

PN-AAZ-521

Best available copy -- pages 36 - 37 missing

file, Use Banning for (K.F. 04) #19M
2/11/82

Africa: General

FINAL REPORT

PN-AAZ-521

ISN 55423

USAID URBAN STRATEGY
IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:

OVERVIEW AND FIVE
COUNTRY PROFILES

NOVEMBER 1982

JOHN DRISCOLL

USAID ORDER NO.
OTR-1406-0-00-1197-00

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	I
Acknowledgements	III
Introduction	1
Executive Summary	6
Country Profiles	
Kenya	11
Sudan	24
Cameroon	40
Zambia	57
Zimbabwe	74
Appendix 1-- USAID Urban and Urban-Related Projects in the Sub-Saharan Region	93
Appendix 2-- Demographic Tables	110
Bibliography	113

PREFACE

Initiated by the former Office of Urban Development and administered through the Office of Development Resources in the Africa Bureau of USAID, this report is intended as a support document to provide a basis for the development of an urban strategy for the Africa Bureau.

While this report provides a thorough study of the urban problems found in each of the countries reviewed, and for the region in general, by the process in which it was written, each section can be reviewed individually.

The sections are as follows:

Introduction - A summary of the major urban problems found in the Sub-Saharan region.

Executive Summary - A critique of the current USAID strategies related to urban areas in the region. Much of the material in this section is based on the comments received in the preliminary review of this paper.

Country Profiles - An overview of the major urban problems found in each country studied. The countries, Cameroon, Kenya, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe, were chosen for their significance to the USAID program as reflected in the amount of assistance they receive; their higher than average level of urbanization; and the variety of their urban conditions. The profiles are mainly descriptive in nature, based on readings of USAID reports, World Bank material, periodicals, and news clippings. In addition, interviews were conducted with individuals familiar with the urban conditions in the countries reviewed. Within each profile the following areas are covered: population, migration and spatial distribution; economy

and employment; urban conditions; national development plans; conclusions; and a synopsis of the current USAID program in the country, along with comments on what possible direction the agency could move towards in the future.

USAID Sub-Saharan Urban and Urban-Related Projects - A listing of USAID urban-related projects compiled from a review of the FY 82 Congressional Presentation Annex for Africa; departmental listings of urban projects where available; and information obtained from the USAID Development Information Unit.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people who provided valuable assistance towards the researching and writing of this report.

- Sally Patton, Project Officer for this study, who provided guidance, feedback and patience throughout the writing of this report.

- Charles Kehler, an independent consultant, who is primarily responsible for the Zambia and Zimbabwe Country Profiles and who provided a sounding board for the generation of ideas and valuable assistance in editing.

- The following people who each took time to review the draft and whose comments are incorporated in the Executive Summary: Coralie Bryant, International Development Program, American University; Michael Cohen, Urban Development Department, The World Bank; and Fred O'Regan, Development Group for Alternative Policies.

I would also like to thank William Miner, Eric Chetwynd and Mike Farbman of the former Office of Urban Development within USAID who gave initial direction to the study and provided information and background material.

Thanks also to Herbert Werlin of The Urban Edge, Goldie Rivkin of Rivkin Associates, and Al Van Huyck of PADCO for providing information. Individual project officers within the USAID Office of Housing and Urban Development and the World Bank Urban Development Department also provided valuable resource material and insights into urban problems in the region.

The Development Information Unit of USAID was very helpful and patient considering the number of requests for information. A final thank-you goes to Sally Robertson and Bevan Romanczuk for typing and editorial suggestions.

INTRODUCTION

The time-worn proverb about blind wisemen encountering an elephant is particularly apt in understanding urban problems in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). In trying to determine the nature of the beast, each wiseman addresses himself to that part immediately before him. The elephant lumbers on and they turn to discuss their encounter. One speaks of trunks, another of tails, another of ears, and so on. Understandably, they can not come to an agreement. Though each one correctly perceived some aspect of the elephant, none can picture the entire animal. In a similar manner, it is difficult to find any agreement as to the nature of Sub-Saharan urban problems; and even more difficult, is to find an agreement on how to solve them.

From a demographic viewpoint, the chief urban problem is associated with the rapid increase in the levels of urbanization. While Africa as a whole is still predominantly rural in character, it is changing into an increasingly urbanized society. One demographic study notes that "Africa is at the beginning stages of its urban revolution". Worldwide, the average annual urban growth rate in less developed countries between 1970 and 1975 was 3.95 percent, enough to double the urban population every 17 years. For Africa, the rate was 5 percent (International Encyclopedia of Population, 1982). Projections by the UN in 1978 indicated that between 1975 and 2000, the level of urbanization for the continent will nearly double, from 26 percent to 43 percent of the total population. This will result in an estimated 352 million urban residents by the end of this century, an increase of 248 million from 1975. This projected increase "represents the creation of about 60 cities the size of Lagos or about 200 new centers on the scale of Nairobi" (Cohen, World Bank Office of Urban Development, Jan. 1981, p. 5).

For the regions within Sub-Saharan Africa, the vast number of new urban residents in the next twenty years foretells the magnitude of future urban growth. Between 1975 and 2000, Middle Africa can expect an increase of over 30 million, Western Africa 70 million, Eastern Africa 50 million, and Southern Africa 18 million. The source of this urban growth is expected to come from natural population increase and continued rural to urban migration. "A sample of 35 capital cities shows they are growing at about 8.5 percent annually, compared with urban growth rates of 6 percent and natural population growth rates of 2.7 percent." (Ibid). Overall, African urban growth is consistently greater than natural population growth. Compounding the problem is the fact that the Sub-Saharan population is young, with an estimated 40 percent to 50 percent under 15 years of age in 1975 (International Encyclopedia of Population). This ensures the continued high rate of population growth and an exacerbation of the difficulties in absorbing the young into the labor force.

A community development worker will point out that the urban problem is one of increasing poverty and income disparities within urban areas. It is estimated that "an average of about 25 percent to 30 percent of the urban population in each country falls into this category (urban poor), which is defined as having less than one-third of the national average household income. For the continent as a whole, about 25 million persons are 'poor' in this sense" (Cohen, p. 11).

As the urban population continues to grow, so will the incidence of poverty, especially in the larger cities. It is estimated that "in 80 percent of the African countries, more than half of the urban population, or about

8 million households, lives in slums or squatter settlements" (Ibid). The Zone Nylon slum community of Daoual in Cameroon has an estimated population of over 100,000. In this same city, it is estimated that 68 percent of the residential area is inhabited by low income residents. In Lusaka and neighboring Kabwe in Zambia, squatters amount to at least 40 percent of the population.

A city planner or city administrator will note that the urban problem is associated with the inability of municipal institutions to plan for and deliver services. Strapped by financial constraints, personnel shortages and outdated policies from colonial days, public institutions in the region are ill-equipped to handle the tremendous demand for services. Urban service delivery in many cities in the region is characterized by subsidized services readily available for the rich; the poor often have to buy these same services at high prices from private enterprise. There have been major shifts in policies regarding services for the poor, as evidenced by the large sites and services and slum upgrading projects undertaken with international donors. However, municipal and national institutions have shown a general inability: to recover their costs from these projects, to replicate them without outside assistance; and to establish a broad tax base to generate their own revenues.

A politician may view the urban problem in the region as one of political instability. The World Bank's report on Sub-Saharan Africa notes that "unless the new sprawling urban population is intergrated into the economy and its needs addressed, the situation is likely to be politically disruptive". This possibility became a reality in Kenya recently. Although the attempted coup originated in the military, it unleashed poverty stricken urban elements to a

degree which is not yet understood by those who did not experience it in Nairobi -- a capital considered one of the most stable in Africa.

In some countries, especially where the elected national leaders cannot rely on broad political support, it is difficult to remove subsidized programs targeted for urban areas. For example, price controls and subsidies on basic agricultural commodities are well established in several countries. The urban riots which erupted in Egypt and Sudan are vivid examples of the political disturbances caused by removing these subsidies.

Another source of political power in urban areas is the emerging middle class and urban elite. Solving the problems of the poor competes with the rising demands for services from this more politically articulate group. In Cameroon for example, the government has backed off from some of its previous commitments to provide low-income housing, in favor of satisfying the housing demand from civil servants. In Zambia, the urban elite in combination with the middle class and unions make it difficult to alter long entrenched subsidies to urban areas.

There is considerable debate among those interested in development assistance about whether to focus assistance on rural or urban areas. Since many urban problems are caused largely by population pressures, of which migration is a significant element, it is easy to think of the typically impoverished rural areas as being the source of urban problems. In fact, the justification for many rural projects is to reduce rural to urban migration. However, urban problems will not be solved by a series of projects in the countryside. There is disagreement about whether increased rural production and greater farm-to-market linkages will increase or decrease pressures for urbanization.

The past claims of an urban bias in development strategy are well founded. But to merely reject the urban bias in favor of rural development is to unjustly neglect the urban poor whose numbers are increasing and who have generally not benefited from the urban bias.

By looking at the many linkages between rural and urban problems in this report, it is hoped that rather than following the advice of any one of the blind wisemen, an approximate picture of the whole problem will be presented.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is an important and overriding factor which must be considered when determining future urban policies and approaches for the Sub-Saharan region: Demographically, there will be a tremendous increase in the urban population between now and the year 2000. Even if the UN projections cited in the introduction of this report are reduced by one-half, the number of people, and thus their problems and needs, are already straining the capacities of current strategies to cope. In the next two decades, the gap between the provision of services, and the recognition that current approaches are not closing the gap, will force a reevaluation of the manner and methods by which international donors address urban problems in the region.

During the past fifteen years, progress has been made in finding solutions to problems of housing, employment, provision of services, and concentrated urban growth in SSA. Low income housing through sites and services and slum upgrading have for the most part replaced the bulldozer as the instrument of urban policy. In addition, housing programs have moved from building subsidized housing for the rich towards housing for the urban poor. It is generally accepted now that people can house themselves if infrastructure is provided, restrictive building codes are removed, secure land tenure is guaranteed, and financial resources are made available. In regards to employment generation, current approaches now recognize the importance of the informal sector and seek ways to encourage help from this direction. In terms of reducing the growth of large urban centers, projects to encourage regional development and the growth of secondary cities and smaller urban centers are being implemented.

While much progress has been made in reorienting the past urban policies to form strategies which reach a much broader spectrum of people, certain important "building blocks" are missing from these strategies. It is these

missing elements, e.g., urban training, enhancement of local institutional capabilities, use of community-based organizations, and assistance to the construction industry, that are essential to the development of long-term, self-sustaining abilities of national and local governments to solve their own problems.

USAID assistance to urban areas in the region has primarily been in the form of housing and urban development aid, through its Housing Guaranty Program (HG). While the HG program has been instrumental in helping to reorient past urban policies towards strategies which deliver housing and essential services to the urban poor, the approaches used in the HG program and other USAID programs in general,* could also be criticized for lack of emphasis on training and building of local institutional capacity.

In the effort to demonstrate the feasibility of sites and services and slum upgrading approaches, USAID (and other donors) have essentially promoted demonstration projects which could then be replicated. Neglected in this process for the most part were issues of urban training, local institutional capability, the construction industry, information dissemination, and popular participation. Dealing with these issues is essential if a firm foundation of self reliance is to be built that will sustain urban development efforts from within. Undeveloped institutional capacity, for example, especially at the local level, essentially means that urban projects cannot be replicated or maintained without outside help from donor agencies. Too often, the technical planning for donor-assisted projects is beyond the institutional capability

* Other Agency projects are noted in the country profiles and in Appendix I.

of local and national institutions. In effect, each new sites and services or slum upgrading effort stands as a singular project in itself which requires technical assistance from the outside and cannot be repeated again by the local governments.

Given the future demand for housing and services in SSA, donor agencies will have to move away from "demonstration projects", which are often politically attractive because they offer tangible evidence of assistance, and instead move towards efforts to promote self-sustaining capabilities of local and national institutions to implement projects, as well as to provide and maintain essential services such as water, transportation, and housing. This shift in approach is necessary to improve the living and working conditions for the growing number of poor in the region's urban areas. At this point and in the coming decades, there is not near enough capital to provide essential housing and services using a "demonstration" or "one project" approach.

To meet the future demand for urban projects in the region, it will be important to increase the number of institutions involved in planning, designing, implementing and maintaining urban service delivery. This can be done by:

- 1 - Developing the capability of intermediary institutions to plan and implement urban projects. These institutions can be within countries or on a regional basis (i.e., The African Development Bank). This approach has been used to a considerable extent in HG and other agency programs in Latin America. By helping to develop the capacity of these institutions, USAID can deliver a greater number of projects without having to administer them from the ground up everytime.

2 - Increased training in local municipalities. This is a key to establishing self-sustaining abilities within local municipalities to solve their own urban problems. National government institutions have shown a general inability to implement and coordinate urban projects in many different urban centers. The need to develop the institutional capacity of municipalities in smaller urban centers will become more important as USAID urban projects, in response to the need to encourage regional development and decentralized urban growth, move into the smaller urban centers. In addition, by only working through national government levels, urban projects tend to be top down, passive approaches which fail to meet the needs of local municipalities.

Up to the present, training for USAID urban projects have been primarily "project oriented" and geared towards designing and implementing sites-and-services and slum upgrading projects. Municipal training is also required in other areas such as general municipal management so that urban governments can more efficiently control, manage, and distribute the required services over the long run. Specific examples of required training include: land use control and registration, fiscal planning, and revenue generation. USAID must broaden its definition of what urban problems are. It should recognize that municipal management is as much a problem which needs assistance as the provision of sewers, water, or housing.

3 - Increased use of non-governmental (NGOs) and private organization (PVOs). This is an important area for USAID to emphasize in its projects. The task of addressing urban problems is beyond the fiscal and management capability of government agencies in the region. The increased use of NGOs and PVOs to implement and deliver services in urban areas will be necessary. In addition, the most successful projects in the past are ones which utilize existing PVOs and community-level institutions which have close ties to the communities that the

projects are targeted for. Use of community-level institutions can help to increase the level of beneficiary participation in the design and implementation of projects. USAID has successfully used NGOs in its recent employment generation projects in the region.

Another important contribution that NGOs can provide is in training, both for persons in communities and government personnel. Examples cited in the country profiles show how NGOs in Cameroon and Kenya are providing valuable training to both community-level organizations and government agencies.

4 - The development of the construction and building materials industry. This has the benefit of encouraging the private sector within countries and helps to develop local jobs and skills. In addition, it creates a self-sustaining ability to provide housing from the private sector within each country. A USAID project in Lesotho, "Production Systems", is an example of how a building materials industry can be developed within a country as part of a larger housing project.

In summary, the major assessment required by USAID in how it will approach urban issues in the region is the process by which the projects in different sectors are implemented. The issue is not so much one of which sectors are the most important, i.e., housing, water, health, transportation, rural-urban linkages, or private enterprise. These issues will all become increasingly important as the urban population in the region grows. The relative priority of these issues can be determined on a country by country basis. More important to the agencies success in helping to solve these issues is the establishment of long-term, self-sustaining approaches within countries to manage their own urban growth.

KENYA

INTRODUCTION

In Kenya, urbanization might be aptly written of as a sleeping giant. The lower percentage of urban population (compared to other African countries) in this densely populated country should not mask its serious potential urban problems. Faced with an extremely high annual population growth rate (of at least 3.9%), the limited carrying capacity of the land in rural areas, rural poverty, and a growing labor force confronted by limited employment opportunities in traditional agriculture, Kenya has seemingly intractable forces at work which will cause cities and towns to grow. In combination, these forces form a formidable challenge to developing a national urban strategy and inhibit rural development efforts aimed at slowing down rural-to-urban migration.

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

A nation of 15,322,000 in 1979, Kenya's annual population growth rate of 3.8% p.a. between 1975 and 1980 was the highest in the region, enough to double the population by the end of the century. Presently, 15% of the population is considered urban. This represents approximately 2,307,000 urban residents in 1979. By the year 2000, U.N. projections estimate that approximately 8,100,000 or 26% of the total population will be urban. The conclusion -- Kenya planners will have to find room for a substantial number of people in the cities and towns.

In the most recent provisional census in 1979, Nairobi's share of the urban population was 42% with 828,000 urban residents. The center for government, industry and manufacturing, the city's share of wage employment for 22 urban centers in 1978 was 56%. The next two largest towns are Mombasa (341,000) and Kisumu (152,643). Together, these three cities account for 57% of the urban population. Overall, there are 26 urban centers with populations over 10,000. (World Bank Urban Sector Paper -- USP -- 1982).

The 1979 census reveals some surprising and encouraging signs concerning urban distribution patterns. Instead of urban growth becoming more concentrated in Nairobi as most analysis had predicted, the reverse occurred between 1969 and 1979. Nairobi's growth rate of 5% is not high for a major city in a developing country and Mombasa's rate of 3.3% is lower than the population growth rate. What is encouraging is that the secondary cities grew at 7.4%, a rate which will double their population in ten years (WB USP).

