45	Egypt	N	57
Congo	M	30	Congo	M	46	Cent Afr Rep	M	58
Mauritius	I	33				South Africa	S	60
Reunion	I	34	South Africa	S	50	Namibia	S	63
Tunisia	N	36	Mauritius	I	52	Tunisia	N	66
Egypt	N	38	Tunisia	N	53	Mauritius	I	67
South Africa	S	47	Libya	N	54	Reunion	I	70
Djibouti	E	49	Eq't'l Guinea	W	54	Eq't'l Guinea	W	71
			Reunion	I	55	Libya	N	72
			Djibouti	E	74	Algeria	N	76
						Djibouti	E	84

Sources: The primary source for data on percentage of the population living in urban areas is the United Nations' Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth, 1980.

In a few cases more up-to-date information from the World Bank's World Development Reports, 1982 and 1983 is shown. In one or two other cases where data for individual countries was omitted from the United Nations documents, they are supplied here from sources of the USAID Office of Housing and Urban Programs.

number were in noncoastal, interior locations.² In addition, 43 cities had populations of 250,000 to 500,000. (Figure 4)

Given current growth trends, projections for the year 2000 indicate more than doubling of the number of very large cities and a spatial pattern of major cities that is increasingly filling in the interior -- of both individual countries and the continent. (Figure 5)

Thus many more African countries are having to cope with the problems of big-city or metropolitan development. Seven countries had cities of half million inhabitants or more in 1960. Seventeen more countries joined that "club" by 1980 and another 12 countries will join these before the end of the century. Indeed, by the year 2000 fewer than a dozen African countries will not have at least one city of 250,000 population or more. Many of these future large cities are the rapidly growing "secondary" centers or market towns of today.

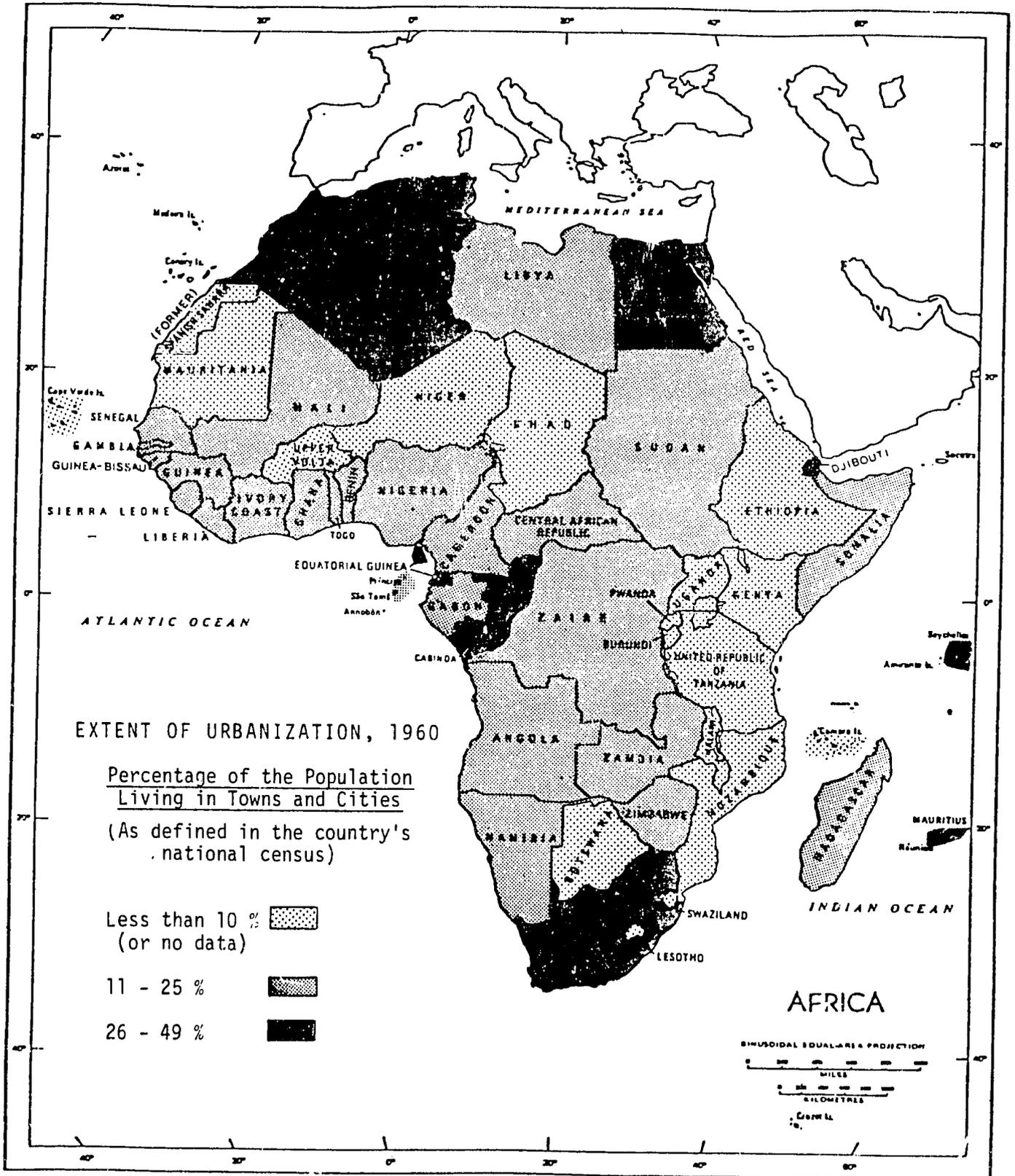
Certainly one implication of this continental proliferation of large urban areas is an increasing potential for economic interchange among them, both within countries and among major cities of different nations (as has occurred on other, earlier-urbanized continents). The prospect for trade and barter of specialized products represents an opportunity to be promoted and enhanced.

In the normal course of economic activity, as the urban network and its inter-relationships grow stronger, there will be, moreover, additional opportunities for development in the intervening areas as well. Rural market towns, for example -- especially those on major inter-city transportation routes -- may find their prospects greatly improved as the larger cities expand in size and in number and traffic between them increases.

Twenty years of research documents, articles and speeches have amply explained the post-Independence phenomena that lie behind the demographic trends: High birth rates and declining mortality have combined to create extraordinarily high rates of population growth. Some countries have averaged population growth over the past decade as high

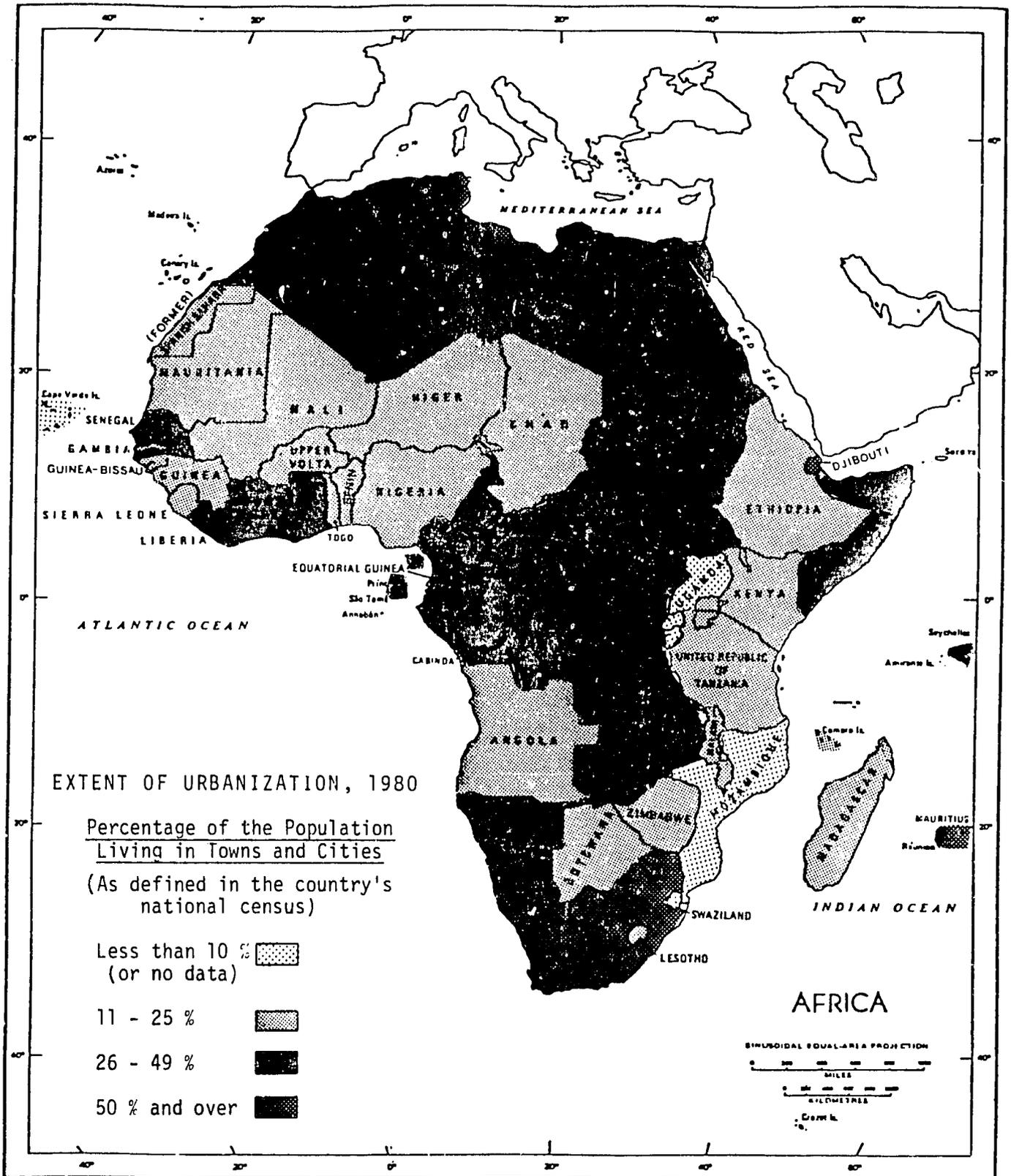
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1. These ranged in size from Kinshasa, Zaire and Ibadan, Nigeria (just above 500,000) to Casablanca, Morocco; Alexandria, Egypt and Johannesburg, South Africa (in the 1 to 1.5 million size class) and Cairo, Egypt, which at 3.7 million was the largest.
 2. By 1980, the lower end of the range included three additional Moroccan cities, three additional Nigerian cities and one additional city in South Africa. Thirteen cities were in the 1 to 2 million population size class. Kinshasa, Alexandria and Lagos were in the 2 to 3 million category and Metropolitan Cairo, with between 7 and 8 million people, was at the top.