The significant shift towards secondary cities, i.e. those 20,000 to 100,000 in population, is evidenced by the fact that these cities

increased their share of the urban population between 1969 and 1979 from 7% to 25%. In the same period, the three largest cities of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu (over 100,000) decreased their share from 70% to 57%.

"What appears to have been more important in determining urban growth during the period 1969-1979 is the strong rural-urban linkages in Kenya's economy, which has focused migration more into secondary towns" (WB USP p.101).

A yet unpublished World Bank/ Urban Sector Paper predicts a shift away from the large urban centers by the year 2000. It estimates that Nairobi's share of the urban population will decrease from its current level of 42% to 27%, Mombasa from 15% to 8% and the other existing centers will increase from 49% to 59%. In addition, new urban centers will account for 6%. Yet, the large concentrations of urban residents and the resulting number of urban poor is still a problem to contend with in Nairobi and other large cities. It is estimated that Nairobi could have a population of 2.3 million and Mombasa 700,000 by the end of the century.

The overall trend towards urbanization is difficult to dispute when conditions in the rural areas are understood. Already there are signs that the densely populated agricultural areas are nearing their capacity to absorb higher population levels. The scarcity of good productive farm land is one of the major problems, with only 9.6% of the agricultural land classified as high and medium potential.

The opportunity of migrating to marginal land has its limitations. "Government development strategy now stresses marginal land for development as a means to support the growing rural population. Preliminary estimates show that agricultural production in the marginal/semi-arid areas has been increasing at 1.5% per annum, whereas population has been growing at the rate of at least 3.5% per annum. As a result, farmers and pastoralists have been

dependent on outside help for food, often in the form of government relief." (KPD p. 57).

Harry Richardson, in an article about Kenya's urban development in the 1980s, comments on the rural land issue. "Land and population are out of balance, and there are only three areas of the country with the potential of absorbing more people than generated by their own natural increases..the rural population surplus from other areas over the next ten years will amount to 10 million. Even if rural-rural migration to these high-fertility regions could absorb about 3.5 million, the only course for the remaining 6.5 million would be to migrate to urban areas." Richardson goes on to say that these figures are optimistic and are based on changes in agricultural technology, institutional reforms, land tenure, and acceptable levels of rural incomes. If these changes do not occur, rural-urban migration could rise as high as 11 to 12 million. Richardson adds, "The upshot of this is that some kind of urban development strategy is critical, regardless of how rural-oriented spatial strategies are."

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Kenya's economy, one of the most industrialized in East Africa, has taken a downturn from its healthy performance before the early 1970s. Buffeted by fluctuations in international prices for agricultural export goods, rising energy prices, the worldwide recession, and the dissolving of the East African Community, the real gross domestic product (GDP) declined from 6.6% from 1964 to 1973 to 4.7% between 1974 and 1980. In 1981, the rate dropped to an estimated 3% and the per capita GDP had declined in the last three years (CDSS).

While there has been a steady transformation of the economy away from agriculture, agriculture still employed 78% of the labor force in

1979. Industrial production, which grew at an annual rate of 10% during the 1970s, did so under a policy of protection for import substitution industries. This has been a costly policy for the country. Aside from the inefficient production methods which often turn out inferior goods, this policy promotes the concentration of manufacturing in the major urban centers and offers limited wage employment. For example, wage employment in manufacturing was estimated at only 95,000 in 1977 with 98% of it concentrated in urban areas. Nairobi's share was 50% (Quarterly Economic Report -- QER -- 1980).

Overall, wage employment in all sectors of the economy has not kept pace with the growing labor force. For example, between 1974 and 1980, wage employment grew by 3.3 p.a. while the labor force grew at 4.1% (1982 CDSS). In 1980, it was estimated that only 15.2% of Kenya's labor force was engaged in wage employment of any kind (CDSS). In the future, the ability of the modern sector to provide employment in large numbers is not very encouraging. It is estimated that even under optimum economic growth projections, total employment in the wage sector will only be 26% in 1990 and 38% by the year 2000 (KPD). "Even under assumptions of future adjustment in real wages in the formal sector and rapid economic growth, the relative size of wage sector employment is not expected to dominate, given the continued rapid increase of working age population. In other words, a large section of the increment of the labor force will have to go into low-wage informal sector, or traditional agriculture, or be unemployed" (KPD, p. 75). "If the population growth does slow down significantly by the turn of the century, agricultural employment just cannot cope with the increase in labor force" (KPD, p.77).

It is interesting to note that in a 1974/75 survey, a significant proportion of smallholder household income in all the provinces (an average of

43%) came from off-farm sources. These included "non-farm operating surplus," regular and periodic employment, remittances and other gifts. A 1977 rural non-farm employment survey documented the following types of activities: natural resource extraction; manufacturing food and beverages; manufacturing wood and metal products; wholesale and retail trade; clothing and furniture repair; and the provision of food, lodging, transport and other services (CDSS). These extensive economic activities in non-farm employment are another indication of the strong rural-urban linkages which exist in Kenya. Given the constraints of both the farm and modern sectors to absorb the growing labor force, estimated to reach 12 million by the year 2000 (KPD), non-farm employment opportunities can contribute to closing the employment gap and help slow down rural to urban migration.

URBAN CONDITIONS

"Nairobi, one of the largest cities in East Africa, has become a classic example of urban dualism, with sophisticated commercial and industrial sectors on the one hand and sprawling squatter settlements on the other. The Mathare Valley and Kauangware--two of the largest settlements--have combined populations of over 150,000" (PISCES Studies 1981).

While the majority of Kenya's poor live in rural areas, the growth of the urban population and the resulting number of urban poor has become a major problem. It is in Nairobi that the plight of the urban poor was brought to the attention of the development community through the 1972 ILO study. A more recent ILO study in 1979 emphasized that urban poverty is still very prevalent in Kenya. "The problem of urban poverty is significant. There are about 287,000 urban households (1976 data) including those of unskilled modern sector wage earners, as well as informal sector employees and the unemployed which certainly put them below the urban poverty consumption line of Shs. 5,610" (ILO p.42).

Nutrition levels for this group are also below the urban poverty line standard and the majority cannot afford unsubsidized serviced plots.

The presence of a dual urban economy is reflected in income distribution figures. According to Richardson, in Nairobi, 20% of the households receive 55% to 60% of total income while the bottom 20% receive only 3.5%. Richardson notes, "The incidence of poverty (say wage earners with less than 200 shillings per month) in Nairobi is more than two and a half times greater than in Mombasa, and eight times greater than in the next four largest towns."

So, while Nairobi has a higher average income than the other urban centers, this is more a reflection of the presence of a high income minority rather than an equitably broad-based income distribution pattern. In fact, Richardson comments that for the poorest 20% in Nairobi, the income difference in wages from the typical rural household is very small when the 70% higher living costs and 25% unemployment rate are accounted for. In addition, another study noted that while the real income of the bottom 40% in Nairobi rose in absolute figures between 1963 and 1974, the income share for this group declined. This is a further reflection of the continuing growth in unequal income distribution patterns in Nairobi.

The growth of squatter settlements and slums and the rise in the informal sector economy are indications of the inability to close the gap between the supply and demand for housing, services, and employment. "While rural housing conditions are inadequate, the group which is at the core of the housing problem is the urban poor--the 35% of urban households living in squatter settlements and slums or the 25% who do not earn enough to afford acceptable housing of any kind" (ILO p.84). In 1978, it was estimated that 65,000 or 38% of Nairobi's housing stock lived in uncontrolled or illegal housing. In other cities such as Kisumu, 40 to 45% of the population lived in unapproved housing in 1976, and in Mombasa, at least 37% of the housing stock was classified as "unplanned temporary" in 1969 (Kenya

Shelter Sector Study--KSSS--1979).

The "working poor" is used to describe Kenya's low-income urban residents who are often working in the informal sector. The growth of the informal sector is spurred by the lack of employment opportunities for formal wage employment in the country's cities, especially for the young trying to enter the tight urban labor market. Compared with a 41% increase in the population in municipalities between 1969 and 1974, there was only a 26% increase in formal sector jobs (KSSS). In a 1978 survey of the labor force, urban unemployment was estimated at 6.8% for men and 6.4% for women, "although a substantial proportion of persons having a job but not working on the survey day may well have included some who would better be considered unemployed or partially employed" (CDSS p.27). The potential of the informal sector to act as a relief valve for the tight urban labor market has diminished in recent years with the slow down in the formal sector economy. According to a 1979 survey by Collier and Lal (WB, 1979) of the informal sector in Nairobi, the growth of this sector has been much slower and its potential for employment much less than what was indicated in the 1972 ILO report.

The 1984 CDSS sums up the urban situation in Kenya in the following manner. "A disproportionately large share of these poor (urban) are represented by young, unskilled males seeking wage employment and with a high rate of household formation in urban areas as a whole, urban unemployment, underemployment, and poverty can be expected to grow."

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Fourth Development Plan (1979-83) is Kenya's attempt to promote growth with equity. The equity problem has become a significant concern as the benefits of economic growth have primarily benefited a minority of the population. "Although the new Kenya has enjoyed fairly rapid economic growth and political stability...some observers have suggested that the overall growth has not been

accompanied by equally significant improvements of the living standards of the majority of the people" (KPD). The current plan, in reaction to this problem, stresses economic growth by increasing income-earning opportunities to purchase basic needs goods.

The expenditures in the 1980 government budget show that the government is emphasizing the provision of basic needs. For example, education is the largest single item in the budget, accounting for 19%. Health accounted for 5% and housing and community welfare 2%. Economic support services to agriculture were 11%, followed by roads at 6%. The rest of the budget is taken up by general administration, department servicing and the military (CDSS).

In terms of housing, the plan estimates that 290,000 houses will be required during the planning period: 140,000 to make up for the shortage and 150,000 to accommodate new households. It is estimated that only half, or 75,000, of this projected need can be provided through the combination of donor, government, and private sector efforts (KSSS).

Regarding long-term urban development strategies, the identification of growth centers to offset the polarization of growth towards Nairobi has been a part of the national urban strategy since the Second Development Plan. As of the Third Plan, there were 9 centers identified. The recently documented population shift towards secondary cities and towns increased the chances of this policy moving from a "paper plan" to one which can be implemented. The new census data shows that "in an economy with strong rural-urban linkages such as Kenya, urban migration appears to have occurred more on a regional basis than on a national basis...the main implication for urban policy is that the newer data argue for a widespread strengthening of secondary cities rather than a concentration on a very limited number of growth centers" (WB USP p.105).

In its development planning, the government is encouraging resource-based

industries. These industries can be located away from the main urban centers, provide critical non-farm employment and strengthen rural-urban linkages. Another government policy is to begin to remove the protective laws and regulations for the import-substitution industries. In the long run, this will help to discourage a further concentration of industries in the main urban centers and also have the beneficial effect of encouraging the growth of smaller-scale, labor-intensive enterprises which find it difficult to economically compete with these protected industries. In addition, there are indications that the government will allow farmers to receive more for their agricultural products which will increase incomes in the rural areas.

CONCLUSION

The shift in Kenya's population towards the secondary centers permits a more optimistic view of how the country can manage its urban growth. Considering the existing conditions in the agricultural sector and its future limitations in absorbing the growing labor force, a development strategy that is narrowly focused only on increasing the productivity of the small landholder is a short-sighted policy. It is ironic that Kenyans, by their migration to smaller urban centers, have shown the importance of these centers in absorbing rural-urban migration. Up to recently, many development strategies put forth by international development agencies have been myopic in that they view urban and rural as two separate categories and forget the opportunities that exist to strengthen rural-urban linkages through a decentralized urban strategy.

AID OPTIONS

During the last decade in Kenya, donor agencies have been involved in major urban programs, principally in housing. Both USAID and the World Bank have undertaken large-scale housing programs in Nairobi and, in a more limited number, in secondary cities.

With USAID's long history of urban-related projects in Kenya, its current urban programs have had the opportunity to evolve to the point of being more integrated into the agency's overall development efforts than in other African countries. In an annex to the 1982 CDSS, a very detailed description of how the Housing Guarantee (HG) Program is integrated into the "dollar funded" programs could serve as a model on how the agency can treat a country's urban sector as an integral part of development efforts.

While housing is an important part of USAID urban projects in Kenya, the program now has a much wider focus. Health care, employment generation, community facilities, water and sanitation, transportation, and the encouragement of farm to market linkages are all mentioned as part of the agency's urban programs.

Projects such as the PISCES program and the most recent HG projects are further examples of how the agency has broadened its urban-related development efforts. The PISCES program is showing how a relatively large-scale effort can be made to assist the informal sector by supporting small-scale enterprises. It has the additional benefit of working through an existing private development organization, the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK).

The new HG programs are progressively moving away from the larger urban centers into smaller secondary cities and towns with populations of 5,000 to 15,000. These new programs will work in three basic areas-- urban and municipal management; urban housing, infrastructure and services; and income generation and support to small businesses. Stated objectives of the

program are to increase the level of participation, choose projects based on priorities determined by local authorities, encourage the private sector by helping small businesses, and use the private sector in housing construction.

This more flexible approach to donor lending is a welcome change from the very specific project orientation of the past. Projects with a single objective have the tendency to limit funds available for locally defined and urgently needed projects which do not attract donor attention. One encouraging note: as opposed to the customary lack of coordination between international donor agencies, this HG project in Kenya is part of a larger program in secondary cities, in which USAID is collaborating with the World Bank and the British Overseas Development Administration.

In regards to promoting the construction industry, one strategy which could be adapted for use in Kenya is the "Production Systems" approach used in an agency-sponsored project in Lesotho. Production Systems is the name given to a building and home furnishing industry which was part of a housing project in Maseru, Lesotho. The success of this project in terms of establishing a local building supply industry which is providing quality products at a competitive price, while at the same time providing jobs, underscores the importance of encouraging self-sustaining industries related to the shelter sector.

The importance of municipal training in these new projects should not be underestimated. Past HG housing projects in Kenya have had implementation problems due to the inability of the implementing government agencies to handle large projects. This emphasizes the importance of making sure that the local government agencies have the capability to meet the technical and administrative demands to implement projects and maintain the required services.

In conclusion, USAID's urban initiatives are moving in the right direction in Kenya. The agency is expanding its urban programs beyond housing, sup-

porting the government's decentralization policies, and using a more flexible approach in developing programs. The use of PVO's such as the NCKK, the integration of the HG programs with dollar-funded projects, and the cooperation with other agencies are examples of how the agency, through planning and coordination, can make better use of limited funds for urban programs. USAID should continue to support these programs, and learn through their implementation if these approaches can be used in other Sub-Saharan countries.

One word of caution should be noted concerning the development of private enterprise (PE) projects in Kenya. Because these projects will often be located in urban areas where skilled labor, infrastructure and a market exist, efforts to promote PE projects should ensure that these projects support the government's spatial decentralization policies; are targeted to the growing number of urban poor and unemployed; and that any external impacts to local government, e.g., the increased need for services, be recognized and planned for.

SUDAN

INTRODUCTION

"Khartoum itself, crowded with people who have left Sudan's agricultural villages, is a measure of the country's disarray. Even in the center of town, paved roads and autos quickly give way to dusty side streets. Frequent power failures hamper many enterprises. And the population explosion has produced a crime wave" (Wall Street Journal 10/13/81).

This description of Khartoum only begins to depict the problems facing Sudan's urban areas. The country's cities and towns are characterized by deteriorating infrastructure and services and growing poverty. A debilitated economy, lack of foreign exchange, and a shortage of qualified municipal personnel prevent the government from administering even basic urban services. While the problems of inadequate shelter, water, sanitation and other services are most severe in Khartoum, similar conditions exist in other rapidly growing secondary cities. These conditions not only cause intolerable living situations for the poor, but also hinder the economic growth so desperately needed to revive the depressed economy.

POPULATION MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

In the twenty years from 1960 to 1980, Sudan's urban population increased from 10% of the population in 1960 to 25% in 1980. Given this country's population of 17.9 million in 1980, this represents a considerably large urban population of approximately 4,475,000 urban residents. The country's urban population has been growing faster than both the rural and natural population rates. From 1970 to 1980, the urban population grew at an annual rate of 6.8% while the natural population growth rate was 3.8%. The rapid growth of Sudan's urban population becomes more apparent when compared to the population growth rate in rural areas. In 1978, the urban growth rate was estimated at 7.8% while the rural rate was significantly lower at 1.5%. Estimates of growth to 1985 show this gap between urban and rural areas continuing, with urban growth increasing at a rate of 6.9% versus the rural rate of 1.2% (Sudan Shelter Sector Assessment--SSSA--1978).

By 1985, it is estimated, 31% of the population will be urban. U.N. projections predict that, by the end of the century, the urban population level will reach 42.5% or approximately 13 million urban residents out of a total estimated population of 31 million. Even if the UN projections are high, this represents a tremendous increase in the urban population from the current level. In a country such as the Sudan, which is already reeling under incredible development obstacles and political difficulties, strategies to guide urban growth and provide adequate employment, housing and services will be difficult at best.

Urban population distribution is difficult to determine because of poor demographic data, with the most recent comprehensive data coming from the 1973 census. Updated population estimates occur for a few specific cities and in most cases are determined by estimated and not actual growth rates.

The largest urban area by far is the Khartoum metropolitan area. In 1980, an estimated 31% of the country's total urban population lived in this area which comprises the three cities of Khartoum, Omderman, and Khartoum North. In 1979, the population within the official city boundaries was estimated at just over 1.4 million. Projections show that by 1990 the population could more than double to 2.5 million and, by 2000, double again to over 5 million (SSSA 1978).

Other than Khartoum, there were three other cities with populations over 100,000 in 1973. They were: Port Sudan (135,000); Wad Medani (118,000); and Kassala (100,000). The fourth largest city at that time was El Obeid with a population of 92,000. These four largest cities are located in the central or northeastern regions of the country. In the southern region, two cities, Juba and Wau, grew from small towns of under 20,000 in 1964/66 to smaller cities with populations between fifty and sixty thousand in 1973.

More recent estimates for the secondary cities of Juba, El Obeid and Port Sudan indicate that these three cities have grown rapidly since 1973. In 1978, Juba's population increased to 90,000, El Obeid's to 107,000, and Port Sudan's ranged from 300,000 to 400,000 according to a town planning official in 1979. Port Sudan's rapid growth was due to the influx of refugees, migration from rural areas, and government investment in port facilities and expanded manufacturing activity. Growth in other urban centers is difficult to determine because no recent population figures are available.

What is known is that the country's urban population is increasing at a faster rate than the government is able to plan for or accomodate the increasing number of poor. What is not really known other than by relative judgements is where this growth is occurring. For example, while Khartoum has been growing, its relative share of the urban population has only increased one percentage point since 1960. An estimate of the city's growth rate in 1979 was 5.3%. This would indicate that the urban population is also growing rapidly in the other cities.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Of the countries studied in this report, Sudan's economic situation is the most severe. Declining productivity in agriculture and industry, a heavy foreign debt, and the lack of foreign exchange have forced the government to constantly operate in a short-term crisis mode, both politically and economically. Many observers see the desperate state of the economy as the main potential source of instability in Sudan.

In urban areas, the present state of the economy creates a series of hard choices for the government. Trade-offs exist between efforts to stabilize the economy and get it growing again and efforts to provide basic needs for the growing population of urban poor. For example, in January 1982, when the government began to lift food subsidies on items such as wheat, sugar and flour in accordance with IMF austerity measures, demonstrations broke out in Khartoum for four consecutive days. "Chanting slogans against Numeiri, the World Bank and the United States, demonstrators burned 120 shops and threw bricks and Molotov cocktails at security forces" (African News, Jan. 12, 1982). Similar demonstrations occurred in other northern cities. In Khartoum, four universities and all the public schools were closed because of the riots. "The crux of the demographic issue is the growing urbanization of Sudan's growing population and the concomitant surging demand for public service and jobs which the economy is unable to meet... Unless the explosive growth of the urban population can be stabilized, resources needed to increase productivity will have to be allocated to basic services to accomodate new urban dwellers" (1982 CDSS p.56).

The fiscal crisis faced by the government also directly affects the regional and local governments who receive up to 80% of their budget allocations from the central government. Unable to collect new taxes, these local and regional governments have had to restrict services and essential maintenance of urban infrastructure despite

the growing urban population.

One of the many crisis areas for the economy is the agriculture sector. Employing 78% of the labor force in 1979, agriculture accounts for 95% of the export earnings, primarily through cotton. From 1970 to 1980, cotton production fell 42%. While yields for wheat and sugar increased in this period, they were not enough to meet increasing domestic demand, requiring additional imports which has contributed to the country's balance of payments deficit (CDSS).

The government and major donors are now concentrating on agriculture projects to rehabilitate the infrastructure of the modern irrigated agricultural areas. Hopefully, this will increase the production of export crops to help Sudan improve its foreign exchange difficulties. This strategy will not increase any acreage under cultivation but try to improve the productivity of the existing areas. The implications in terms of rural-urban migration are that the agricultural sector cannot be seen as an area to absorb major growth in the rural labor force, consequently continuing the trend of rural to urban migration.

Industry, which employed 10% of the labor force in 1979, is also feeling the effect of the economic crisis. Power shortages cut back on production, and foreign exchange difficulties cause shortages in spare parts and other industrial inputs. Despite an annual growth rate in industrial production between 1970 and 1979 of 3.3%, industry's share of the GDP declined between 1960 and 1979, from 15% to 13% (ADSA). This is a reflection of the large investments the government

put into industrial and manufacturing schemes which for many reasons have never produced efficiently. Currently the government is moving away from being a dominant force in industry and manufacturing and trying to encourage greater private sector efforts in this area.

Yet given the current economic crisis, any large-scale expansion of industry or improvement in existing productivity to provide wage sector employment for the growing labor force is not very promising. The labor force growth rate was 2.4% from 1970 to 1980 and is predicted to be 2.7% from 1980 to 2000 (ADSA)**.

The service sector was the fastest growing area of the economy during the 1970s. Growing at a rate of 12% each year in this period, it comprised 49% of the GDP in 1979. Within the urban areas such as Khartoum, the service sector is an important source of employment.

Given the constraints faced by agriculture and industry, the service sector will most likely continue to absorb new employment. Within the urban areas, this is even more the case, especially in the informal sector. Yet even the ability of services to absorb new employment will be limited due to the constraints faced by the overall economy.

URBAN CONDITIONS

There is a significant level of urban poverty in Sudan's cities. It is estimated that 25% of the country's urban population lives below the relative urban poverty line (Antoniou 1979). In 1980, 25% of the urban population would mean that at least 1.1 million urban residents can be defined as the "urban poor."

The incidence of poverty within individual cities is difficult to determine because the criteria to measure urban poverty vary from study to study. For example, in the Khartoum area, the percentage of persons living below the poverty level in 1979 ranges from 24% to 40%.* Using the lower estimate, in 1979, at least 250,000 of Khartoum's urban resi-

* The 1980 CDSS estimates 40%; a 1979 World Bank consultants study estimates 24%.

** Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, An Agenda For Action, World Bank, 1981.

dents can be considered as the "urban poor." Within some squatter communities in the city, it is not uncommon to find upwards of 90% of the urban residents in this category. In the city of El Obeid, it is estimated that 30% of the population can be considered as living below the poverty line (Antoniou 1979).

In 1978, it was estimated that there were 72,000 squatter households in the country. The growth of these communities and the urban poor in general comes at a time when the municipal and central governments even find it difficult to deliver services such as sanitation, electricity, and water to the more wealthy and also for industrial and commercial users. A review of the current state of public services and living conditions reveals that the existing level of services and housing is already far short of the demand. Future growth will only make matters worse.

The growth of Sudan's cities is best seen in the growth of unplanned squatter communities. Often these areas spring up outside city boundaries making it difficult and expensive to supply them with services.

The government classifies housing in five categories. Classes I, II, and III have different levels of minimum building standards and generally have access to services. Class IV housing has no standards aside from plot size and no services other than water via standpipes. The last unofficial category is the unplanned or squatter communities. It is these last two categories which have been growing rapidly. In 1978 for example, an estimated 81% of Port Sudan's housing stock was in Class IV or squatter communities (SSSA). An article on housing conditions in this city in SUDANOW (July 1980) noted that 138,000 people or 24,000 households were living outside the city in squatter communities without any services. "Packed squatter settlements have grown up,

largely comprising one-roomed shacks built from debris found lying around the port. These are densely populated, being clustered around whatever services are available within easy access of potential employment"(ARABIA 3/82 p.71). In Juba, an estimated 89% of the housing stock in 1978 was in the Class IV or squatter categories.

For Khartoum, recent estimates on the housing conditions are not available. In 1973, 18% of the housing stock was in the Class IV and squatter settlements. Since that time, the city has experienced the growth of large squatter settlements, some with populations of 50,000 and 70,000 where 80 to 90% of the residents are living below the urban poverty line in 1979.

In the future, the majority of new housing will occur in the greater Khartoum metropolitan area, with an estimated 114,400 new households being formed between 1978 and 1985. Other large concentrations are predicted for the cities of Fort Sudan (48,400), Kassala (11,900), Juba (10,400) and Nyala (17,000) (SSSA). So while the largest growth in housing is predicted for Sudan's major city, there will also be increases in the smaller urban centers.

In the Khartoum area, an estimated 70% of the 250,000 urban poor do not have direct access to water (Antoniou). In many cases, the city's poor obtain water from vendors at a higher price for lower quality water than upper income residents who have direct access to water. Some of the poorer communities have to rely on canals to obtain their water. In El Obeid, an estimated 27,000 people are without direct access to water and have to rely on vendors or walk long distances for water. Existing water kiosks and standpipes lack adequate pressure and water is only available at certain times of the day. In Port Sudan, the rapid increase in population along with the expansion of port facilities and other industries has caused

a severe water shortage. For poorer residents, obtaining water at one of the city's 270 water points entails long waits. As few as forty were in use at one time due to low water pressures (SUDANOW Aug 1978). The lack of water has also had a direct effect on industry. New textile plants have had to delay operations and existing plants have had to limit production. Even as new sources of water are being found, municipal water officials worry that the old water mains will require increased maintenance to prevent the existing loss of up to 25% of the water from the system through leaks. In Juba, the combination of poor water quality and low quantities makes water availability especially difficult for the poor residents.

Sanitary facilities are non-existent in many squatter communities. In Khartoum, the only city in Sudan served by a central sewerage facility, less than 30% of the population is served by this system. Overall, it is estimated that less than half of the households in the city have some type of sanitary disposal system and in many cases people relieve themselves on the surrounding land. In El Obeid, the sanitary facilities are considered a hazard to public health. In Port Sudan, where an estimated 138,000 people live in squatter settlements, the Ministry of Health, unable to empty the public latrines in these communities as fast as they were being filled, resorted to burning them down at one point (SUDANOW July 1980). The only service that these residents currently receive is public water.

The increasing demands from industrial, residential and agricultural needs have strained the power-generating facilities in Sudan's cities. There is no margin of reserve in the system which necessitates frequent blackouts. In many cases, the urban poor are not provided electricity. For industry, the shortages have resulted in loss of production and increased costs from importing and maintaining self-generating capacities. In Khartoum, textile factories lost an average of 110 days of production in 1980 due to power outages (1982 CDSS p.42). Electrical production, especially the

upgrading of the Blue Nile Grid, is an important priority for the government in terms of its own energy budget and also donor funds.

"The Fight to Get On," a 1980 article in SUDANOW, captures the essence of the urban transportation problem in Khartoum. Roads are deteriorating, huge potholes abound, finances are short for maintenance, and foreign exchange problems make it difficult to import spare parts for buses. The same article noted that the amount of money received for maintenance and development of the city's roads was far lower in real terms than what was allocated in the 1960s. The city's public transport system, which had 445 buses in service in 1977, only had an estimated 140 in operation in April of 1980. Buses were returned to service only after a technical assistance grant from the Federal Republic of Germany provided 1.5 million dollars to import the required spare parts. In 1979, there were an estimated 3,300 Bakassi, Toyota pick-up trucks converted to carry passengers. This one relief valve to the public transportation dilemma for the city has come under government restrictions which have limited their growth. In other large cities such as Port Sudan, many people, especially squatters, have to walk long distances to get to work.

The ability of local governments to provide services is severely hampered by the lack of fiscal resources. Most taxes are collected by the central government and then returned to the local municipalities. The returns are never enough, and local and national priorities often differ. For example, in Port Sudan, the national government programs to expand the port and to promote manufacturing activities in the province have created demands for increased services while the local authorities received little additional financial support.

It is difficult to assess the current urban labor situation because of inadequate information. In Khartoum, the most recent comprehensive data are

from a 1974 ILO/UNDP household survey. In that survey, a high percentage of the labor force, 46%, was in the public sector. This is a reflection of the large number of government offices and other institutions present in the city. Other categories in the survey were "private sector enterprise," which accounted for 32.4% of the labor force, and "self-employed," which made up the remaining 21.8%. In terms of the level of informal sector activity, a housing study done by the Cooperative Housing Foundation in 1979 noted that an estimated 20 to 25% of the labor force was in this sector. These included: "small craftsmen and repairmen, retailers and vendors, a large contingent of service workers and day laborers" (CHF p.18). The ILO survey estimated that the unemployment level was 5.3% in 1974.

Overall, it is probably safe to say that the current employment situation in Sudan's cities is unknown. With the economy faltering and the continued growth of the urban population, it is difficult to believe that the public and private wage sector has been or will be able to absorb large numbers of the growing urban labor force. This leaves the informal sector to provide additional employment in the future. Unfortunately, because current information is lacking in terms of employment prospects in urban areas, it is difficult to predict what the informal sector, or any other sectors of the urban economy, can provide in terms of future employment opportunities.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The 1981/82 government budget reflects a major switch of economic resources into development investment according to an article analyzing the budget in SUDANOW in July 1981. "The marked switch of resources (from the previous budgets) into infrastructure and development investments are best understood in light of the very inadequate levels of both industrial and agricultural productivity in the national economy, particularly in the public sector" (SUDANOW July 1981).

Of the total estimated budget of £ 1,561 million, some £ 600 million are slated for development projects. The highest priority is for energy development, £ 120 million, almost all of which is for expansion of the Blue Nile Grid. Agriculture, which will receive £ 105 million, primarily for the government's contribution to donor programs for rehabilitating the modern irrigated agricultural sector. "The money will go solely to the improvement of the capital stock and the purchase of new equipment. No attempt will be made under this scheme to expand the acreage under cultivation" (SUDANOW). The other major areas in the development budget include: transport and communications (£ 89 million); services sector (£ 44 million); industrial sector (£ 33 million); and £ 27 million for reserves. £ 125 million will go to the "self-financing institutions" such as the Sudan Railways and other public institutions such as telecommunications, sea ports and Sudan Airways.

The article noted that special efforts are being made to transfer economic resources to small, private businessmen and farmers "clearly regarded by the government as the most productive and efficient element of the national economy." An estimated £ 16 million will be allocated to do this through specialized banks who work with industries, agricultural concerns, and cooperative ventures.

While it is difficult to assess what the implications of the development priorities are for urban areas without a better breakdown of the investments, it seems that some of the investments will encourage, not discourage, further urban concentration. For example, the expansion of the existing Blue Nile Grid will further industrial and manufacturing activities in an area which already is the most urbanized in the country. With almost all of the agricultural budget going into improving existing modern irrigated schemes, no new acreage will be developed to provide for future increases in rural employment opportunities nor will the marginal farmer receive help.

bably not forthcoming from national resources. In fact, faced with the need to turn the desperate economic situation around through "productive investments," the government's current development priorities will most likely increase the pressures for urbanization.

Given these conditions, the government will need outside development assistance to help alleviate the conditions of the urban poor. Low-cost solutions to the problems such as shelter, water, and sanitation are urgently needed at the moment. This is especially the case in Khartoum but also in secondary cities such as Port Sudan which have been growing rapidly in recent years.

AID OPTIONS

"The strategy is not directed at a distant 'target population' but rather a very sick target economy" (FY 84 CDSS p.69). Taken from the FY 84 CDSS, this quote summarizes the agency's immediate strategy in Sudan: to stabilize the national economy and offer relief to the balance of payments deficit. As noted earlier, urban areas are benefiting from these programs. Urban consumers are the primary beneficiaries of PL 480 funds and urban-based businesses and industries benefit from the favorable exchange rates made possible by CIP funds. These balance of payment support measures will form the bulk of AID's planned assistance through 1988. As such, AID is providing substantial assistance to urban areas even though it has no urban program per se. Given the large amount of funds designated for these programs, a greater understanding of who the beneficiaries are, how the urban poor will benefit, and what are the long-range impacts on urban development is needed. In the long run, AID assistance might be encouraging greater urbanization while at the same time urban living conditions are continually deteriorating.

AID has given assistance in a limited way for specific urban projects

in the past. For example, it funded water supply projects in Port Sudan and Wadi Halfa. In addition, a Shelter Sector Assessment was completed in 1978. Aside from a possible HG loan which the Sudan government has expressed interest in, there are no other "urban programs" planned for in the future.

To help the country's urban areas, AID should develop programs which integrate urban projects with dollar funded programs. For example, by mixing ESF funding with HG loans, sorely needed housing programs and urban development projects could be provided. The use of grant programs such as the Integrated Program for the Urban Poor could also be applied in Sudan.

Training in municipal management and the development of mechanisms to generate local revenue are critical to improving the capability of local urban authorities to cope with urban growth. In housing and urban development programs, participation and low-cost housing construction techniques should be stressed to lower costs. Given the extensive presence of existing squatter communities in the larger cities, community upgrading approaches should be used as much as possible as this method is less expensive than sites and services projects and also minimizes the relocation of residents.