Figure 1



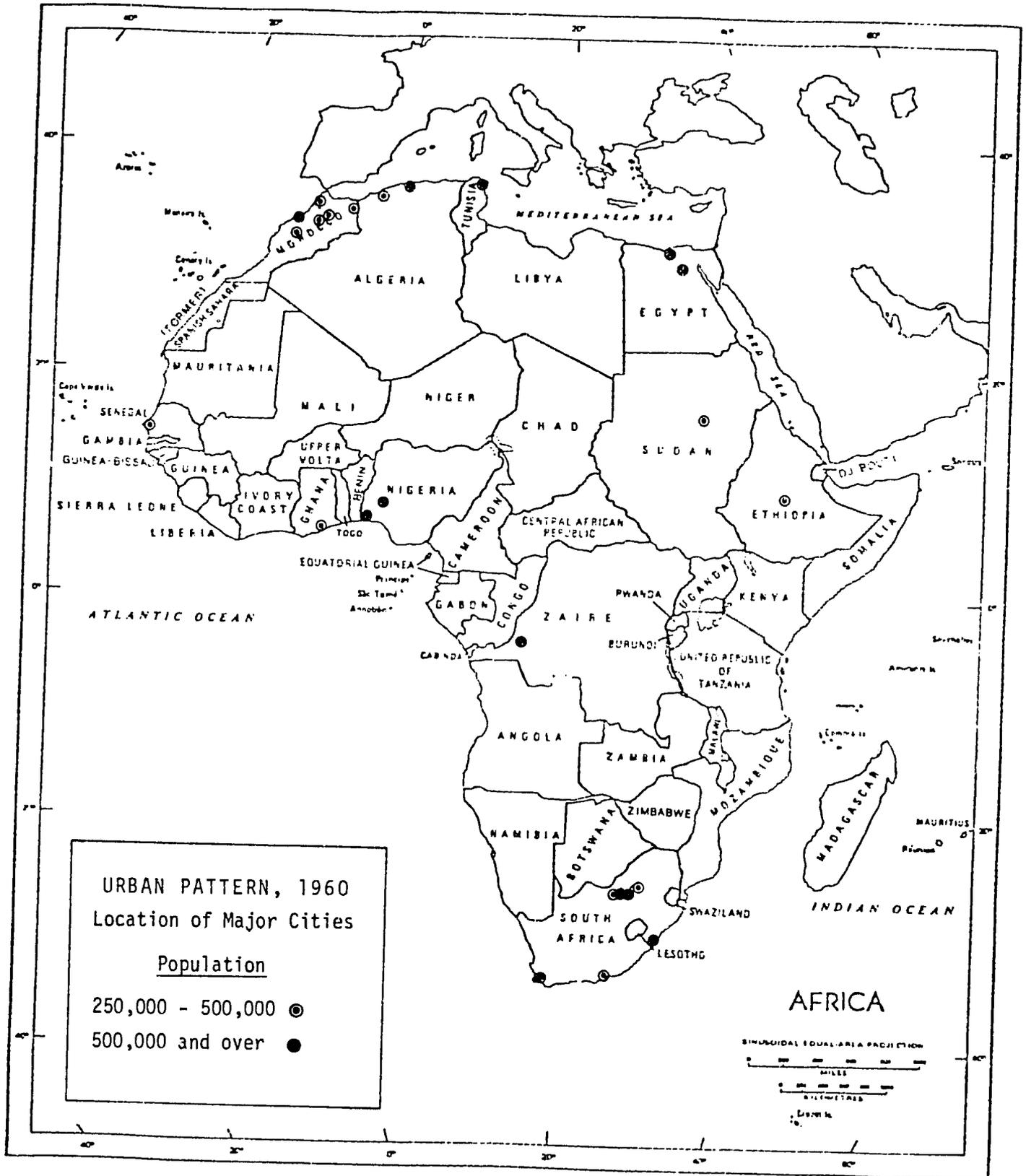
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Figure 2



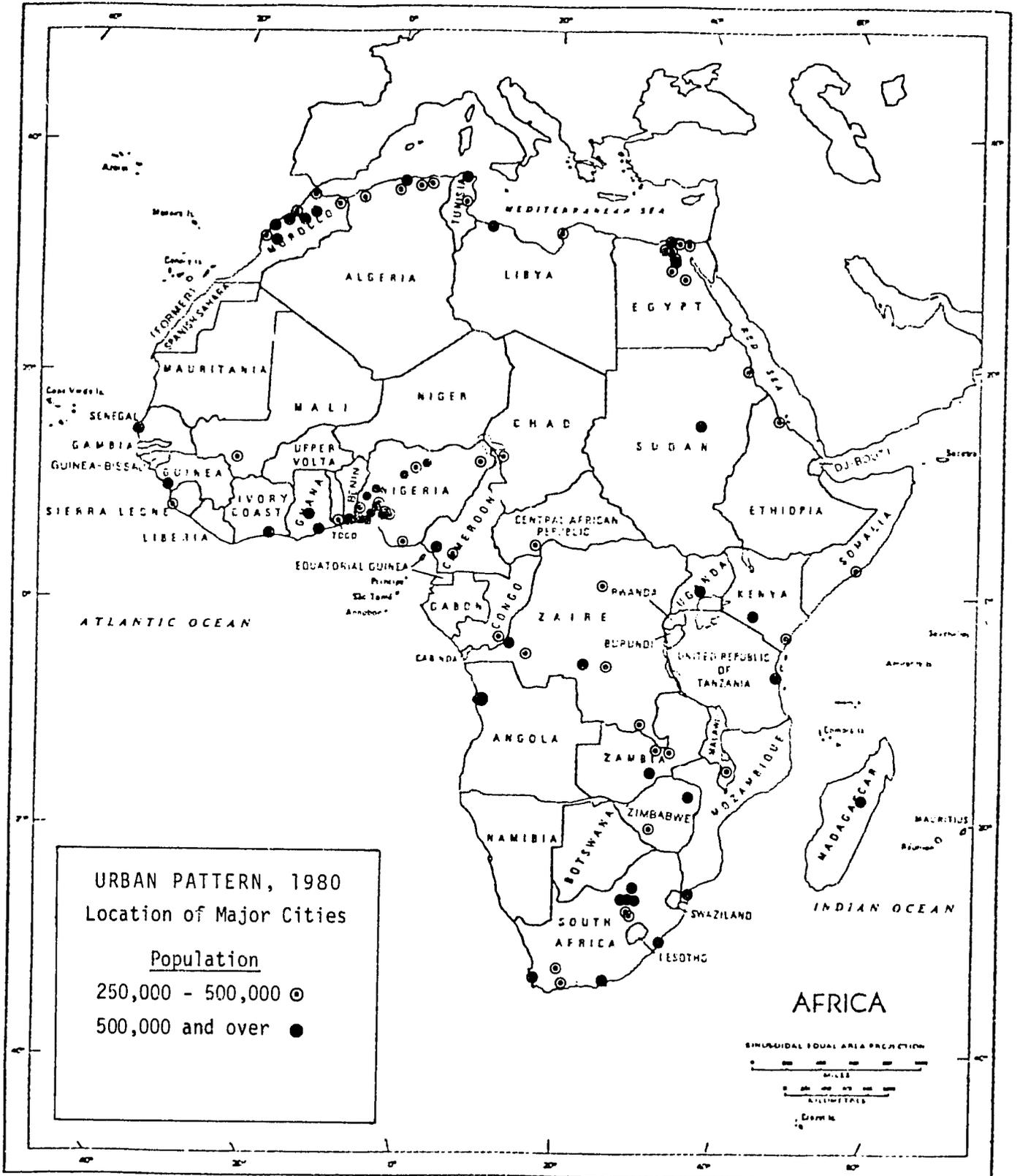
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Figure 3



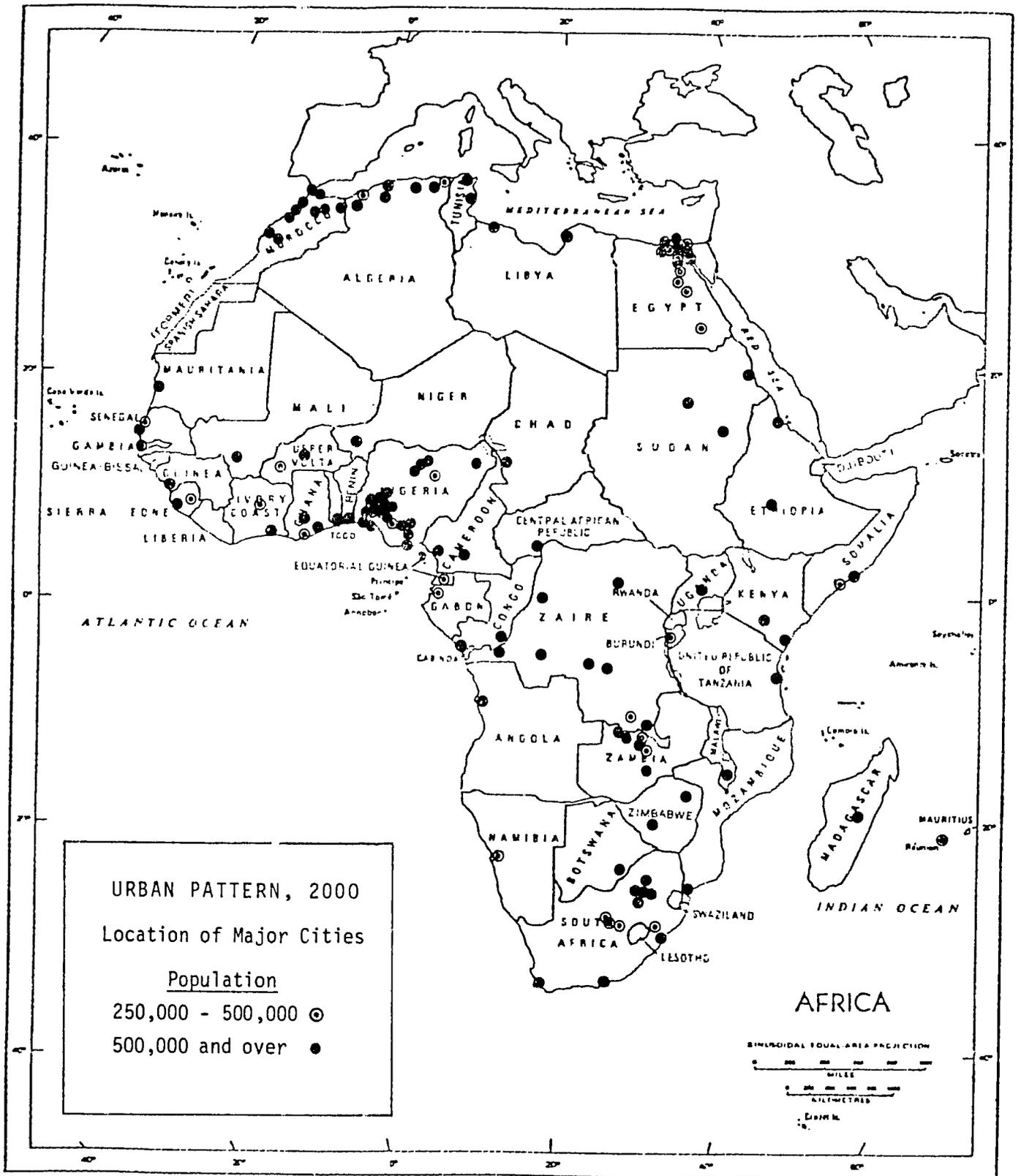
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Figure 4



The boundaries shown on this map are not, in any instance, final, determined and the population data are only approximate and subject to change by the United Nations.

Figure 5



The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, exactly determined and their resolution does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

as 4 and 5 per cent a year. Most African countries' growth rates have reached levels that will double their total population in 20 to 25 years. Nowhere in Africa has the rural-agricultural sector been able to expand enough to absorb such numbers -- even where productivity gains have been achieved. Thus the rural areas have been, and continue to be, a seemingly endless source for the steady streams of migrants that flow to the cities and towns.

"Millions of Africans . . . from Kenya to the Ivory Coast, from Niger to Botswana, are following the same path . . . lured off the farms and into the cities by the dream of a better life . . . for it is there that (they) can, with good luck, hard work or a combination of both, escape the bondage of poverty and ignorance that have enslaved an entire continent."³

In several countries with urban growth rates among the Continent's highest the numbers of migrants following their dreams are swollen by refugees fleeing their nightmares -- drought and famine, other natural disasters, political persecution and the disruption of war. And now, in addition, the earlier migrants are producing a new generation of urban residents. A substantial component of the African population, urban born and bred and growing to maturity in the cities, will be for many countries a significant new phenomenon.

There is no question but that Africa's urbanization commands recognition that it is here to stay. There is no undoing it. There is no point in questioning whether it is "good" or "bad" or whether to have it or not. Urbanization will continue, inevitably.

The real issues are how to respond wisely and appropriately to this fact, how to provide for the urbanization, manage it, take advantage of the opportunities it presents and mitigate the problems it creates. We turn now to these issues and to the serious constraints under which such efforts will have to proceed at this juncture of history.

II. Economic Imperatives and the Role of Urban Areas

Anyone reviewing the demographic situation of Africa over the past two decades must conclude that stepping up the pace of economic growth is imperative for virtually every country. Prospects are such, however, that many of the nations will have to expend full effort simply to keep from falling back. Population -- especially urban population -- has grown at rates faster than any the world has ever seen and in a dismaying number of countries, faster than their rates of economic expansion. Africa has already produced a labor force far larger than the majority of its national economies are able to absorb, and more is yet

3. David Lamb, The Africans, Random House: New York. 1982, 28ff.

to come. There is an enormous reservoir of additional labor in the numbers of children already born, who will enter the workforce before the end of the century.

The wherewithal to support Africa's next generation even at the basic levels necessary to social stability and the resources to build for future growth, as well as to improve conditions of life, absolutely depend on increased economic development.

Urbanization and the condition of Africa's cities and towns have a crucial role to play in achieving that development, or in impeding it. Indeed, it is precisely because the situation is so critical that urbanization is the central theme of this 9th Conference on Housing and Urban Development in Africa.

A. Economic Imperatives

Continent-wide, with very few exceptions⁴, the statistical indicators show urbanization outpacing the rate of economic growth. (Table 2) The biggest gaps occurred in several of the small island nations (Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe), the Sahelian countries, Southern and Western Africa. Northern Africa, on the whole, experienced rates of urban growth more in line with increases in per capita gross national product (GNP).

The over all picture presents serious issues of decline or stagnation in the per capita GNP for almost four-fifths of the countries, including some of the more populous (Mozambique, Zaire, Sudan, Uganda, Ghana). Agricultural output per capita is almost universally down or -- at best -- barely improving. According to a 1983 report of the FAO, agricultural output has decreased in absolute value in four of Africa's largest producers south of the Sahara, five of the main producers of sorghum, four of the biggest rice growing nations and six of the corn-producing countries.

For Eastern and Southern Africa, particularly, decline in imports, heavy borrowing and deteriorating terms of trade have meant large deficits as countries struggle to maintain their capital investment programs. Forecasts seem to offer little hope for improved terms of trade. Prospects for large infusions of concessionary loans also appear dim. Thus, capital resources for new investment will continue to be severely constrained.

4. Tunisia, Egypt, Lesotho, Cape Verde, Gabon, Burundi and Seychelles.

Table 2

AFRICAN COUNTRIES GROUPED BY ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE (% INCREASE IN PER CAPITA GNP, 1960-81
(Subregions: N= Northern, S= Southern, W= Western, M= Middle, I= Island Nations)