In conclusion, Sudan's urban problems cannot be solved easily. Financial resources alone will not help alleviate the deeply entrenched economic, political and administrative constraints which are making development efforts so difficult. Yet the considerable experience USAID has acquired in urban development programs could provide valuable assistance in Sudan's cities. It can also use these available resources to direct existing assistance which is affecting urban areas towards solving long-range urban problems.

CAMEROON

INTRODUCTION

Cameroon, like other Sub-Saharan countries, is experiencing rapid urbanization. Accompanying the growth in the size of the urban population, conditions of poverty are becoming more prevalent. Yet Cameroon is fortunate; The national economy is healthy; Future revenues from oil production will help to ensure a continued stable economic base. What is important for Cameroon, is that the growing number of urban poor, who have been neglected in the past, have access to basic services and that they obtain employment which intergrates them into the mainstream of the economy.

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

A country of 8.2 million people in 1979, Cameroon's urban growth rate was one of the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1970s. In this period, the annual urban growth rate was 7.5%, the Sub-Saharan average was 5.9% and the rate for middle-income countries in the region was 3.8%. In addition, urban growth is outpacing natural population growth (2.2%) by a substantial 5.3% (ADSA 1981).

The steady transformation from a rural to urban society is evident in the increased levels of urbanization during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1960, 14% of the population was considered urban, by 1976, it increased to 27% or 2.1 million urban residents. The most recent figures indicate that in 1980, nearly a third (31%) or 2.56 million of the population was urbanized (Cooperstock). With U.N. projections estimating an urban population of 7.3 million or 56% of the population in 2000, Cameroon's urban areas will have to absorb nearly five million residents by the end of the century.

Cameroon has two major cities. Yaounde, the capital, had a population of 350,000 in 1980. Douala, the commercial center and main port, had 500,000 residents in the same year. Yaounde has been growing at an annual rate of 12% to 15% in recent years and Douala at a slightly slower pace (PISCES Studies 1981). It is between these two cities that the country's main urban axis exists and the economy is strongest.

There are other large cities and towns which, in 1976, had populations ranging from 50,000 to 70,000. These included: Nkogsome; Garoua; Moroua; Bafasson; Kumba; and Victoria. The existence of these relatively larger secondary cities and the two major urban centers, has helped the country avoid the typical urban distribution pattern in many developing countries of one large "primate city" where a majority of the urban population lives.

In fact, the percentage of urban population living in the largest city of Douala decreased between 1960 and 1980 from 26% to 21%. This is opposite to the trend for the Sub-Saharan region where the largest city's share of the population increased from 23% to 34% for the same years (ADSA).

In a 1981 study of possible urban initiatives for AID in Cameroon, Aryeh Cooperstock of Rivikin Associates notes that the secondary cities of Foumban, Nkongsomba, Loum and Victoria in the western part of the country "are located in one of the fastest growing and industrializing parts of the country."

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Cameroon is somewhat unique in an African context. It is one of the few countries to emerge from independence to the present with a healthy economy and a stable political system. From 1970 to 1979, the gross domestic product grew by an average of 5.4%, a rate considerably higher than the Sub-Saharan average of 2.9%. Unlike many of its neighbors, its political leadership has been constant and the country has avoided civil wars, coups and military dictatorships.

It is a country characterized by a wide range of climatic zones, ecological conditions, population densities, ethnic and cultural traditions and contains both anglophone and francophone regions.

Development planning efforts have been relatively well planned and managed and the government has generally kept expenditures within revenues. It is also fortunate in that its export economy does not hinge on one crop or mineral. Substantial development capital and foreign assistance has flowed into the country -- a reflection of attractive foreign investment policies and the stable government. For example, the per capita level of total recorded net flow of resources into the country was \$ 68.20 in 1979 -- the Sub-Saharan average was \$ 24.60 (ADSA). More recently, the discovery of oil has helped

cushion the shocks of the downturn in the world economy and significantly altered the export base. In 1977/78, 77% of the export earnings came from agriculture while oil only provided 1%. By 1979/80, agriculture decreased to 50% and oil rose to 28% (WB Jan 1982).

Despite the discovery of oil, agriculture remains an important element in the national economy, employing 83% of the labor force in 1979. Basic food crop production has been increasing at a rate of 4 to 7% annually, faster than the population growth rate. Demand from Gabon, Nigeria and Cameroon's urban areas has provided the stimulus for this growth (1982 CDSS). According to the AID country mission, the source of rural poverty, estimated to include 40% of the rural population or 2.2 million persons living below the absolute poverty level in 1976 (WB June 1981), is not based on poor government policies, but on "bottlenecks" in transport, marketing, distribution and storage. It is estimated that in 1976, there were 64,000 persons looking for work in rural areas (CDSS).

The contribution of the formal sector to the economy, while growing, is limited in terms of employment. In 1976, only 9% of the economically active population or 345,000 persons, were classified as salary and wage earners. Industrial employment is even more limited, amounting to approximately 106,500 employees of which 75% were located in the Douala coastal region (QER 1980).

One positive aspect of the manufacturing and industrial sector, is that the products are primarily based on domestic inputs with a large portion going to neighboring Udec states. The location of these resource-based industries can be flexible as they are not tied to a large, urban domestic market or urban services. For example, the government is establishing agro-processing plants in rural areas which will include: palm oil extrac-

tion; sugar refining; flour mills; fruit canneries; slaughterhouses; tanneries; saw mills; and a paper processing plant. It is estimated that these projects will provide 18,000 new jobs generally in rural areas (CDSS).

By far, the largest contributor to the GDP is the service sector. While only employing 10% of the labor force in 1979, it comprised 52% of the GDP in the same year. In urban areas, this sector is even more important in providing employment. In Yaounde, in 1978, an estimated 18% of the labor force was in the service sector. The growth of services is attributed to the overall growth in the economy and increases in incomes. The importance of the service sector in providing employment, especially for the young, is evidenced by the fact that, of primary school leavers, 90% could not find jobs in the modern sector (WB June 1981).

URBAN CONDITIONS

In 1977, the estimated percentage of urban poor, or those with incomes below one-third of the national average household income was 15% or 353,000 people (WB Jan 1979). This is considered a low estimate because of inadequate data. The few reports written about urban conditions in the country note the existence of large squatter settlements in the main cities of Douala and Yaounde. For example, the squatter community of Zone Nylon in Douala has a population of over 100,000. Cooperstock writes that the neighborhoods in Northwest Yaounde "are among the poorest and the conditions among the worst found anywhere in the country or in West Africa."

The intense growth pressures experienced by urban areas are evident from a 1978 AID-sponsored survey of household characteristics in Yaounde. The report noted that in a four-year period between 1974 and 1978, the city's housing stock, population and residential areas grew by 46%. Much of this growth came from low-income residents who, as the

lowest of three income groups surveyed, grew five times faster than the middle-income group and thirty-six times the rate of the highest income group. A more recent (1981) AID study by PADCO for the Office of Housing and Urban Development indicated that in the cities of Yaounde, Douala and Garoue, which have similar residential distribution patterns for income groups, approximately 68% of the residential area was inhabited by low-income residents, 20% by middle-income and 12% by high-income residents (PADCO p.65). These relatively large portions of the residential areas used by low-income groups are a consequence of the growth and expansion of the squatter settlements. As Cooperstock writes, "Many of the new arrivals will have to be absorbed in the squatter settlements, where living conditions are congested and deplorable; and where insecurity of tenure is a constant concern and eviction and demolition constant threats." In terms of the future, Cooperstock adds, "it is further realized that it will be impossible to deal adequately with the projected growth through planned development and there will be increased densification of existing urban areas with squatter settlements continuing to proliferate." The 1981 USAID Housing Study predicts that between 1980 and 1985, spontaneous neighborhoods will grow by 392 hectares in Yaounde and 232 hectares in Douala.

Cooperstock's study goes on to paint a picture of urban areas under severe strain. "In all of the urban areas of Cameroon, basic public services--a safe and sufficient water supply, solid waste disposal--are seriously inadequate." In 1976, it was estimated that only 11% of the urban population had access to internal running water and that 47% were served by standpipes (WB Jan 1981). In Douala, water for many of the poorer residents comes from wells and springs which are often contaminated by seepage from latrines. Standpipes, which offer the safest source of water, are limited in number and in need of maintenance. In Yaounde, city

officials have, in some cases, eliminated standpipes, the primary source of water for many poor residents.

Garbage collection outside the high-income communities is inadequate and in many cases even minimal sanitation facilities do not exist. Drainage canals in the low-income areas function more as sewers than what they were originally intended for. According to Cooperstock, these water and sanitation problems not only exist in the two main cities, but also in the smaller secondary cities.

"It is unlikely that any city in Cameroon has satisfactory housing for most of the population," writes Cooperstock. Government efforts to provide housing have consistently fallen short of the planned levels, and even these levels are far below the growing demand. For example, during the Fourth Development Plan, only 1,300 of the 5,220 planned units were built. These 5,220 units represented only 6% of the projected housing need. As noted earlier, this gap between the supply and demand for adequate shelter is causing a continued growth of squatter settlements in the country's cities. Individual efforts to improve housing are often difficult to undertake because of widespread tenure problems and low incomes.

In summary, there is no doubt that basic urban services in Cameroon's urban areas are in need of improvement and upgrading. In addition, the government's ability to manage these services is under severe strain and in need of assistance. Up to the present, the condition has been that the majority of the cities' residents, the poor, have received the least amount of services while the higher income groups are getting full service. If Yaounde can be used as an example of conditions elsewhere, the findings of the 1978 AID household survey in Yaounde is an illustrative example of this problem. "A great deficit in urban services exists for Group 1 (the lowest income/household group of three) which represents 82% of the urban population

and 85% of the households. On the other hand, Group III, which makes up only 3% of the population, enjoys a very high level of services, representing no doubt a sizeable amount of public investment " (Yaounde Survey p.11).

The urban employment situation is not encouraging. One source estimates that in 1976, the urban unemployment rate was 12%, twice the national average (WB June 1981). In that same year, an estimated 60% of the urban unemployed were in the 15 to 24-year age group. A large share, 44%, of the urban working population is self-employed (WB June 1981). In a study of small-scale enterprises in Cameroon, the 1981 PISCES study noted that in Yaounde and Douala, the squatter communities contained thousands of small artisan and petty retailing businesses.

The best information on the distribution of urban employment in a particular city is provided in the 1978 AID survey of Yaounde. The survey indicated that the greatest number of jobs, 18%, were in the service sector. Within the lowest of five household groups (also the lowest income group) surveyed, the level rose to 25%. These jobs included chauffers, taxi drivers, maids, houseboys, night watchmen, cooks, and cart pushers. The incidence of casual labor among the unskilled in this group was high, with only 54% of the respondents claiming they have "steady jobs." For the lowest household group, other prominent employment categories included construction (8%), handicrafts (11%), commerce (14%), education (11%), and public services (18%).

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Despite the discovery of oil and its significant impact on national income, the government is still emphasizing agriculture and rural development in its development strategies. "Unlike many governments enjoying an oil windfall, Cameroon is not rushing into poorly appraised expenditures at the behest of foreign speculators... the share of the oil wealth is

being carefully and very discreetly managed, and is being distributed into investments in some of the less privileged parts of the country, notably Garoua and the eastern forest areas" (QER).

The proposed investments in the Fifth Development Plan (1981 to 1985) stress support to the small land holder and to agriculture and the development and expansion of agro-industries. Roads, rail and communication improvements are also a high priority. Combined, these two investments will receive an estimated 67% of the planned investments in the plan period. Industry and energy's share is small with an estimated 11%. Social investments, such as education, housing, water and sewerage, health and urban streets take up the remaining amount. "Low-cost housing, the development of the informal sector, sewerage and water facilities, road rehabilitation and maintenance are expected to be among priority areas in the urban sector" (CDSS).

The priorities in the Fifth Plan fit into the long-term growth strategies forseen by the government and the World Bank. "In view of the government and the World Bank, Cameroon's long term comparative advantage lies in the development--either through agro-processing schemes, depending on the crop or region--of a diversified agriculture sector comprising export crops as well as food crops to feed the growing urban population and reduce imports" (CDSS, emphasis added).

In terms of how urbanization and these long-term perspectives interact, there are some positive elements which indicate that Cameroon has an opportunity to avoid the pitfalls of concentrated urban growth in its larger cities. For example:

- The spatial distribution of the cities and towns is not as concentrated as in other developing countries. There is an opportunity to use some of

these secondary cities as selective growth centers based on their potential for manufacturing, industries, and small-scale business enterprises.

- The growing importance of food crops for the urban population can provide income for the rural areas and promote better rural-urban linkages through the development of marketing and processing facilities.

- The long-term development opportunities are in resource-based industries and manufacturing to process agricultural forestry and mineral products for use in the domestic market and export to neighboring countries. As mentioned earlier, many of these activities can be located outside the main urban axis between Yaounde and Douala.

In short, when you consider the spatial distribution patterns and future economic areas of growth, the potential exists to actively promote regional and secondary city development.

There are signs that the government is interested in promoting secondary cities and regional development. In the Cooperstock report, much emphasis is placed on the government's intentions to pursue this strategy. "Unless a major attitudinal change occurs vis-a-vis Yaounde on the part of both local and national governments, any USAID urban program should be primarily directed towards secondary cities, not the major cities."

Examples of work planned and underway to develop secondary cities include:

1- Proposals to eliminate taxes for new industries in smaller cities.

2- A World Bank water supply project for 13 secondary cities.¹

3- 800 of the 2,657 hectares of land to be developed for housing construction by the Urban and Rural Lands Development Authority (MAETUR) are targeted for 11 secondary cities. The other land areas are in Yaounde (830 hectares)

¹ Abong M'Bang, Bafang, Bali, Buea, Jakiri, Kumbo, Mamfe, Mbengwi, Njinikom, Nkambe, Tombel, Victoria, Wum.

and Douala (1,027 hectares).

- 4- A program in the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Agriculture to set up village centers which would grow into urban nuclei.
- 5- An AID project, "Urban Functions Study," in northern Cameroon to see how the government can strengthen the capabilities of urban centers to serve the development of the surrounding region; and
- 6- The development of master plans for secondary cities by the Ministry of Town Planning and Housing.²

Yet, in spite of efforts to encourage economic growth, employment opportunities, housing and services outside the two major urban centers of Yaounde and Douala, these two cities will obviously continue to grow. This will make existing conditions, which are already deplorable for the urban poor, even worse. There are projects planned by the World Bank for these two cities. These include: upgrading in the Nylon neighborhood in Douala; sites and services and water projects for both cities; community facilities in Yaounde; and various studies for future projects. A USAID housing project provided institutional support from 1975 to 1981 to develop the government's capacity to implement sites and services projects in these two cities.

Even with the many activities planned or underway for the country's urban areas, there is a question whether the national government and some municipalities will or can provide services to the urban poor. In northwest Yaounde, for example, a slum upgrading project originally planned by the World Bank is no longer under consideration. This is in part because the municipal government has its own plans for the area--slum clearance and relocation. In both Yaounde and Douala, master plans have yet to be com-

² Garoua, Maroua, Edea, Bamenda, Ngaoundere, Kumba, Bafang, Bafoussam, and Dschang.

pleted after five years of effort. This affects the poor communities as services are delayed or withheld until the plans are completed.

On a national scale, it is interesting to note that, in the Fourth Development Plan, the social service aspects of the plan had the lowest implementation rate, with only 49% of the planned investment occurring. While many of these projects will be carried over into the Fifth Plan, the CDSS notes "that despite the high carryover from the Fourth Plan, there may not be a major shift towards social programs during the next plan."

Cooperstock's findings in his report support this observation. For example, he notes that "there is a recognition that the theoretical requirements for 123,000 new dwelling units between 1981 and 1986 cannot be satisfied and that again, theoretically, 80,270 will be provided. Of these SIC is only expected to build 9,440. Many of these will probably go to government employees because the government wants to provide housing for the mid-level bureaucrats." In addition, the 1981 AID housing study noted that "MAETUR is moving away from developing sites and services projects for the poor and instead simply developing and selling the plots as quickly as possible." In short, Cooperstock noted that not only was there a deterioration of the quality of living in the urban areas during the Fourth Plan period but that "there is a general acceptance... that the Fifth Development Plan will be incapable of closing the gap between the urban needs and their satisfaction."

CONCLUSION

The government's emphasis on productive investments has contributed to a healthy economy and continued prospects for economic growth. One of the costs of this policy has been the deterioration of social services in the midst of a growing urban population. With the projected level of urban

growth, estimated at an additional five million urban residents within the next twenty years, the government will at some time have to pay more attention to methods to improve services, housing and employment opportunities for urban residents. Victor T. LeVine of Washington University, in a paper entitled "Perspectives on Contemporary Politics in Cameroon" (prepared for a briefing for Ambassador Hume Horan in June of 1980), noted that if the government "can continue to provide visible and reasonably fair distribution of economic and political goods, it may not run into trouble from below, or from opportunists within the establishment." With a growing urban population which includes a growing pool of poor residents, it makes political and economic sense to provide services and employment opportunities to urban areas in the future.