Country and Subregion		Total Population	Urban Population	Average Annual Urban Growth (%)		1981 GNP Per Capita (US \$)	Average Annual Change (%) in Per Capita	
		1981 (000)	1981 (000)	1960-70	1970-80		GNP 1960-81	Agricultural Production 1969-71 - 1977-79
Botswana	S	930	150	17.6	15.0	1,010	7.9	-1.1
Lesotho	S	1,400	165	7.5	7.0	540	7.0	-0.9
Swaziland	S	600	56	8.8	4.2	760	5.5	2.1
Cape Verde	I	300	20	2.1	1.2	340	5.5	
Gabon	W	700	240	4.3	4.5	3,810	4.9	-1.1
Tunisia	N	6,500	3,460	3.8	3.9	1,420	4.8	..
Libya	N	3,100	1,670	8.0	8.3	8,450	4.7	..
Nigeria	W	87,600	18,400	5.0	4.5	870	3.5	-0.8
Egypt	N	43,300	19,100	3.3	2.8	650	3.4	..
Algeria	N	19,600	8,630	3.5	5.7	2,140	3.2	..
Seychelles	I	63	17	2.7	2.9	1,800	2.9	..
Kenya	E	17,400	2,600	5.4	6.2	420	2.9	0.6
Malawi	E	6,200	620	6.6	7.0	200	2.7	1.2
Cameroon	W	8,700	3,120	5.6	7.5	880	2.6	0.9
Gambia	W	600	100	5.1	5.0	370	2.6	-2.9
Morocco	N	20,900	8,560	4.2	4.6	860	2.5	..
Ivory Coast	W	8,500	3,490	7.3	8.6	1,150	2.5	-1.7
Togo	W	2,700	560	5.6	6.7	380	2.5	-2.8
Burundi	E	4,200	85	1.6	2.5	230	2.4	0.6
South Africa	S	29,500	14,760	2.8	3.1	2,770	2.3	..
Mauritius	I	970	510	4.6	3.6	1,270	2.1	0.6
Tanzania	E	19,100	2,290	6.3	8.7	280	1.9	-2.0
Rwanda	E	5,300	210	5.4	6.3	250	1.7	1.1
Mauritania	W	1,600	380	15.8	8.4	460	1.5	-4.0
Ethiopia	E	31,800	4,450	6.5	6.6	140	1.4	-1.7
Mali	W	6,900	1,310	5.4	5.6	190	1.3	-1.2
Liberia	W	1,900	660	5.6	5.7	520	1.2	-0.6
Upper Volta	W	6,300	690	5.7	5.9	240	1.1	0.5
Congo	M	1,700	760	5.0	4.5	1,100	1.0	-2.6
Zimbabwe	S	7,200	1,650	6.8	6.4	870	1.0	-0.4
Benin	W	3,600	540	5.3	3.7	320	0.6	-0.6
Cent Afr Rep	M	2,400	690	5.1	4.8	320	0.4	0.0
Sierra Leone	W	3,600	790	5.5	4.3	320	0.4	-0.8
Guinea	W	5,600	1,700	6.2	6.1	300	0.2	-2.7
Zambia	M	5,800	2,570	5.4	6.7	600	0.0	-0.2
Eq't'l Guinea	W	350	190	7.3	6.4	180	..	..
Djibouti	E	380	290	4.7	4.9	480	..	..
Namibia	S	1,015	460	9.4	8.0	1,960	..	..
Guinea-Bissau	W	800	180	2.2	4.3	190	..	-0.2
Mozambique	S	12,500	1,125	6.5	8.3	230	-0.1	-3.5
Zaire	M	29,800	11,730	5.2	7.2	210	-0.1	-1.5
Somalia	E	4,400	1,370	5.3	5.0	280	-0.2	-1.7
S Tome, Princ	I	115	40	7.0	6.5	370	-0.2	..
Senegal	W	5,900	1,990	3.7	3.5	430	-0.3	-1.5
Sudan	M	19,200	5,000	6.7	7.1	380	-0.3	-0.8
Madagascar	I	9,000	1,700	5.4	4.3	330	-0.5	-0.8
Uganda	E	13,000	1,180	7.1	3.4	220	-0.6	-3.5
Reunion	I	530	300	7.7	5.4	3,840	-0.7	..
Ghana	W	11,800	4,380	4.6	5.1	400	-1.1	-3.1
Niger	W	5,700	740	7.0	6.8	330	-1.6	-1.5
Chad	M	4,500	860	6.7	6.5	110	-2.2	-0.9
Angola	S	7,800	1,710	5.1	5.7	470	-2.3	-5.6
Comoros	I	360	40	9.1	9.0	320	-2.4	..

Sources: World Bank, World Development Report, 1983 and Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action, 1983. In some cases where the World Bank sources did not include population data United Nations figures are shown.

There will be a premium on making the best use of existing capacity and on projects that can yield benefits quickly. Emphasis will have to be on investments that place little or no demand on scarce foreign exchange resources, that produce substitutes for imported items, and that make the most efficient use of capital inputs to generate income-earning opportunities for the largest numbers of people.

Given these specifications for development strategies in the 1980's, it seems compelling to take a closer look at the system of urban areas. These urban areas have an important role to play in stimulating and supporting development. They represent substantial prior investments and they carry responsibilities for managing and maintaining the existing infrastructure. The cities and towns make major claims on both capital and recurrent budget resources. There is a critical need to make them more nearly self-sustaining and to improve the efficiency with which they use the substantial resources they currently command.

B. Urbanization-Economic Growth Linkages

Urbanization is both prerequisite for, and result of, economic development. This is true whether the primary thrust of a country's development strategy is toward building up the industrial base, or increasing productivity of the agricultural sector, or stimulating expanded employment in small scale enterprise and the informal sector.

Cities, with their concentration of commercial establishments and services, entrepreneurs, trainable workforce, markets, power supplies, transportation access, communications and other utilities are "essential seedbeds in which the processes of industrialization and modernization take root and grow."⁵

It takes urban centers to support the complex of agricultural marketing, processing, storage, tool and machinery sales and service, education and rural extension facilities on which agricultural development efforts depend. Experience has shown even the most intensive agricultural development programs to falter because of inadequate access to such facilities in nearby locations.

Moreover, cities are the natural environment for operations of the informal sector and small scale independent enterprise -- the sources of income for a large and growing proportion of virtually every nation's labor force. This is where effort to generate expanding employment opportunities will have to focus, given constraints on more capital-intensive industrial development strategies.

5. Rivkin, M. D., "Urbanization and National Development: Some Approaches to the Dilemma", Socio-Economic Planning Sciences, Vol. 1, Pergamon Press, 1967, p. 117.

The manner in which urbanization has occurred in Africa has left its mark on the type of urban problems its nations experience. Africa's urbanization has been proceeding, for the most part, without the stimulus and support of parallel growth in industry and other basic employment. African cities have grown more on the aspirations of her rural migrants, on investments in a limited group of sectors -- principally public administration and construction -- and on the informal sector. Unemployment and underemployment are endemic.

Most observers writing about Africa's urban growth have tended to cast it in a negative light. The urban legacy of colonial days has been depicted as altogether a bad thing. Growth and changes that have followed independence seem to be regarded no more favorably. Rural-urban migration -- a theme that dominates the writing -- has been viewed as a trend to be stopped, or at least retarded, if not reversed. Concern about very poor living conditions in the migrants' settlements has focussed on the biggest cities where spontaneous growth has been most rapid and needs for improvement most acute. Because investment in these cities has come largely from national budgets with only very limited, if any, contributions from the urban economic base to support public services and expand infrastructure, the urban areas have been perceived by many as parasites.

But the clock cannot be turned back. The time has come to recognize urbanization as an immutable fact of African life and to take stock of the development resource that the cities and towns actually represent. Today, these urban areas are prime prospects for investments to induce economic growth.

C. Fundamental Advantages and Fundamental Conditions for Development

Productive economic enterprise (industry and services, private sector and public) cluster and operate in cities because of fundamental advantages such as:

- concentrated markets for goods and services
- ready labor pool
- access to financial institutions
- governmental licensing and promotional authorities
- suppliers of goods and special services
- opportunities for face-to-face communication, exchange of information and coordination with business colleagues and others

- stimulating variety and number of personal contacts
- view of the competition (in the case of private enterprise).

Taken as a whole, these factors are termed the "external economies" of urbanization. They are the conditions which, the world over, have enabled cities to be the nurturing ground for economic growth. This growth process, once begun, becomes more than the sum of its component parts and leads on to still further generation of new enterprises and jobs.

More than external economies are necessary, however, if business activity -- especially that of risk-conscious private entrepreneurs -- is to become established, flourish and become competitive. The additional requirements include:

- adequate supporting infrastructure (water, power, telephone, sanitation etc.)
- a level of operations and maintenance of this infrastructure than ensures sustained reliability
- availability of suitable land when needed, at appropriate locations and reasonable cost
- living conditions (shelter, amenities, access to jobs, public services, commercial facilities) for workers and managers that within the standards of any given society, are at least minimally adequate to sustain productivity.

Significance of this last point was underscored in an interview with Tunisia's Director of Industrial Development, the man who heads the program for assembling industrial plant sites in secondary cities. He noted that land and utilities for factories notwithstanding, entrepreneurs could not be attracted unless the community offered a complement of amenities, communications and commercial services including health centers and good schools, shops with merchandise of a certain quality and entertainment-recreation facilities such as a cinema.

D. Economy-building and the Role of Municipal Government

External economies and supporting services must be present if a city's economic base is to expand and grow stronger. The role of creating and sustaining these conditions is a most crucial one for municipal government. Even where large industries have built and now manage company towns (e.g. the mining towns of Botswana or the pulp mill complex in Swaziland) rising issues of how to integrate peri-urban development with existing settlements and how to accomplish future expansion of the basic infrastructure systems call for governmental responsibility of some sort.

Municipal governments today are subjected to demands of an unprecedented magnitude by population growth alone, even without substantial new economic activity. A new agenda headed by the goal of building up the local economic base imposes yet more responsibilities and complexities. The risks of nonperformance by municipal management are greater than ever before. Penalties are also greater, and quantifiably so. Furthermore, absence of effective authority for municipal development and management can undermine the best efforts made in every other quarter.

To illustrate: When local government fails to provide for settlement areas with proper sanitation, the resulting pollution is a health hazard to the families that live in those areas to be sure; but it may also threaten the quality of the water supply on which a city's agro-processing industry depends. Accumulations of uncollected trash and garbage are dangerous to the public health. They also constitute serious fire hazards, and when fires do occur, the potential for damage to people and property is enormous. Such losses are not easily sustained in a developing country, especially by struggling, young enterprises.

Traffic congestion that may have been tolerable on a once-a-week market day, can become severe when more regular, permanent commercial activity is established. Indeed, congestion may so severely impair circulation as to negate a city's potential advantages of internal access.

Deterioration of roads due to deficient maintenance creates problems that go beyond merely discomfort and inconvenience. The wear and tear of travelling over potholes and debris-strewn roads shortens the useful life of truck axles and tires -- items that are at a premium because they must be bought with scarce foreign exchange. Thus insufficient road repair entails a measureable, high cost. But this is not the end of it either. When trucks are put out of commission for want of replacement parts and flows of supply are interrupted, additional repercussions show up on the balance sheets of individual industrial and commercial enterprises whose operations are affected.

Halts in production due to interrupted power supply, water or bottlenecks in the flow of administrative paperwork for various approvals and licenses can also add up to very expensive "down time" for industries. A municipality may not, itself, have primary responsibility for all these functions, but local government is a focal point -- a place to look for those concerned with how things work -- or are not working -- in the urban setting.