AID OPTIONS

Given that over 55% of the Cameroonian population will be in urban areas by the year 2000, AID policies and projects in Cameroon over the next 20 years will affect urban areas either directly or indirectly. For example, any efforts to reduce the bottlenecks in farm-to-market activities will have an impact on smaller towns and cities. Improvement in efforts to aid educational opportunities will affect the types of skills and training that the young will have when they enter the labor market. Since a large number of the current primary school leavers are unable to find jobs in the formal sector, how the present educational system prepares students to work in the informal sector and small-scale industries comes into question. AID activities in education can have a positive impact on this problem. While these examples affect urban areas in an indirect manner, other AID projects, such as the recently completed housing program, can have a more immediate impact on urban areas. The Urban Functions study in northern Cameroon is another example of a project directly

aimed at urban problems.

Recommendations given in the Cooperstock report emphasize institutional support and training for urban officials (especially urban planners), technical assistance to aid the government's efforts to develop master plans for secondary cities, and small pilot projects for urban areas in solid waste removal, sanitation, and hygiene education (see page 56) for a list of the recommendations). These recommendations reflect the shortage of skilled personnel in the areas of urban planning; At least in the short run, AID is not implementing any large-scale urban projects, especially a housing program, given that the Cameroon government has not opted to accept a HG loan.

In terms of long-range policies, the 1982 CDSS acknowledges the importance of rural-urban linkages. "Our basic assumption is that rural development will flourish when there are links--both physical and socio-economic--between rural production, village and secondary city market centers and that urban migration in Cameroon can be deflected to nearby secondary cities rather than the principal cities of Yaounde and Douala."

In Cameroon, these assumptions are very essential elements which should be actively promoted in AID development programs. In light of this, Cooperstock's recommendations to assist the government in the development and planning of secondary cities is a recommendation worth following. These proposals, though, should not be limited to urban planning. The training of planners and the development of master plans for secondary cities alone will not ensure a better quality of life for the urban poor. The difficulties faced by the AID housing project in trying to implement institutional reforms in the government's planning and housing agencies further emphasize this point.

Instead, projects in secondary cities should be based on what are the most pressing problems in each city. The approach now being used in Kenya (described in the Kenya section of this paper) would be more appropriate than only concentrating on a specific project, e.g. master plans. The tack taken in Kenya is to work in three basic areas for selected secondary cities. These include: urban and municipal management; housing, infrastructure and services; and income and small business support. This more flexible approach has the potential to target projects in the areas of most concern or need for each city.

The 1978 AID survey of Yaounde found a strong interest among those surveyed in vocational and technical training opportunities. Moreover, there was a positive relationship between the degree of vocational training and the level of household income. This interest, in combination with the high level of unemployment or underemployment and the dominance of the service sector which includes many informal sector activities, provides a basis for projects to encourage employment generation and vocational training. An approach patterned after the PISCES project can provide this needed training and support to small businesses.

There are existing organizations, already involved in helping the poor in the cities of Douala and Yaounde, which can be used in delivering training and small business support. They are documented in the 1981 PISCES Study and include:

- Centre d'Education à la Promotion Collective (CEPEC) in Yaounde. CEPEC is an independent self-administered organization (attached to the Catholic archdiocese of Yaounde) which is involved in community organizing and group training. In the community of La Buqueteri it is working to organize artisans and provide technical support to them in areas such as marketing. It has

a good working relationship with the Ministries of Social Affairs and Youth and Sports and the Yaounde city government.

- Institut pour la Development (IDP) in Douala. IDP, a private development institute, works in the areas of training and management techniques for both communities and government officials. It also does research and consultation and specific projects such as working with the artisan community in the Zone Nylon neighborhood.

- Government programs. The two government ministries mentioned above are involved in vocational programs of their own and in cooperation with CEPEC and IDP.

In assisting these community-based organizations and by using them for training and employment generation projects, AID can promote employment and small business in Yaounde and Douala for the urban poor. This, in combination with longer-term strategies to promote the secondary city development, can alleviate the plight of the poor and help promote decentralized urban growth.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS FROM COOPERSTOCK REPORT

1. Technical assistance by American urban planners in planning for secondary cities and increasing the capacity of Cameroon officials and professionals to deal with secondary city problems.
2. Establishment of an ongoing association of a Cameroonian technical institute with a school of urban planning in the United States for assistance in the training of urban planners.
3. Design and implementation of a project in solid waste removal and treatment.
4. Design and implementation of a hygiene education program for urban populations in co-operation with the Peace Corps and the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Agriculture.
5. Introduction of appropriate sanitation technology in urban areas in association with Appropriate Technology International and/or similar organizations.
6. Training in general city management techniques and city administration with the American League of Cities, the International City Management Association, and other similar organizations.

ZAMBIA

INTRODUCTION

A study of development and urbanization in Zambia must begin with an understanding of the dominant role played by copper mining. Particularly since independence in 1964, the country's economic and political history has been shaped above all by copper production. The Zambian copperbelt was originally a distant outpost connected by a single rail line to ports and colonial trading centers to the south. As the size of the copper exports grew, most urban centers and towns grew along this "line of rail". Also, industry to service the mining operations (such as hydroelectric power, construction, transport, steel, metals and cement) was built exclusively along the line of rail.

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

The major urban areas consist of the copperbelt towns, and Lusaka and its environs. Other large towns on the line of rail include Kabwe and Livingstone. Several densely settled rural areas surround these urban nodes and supply a large portion of the agricultural products for the urbanites. Taken together, the urban population and these dense rural areas within forty kilometers of the line of rail account for more than 60 percent of Zambia's people (1980 CDSS).

In 1978 it was estimated that 95 percent of the total urban population was in the line of rail provinces, with 56 percent in the copperbelt alone. In these line of rail provinces, 98 percent of the industrial products are manufactured, 84 percent of the country's wage salary earners work, drawing 91 percent of the country's wages and salaries (CDSS).

This concentration of Zambian settlements along the line of rail is continuing. Lusaka grew more rapidly after independence than any other town. Not surprisingly,

the rural areas receiving the most migrants in the intercensal period between 1963 and 1969 were along the line of rail, particularly north of Lusaka where the farms serve the large urban centers. Most of the recent urban population growth can be accounted for by these peri-urban settlements, which have become increasingly crowded.

The rate of urban population growth declined somewhat in the late seventies, indicating a decline in the absorptive capabilities of the mines and most industry. The highest rural to urban growth rates were found in the smaller cities and towns. The rate of migration was still high enough, however, to restrain rural population growth to one percent annually between 1969 and 1974.

After the Republic of South Africa, Zambia is the second most urbanized country in sub-Saharan Africa, with 46 percent of the population considered as urban in 1980 (AU Country Study 1979, p86).

The estimated growth rate of the Zambian population between 1969 and 1979 was 3.6 percent, high among other African nations, where the average was approximately 3.0 percent. The urban population growth rate was a burgeoning 9.2 percent (AU p59). Projecting these rates to the year 2000, the total population will have doubled; the urban population will have tripled and will have become 60 percent of the total. Even if rural to urban migration sharply declines due to overcrowded urban conditions, urban population can be expected to double. From 1974 to 1979, the urban population increased by 615,000, half from natural increase and half from migration. Lusaka grew by over 200,000, the copperbelt towns by 300,000 and the other urban centers combined by over 100,000 in the same period (ILO).

The family planning programs in Zambia are not actively supported by the government. "Generally Zambians, urban dwellers with substantial education

included, consider large families desirable. Government officials, in part because they share that value, but also because they assume a decline in population growth as consequent upon economic development, have not stressed family planning. In fact, Zambia's low average population density implies a low carrying capacity of the land, a condition likely to continue unless a good deal of technological change and capital investment takes place. That kind of agricultural improvement is far enough off so that the rural areas are not likely to be able to absorb a rapidly increasing population even if the young saw rural life as desirable." (AU p56). With this kind of outlook for unrestrained population growth and severely limited rural opportunities, rural to urban migration can be expected to continue at a fast pace. Total urban population will rise from 2.3 million in 1979 to 7.2 million in 2000 (ILO).

ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

One of the chief factors fueling the rural to urban migration is the significant income disparity between these sectors. Although formal sector employment remained stagnant during the 1970s, employing 365,000 in 1979, the average annual urban per capita incomes were estimated to be well over three times that of the rural sector. Formal sector wages have remained high at over 1000 kwacha per year, and strong labor unions focus on higher wages first and increased employment second (CDSS).

However, an even greater disparity existed within urban areas. Zambia seems to be developing a triple-tiered economy, from the rural poor, to the urban poor,

to the urban middle class consisting of formal sector workers, those in professional trades and government employees. Based on a 1974 ILO study, the top 10 percent of the wage earners with the highest incomes claimed 42 percent of the total urban income, while the bottom 60 percent received a mere 25 percent of the total.

The Zambian informal sector is sizeable, employing 10 to 15 percent of the urban working males. The average wage in the informal sector is estimated to be less than 40 percent of the average modern sector wage. Formal sector activities did not expand during the 1970s when there was a high rate of rural to urban migration and, as a result, there was considerable growth of small-scale and entrepreneurial activities in the informal sector (CDSS).

At independence, the Zambian economy seemed, to outside observers, to hold great promise as one of the richest nations in Africa. Assets included fertile land, minerals, a productive industry, and an established government. The proven copper assets were large with reserves expected to last another 100 years. Zambia's initial weak points at that time included poor transport facilities, and a wide disparity between rural and urban incomes, especially considering wages in the mining industry.

In most of the first decade, rising copper prices enabled the government to make large expenditures in support of capital-intensive growth. Furthermore, in 1965, when Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) issued its Universal Declaration of Independence, Zambia reduced trading with its southern neighbor, and attempted to develop industrial self-sufficiency. Between 1965 and 1970, the manufacturing

sector tripled its contribution to the GDP. However, between 1966 and 1969, the number of employing establishments in the formal sector dropped by a third, while the number of employees doubled, as did the amount of fixed capital invested for each worker (Todd & Shaw). This new growth of capital-intensive industry was largely used for manufacturing goods for the high income population, and was dependent on a regular supply of imported machinery, parts and even raw materials.

In fulfillment of President Kaunda's homespun socialist philosophy of humanism, most industrial firms were nationalized after independence by the purchase of controlling interest. Business is now dominated by the parastatal organizations (state owned or controlled enterprises) that operate in all economic sectors, including manufacturing, mining, power, transport, agricultural marketing, finance, whole and retail trade, and hotel and restaurant services. Only construction and agricultural production are mainly in the private sector. More than 70 percent of the economy is in the government's hands, but this portion provides only 30 percent of the tax revenues. The rest comes from a worried but still productive private sector (Egazarian).

With the economy centered on one commodity, it has still not recovered from a 40 percent drop in copper prices in 1974. "The severe foreign exchange shortage was felt in heavy cutbacks in the import of needed spare parts, raw materials, and intermediate goods. These cutbacks resulted in idle capacity in the productive sectors and contributed to a decline of an estimated 2 percent in real GDP in the three year period from 1975 to 1978." (AU p205)

In addition copper production has declined to 500,000 metric tons in 1981, the lowest in the decade, due to a scarcity of well trained managerial and technical personnel, and to the chronic shortage of spare parts.

Foreign exchange earning, 90 percent of which come from copper exports, have also declined so far that by late 1978, average capacity utilization of industry was estimated at 60 percent. For many industries more dependent on foreign exchange entitlements for parts and materials, operations were at 15 to 25 percent of capacity (ILO). Thus economic production has been largely determined by falling copper prices. Other than copper, there are small amounts exported of zinc, lead and cobalt; maize and tobacco. By value, the largest imports were in machinery and transport equipment.

In general, there are few linkages between the modern formal sector and small-scale producers. Furthermore, government policies of subsidies and price controls have discouraged rural agricultural and low-income production that potentially could provide primary and secondary goods to the formal sector, and could increase the nation's domestic purchasing power.

URBAN CONDITIONS

Although the rural population has suffered more in the depth and incidence of poverty, urban dwellers have also been under a severe strain as wages have fallen, by 2 to 5 percent annually in real terms, and formal sector opportunities, the main source of urban incomes, have declined. There has been an unfortunate contrast between the rapid growth in urban population and the diminishing number of formal sector opportunities, the main source of income of urban areas. From 1974 to 1979, formal wage earning employment positions declined by 21,000 (ILO p29). Industry, including copper production, in Zambia has thus fallen short of the expectations to expand the job pool and to provide essential goods.

Informal sector opportunities have increased from independence to the early 1970s in most urban areas. Although most street-side selling is illegal under local or national laws, enforcement is lax in the urban squatter settlements. Dominant activities in this sector are in the fields of marketing, food processing, and selling. A profile of self-employed workers in the informal sector shows that most are over 30 years old and have acquired the savings experience and contacts necessary to be successful (Todd & Shaw). In Lusaka and neighboring Kabwe, squatters amount to 40 percent of the urban population. It is estimated that one million reside in these unauthorized squatter settlements, few of which have any social services supplied.

One major source of urban income is the housing allowance subsidies provided by the government for employees in public and quasi-public agencies, and by industry for formal sector workers. For workers with salaries over 500 kwacha, the large allowance increases as a proportion of income. For low income households, allowances are barely enough to pay the meager rent in shanty compounds. The rental allowances are large enough so that renting is cheaper than owning a home, even with a homeowner's allowance. As a result, the government is by far the nation's largest landlord. In distributing the total volume of this housing subsidy, the bottom 50 percent of the nation's urban households, in terms of income, receive around 10 percent of the subsidy funds; while the wealthiest 10 percent receive almost 50 percent. Moreover, for the 50 percent of the Zambian population who live in rural areas, the present system has nothing to offer except as an incentive to migrate to the urban areas (Sanyal).

Not only are jobs and housing scarce in the urban areas, but essential goods are also hard to find, due to the general stagnation of the domestic economy. Even those with formal wage employment now find urban life difficult. Lines form each morning outside state operated shops selling inadequate supplies of maize meal, cooking oil and soap (Southern Africa, April 1981, p7).

The rural to urban migration flow and the inadequate supply of urban housing have raised the level of congestion in peri-urban settlements. The standard of living among the poorer households in the urban areas is declining. Average occupancy has risen in recent years from 4.7 to 6.8 persons per dwelling. There was a shortage of 225,000 rooms in urban areas in 1979 (ILO). In 1974, 18.5 percent of urban households lacked adequate access to potable water; 11 percent lacked access to sewerage. As of 1977, the proportion of urban dwelling units without any services ranged from 31 percent to 49 percent in various cities (CDSS).

Taxation from copper revenues has been the primary source of national funds for domestic programs. Due to declining prices and lowered levels of production, the government has been forced to make reductions in expenditures for social services. Many schools are without books; clinics do not have sufficient drugs; and the government staff vehicles are without fuel. "The effects of the budgetary restrictions are being felt most among the poor, who have fled to the towns to escape the seemingly hopeless poverty of the rural areas. But life in the city is also deteriorating. With wages falling, jobs disappearing, the urban areas are becoming among the most volatile in the country. While social services were expanded in the years following independence, that movement has come to an end, and the proportion of resources devoted to health and education is now declining. There is significant

malnutrition everywhere, and what health and education services do exist are generally being provided by missionaries." (Jacobs)

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The government's stated objectives since independence have been to use the revenue from copper exports to expand the agricultural and industrial sectors, and to lessen the country's dependence on copper. The minor development of the agricultural sector that has occurred has favored the large farms, still run by Europeans and has had little impact on the rural areas. The industrial growth has taken place from a small base of capital-intensive firms. The industrial diversification that was called for in the First National Development Plan was slanted, by tariff and quota policies, to the processing of imported primary and secondary materials, a strategy which further encourages concentrated urban growth. Meanwhile, by subsidizing imported agricultural products (presumably to help poor consumers) domestic agricultural production has been discouraged.

The Third National Development Plan (1979 to 1983) features the recognized need for diversification with renewed emphasis on agricultural development as well as reliance on the previously neglected urban informal sector to ease employment pressures. Emphasis was also to be placed on developing labor-intensive industries, using local raw materials. However, "the informal sector is characterized by a concentration of activities into a relatively narrow and non-innovative range, and by a predominance of older people. It is therefore

ill-suited to accommodate the annual supply of 22,000 new urban job seekers, most of whom will be young people, with some education, but without the contacts necessary to successfully enter the informal sector." (Todd & Shaw)

The fact that almost no self-employed urban workers have taken loans, underscores the idea that the informal sector will not be able to provide many employment opportunities for the inexperienced migrant from the rural areas (Ibid).