All of this implies new and unaccustomed roles for many local government officials. For these roles, they need not only new skills, but new attitudes as well. They need to see themselves as promoters and expeditors of development. Initiative and entrepreneurial spirit,

qualities that may once have been discouraged in local officials, are now essential.

In context of urban economic development efforts, officials in charge of providing services have to meet tests of local performance and accountability, somewhat different and more demanding than those who are expected simply to manage the resources dealt out to them by central authority. Although central authority has been a primary source of local finance in the past, success of local development efforts will bear very heavily on the level of revenues available for future community improvement. This too requires revised attitudes:

- assertiveness in claiming resources on behalf of local needs
- concern for "productivity", or cost-effectiveness in using resources that become available
- and commitment to the future that ensures the stability and confidence required for successful business investment.

Are Africa's urban areas actually in a position to perform the critical development role described here? How do they measure up to these development tasks? Let us turn now to take a closer look at the conditions that characteristically prevail.

III. Conditions in Africa's Urban Areas Today

A. Urban Scale, Function, Promise and Problems

Although the urban pattern differs considerably from one African country to another, emergent issues of urbanization seem to group themselves around three distinguishable types of setting: the "primate" city or metropolis, intermediate or secondary cities and market towns.

The dominant, large "primate" center is where most modern infrastructure has been created in virtually every African country. Primate cities have been the main destinations for internal migration. Here are the countries' major concentrations of private business, entrepreneurial and managerial talent and public services. These cities have received the largest shares of urban investment and still they pose the most pressing problems of inadequate services, deficient shelter and scarcity of reasonably-priced, well-located land to accommodate further growth.

The degree of dominance, as measured by the percentage of urban population living in a nation's largest city, varies a great deal⁶ as do

6. Among the 38 countries for which fairly comparable data are cont'd

the sizes of the primary cities. Nevertheless the litany of "big-city", rapid-growth problems is fairly consistent from one country to another.

At the second characteristic level or scale are the growing secondary or intermediate size cities. They make some contributions to national economic development and, as their employment opportunities expand, they become increasingly attractive as alternate targets for migration.

In several countries these secondary cities have become substantial communities and major producers of goods and services, as the result of historical development patterns (Nigeria, Morocco). In others, it is the result of deliberate urban development/industrialization policy (Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria).

Within the past decade intermediate size cities and towns have been the object of increasing interest. Policy-makers have become more and more concerned with decentralizing administration and with pressures to spread the benefits of development investments more broadly. The idea has gained acceptance that existing secondary cities with their established activity and some installed infrastructure could and should support substantial new development. They could thus divert new growth that would otherwise go to the largest cities. Eventually the secondary cities could grow in scale to become new metropolitan centers, attracting on their own even more new commercial and industrial investment. They could also provide their respective rural hinterlands with access to a richer variety of social, educational, personal and economic services as well as new employment opportunities. Moreover, by anticipating growth and providing for building sites and public services in advance, it would be possible to avoid the most critical problems and the social costs of accommodating new growth in the primate cities.

Tunisia's success in stimulating the secondary centers of Sousse and Sfax to the stage where they are generating economic growth is one example of this approach applied in African circumstances. More recent efforts in the Ivory Coast, Kenya and Egypt are directed toward similar objectives. Senegal, host country for the 9th Africa Conference, is in the process of a policy review to determine how support for secondary cities can best be programmed as an alternative to continued concentration of investment in Dakar.

available, the median is between one-third and one-half of the urban population in the largest city. The five countries evidencing the lowest degrees of "primacy" (less than 25%) include tiny Sao Tome and Principe, Malawi, Algeria, Republic of South Africa and Nigeria. The countries where primacy is greatest (over 50%) are Angola, Benin, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, The Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Mozambique, Senegal, Togo and Uganda.

Market towns, too, have been the focus of rising interest -- especially among those centrally concerned with rural development. Experience has shown rural development efforts faltering for lack of attention to the roles and functions of market-and-service centers. Very clearly, the business of rural development has turned out to be more than a matter for agricultural programs alone. Increased productivity is dependent on town-based inputs -- storage and marketing facilities, supplies and repair services and the exchange of ideas among farmers, for example -- as well as on improved farming practices and essential inputs of seed and livestock.

Meeting the critical needs of rural population for essential town-based inputs is frequently a matter of accessibility. Given the difficulties and costs of travel, it is certainly more efficient for the farmer when the full complement of such services is available in a single center rather than widely dispersed. For the service enterprises, mutual support and the stimulus of competition are possible only when they are fairly close to one another, and the economic survival of such a complex may require levels of business that only a broad-based agricultural territory can generate.

Sometimes the accessibility issue is a matter primarily of transport -- the roads and vehicles which are the means of access. Other times, when distance from the farming areas to towns with market and service facilities is too great, need for additional centers is identified, or need for filling in services that are missing from nearer market centers that are smaller. In yet other cases greater emphasis is placed on the need to strengthen functional linkages between the market-and-service towns and the nation's primary marketing centers.

Analyzing and promoting approaches to strengthening market towns has been an objective of USAID's "urban functions in rural development" research in Cameroon. In Rwanda, a French-Belgian technical assistance team worked for more than five years with the Government to elaborate a strategy for developing scattered village settlements into a working system of market towns.

The rural market-and-service towns, as well as the primate and intermediate cities can function so as to stimulate economic growth. At any scale, however, the urban setting can also present obstacles to economic growth. In view of the critical need to expand the local economies -- and thereby, employment opportunities -- removal of such obstacles merits most serious effort.

B. Physical Aspects of the Urban Setting

At present very few of Africa's cities and towns are in condition to make their best possible contributions to economic development.

The major cities of Africa are characterized by some of the most dramatic physical contrasts anywhere. Modern glass, steel and concrete high-rise office buildings and hotels in the commercial cores and enclaves of well-manicured suburban villas for the elite and expatriate communities are a world apart from the dense squatter settlements that sprawl over thousands of hectares on the urban fringe.

Hundreds of migrant families have come to live in these areas without benefit of orderly, subdivided housing plots, secure tenure and extensions of basic urban services. Other families have crowded into older neighborhoods in city and town centers. These areas have become another type of slum, where once-substantial shelter and infrastructure are severely overloaded, deteriorating under the strains of serving lifestyles for which they were not designed and numbers beyond the capacity for which they were built.

In many of the large cities the majority of inhabitants lack water and electricity. A large proportion live under precarious structures and precarious tenure. These living conditions prevail -- not only for unemployed rural migrants, but also for factory workers, clerks and even skilled craftsmen. In some countries the social strata found in slums and shantytowns include proprietors of small businesses, middle level managers and civil servants as well. Witness the case of Kigali, Rwanda's capital, where 93 per cent of all dwellings are in unserviced squatter settlements or other informal neighborhoods.

Absent a system of enterprise to supply shelter in proportion to the needs, and the system of institutional supports on which such enterprise depends, the masses have provided for themselves remarkably well. Their spontaneous settlements represent investment of an enormous resource of initiative, energy and will to survive. Unfortunately, however,

"what the poor can do for themselves is illegal by definition. Standards (imposed by the national elite) that cannot be met by the majority of the urban population lead to construction that is totally uncontrolled. Houses on difficult terrain, preemption of alternative land uses, poor settlement layout and inadequate house design are the results; as are populous settlements that lack roads, water, sewerage and electricity. Rehabilitation is vastly more expensive than an initial investment in planning and a modicum of services would have been."⁷

Residents of the outlying squatter neighborhoods have problems not only of contaminated water, poor sanitation and insufficient services but also hardship -- and often additional costs -- of transport between their homes and work in central city locations.

7. Gugler, Josef and Flanagan, William G., Urbanization and Social
cont'd

Those responsible for providing and managing urban services find

"the extensive confused mass of housing" makes it difficult to locate people, to number houses, to deliver mail, organize the collection of data for purposes of administration, build an effective sewage disposal system or collect refuse."⁸

These conditions touch everyone, not only the poor. An observer describes how the physical consequences of uncontrolled, rapid urbanization are neither out of sight nor out of mind. They impinge on the sensibilities of the elite who travel from their elegant residential neighborhoods through horrendous traffic jams to work in the showcase modern office buildings of the capital cities. Even more seriously, they impinge with unfortunate effect on the everyday operations of business and government.

A journalist described his impressions as he looked from the windows of a modern office tower:

"isolated from the city of _____, which spread out eighteen floors below. . . an incubus of uncontrolled growth. Down there the open sewers ooze odors of the foulest sort, slums languish in the shadows of high-rise office buildings, filthy streets teem with traffic and people. . ."⁹

"Government offices . . . are so overstaffed and underequipped that hundred of civil servants work at desks lined up in stuffy, dimly lit corridors. Most telephones don't work so businessmen must make appointments in person, a Herculean feat in a city where it can take an hour to travel a few blocks by car. One U.S. bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, operated for more than a year . . . without a telephone or telex. . . Guests are lucky to have water two hours a day in their \$90 a day hotel rooms, and diners in downtown restaurants merely shrug and light candles when the electricity flickers, then gives way to darkness. What had happened was no mystery. . . population had exploded from 300,000 to 3 million in a decade and the city was sinking under its own weight."¹⁰

Contrast the author's description of a smaller town in the same country:

Change in West Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1978. p.45.

8. Mabogunje, A. L., "The morphology of Ibadan", Mabogunje, A. L. and Lloyd, P. C., The City of Ibadan: A symposium on its Structure and Development, Cambridge University Press: London. p. 55.
9. Lamb, David, The Africans (Random House: New York) 1982. p. 306.
cont'd

"_____, like many towns a visitor sees after escaping from (the) cities, is a lovely place. The trees along the tidy main street provide welcome shade, the little houses are whitewashed and tidy, their grassy backyards clipped and ablaze with flowers. Life moves slower here than in the cities, and people are more at peace with their surroundings, less the victims of change."¹¹

And yet the smaller cities have not been free of growth pains. An observer makes the following comment on their general situation:

"Management inefficiency is . . . behind some of the traffic flow problems in the city. Failure to plan ahead often leaves a city to contend, often on narrow roads, with a variety of transport modes: pedestrians, push-carts bicycles, motorcycles, cars and trucks; but these are hardly sufficient or frequent enough to meet the needs of the people. It is thus no wonder that some relatively small African cities have traffic congestion problems as serious as those of much larger cities in the industrialized world."¹²

What about the people on whom the effects of change have been greatest and those on whom any constructive change will depend?

C. Social Features of the Urban Setting

"Some writers speak not of the urbanization of the . . . population but of the ruralization of the towns"¹³ because the recent rural migrants -- the new urbanites -- make up the largest proportion of the cities' and towns' inhabitants.

They bring rural attitudes and lifestyles and rural means of coping with their acute problems of shelter and unemployment. In most cases, this means limited education and skills. However, it also means maintaining strong ties to rural origins through which they can turn for support during the period of difficult adjustments. In countries where social welfare systems are still rudimentary this supportive relationship is important in mitigating social disruption and easing the plight of urban newcomers. It is also a means for channeling urban earnings to

10. Ibid. p. 304

11. Lamb, Op. Cit., p. 309

12. Mabogunje, A.L., "Urbanization Problems in Africa", in El-Shakhs, S. and Obudho, R., Urbanization, National Development, and Regional Planning in Africa, (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1975. p. 22.

13. Lawless, Richard I., "Algeria: Transformation of a Colonial Urban System under a Planned Economy", in Obudho, R.A. and El-Shakhs, Salah, Development of Urban Systems in Africa, (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1979. p. 87.

the family "back home". These cash remittances from urban workers to their villages of origin are a very clear contribution of cities to national development throughout the continent, for they provide a major -- and often only -- source of cash for consumption goods in subsistence economies.

Another consequence of strong identification with the rural base is that urban residents tend to lack a community-wide sense of belonging to the urban area where they now live and work.

Absence of civic consciousness, weak civic leadership, and a high degree of indifference to the progress of the city in which people are making their fortunes (whether large or small) are cited as major reasons that urban improvements are slow in materializing.¹⁴ William and Judith Hanna point out people seem to expect (and accept) that an elite group "runs the show" as far as the cities and towns are concerned.

"Many urban and suburban residents in Black Africa think of themselves as strangers without civil rights or responsibilities in the town.

. . . In those areas where the members of one ethnic group predominate common culture and identity are locally integrative factors, but in many African towns, there are several distinct ethnic cultures that impart different perspectives and encourage different practices. . . and thus a key bond of community may be missing."¹⁵

Perhaps the elite, more than other groups, feel they have a stake in the urban area and, therefore, more to gain from being involved. Yet their sights are limited and, so too, the scope of their efforts on behalf of their cities.

". . . in few African cities does one find a class of people concerned with the economic well-being of the city, with the need to attract industries to it or to encourage the development of local trade or craft organizations as a means of stimulating its economic growth. Although chambers of commerce exist in some cities, they have been largely dominated by foreign interest groups and generally ineffectual in terms of the total community."¹⁶

Though the cities may be experienced as as places of "maximum frustration" in many African countries, Mabogunje sees hope in the fact that city residents include a disproportionate share of their respective

14. Mabogunje, Op. Cit. (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1974, p. 13ff.

15. Hanna and Hanna, Urban Dynamics in Black Africa, Second Edition (Aldine: New York). 1981. pp. 195 and 202.

16. Mabogunje, Op. Cit.

nations' talent and expertise. He believes these people, leaders in their various fields, can resolve critical community problems if they turn their energies and their minds to that objective. In so doing he believes they will, moreover, gain experience necessary to deal successfully with other pressing national problems.

Another writer, in addressing the question of whether energies can be channeled toward common goals, found in Nigeria a similar source of hope:

" . . .the most encouraging sign, I think, is the presence of a growing middle and upper class. It is the largest, most substantial one in black Africa, and it is certainly worth remembering that it was the birth of the English middle class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that enabled Britain to become stable and powerful."¹⁷

If drawing attention of each nation's leadership to the need for action in urban areas is a first major step, realistic goals and objectives must be articulated. The next big concern is how to organize solutions. Institutions are needed through which meaningful change can be accomplished.

D. Institutions for Urban Management

As for management of the urban areas and provision of basic services and infrastructure, evaluations reviewed for this paper conclude almost universally that local governments are:

- overloaded
- not designed to cope with the rapid change and developmental problems of today
- poorly staffed
- (where there is an elected council) headed by councillors ill-informed about what their proper duties are
- targets for rampant graft and corruption
- very dependent on central government for revenues,
- inadequately funded and
- inefficient in using such funds as are available.

These problems are endemic even though institutional arrangements for managing the cities and towns of Africa vary considerably from country to country.

Urban management in some countries is structured according to the French model with a high degree of centralization, formal hierarchical structure and chain of command, domination by an executive (appointed rather than elected mayors or supervisory committees) and a very subordinate legislative role for local government. One writer suggests this system is more accurately described as "local administration" than "local government". Others are modelled along the lines of the more decentralized British system, characterized by local legislative activity, voluntary citizen participation, co-optation of local interests through a committee system and local responsibility for multiple urban functions. In still other countries (e.g. Liberia) there has been little attempt to impose a unified system of urban administration at all. There, long-established ethnic communities follow their own urban traditions and their own forms of internal administration. At the very opposite end of the spectrum, are the centrally planned economies (Mozambique, Ethiopia) with a "commune" structure of local organization, totally controlled from the capital.

"Reports of ineffective local government abound. . .It is not simply a question of the distribution of functions between local government and central government. It is a question more of efficiency of administration."

"The extraordinary rate of urbanization has created a mass of suddenly perceived social needs. These needs are too great and too complex for most existing local governments to satisfy or control, and new governmental units tailored specifically for the urbanite have not yet been created. . .Institutional structures inherited from colonial regimes have been retained even though these (structures embody the articulation of the colonial regime's own requirements). . .Only recently has there been an attempt by some African leaders to reexamine the entire system of local government in their countries."¹⁸

Tunisia, for example, created a special form of metropolitan administration to improve and operate municipal services for the capital region. Kenya has, at least temporarily, replaced the Nairobi City Council with a Commission under central government control. Senegal, Tanzania, and Guinea are other countries that have made changes in their systems for local governance. The changes for the most part tend toward greater centralized administrative authority and control. Few of the changes thus far, however, have dealt successfully with the primary issue — making the cities work.

17. Lamb, Op. Cit., p. 312.

18. Hanna and Hanna, Op. Cit., p. 202.

IV. Achievements in Perspective

Many African nations have begun to address urban issues. While none has yet mastered the scale of the challenges, there have been notable achievements, most particularly in the area of shelter and basic services.

Faced with the utter impossibility of providing conventional housing to absorb the masses of urban migrants, some governments have moved decisively to support alternative, minimal standard forms of shelter. Squatter settlements and other informal neighborhoods have been upgraded with water, roads, and solid waste disposal as alternative to being torn down. Sites and services schemes have been laid out and units built by the beneficiaries themselves. The human costs of displacement are being avoided and the benefits of families' participation in providing their own shelter are being realized. In all parts of Africa -- Botswana, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Malawi, Tunisia and many other nations -- governments have tested and found workable approaches to providing for shelter needs. Over the past decade thousands of existing dwellings have been improved and thousands of new plots have been developed. Imaginative schemes for providing secure tenure have been adopted, and some measure of employment -- particularly in the construction industry and in small fabrication enterprises -- has materialized as well. USAID and other international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations have been active in the shelter field also, supporting these national efforts through technical and financial assistance.

There have been real achievements that demonstrate the ability of these nations to set policy objectives and shape institutions for dealing with some of the major societal problems that accompany urbanization. While these achievements are legitimate inspiration for some optimism, it must be tempered by realization that the population of African cities will double in less than two decades and that the nations of the continent have yet to put themselves into positions from which they can do what they must do: turn burgeoning urban growth into economic advantage. That is the fundamental challenge today.

V. Today's Urban Agenda

To some degree the prospects for economic development of African cities are out of decision-makers' hands. Although change in climatic conditions that have devastated the continent's agriculture is one of the most important factors in improving over all economic performance in many nations, drought is a phenomenon not easily influenced through policy. Dampening the universally high rates of population growth is, however. So long as population continues to increase faster than a nation's productive capacity, it will be difficult to maintain even today's level of living. Raising living standards will be nearly

impossible. Even if conditions worsen, so long as it is relatively worse in the rural areas than in the cities and towns, urban growth will continue at its current breathtaking pace.

In the short run, concerted family planning will have little impact on the cities of Africa which must absorb and find work for those already born. Early attention to the matter by national policy makers is nonetheless crucial to avert an urban demographic disaster after the turn of the century, beyond the dire projections of present trends.

Dealing with drought and population growth are the hard problems. What are the easy ones? Or, put in a slightly less facetious way, what are those core economic development issues bound up in urbanization that can be directly addressed by policy makers, with the prospective support of international agencies committed to improving productivity in Africa?