Until the latest National Development Plan in 1979, private enterprise seemed to have been considered a necessary evil, relegated to very small businesses. "Zambianization (nationalization) of smaller businesses has led to stagnation, partly because control of these firms has been doled out on a patronage basis. Patronage is seen by many as the heart of Zambia's current problems. But patronage and this nationalization are also the basis on which President Kaunda has maintained his political support. By employing many more people than are needed in state-owned industries, and through food price subsidies to keep prices down, Kaunda has been able to develop a base of political support in the urban population that benefits from these measures. Kaunda is also accused of using the nationalization to foster the growth of a new urban elite with neither the skills nor the inclination to develop the country's economy. And it is this economy that may eventually erode Kaunda's political support, especially among the urban poor." (Jacobs)

For several decades up to the present, government investment policies have favored the urban areas. The intent of the Third National Development Plan (TNDP 1979-83) to reduce the disparities between urban and rural areas is blunt. "As Zambia's urban areas will continue to attract an increasingly larger

proportion of the population and make greater demand on national resources, corrective action will be required in the form of a spatially coordinated development strategy." (TNDP p382) In short, investment and development will be directed away from the large urban areas. Future urban development will be planned for optimum urban population distribution, outside the primary cities.

Among the broad priorities for urban policy the TNDP states that institutional factors which are obstacles to growth of the informal sector will be reconsidered. Legal revisions will be made to give "maximum encouragement to the growth and diversification of the activities in the informal sector, to raise low income levels." At the local level, credit and training programs for informal employment activities will be established.

Another area where the government has planned to withhold expenditures in the TNDP period is in local governments. The authors of the TNDP report claim that this is to promote local financial self-sufficiency. Subsidies for local authority services will be phased out in this period. The organizational focus of development activities will be shifted to the local level also.

To offset these new burdens on local governments, a new tax revenue sharing structure will be developed between the central government and the local authorities, accompanied by significant changes in the structure and scope of local administration.

As for the specifically urban projects, the Lusaka Housing Project, begun during the Second National Development Plan (1975-1979) at an estimated cost of K26 million, needs K10 million more for completion in the TNDP. This project

will bring water, roads, primary schools, preventative health care facilities and community services to 18,000 residents. Additionally, 17,000 unauthorized dwellings will be made into improved units, and 8,000 self-help units will be sited. Subsequent urban improvement programs, of a similar broad type patterned after the Lusaka Housing Project, will be planned for other municipalities.

A potentially significant pilot project will be undertaken in urban agriculture. Two research projects will be underway, one to study housing construction with local materials; and the other to determine alternative methods of sanitary sewage disposal.

The fact that few urban programs other than housing are mentioned in the TNDP emphasizes the central government's stated lack of resources for urban projects. According to the TNDP, in this period, the government intends to rely more than ever on local governments to provide a greater share of revenues, ideas and energy to accomplish the task of developing urban areas. This shift of responsibility into local hands will be difficult if local councils do not have significantly enlarged resources to maintain necessary programs.

Although there is emphasis on expanding the urban informal sector, the employment chapter of the TNDP says quite flatly that most of the unemployed will have to be absorbed in some phase of agricultural production. The central government's strategy for manufacturing is to encourage agricultural processing; industries using domestic raw materials and intermediate goods; and small-scale industries which give preference to labor-intensive machinery. A further source of employment, predicts the TNDP optimistically, will occur with fuller utilization of existing industrial capacity due to an inevitable rise in copper prices, and subsequent improvement in foreign exchange earnings.

In regard to the housing sector, the primary objective of the Second National Development Plan (SNDP) was to meet the needs of low income urban residents. In that period (1975-1979) there were 11,000 dwellings completed on plots serviced by large urban local authorities. K5 million were allocated for squatter upgrading in that period, but only K1.6 million were spent on providing services to 13,000 dwellings in that period, due to shortages and misallocations of funds.

Central to the housing strategy in the SNDP was the promotion of home ownership and the decision to reduce the ubiquitous housing subsidies. Neither of these intentions were successfully accomplished. Home ownership in urban areas remains at 5 percent of the housing stock (not including self-help housing in unauthorized areas), and is a privilege for the wealthy.

Many local urban councils have had serious deficits created in part by these subsidies. Ironically, the subsidy policy itself adds to the incentives for rural to urban migration. Moreover, since these subsidies eliminate most demand for private housing, private sector housing investment is discouraged.

For the TNDP, the housing strategy is: to increase home ownership; to limit housing subsidies for civil servants according to national resources and the ability to pay; to provide credit and a priority of services to low income households; to establish a housing bank for low income rural and urban households; and to integrate housing projects with general urban development, as in the Lusaka housing project.

During the SNDP the performance of the housing sector has been far from satisfactory, as evidenced by these two facts: the construction of expensive dwellings by government and private industry continues to consume a major proportion of available funds; and unauthorized housing areas keep expanding at a fast pace. The TNDP expects shortages and overcrowding to increase quickly due to a scarcity of resources. At the beginning of the TNDP period, K50 million was needed to complete several housing projects mostly in Lusaka.

CONCLUSION

As the ILO concluded, there are only minor criticisms to be made of the central government's goals. The problem for Zambian leaders is in implementing their plans. When copper prices were much higher, when the Zambian economy was flourishing after independence, many programs were initiated, such as government housing subsidies for most workers, and price restraints on agricultural goods, that cannot be easily terminated now. A national direction was set; expectations were raised that can no longer be fulfilled, until copper prices increase substantially. In order to maintain urban political support, the central government will find it difficult to reduce housing subsidies or let domestic agricultural commodities rise.

Even with massive investments in the agricultural sector, it will be some time before rural living conditions improve so much that large-scale migration to urban areas is curtailed. In the meantime, while the government is forced to cut back on urban investments, overcrowding will worsen in urban areas and service levels can be expected to decline.

AID OPTIONS

In the FY 82 CDSS, the following comment is made concerning AID's strategy in Zambia. "For the foreseeable future the performance of the Zambian economy and the development of its agricultural sector will depend more on the decisions and actions of the GRZ than on any other single factor. It is highly unlikely that AID projects which fail to contribute to the improvement of GRZ policy and GRZ implementation in agriculture or other closely related areas would have a long-range or continuing beneficial impact on the rural poor" (FY 82 CDSS p.52). With the substitution of the word urban for rural, this same statement should form the basis of an AID urban development strategy in Zambia.

In Zambia, urban related projects should be tied to influencing a change in many of the government's urban policies. This is not an easy task. One of the most prevalent of these which encourages urbanization is the housing subsidy. It is so engrained into the social and political structure that even the World Bank, which makes cost recovery one of its primary conditions for a housing project loan, has had difficulty in getting the government to follow through on its commitment to recover the costs for the Lusaka Housing Project from the Lusaka residents. This provides a vivid example of the difficulty of implementing change in the current government policies. Until the government actually moves to change its current housing policies, it would also be difficult for AID, through its HG Program, to implement housing and urban development projects on a cost recovery basis. Considering the fiscal constraints faced by the government, any projects which were not developed on a cost recovery basis, or which would require Zambian funding, probably would not be completed for a lack of funds.

Since the informal sector and small scale enterprises could provide much needed relief for the employment problems in urban areas, AID could provide assistance to this sector. Yet again, any projects such as these should encourage the government to

change its policies. At the moment, despite the government's development plans which acknowledge the importance of the informal sector, it still discourages the growth of the informal sector through laws and the dominant role parastatals play.

The government has expressed an interest in its development plans for encouraging "peri-urban" agriculture and the development of agro-processing industries. The concept of peri-urban agriculture has the potential to offer needed employment and agricultural goods for urban areas. Further evaluation is needed to determine if it is possible and how it would really work. The encouragement of agro-processing industries on the other hand is a more defined activity which AID could support in coordination with its agricultural programs. These industries are important in providing off-farm employment and can be located in smaller cities and towns.

In conclusion, considering the level of urbanization in Zambia, any thought of helping the poor must also consider the urban poor. For now they are, and will continue to be in the future, a large part of the poverty equation in Zambia. Unfortunately, until the government does change many of its policies, it will be difficult for AID to offer effective assistance in the traditional methods of improving urban shelter, services, and employment.

ZIMBABWE

INTRODUCTION

Just as majority rule has changed the social, political and economic structure of Zimbabwe, it will undoubtedly have a major effect on the growth and direction of urban development. Up to the time of black majority rule in 1980, the black population was tightly controlled in movement and in choice of settlement. As a consequence, rural to urban migration was controlled. Over time, social, economic and political pressures were created by this artificial administrative dam. Now that the restrictions have been lifted, urban areas are flooded with new residents.

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Prior to majority rule, the country's cities were an enclave for the white minority which controlled the most dynamic sectors of the economy. For example, in 1978, 83 percent of the white population lived in urban areas, in contrast to 17 percent of the black population (Zimbabwe Shelter Sector Assessment - ZSSA - 1980).

Freedom of movement for blacks into urban areas was restricted through various means. Squatting was not permitted and identity papers were required for all blacks. The size of servants' families residing in the urban areas was limited under the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act. Only employed heads of households could enter their names on a waiting list for scarce housing in the black townships.

Before independence, over 60 percent of the population of Zimbabwe lived in the rural Tribal Trust Lands. At any one time over half of the working age males in these areas would be away temporarily in the cities working in the formal wage sector (AID Framework, 1977, pII-3). Often housing was provided only in servants' quarters and barracks for company workers. No housing was provided for the families of these temporary workers, and housing was often not available apart from that provided by the employer, ensuring that the laborers would return to the rural home.

Since the change in governments, these restrictions have been lifted and limitations on housing have been eased. The result is that many black families have come to stay in the cities. Yet, this is only one source of the new growth in urban areas. Other factors which influence migration include:

- 1 - the need to resettle an estimated 1.6 million persons displaced by the war;
- 2 - overcrowding in the Tribal Trust Lands which are characterized by low agricultural productivity and poor employment possibilities;
- 3 - a high population growth rate of 3.3 percent, where approximately 50 percent are under 15 years of age; (the average population growth rate for sub-Saharan Africa is 2.7 percent) (ADSA, 1981);
- 4 - the recent increase in the minimum wage for wage earners in all sectors; and
- 5 - better access to social services such as the newly established free health care which is rarely available outside urban areas.

All of these combined contribute to the expectation of a rapidly growing urban population in the future.

There are recent indications that this shift to urban areas is already in progress. In 1980, the Red Cross estimated that there was a squatter population of 50,000 in and around the three main urban centers. Moreover, studies done for the AID Office of Housing and Urban Development note that the recent arrivals in urban areas are mostly poor, lack skills, and are in need of employment and shelter.

The urban growth rates in the past shadow the predictions for the future. During the 1970s, the growth rate was 6.4 percent, almost twice the rate of natural population growth, and substantially higher than the urban growth rate for middle-income sub-Saharan countries of 3.5 percent (ADSA). In the next ten years, Zimbabwean officials predict that the current 1.4 million persons living

in urban areas (20 percent of the total population) will double in the next ten years. The majority of this increase will come from the black population which the government predicts could grow in urban areas as much as 11.5 percent each year between now and 1990 (ZSSA).

While these projections seem high, there is a good chance they will prove accurate considering the conditions in the rural areas. The government's ambitious plans to resettle blacks formally assigned to the marginally productive trust lands will take time to implement. The current strategy is to redistribute good quality farm land to 162,000 families over the next ten years at a rate of 7.5 million acres per year. If this program can be carried out, it will ease the migration pressures on the cities. Yet, indications are that as the plan progresses, the redistribution will be more difficult, as easily acquired land, abandoned by fleeing white farmers or those willing to sell, is no longer available. The first ten million acres can be obtained with no major obstacles. After that, the government will be buying occupied and developed land that provides more employment and output at present than they could provide with resettlement, according to the Commercial Farmers Union. So far, only 8,000 families have been put on new land since 1980 (Christian Science Monitor, 3/1/82). It is unlikely that the expectations of this large portion of the population for a significantly improved life style in rural areas can be met in time to reduce outmigration in the near future. The low productivity of the soils in the Tribal Trust Lands, in addition to the lack of other employment opportunities in these overcrowded areas, would have been incentive enough to move to better land in the white farm areas or to urban areas long ago, were it not for the former government's restrictions.

In the past, Zimbabwe displayed a fairly decentralized pattern of urban growth, with some 14 communities with populations over 15,000 (Carter, 1981). Now that the restrictions have been lifted, the greatest migration will be to those cities and towns which offer the best opportunity for possible employment.

Recently, it seems that Harare (formerly Salisbury) is receiving the majority of the new migrants. In 1979, Harare had 45 percent of the urban population. Harare and the second largest city Bulawayo contained over 70 percent of the urban population in 1979 (ZSSA). By 1980, the population of Harare had already jumped to 50 percent of the urban total. The sub-Saharan average for the percentage of urban population in the largest city in 1980 was 34 percent; for middle income countries like Zimbabwe in the region, 29 percent (ADSA).

Government estimates show a tremendous 31 percent increase in the city's black population between 1978 and 1980, from 488,000 to 633,000. The 1980 AID Housing Study notes that a more realistic figure for the current black population would be 850,000. It is estimated, that with the new growth, greater Harare has a population of over one million residents (ZSSA).

One other significant movement of population in Zimbabwe is the emigration of whites, now in greater numbers than at the height of the bitter war to force majority rule. The white population amounted to 280,000 ten years ago; now there are 100,000 less (Wall Street Journal, 11/19/81). In 1980, 17,000 whites left the country. In 1981, the amount was greater (Ibid). Since no white property has been confiscated and the central government's financial measures have been conservative, this exodus must be caused by the threat of socialism, strongly suggested by Mugabe in his speeches, the uncertainty of future economic and political stability, and the difficult adjustment to a loss of privilege.

This is producing a shortage of skilled workers and is having a temporarily depressing effect on the large portion of domestic production that has catered to a wealthy white population that is now shrinking in size.

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Since 1975, the creation of jobs in urban areas has not kept pace with the increased population growth. In fact, from 1975 to 1979, the employment rate decreased an average of 0.9 percent annually (ZSSA). In Harare, a 1978 study by the University of Zimbabwe found that 34 percent of the adult population was unemployed; estimates in 1980 put the figure around 50 percent (ZSSA). While these figures seem high and are probably a reflection of those not employed in the formal sector, it is an indication of a growing problem, especially when the new arrivals lack the education and skills necessary to participate in any formal jobs which can be created.

Rapid population growth and the consequent increase in the working age group creates one of Zimbabwe's greatest problems. By 1985, it is estimated that 148,000 will be added to the working age group annually, exceeding by far the new employment likely to be available (AID Framework).

The economy of Zimbabwe has been more diversified than many other African countries which typically depend on one or two export commodities. This has made the economy inherently more stable, and resistant to market fluctuations. In 1977, manufacturing and utilities generated 27 percent of the GNP (the highest on the continent including the Republic of South Africa), agriculture 16 percent and mining 7 percent (AID Framework). Each of the sectors produced a variety of

goods. Although the economy has maintained this diversity among the various sectors, it has yet to overcome the traditional split between developed urban areas and impoverished rural areas. "The Zimbabwean economy has long been characterized by a basic duality between its sophisticated modern sector - dominated by the small urbanized white minority centered around Salisbury and Bulawayo - and the extensive, largely undeveloped African rural sector of the scattered Tribal Trust Lands." (Carter).

After two years of rapid growth, following the end of the war leading to majority rule, Zimbabwe's GNP is expected to decline from a record annual increase in 1980 of 14 percent to a more sustainable 5 percent. Zimbabwe still has one of the strongest economies in Africa, but the living standards of whites have set expectations that are not possible to fulfill. The central government has yet to reconcile the "contradictory demands for expanding the economy, delivering more social services, land and higher wages to the majority population, while retaining the confidence of private investors and trained white personnel" (Africa News 4/5/82).

URBAN CONDITIONS

Due to the rapid increase since independence in the urban population, especially among the poor, the central government and the local municipalities have been hard pressed to provide the required services, such as health, housing, education, employment, utilities, transportation and an effective administration to provide these services. "It is in the cities where dissatisfaction is explosive. Each year brings 100,000 new job seekers to the labor market. An

estimated 70 percent of the black working class in Salisbury live beneath the poverty line, and there are 50,000 names on the official waiting list for housing." (World Press Review, February 1982). The black population, which formerly had been denied most white privileges, is now, since independence, showing a predictable but sudden demand for urban services.

The lack of housing is one of the most visible problems facing the government. Nationally, the current urban housing shortage is estimated at 40,000 units with 15 percent of the urban households lacking adequate housing (ZSSA). "Another measure targeted initially to black urban dwellers seeks to expand home ownership, which the government sees as a major means of ensuring stability" (Carter). Over the past several years, the central government and local townships have supplied 11,000 housing units per year. These were produced for households at the upper end of the low income scale, for heads of households with normal wage employment, which excludes the vast majority of the urban poor. With the expected increase in migration and the high population growth rate, it is estimated that 17,000 to 20,000 new households will be forming in urban areas each year (ZSSA). To avoid massive unplanned squatter settlements, major housing programs will be required.