A. Needed: Urban Policy and Priorities

It is always a temptation, in view of political pressures to achieve an equitable distribution of resources, for governments to spread resources too thinly and too widely. The will may be admirable but the result can be that no place receives sufficient resources to effect a beneficial result. There really can be no avoidance of the difficult process of making strategic choices and setting priorities. Priority setting for urban investments has to be a central concern of an urban agenda.

In fantasy, it might be nice to identify some universal model that a country could select and follow with minimum adaptations. But life experience has shown that some costly, wasteful mistakes have been made in pursuit of models and fads in urban development.

New town development has been one such idea. Building new capitals may have been an appropriate means for redirecting growth away from over-developed existing centers at certain times and in certain places (Lilongwe in Malawi and Gaborone in Botswana, perhaps). A more recent attempt at creating a new national capital, Abuja in Nigeria, has been undertaken when costs of infrastructure for an entire new city have escalated beyond most nations' ability to finance. As investment resources become increasingly constrained throughout Africa, further creation of new communities as an alternative to improving capacity of existing urban centers seems highly undesirable.

Africa needs national urban policies based on understanding of the links between urban investment and agricultural productivity and between patterns of urban settlement and over all economic performance. Additional reasons for undertaking such policy efforts are:

- Cities and towns are the physical setting for the largest proportion of a nation's capital investment commitments.
- Under conditions of scarcity, capital investment should be very carefully placed for best advantage. Locations and timing of investment should follow well-grounded priorities.
- Capital investments produce maximum economic and social benefits when linked within specific communities and when supported by planning and actions to ensure these linkages work and potential benefits are not blocked.

National urban policy should squarely address the allocation issue, which is a major concern of the 9th Africa Conference and a subject highlighted in plenary session debate. What communities should receive what proportions of national investment allocations, and over what length of time? How much of what kind of investments should go to the primate center to improve its economic and social prospects? Conversely, what commitments should be made to which secondary centers and market towns? Should investment resources be dispersed throughout the country or concentrated in one, or a few, most promising communities? In the formulation of national urban policy, issues of efficiency, equity and political exigency need to be analyzed and debated.

Faced with realization that selective and coordinated community investment is critical, several countries are now beginning to formulate such urban policy. Early efforts in the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, and Senegal along with Tunisia's latest stage in decentralization planning are presented as case studies for discussion in the conference.

B. Making the Cities Work

Selective, coordinated investment in cities is one step toward building the basis for urban economic development. Making the individual cities work is a parallel imperative. Productive, job-generating business and industry are established in cities because of a wide array of advantages including markets, labor force, sites, and municipal services. If the services do not function reliably (including installed infrastructure for which the major capital outlays have already been made), new enterprise will not develop and existing operations will falter. By and large cities of Africa do not work. Both small market centers and large metropolises lack operational capability, although the paralysis of great cities is most devastating to nations' economic fortunes.

Making the cities of Africa work is a job of institution-building that can not long be deferred. Each country must evolve a municipal administrative structure that suits its own particular culture, geography, and developmental needs. Whatever the structure, emphasis should be on performance in the basics of urban governance: management

and budgeting of both revenues and expenditures, designation of responsibilities; and accountability for results, record-keeping, analysis of information for sound decision-making, and developing personnel both dedicated to, and capable of, doing the job.

Improvements in the following areas require particular attention:

1. Urban services and infrastructure maintenance.

At the very heart of the urban services that need to be performed are the "life-support" tasks that permit a city to function. Such services as collecting garbage and disposing of it in sanitary manner, filling potholes and repairing other roadway damage, reconstruction of poorly designed rights of way, keeping the drainage ways clear, cleaning clogged standpipes and standpipe platforms, latrines and market areas as well eliminating disease-breeding pools of stagnant water are important not only for environmental health, but also for lengthening the useful life of precious existing capital investments.

2. Fiscal management.

Most local governments derive support for providing such services, in greater or lesser measure, from grants out of the central government budget. But cities and towns are not generating the substantial contributions to their own financing that they can, and should, make. There is great need to rationalize the systems of land registration, record-keeping and rate collections, the pricing of local public services and recapturing for the public coffers some of the values created by infrastructure investment. Tamale, Ghana has been successful in raising its due revenue by training students and compensating them for collecting local rates.

There are two sides to this coin, however. If citizens are to be expected to be responsible in paying rates and user fees levied for public services and facilities, municipal government will have to be responsible in rendering services. Residents of Gaborone's sites and services project withheld payment of their service levy when street lights and garbage collection were not provided as promised, and expected. It is very important that the community believe their assessments are fair and reasonably related to the value received in return.

3. Ability to anticipate and provide for future needs.

The ability to look ahead and prepare for anticipated needs (i.e. planning) is a critical municipal function -- largely absent -- at the local level in Africa today. Inability to forecast and control residential and other land-use development has played a big role in the shortages of water, the overloading and frequent breakdown of electrical systems and so on. There is great need also for much more widespread

understanding among local officials of the roles and relationships of their activities -- or inactivity -- with respect to their national development agenda.

Making the cities work is a task in which some of the countries represented at the 9th Conference have truly engaged themselves. Kenya has a secondary cities program which aims to institute new, simplified and straightforward capital budgeting procedures in every participating local government. Egypt has selected three secondary cities as pilots for major upgrading of municipal management combined with funding for expanded utilities. Technical advisers work along with municipal staff in reforming procedures. Supplementary support for the recurrent budget is allocated from Egyptian and overseas (USAID) sources. Tunisia has created a municipal development bank in an effort to induce communities to take greater responsibility for construction and operations of capital projects. It requires that communities expand their revenue sources in order to meet loan repayment schedules.

C. Training and Compensation of Personnel

Meeting the challenge requires legislative and administrative changes. These changes must be carried out by people, however,-- African people. Only those who know their respective societies, have the technical and organizational skills to operate the municipal machinery, and are clearly accountable to residents of the cities will ensure that the cities work sufficiently well to become generators of economic development.

While primate cities could all stand to gain by institutional strengthening, capacity-building needs are most acute in the intermediate cities and towns and the market centers. For most of the trained administrators and professionals are concentrated in the national capitals.

Today, no nation on the continent has a trained cadre to plan and manage municipal affairs: architects, engineers, administrators, budget reviewers, mechanics, maintenance foremen, accountants, surveyors, community development workers and so on. To this list should also be added elected councillors and/or appointed officials who know procedures for sound budgeting and administration of urban services.

Skilled Africans who hold such positions are few, overworked, and frequently paid well below comparable jobs in the private sector or even central government. Because respect is very important in African cultures it will be difficult to attract good people, honestly and conscientiously dedicated to their jobs, until municipal management positions afford considerably more respect than current salary levels and status reflect. All too many key jobs, moreover, are held by expatriate advisers whose technical skill is welcome but should be available

only temporarily until local personnel are available to take their places.

Given the inevitability that cities will be home for a majority of Africa's population, it is inescapable that many times more people must be trained to manage municipal affairs.

International agencies can play a large role in developing municipal skills and disseminating ideas among individuals who will have opportunities and responsibilities to adapt and innovate within their own cultural contexts. Over time this will be more important than any short term supplemental capital resources. USAID and other international agencies (e.g. UN HABITAT and the World Bank) are already poised to identify municipal training needs and to ways of improving personnel resources.

Governmental commitments still leave much to be desired, although there is some dawning recognition of need. Kenya is one example, where the secondary cities program heavily emphasizes training of municipal personnel and education of municipal councils.

D. A New Urban Ethic

If responsible decision-making and effective implementation are themes for this difficult period of straitened circumstances in Africa, another may well be local governmental reform. Civic consciousness is a timely and compatible sub-theme to emerge from the Continent's experience with urbanization.

A movement that focusses on developing local economies and issues of accountability in local government will mean some changes in local politics. A shift is in order -- away from the more typical competition among ethnic groups for a turn in positions of power and toward substantive issues of importance to urban development. Such a shift could also signal waning public tolerance of graft and corruption. There are signs this may be happening in Kenya, for example, where the Ministry of Local Government has suspended the Nairobi City Council, and in Nigeria where the recent revolution took as a major aim eliminating corruption at all levels of public life.