Harare, the city hardest hit by the housing shortage, is experiencing a backlog of 20,000 units which represents one third of the low income housing stock (ZSSA). Because of past controls on squatting and housing construction among blacks, Salisbury officials noted that in 1977 it was not uncommon to find over ten persons per room in some housing areas.

The government has taken some immediate steps to alleviate the discriminatory housing policies of the past. Now, "any family that has paid rent continuously for 30 years for a township house is given it freehold. Moreover, after five years of occupancy, increasing percentage reductions in rent are provided up to the full 30 years" (Carter). Yet, this only helps those who have access to current housing and not the new arrivals.

In terms of other services, the level of quality and availability is a reflection of the past government's policies. A description of the overall housing and services pattern is provided in the 1979 SADAP Study which assessed the shelter needs in the country: "The prime family arrangements for urban workers are in black townships located 10-20 Kms. from the city centers. Standards are low. Commuting to urban employment is arduous. The physical pattern and shelter provision pattern of majority housing in Rhodesia has directly reflected the pattern of government control" (Carter). Even as far back as 1977, another AID study noted that services such as water supplies and medical facilities for blacks in urban areas were better than in rural areas; but these advantages for urban Africans are partly offset by the continuing influx of rural Africans which results in the creation of overcrowded and unsanitary slums. This emphasizes the problem for the future. The limited services currently available in urban areas will be severely strained by the rapid growth rate expected in the cities.

Another unique feature of Zimbabwe's changing urban structure is the radical reform of local government representation. To introduce multiracial representation in local government, "the government enlarged urban boundaries to include

adjoining black townships. Black mayors and a majority of black councilors have come into office throughout the country, except in Salisbury and Bulawayo, where the elections were postponed" (Carter). This will probably have two important consequences. One, it expands the geographical area of municipal responsibility for the provision of services. This can result in an increased cost and administrative burden on local authorities which means they will require additional support. Secondly, it creates a political framework where the increasingly black population will have political power that previously did not exist. This will create additional pressures on the central government to provide fiscal and administrative support to the urban poor.

The health standards for Zimbabwe as a whole have been high among African nations, although as a country with a well developed modern sector, this reflects the superior health facilities in the cities, formerly available exclusively to the urban white ruling minority. Therefore what is needed not only in the rural areas but also in low income urban settlements is the establishment of health centers with an emphasis on sanitation and preventive medicine.

Free medical care was instituted in 1981 for those earning less than Z\$210 per month, but the benefits of this measure have yet to be realized because of the shortage of facilities and drugs (Africa News 4/5/82). It is correctly perceived that the main problem in the health sector is the disparity between the urban and rural areas. Of the 300 physicians in private practice in 1980, three quarters were in either Harare or Bulawayo (Africa News, 11/2/81). Formerly a large portion of the national health budget supported a small number of hospitals exclusively for whites, which have had excellent facilities. In 1980 Harare hospitals alone consumed 30 percent of the total

health budget (Ibid). Many new allocations are being made to establish health clinics in rural areas but scant attention is being paid to the slums and squatter settlements. Even with an increased health budget, it will be difficult to fund all the best hospitals at the former levels. Naturally whites are sensitive to any reductions in accustomed services. This situation is similar in education; budget allocations have been increased but mostly for vocational training of low income black Africans.

In 1981 universal free primary education was established, which raised the number of children in school from 800,000 in 1980 to 1.3 million. During the war and after, many teachers left their posts to join the expanding commercial sector. The average class size in primary school and first year secondary school is 40 students. Some teachers are being recruited from abroad until large scale teacher training can fill the gap. The Ministry of Education and Culture expects to train 8,000 new teachers and to upgrade 14,000 substandard teachers to educate one million illiterate adults. UNICEF has granted \$719,000 for reconstruction and rehabilitation, some of which will be used in a recently launched crash training program for teachers of adults (Development Information Briefs, 1981).

One danger that exists, as some fear, is that not all school graduates will be able to find jobs, in spite of continued economic growth. "School-leavers from rural areas are particularly reluctant to return to farming after having imbibed the idea that physical work is degrading. They form a swelling group of urban unemployed, becoming a drain on the economy and a source of political instability" (Christian Science Monitor, 4/20/82). Many African

governments have emphasized practical education, but most have failed to change the conviction that success in academic subjects is the key to prosperity.

One answer to this has been to increase attention to vocational training, which would also be relevant to the severe shortage of skilled manpower. A successful pilot project has been established in eight rural schools which may serve as a model for new educational structures for urban and rural areas throughout the country. Organized in refugee camps in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia during the war, these schools combine farms and workshops with classrooms and dormitories. In addition to the ordinary scholastic subjects, 10,000 students have been learning carpentry, wood and metal working, and how to grow cash crops, among other topics. Building materials for the schools which the students helped construct were purchased by Scandinavian aid organizations.

Prior to independence, almost all of the rail lines and most of the main roads were serving areas reserved for white occupation, and it was not uncommon for a surfaced road to turn abruptly into a dirt road upon entering an African area. This legacy of transportation policy and services has left the periurban squatter settlements with an inadequate number of roads and vehicles to connect efficiently to the urban centers.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

As a newly independent country, Zimbabwe is faced with two sets of problems; those which have come directly from the transfer of government power, and those which arise from the requirements of future growth and development. Long-term policies will focus on rural development, creating employment and training

opportunities, encouraging foreign investment, providing subsidies to domestic businesses, and maintaining a regional transportation system. Migration to both urban and rural areas and large-scale unemployment are the concerns which need immediate actions.

The government's first priority, according to Bernard Chidzero, Minister of Economic Planning and Development, will be to stimulate economic growth and create employment opportunities in the rural areas by means of several large irrigation projects. This will be an integrated approach to rural development, comprising development projects, land clearance, feeder roads, marketing facilities, extension services and agricultural-based industries.

The government's second priority will be to develop vocational and professional training. "We need these people because whites are leaving. There was also a gross neglect in the past of training facilities for blacks, as there was discrimination against them", explained Dr. Chidzero. In the first year's budget, the largest allocation of funds was for defense. This should change as the former guerilla army is demobilized and integrated into the mainstream. The second largest outlay was for education. This will become number one as the new programs of universal primary education and free secondary education for qualified children are improved. After education the largest expenditure was for health programs.

The government believes that the goal of expanding employment opportunities has more potential for success in the rural sector, which tends to be more labor-intensive than manufacturing.

Twice in the last year, the government has raised the minimum wage. Industrial workers and miners earn \$150 a month while the poorest paid workers in agricultural and domestic service earn a minimum of \$70 a month (African Report, Jan/Feb. 1982). While both these minimum limits have been raised substantially from former levels, the large difference between them will encourage rural to urban migration. Also by reducing the profit available in business enterprises, less will be invested in the short term. This could aggravate unemployment temporarily.

In Zimbabwe's second annual budget for the years 1981-82, taxes from middle and upper income groups were raised to finance increased spending on social services for the country's poor. Notable for their absence were any drastic income redistribution programs, reflecting a moderate socialist path which Mugabe is following, in spite of the recent intention announced by Mugabe to nationalize the mining industry. These new tax increases are dramatic for Zimbabwe but are minimal compared to Western democratic countries. The biggest outlays are to be for health and education.

The new taxes are expected to annoy many of the country's remaining 190,000 whites, and their emigration is expected to remain at the present level of 1,500 per month. The new budget allocations in the field of health are typical of the changes which can aggravate white emigration.

As noted earlier, there is a high rate of unemployment in the urban areas. Some of this unemployment may be taken up by a growing public sector and informal employment opportunities. It is estimated that, to satisfy the demand for employment, 70,000 new jobs must be created each year. Most of these will have to come from the informal sector, at least in the short run.

In the short term, the government does not want to promote the already existing urban bias in essential services and investment and thereby increase the attraction of urban life for potential migrants. At the present, however, there are severe urban problems resulting from overcrowding which must be contended with. Even if the government's rural development strategy is successful in restraining the migration tide to urban areas, the high population growth rate will still cause a large increase in housing and the demand for services and employment in the cities.

To fulfill some of the demand for urban housing, the government has a National Housing Program for the years 1980 to 1985. In this first five year period, 167,000 low cost housing units are to be provided at the rate of 33,400 per year. Unfortunately, in the 1981 budget, loan funds for this project, as well as funds for construction to owners of core housing have been severely reduced. The primary source of funds is a 50 million dollar AID HG loan. In Phase I of this project 8,000 low income shelters will be provided in the Harare area. With an average of six persons per household, this will improve the living conditions for 48,000 people. In Phase II, 6,000 housing units will be provided in the secondary cities of Bulawayo, Gwelo, Umtali, and Fort Victoria. The overall housing policy of the government recommends that housing be sold with total cost recovery on an installment rent and purchase basis, which would lead to freehold tenure. This will allow limited funds to be used on a revolving basis for more units.

CONCLUSION

For Zimbabwe, there is no doubt that in the years to come, urbanization will be more difficult to contend with than in the past. Due to the lifting of the discriminatory restrictions which formerly controlled urban growth, the new government now has to plan for a rapidly growing urban population, in need of housing, employment, health services, education, transportation and many other services.

The government is faced with the difficult task of developing an urban strategy which will simultaneously address: (1) the former neglect of the urban poor who already live in the cities; (2) the new demand for services by the recent and future rural to urban migrants; and (3) the need to reduce migration to the large urban centers, by promoting secondary city growth and regional development.

While these strategies, and any programs to help the urban poor, will have to compete for resources with projects needed to develop rural areas, Zimbabwe can improve the living and working conditions of the urban poor by learning from the experiences of other countries. Housing can be provided for large numbers of people through low cost self-help methods. Small-scale businesses and informal sector enterprises can provide needed employment. Vocational and technical training can provide the skilled labor needed in industry and businesses. Municipal services such as water, sewers, and transportation can be designed to match the ability of the poor to pay for them. Training for municipal authorities can increase their ability to provide these services. Rural development programs can stimulate the farm-to-market linkages which help

to create off-farm employment. Investments in infrastructure and industry can be made outside the primary urban centers to offset the dominant role of these cities

Since urbanization is a more recent phenomenon in Zimbabwe, the government has the advantage of being able to develop policies in anticipation of urban growth instead of in reaction to it. In many developing countries where significant urban population growth is an old problem, local governments and international development agencies have developed successful urban strategies through trial and error which can now be used to help the urban poor in Zimbabwe. Development can be guided in such a way that urban growth does not occur at the expense of the rural areas.

AID OPTIONS

Through the Housing Guaranty Program, AID has already become involved in addressing the country's urban problems. As mentioned earlier, the \$50 million loan will provide 8,000 low-income housing units in Harare and 6,000 units in four secondary cities. Since the provision of housing is a major part of the government's plans, this AID program is a good first step in supporting the government's urban policies.

A crucial area which needs attention is the growing number of urban unemployed and underemployed, especially among the young. AID can apply its experience in employment generation programs through projects similar to the PICSES program. The AID Zimbabwe Shelter Sector Assessment noted that three

government agencies operating under the direction of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry are giving assistance to small-scale industries. They are the Development Finance Corporation, the Small Industries Advisory Service, and the Institute of Business Development. By using and supporting these smaller agencies and others that probably exist outside the government, AID can provide assistance to small-scale enterprises and employment generation projects.

Another area which is closely linked to the ability of the young to find employment is education. A high priority in the government's budget, education programs have been tremendously expanded since the transition to majority rule. AID has already provided funds for the rehabilitation of schools. In urban areas, support is needed especially in job training, and in the establishment of technical and vocational schools. Zimbabwe has inherited a strong and sophisticated urban economy which now has a shortage of skilled workers. Most of the urban migrants are in need of skills even to work in the informal sector. Thus, support to education and training is a necessity.

Now that the government is placing emphasis on rural development, AID's experience in promoting regional development can be an important mechanism for ensuring that rural development efforts incorporate farm-to-market linkages and the generation of off-farm employment. Given the constraint of insufficient land in resettling the large number of farmers, the creation of off-farm jobs in rural areas can help reduce rural unemployment. By incorporating regional

development principles in rural programs, AID can strengthen the regional economies, which will redress the social and economic inequities between rural and urban areas in the country.

Because of the rapid growth of urban areas, assistance will also be needed in expanding the administrative, planning and support services of municipal and national governments. AID can provide technical assistance and training in this area.

In summary, because AID assistance is relatively new in Zimbabwe, AID has an opportunity, often ignored in the agency's development efforts, to coordinate a comprehensive urban outlook with the nation's overall development plans. If urban areas, and especially the urban poor, are left out of the development process while urban growth is still in its early stages, the ensuing problems will only be more difficult to address.

APPENDIX I.

USAID Sub-Saharan urban and urban-related projects.

The following list of USAID projects were compiled from: a review of programs listed in the FY82 Congressional Presentation Annex I for Africa; departmental listings of urban projects where available; and information obtained from the USAID Development Information Unit. When the information was available, the project number, fiscal year of funding and amount of funding were noted. Because of the elusive nature of some urban projects which are not classified as urban, the listing will not include all possible urban projects. In addition, because projects change, some of the information could be outdated. Yet overall, this is the most comprehensive list available of agency projects in the region.

The list shows that USAID's activities in urban programs in the region are characterized by clearly identifiable projects such as the Housing Guaranty Program. There are also other projects which are not usually defined as "urban". These include projects located in urban areas under the direction of different sectoral programs such as health, education, energy, population planning and employment generation. Other projects have indirect urban impacts such as the building of rural roads and rural development schemes which increase the rural to urban linkages. In addition, a significant amount of assistance in the form of PL 480 and Commodity Import Program funds are channeled into the urban areas of certain countries.

BOTSWANA	<u>Project</u>	<u>(FY)</u>	<u>\$(000's)</u>
1. Housing Guarantee -4 year HIG.	6338001	78-82	2,400
2. Housing Guarantee		82-	5,000
3. Rural Development -Develop Ngamiland land use plan. -Communal Service center at Lepasha. -Appropriate areas will be designed for residential and social service activities. -Rural industrialization plan.	6330077	80-82	7,780
4. Renewable Energy Technology -Primarily directed at rural villages.	6330209	80-82	3,304
BURUNDI			
1. Rural Road (Route 84) -To provide all-weather access to agriculture marketing facilities in Burambi area. (58 km.)		80-81	926
2. Alternative Energy - Peat II -Five year projects consists of a grant for technical assistance, training, and commodities to develop peat as an alternative energy source. -Six commercial bogs will produce peat for the <u>urban domestic, institutional and industrial commercial markets. A model peat-burning cooker/stove for rural and urban home use will be designed and tested. The inexpensive stoves will be produced locally.</u>	6950103	80-83	8,000
CAMEROON			
1. Cameroon Low Income Housing -Two year project to provide low income housing. -Develop Host Country institutional capacity to carry out site and services.	6310003	76-80	814

CAMEROON (Continued)

2. Rural Demand for Urban Service Systems
-Elicit the needs and concerns of people at the farm level for urban-based facilities and services. Field demo in northern Cameroon began in 1980.
3. Transcameroon Railroad II 631001 78-81 7,500
-The major component of the project will be the reconstruction and realignment of some of the worst portions of the line between the two cities of Douala and Cadea. Other donors: Federal Republic of Germany, European Development Fund, Canada and France.

DIIBOUTI

1. Human Resources Development 6030006 80-81 2,800
-Program to upgrade the Professional Training Center for Adults vocational programs for unemployed adolescents. Courses will include; auto repair, cinder block making, bookkeeping, stenographic and secretarial skills for public/private sector.
2. Infrastructure and Energy Initiatives 6030013 81-82 4,000
-Grant for technical assistance and commodities to the government to plan, execute and evaluate alternative energy development and conservation programs.

GAMBIA

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|-------|
| 1. Rural Roads Maintenance | 6350206 | 79-81 | 4,744 |
| -Five year project, grant for facility construction, equipment, training and technical assistance for <u>upkeep of 1,320 km of roads.</u> | | | |
| -Improved public service vehicle and road maintenance equipment operations. | | | |
| - <u>New maintenance facility in Konefing, an industrial area near Banjul.</u> | | | |
| 2. Albert Market Feasibility Study | 6350211 | 80-81 | 393 |
| -Study to determine the feasibility of expanding and renovating the Gambia's Albert Market. | | | |
| -U.S./ Gambian research team consisting of economists, marketing specialists, anthropologists, urban planners, sociologists, architects and engineers. | | | |
| 3. Gambia Forestry | 6350205 | 79-79 | 1,575 |
| -Five year project. Grant for plantation establishment, training, commodities, construction, and technical assistance to reforest plantations and woodlots. | | | |
| <u>Residents of the Banjul-Fombos-St. Mary's area, the country's largest wood consumer, are expected to be direct beneficiaries of this project.</u> | | | |

GHANA

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----|---------|
| 1. Land Use Programming, Field Demonstration | 9310058 | -81 | 390,262 |
| -Planning techniques for the available technical and personnel resources <u>in intermediate - sized cities.</u> | | | |
| 2. Integrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor | 912000701 | | 461,000 |
| -Explore and develop more economically efficient and socially equitable ways to deliver essential services. | | | |
| 3. Ghana Day Care (WID) | 698038803 | | |

GUINEA

- | | | | |
|---|---------|--|--|
| 1. Secondary Cities Shelter Project | 6750202 | | |
| -Continued technical services of a project coordinator under the secondary Cities Shelter project in support of a HG proposed for approval in 1981. | | | |

GUINEAU - BISSAU

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|
| 1. Primary Teacher Training | 657003 | 77-80 | 506
2,010 |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|
- Grant to develop new and existing educational institutions to expand the nation's capacity to train primary school teachers.
 - Grant will fund construction and equipping of a student-teacher training center in the capital city of Bissau.