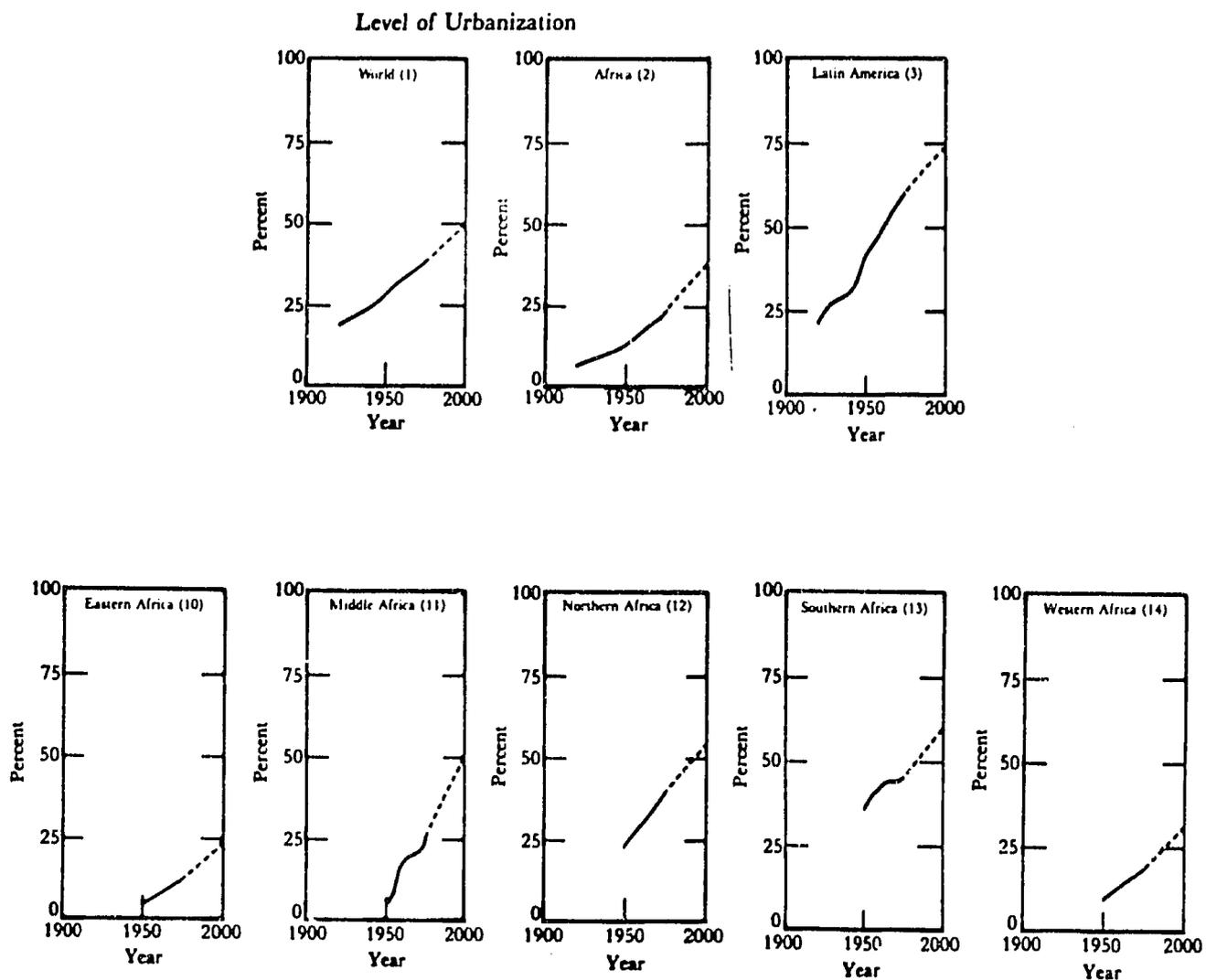
E. Concluding Note

This is a full plate, and there are no pre-cooked answers. Formulating urban development policy, overhauling urban governmental institutions so they can perform municipal services, upgrading and expanding the cadre of technical administrative personnel, and introducing a new municipal ethic into the workings of politics are

formidable undertakings, particularly when financial resources across the continent are so constrained.

Yet, resources are being expended now, often with disappointingly little result to show. Setting a clear direction for use of these resources and the energies of those who manage them is a reasonable, albeit modest, beginning. From such modest beginnings each country may find its own relationship to the new urban realities of Africa.

Figure 6



Source: Excerpt from Bertrand Renaud, National Urbanization Policy in Developing Countries, World Bank Research Publication, 1981, pp.23-26

Table 3
STATISTICAL INDICATORS FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Country and Subregion	Total Population 1981 (000)	Urban Population 1981 (000)	Urban Population as % of Total Population			Average Annual Urban Growth (%)		1981 GNP Per Capita (US \$)	Average Annual Change (%) in Per Capita Agricultural Production	
			1960	1980	Proj 2000	1960-70	1970-80		GNP 1960-81	1969-71 to 1977-79
Eastern Africa										
Burundi	4,200	85	2	2	4	1.0	2.5	230	2.4	0.6
Djibouti	380	290	49	74	84	4.7	4.9	480	..	..
Ethiopia	31,800	4,450	6	14	28	6.5	6.6	140	1.4	-1.7
Kenya	17,400	2,600	7	15	26	6.4	6.8	420	2.9	0.6
Malawi	6,200	620	4	10	54	6.6	7.0	200	2.7	1.2
Rwanda	5,300	210	2	4	9	5.4	6.3	250	1.7	1.1
Somalia	4,400	1,370	17	31	46	5.3	5.0	280	-0.2	-1.7
Tanzania	19,100	2,290	5	12	25	6.3	8.7	280	1.9	-2.0
Uganda	13,000	1,180	5	9	24	7.1	3.4	220	-0.6	-3.5
Middle Africa										
Cent Afr Rep	2,400	690	23	29	58	5.1	4.8	320	0.4	0.0
Chad	4,500	860	7	19	33	6.7	6.5	110	-2.2	-0.9
Congo	1,700	760	30	46	50	5.0	4.5	1,100	1.0	-2.6
Sudan	19,200	5,000	10	26	42	6.7	7.1	380	-0.3	-0.8
Saïre	29,800	11,730	16	36	56	5.2	7.2	210	-0.1	-1.5
Zambia	5,800	2,570	23	44	54	5.4	6.7	600	0.0	-0.2
Northern Africa										
Algeria	19,600	8,530	30	44	76	3.5	5.7	2,140	3.2	..
Egypt	43,300	19,100	38	44	57	3.3	2.8	650	3.4	..
Libya	3,100	1,670	23	54	72	8.0	8.3	8,450	4.7	..
Morocco	20,900	8,560	29	41	55	4.2	4.6	860	2.5	..
Tunisia	6,500	3,460	36	53	66	3.8	3.9	1,420	4.8	..
Southern Africa										
Angola	7,800	1,710	10	22	36	5.1	5.7	470	-2.3	-5.6
Botswana	930	150	2	16	24	17.6	15.0	1,020	7.9	-1.1
Lesotho	1,400	165	2	12	11	7.5	7.0	540	7.0	-0.9
Mozambique	12,500	1,125	4	9	18	6.5	8.3	230	-0.1	-3.5
Namibia	1,015	460	23	45	63	9.4	8.0	1,960	..	..
South Africa	29,500	14,760	47	50	60	2.8	3.1	2,770	2.3	..
Svaziland	600	56	4	8	14	8.8	4.2	760	5.5	2.1
Zimbabwe	7,200	1,650	13	23	38	6.8	6.4	870	1.0	-0.4
Western Africa										
Benin	3,600	540	10	15	18	5.3	3.7	320	0.6	-0.6
Cameroon	8,700	3,120	14	36	56	5.6	7.5	860	2.6	0.9
Equatorial Guinea	350	190	26	54	71	7.3	6.4	180	..	..
Gabon	700	240	17	36	54	4.3	4.5	3,810	4.9	-1.1
Gambia	600	100	12	18	31	5.1	5.0	370	2.6	-2.9
Ghana	11,800	4,380	23	37	51	4.6	5.1	400	-1.1	-3.1
Guinea	5,600	1,700	10	20	33	6.2	6.1	300	0.2	-2.7
Guinea-Bissau	800	180	14	23	39	2.2	4.3	190	..	-0.2
Ivory Coast	8,500	3,490	19	41	55	7.3	8.6	1,150	2.5	-1.7
Liberia	1,900	660	21	34	49	5.6	5.7	520	1.2	-0.6
Mali	6,900	1,310	11	19	34	5.4	5.6	190	1.3	-1.2
Mauritania	1,600	380	3	24	50	15.8	8.4	460	1.5	-4.0
Niger	5,700	740	6	13	24	7.0	6.8	330	-1.6	-1.5
Nigeria	87,600	18,400	13	21	33	5.0	4.5	870	3.5	-0.8
Senegal	5,900	1,990	23	34	37	3.7	3.5	430	-0.3	-1.5
Sierra Leone	3,600	790	13	22	40	5.5	4.3	320	0.4	-0.8
Togo	2,700	560	10	21	30	5.6	6.7	380	2.5	-2.8
Upper Volta	6,300	690	5	11	16	5.7	5.9	240	1.1	0.5
Island Nations										
Cape Verde	300	20	7	7	9	2.1	1.2	340	5.5	..
Comoros	340	40	5	12	23	9.1	9.0	320	-2.4	..
Madagascar	9,000	1,700	12	19	32	5.4	4.3	330	-0.5	-0.8
Mauritius	970	510	33	52	67	4.6	3.6	1,270	2.1	0.6
Reunion	530	300	34	55	70	7.7	5.4	3,840	-0.7	..
Sao Tome, Principe	115	40	16	33	50	7.0	6.5	370	-0.2	..
Seychelles	63	17	26	27	38	2.7	2.9	1,800	2.9	..

Sources and Notes: Economic data and 1981 population estimates are from the World Bank Development Report, 1983. Estimates of per capita change in agricultural production come from the World Bank, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for ACTION, 1983. Figures on urban growth and percentage of population in urban areas are, with a few exceptions, from the United Nations, Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth, 1980. The exceptions include cases in which World Bank publications present more recent information and in which information missing from the UN documents could be filled in from sources of the USAID Office of Housing and Urban Programs. The United Nations definition of "urban" generally includes settlements of 20,000 population or over, but for certain years defers to individual countries' census definitions of urban places which may vary. In a few instances the World Bank presents data for a year other than the one indicated, and the United Nations' figures represent projections to the years indicated from the dates of respective national censuses and other surveys. Some African countries included in the United Nations list are omitted here because sufficient data are lacking: British Indian Ocean Territory, Western Sahara and St. Helena. For the Central African Republic, Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mauritania, the more recent World Bank data indicate a slower rate of urbanization than the United Nations estimates. For Lesotho, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, the World Bank's estimates of the percentage of population living in urban areas are higher than the United Nations'.