GABON

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|--|
| 1. Low Income Housing | 6310003 | 76-80 | |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|--|
- Part of joint project with Cameroon project.
2. Previous HIG
- Previous HIG of 2.5 million for sites and services in Liberville and Port Gentil.

IVORY COAST

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-----|------------------|
| 1. Low Income Urban Shelter Program | 6818003 | -81 | 33,000
20,000 |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-----|------------------|
- Three year HIG for Abidjan. 33 million for four projects has been authorized in the Ivory Coast. 21.4 dispersed and 20 million has already been authorized in FY 81.

KENYA

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
| 1. National Cooperative Housing | 6150201 | 80-83 | 1,000 |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
- Technical assistance, training, and equipment to assist in establishing the National Cooperative Housing Union of Kenya.
- | | | | |
|--|---------|--|--|
| 2. HG Nairobi Housing and Community Facilities | 6158005 | | |
|--|---------|--|--|
- 50 million in HG's have been authorized for five projects. 17 million for 3 projects has been disbursed and 33 million for two projects is yet to be dispensed (see #10).
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|--|-----|
| 3. Kitu Primary Health Care (PVO,OPG) | 6150185 | | 413 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|--|-----|
- Provides health care services in Kitus Kenya.

KENYA (continued)

4. Kibwezi Primary Health Care -Health care (secondary city)			
5. Pisces -Assisting micro-enterprises and small entrepreneurs in the informal sector in Nairobi.			965,526
6. Family Planning -To develop national family planning capability with 400 service delivery points.	6150161	75-79	2,178
7. Population Studies and Research -Create a Kenyan institution capable of performing high quality population/family training and research required by government ministries.	6150165	76-80	1,703
8. Kenya - Rural Roads and Systems Project - <u>Access of small farmers to District/Province Urban Centers.</u> Eight year project consists of loan and grant to support technical assistance and equipment and materials costs. -Located in Western and Nyanze Provinces and provides on all weather network of rural roads linking small farms to center of commune and social services.	6150168	77-80	1,748 13,000
9. Renewable Energy Development -Five year grant to promote renewable energy development and conservation in Kenya.	615-2-5	80-81	4,800
10. Town Shelter and Community Development -Three year project consists of grant and loan for technical assistance, training and investment to <u>improve the housing, community and business facilities in small cities.</u>	6150212	81-82	665

LESOTHO

1. National University of Lesotho -Five year grant and technical assistance to <u>develop a master plan for the Maseru Campus.</u>	6320080	77-83	3,000 625
---	---------	-------	--------------

LESOTHO (Continued)

-Provide vocationally-oriented education to non-high school graduates and human resource development at upper and middle manpower levels.

-Math and science, nonformal education.

2.

-There is no HG program in Lesotho; however there is an OPG dealing with low cost shelter. RHUDO provides the backstop support to Lesotho OPG.

3. Instructional Materials Resource Center	6320061	77-83	2,906
--	---------	-------	-------

-Two year project consisting of a grant to develop an educational program for primary and junior-secondary schools. The projects primary beneficiaries are Basotho youth.

LIBERIA

1. Low Income Housing I	6690146	78-80	1,672
-------------------------	---------	-------	-------

-1,775 serviced sites and the upgrading of community facilities in Monrovia.
-3,900 small loans for self-help housing improvements.
-Formulate and present a draft national housing policy and strengthen institutional capacity of the National Housing Authority.

2. Low Income Housing II	6690167	79-79	5,000
--------------------------	---------	-------	-------

-Three year grant and HG loans for capital and technical assistance.
-600 sites and services sites in the New Georgia Low-Income Housing Estate.
-Staff expanded and trained at the National Housing Administration.
-Secondary city pilot design.

3. Low Income Housing III	6698001		
---------------------------	---------	--	--

-Three year HG's and grant for 1,100-1,400 sites and service units in Freeport.
-Home and business loans and secondary city pilot design.
*Because of coup, the Liberian HG is at an impasse.

LIBERIA (continued)

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|-------|
| 4. Liberia - Vocational Training | 6690131 | 78-82 | 5,954 |
| -Four year grant to restructure the secondary vocational education program at Booker Washington Institute. | | | |
| -Three year curriculum will be developed with a mix of approximately 60% trade training and 40% academic studies. | | | |
| 5. Increased Revenue for Development | 6690132 | 78-81 | 1,333 |
| -4 year project, grant for technical assistance and training to upgrade ministry of Finance. | | | |
| -"Aimed at Farmers and <u>unemployed urban slum dwellers.</u> " | | | |
| - <u>An Real Estate Tax division, a basis for an urban fiscal cadastre system will be created and a block and parcel numbering system developed.</u> | | | |
| 6. Youth on the Job Training | 6690160 | 79-79 | 405 |
| -Four year project with a grant for technical assistance, participant training, and commodities to assist in the organization, administration, training, recruitment, and placement procedures of the government's youth, on-the-job program. | | | |
| -The vocational training program is for untrained youth from <u>Monrovia</u> between the ages of 14 and 25. The goal is to train as many as 500 youth each year for semi-skilled jobs. | | | |

MAURTANIA

- | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|-----|
| 1. Small Enterprise Productivity | 6820227 | 82-82 | 200 |
| -To expand employment opportunities <u>in rapidly expanding urban areas</u> through stimulation and strengthening of the economic capacities of SSE. | | | |

MAURTANIA (Continued)

- | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|-----|
| 2. Urban Migrant Community Development | 6820228 | 82-82 | 200 |
|--|---------|-------|-----|
- To improve living conditions for the urban migrants in the principal urban areas of Mauritania through self-help efforts to improve housing, health and employment primarily in Nouakchott.

MAURITIUS

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|-----|-------|
| 1. Mauritius Shelter Program | 642900 | -80 | 6,000 |
|------------------------------|--------|-----|-------|
- Two year project consists of HG loan to increase the production of low-income housing.
-Includes: 1,500 low-cost, cyclone resistant houses; 500 serviced plots; 500 core units; and 500 homes for families already holding land.

NIGER

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|-------|-----------|
| 1. Shelter Sector Planning | 6830224 | 78-80 | 84
571 |
|----------------------------|---------|-------|-----------|
- Two year project consists of grant for technical assistance and commodities to the government of Niger to establish a Housing Division and draft a national housing policy.

SENEGAL

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
| 1. Patte D'Oie Housing Improvement | 6850226 | 79-79 | 1,300 |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
- Three year project grant to finance sand stabilization, elementary school construction and housing rehabilitation in the Patte D'Oie housing project outside Dakar.
-The project consists of planting 5,000 seedlings of filao and euclyptus trees and the repair of 635 roofs and 90 walls and foundations of the housing project built in 1968 as part of a AID HIG program. In addition, a new six classroom elementary school will be built.

SENEGAL (Continued)

2. Senegal Family Planning I	6850217	79-79	883
-Three year project, grant for technical assistance, in-country participant training and commodities to implement a national family planning program.			
-The model developed at the Center will be replaced in 30 primary and secondary clinics in <u>Cape Vert, Thies, and Casamonie</u> , in 60 major hospital and free-standing maternities, and in eight venereal disease centers.			
3. Senegal Family Planning - Phase II	6850248	82-85	3,600
4. Fuelwood Production - Phase I	6850219	79-81	3,134
-Four year grant for technical assistance, commodities to support rapid-growing forest plantation development.			
-Develop 3,000 hectares of rapid growing Forest planation in Bondia Forest to: <u>(1) improve the efficiency of firewood production for Dakar/Thies</u>			
5. Integrated Youth Job Development (PVO-OPG)	6850222	79-81	1,758
-Five year project, operational Program Grant to YMCA to establish a vocational training center for <u>urban youth</u> .			
-90 students graduated each year with skills in construction, electricity, motor techniques, AC, industrial freezing techniques, general mechanics and, general textiles.			
-Establish on integrated and decentralized system for nonformal vocational training for men and women 18-30 years of age.			

SIERRA LEONE

1. Increases Revenue Development	6360108	78-80	772
-Four year project consisting of grant and technical assistance to improve the administrative capability of an existing government agency responsible for tax collection.			
- <u>Indirect beneficiaries will be the vast majority of urban and rural poor.</u>			

SIERRA LEONE (Continued)

- | | | | |
|--|-----------|--------|-------|
| 2. Wid-Gara Cloth Industry | 698038802 | 72-821 | 3,000 |
| -Grant to assist in improvement, expansion and self-sufficiency of indigenous cloth and handicraft industries. Primary assistance to individual rural and <u>urban producers</u> in implementing a regular, continuous flow of goods to and from producers and to and from local and foreign markets. (See #2 under African Regional Products, | | | |

SOMALIA

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|--------------|
| 1. Mogadisico Water Supply | 6490037 | 62-75 | 7,150
970 |
| -Loan to autonomous Magadisico Waterworks Agency for design, <u>construction of municipal water supply system</u> with a capacity of 7.4 million. | | | |
| 2. Kurtunwaare Settlement Project | 6490103 | 79-80 | 2,100 |
| -Two year project consists of a grant to implement a pilot shelter unit for nomadic herdsmen at Kurtunwaare. Test and develop a socioculturally, environmentally suitable low cost minimum shelter unit for <u>Kurtunwaare</u> . | | | |
| 3. Grain Transport | 6490117 | 80-80 | 5,000 |
| -One year project consists of a grant to finance transportation costs of 60,000 metric tons of PL 480 Title II food grains to the country. | | | |
| -The grains will be <u>distributed to the indigenous rural and urban poor</u> and to some of more than 1.7 million refugees currently inhabiting the country. Particular attention will be focused on the 700 homeless persons living in refugee camps. | | | |

SUDAN

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------|-------|
| 1. Refugee Water Supply - Port Sudan | 6500050 | 81-81 | 2,000 |
| -One year project, grant for technical assistance and commodities to the government of Sudan to expand the potable water supply available to <u>refugees located outside Port Sudan</u> . | | | |

SUDAN (Continued)

-For 30,000 refugees living outside Port Sudan and to improve water supplies for 10,000 refugees within the city.

2. -"Sudan has recently expressed an interest in HG, and the Rhudo is providing the necessary inputs to assist the Aid Missions and the country to make a decision."
3. Commodity Import Program III 82-84 50,000
-Aside from materials to support agriculture, CP notes: 1) replacement equipment for industry; 2) raw materials to revive dormant industries and provide employment opportunities.
4. Wqdi Halfa Community Development 650002601 78-80 498
(Water Supply)
-Five year operational program grant to International Voluntary Services (IVS) to improve the municipal water supply system. Wqdi Halfa is a desert town 570 miles from Khartoum and is expected to have a population of 30,000 in 1988. This is a sub-project of a six part community development project under the direction of IVS.
5. Rural Health Support 650003001 80-81 3,000
-Part of the project includes the training at the district level of 4,000 rural and urban CHW's, VHW's and traditional Birth Attendants. 1,881

SWAZILAND

- | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|--------------|
| 1. Curriculum Development | 6450009 | 75-83 | 5,364
621 |
| -Long-term plan working through existing educational institutions to reform primary curriculum. Aimed at rural population but could have some fallout in urban areas. | | | |
| 2. Teacher Training | 6450214 | 82-87 | 10,800 |
| -Expand and improve the capacity of Swaziland primary and junior secondary training institutions. <u>15% of student to benefit live in non-rural areas.</u> | | | |
| 3. Swaziland University College (USC) Extra Mural Services | | | |
| -Five year project consists of a grant to upgrade the staff, curriculum and physical plant of USC. In addition to training in rural development, courses in management for middle-level workers in public and private business will be developed. <u>The grant will also fund the construction of more classroom/laboratory block, a 96-bed hostel, 3 staff houses and a service installation.</u> | | | |

TOGO

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-----|--------|
| 1. Low Income Shelter | 6938001 | 80- | 15,000 |
| -Five year HG project to upgrade facilities in <u>Lome</u> and <u>Lama Kara</u> . | | | |
| -Also includes <u>home improvement loans</u> and community facilities. | | | |
| As of (3.23.81) Togo has not yet decided to take the HG authorized in FY 80. The interest rate of 14.5% does not appeal to them. Also the IA funding was dropped. | | | |
| 2. IIPUP | | | |
| -Padco study with RUUDO for 15 million HG program. | | | |
| -Project includes health, sanitation, economic (informal enterprise development), service delivery etc. | | | |

UPPER VOLTA

- | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|---------|
| 1. Urban Functions in Rural Development | 9310210 | 79-81 | 350,000 |
| -How Spatial Analysis could be carried out and the results used in the design and implementation of area design and implementation of area and rural development projects. | | | |
| -Field application of above in the <u>Fada N'Gourma</u> and <u>Koudougu</u> regions of Upper Volta. | | | |
| 2. Oncho Areas Village Development Funding | 6860212 | 77-80 | 1,673 |
| -Four year grant to establish AVV Development fund to provide loans for 200 small-scale, income-generating enterprises in 133 villages. | | | |
| | | | 500 |

ZAIRE

- | | | | |
|---|--------|-------|-------|
| 1. | | | |
| -HG completed? | | | |
| 2. Endemic and Communable Disease Control | 660058 | 76-80 | 1,380 |
| -Long term, Public Sector development of new institutional assistance: | | | |
| a) Do baseline studies and develop long term models in <u>Kinshasa</u> . | | | |
| b) Immunizes children in 6 month-3 year old age range in 15 urban areas. | | | |
| c) In <u>Bandalungwa, Kintambo, and Kinshas</u> zones, 150,000 meters of drainage ditches were cleaned out. | | | |
| d) 44,928 CU meters of Trash, Dirt, Sand and Debris were removed. | | | |
| e) In the Masina zone, 8,000 houses were sprayed with DDT. | | | |
| f) Field Spraying in the <u>Kinshasa urban area</u> whose 25,927 houses were treated during the second cycle. | | | |
| | | | 800 |

ZAIRE (Continued)

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
| 3. Basic Family Health Services | 6600067 | 80-82 | 3,000 |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
- Three-year project consists of a grant for technical assistance, training and commodities to begin on a pilot basis a restructuring of health care delivery in rural and urban health zones.
 - The two urban zones are Kinshasa and Kisangani.
 - Establish integrated health care centers, assignment of health care personnel and the development of various health care management systems.

ZAMBIA

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------|--|--|
| 1. HG program | 6118001 | | |
|---------------|---------|--|--|
- Old or completed project.
 - Housing construction, financing of mortgages, home improvements funds (revolving).
 - 2,300 core type housing units in 7 communities.
- | | | | |
|--|---------|-------|---------------|
| 2. Training for Women in Development(PVO, OPG) | 6110202 | 79-81 | 324,000
41 |
|--|---------|-------|---------------|
- Two year project to provide training and technical assistance to Zambia Council for Social Development and its 44 member organization. Improve their management capabilities in the planning, implementation and evaluation of operations and projects...to improve and expand services to low-income people, particularly women, throughout Zambia.
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------|--------|
| 3. Commodity Import Program | 6110070 | 78-78 | 50,000 |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------|--------|
- Primarily oriented towards agriculture but the \$9 million loan for private sector notes support for construction and industrial equipment.

ZIMBABWE

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|--------|
| 1. Rehabilitation Program Grant | 6130206 | 81-81 | 20,000 |
|---------------------------------|---------|-------|--------|
- Primarily aimed at agricultural sector but includes:
 - a) Reconstruction of 648 primary schools.
 - b) Initial reconstruction of 25 mission secondary schools.
 - c) Rehabilitation of 178 km of roads.

ZIMBABWE (Continued)

2. HG

80-

-50 million authorized
in 1980, 25 million authorized.

-HG resources will be for sites and services,
upgrading and community facilities.

AFRICAN REGIONAL

- | | | | |
|--|-----------|-------|-------|
| 1. African Women in Development | 6980388 | 76-82 | 3,000 |
| -Increase Rural Women's Economic and social effectiveness in National Development Efforts. <u>But</u> project description notes. | | | |
| a) In Sierra Leone - Freetown Product Development and production. | | | |
| b) Develop a self-sufficient cloth and handicraft industry. | | | |
| -Sub-projects included: | | | |
| 1) Gara Cloth Industry | 698038802 | | |
| 2) Ghana Day Care | 698038803 | | |
| 3) Income Producing Fes. Study | 698038808 | | |
| 2. Gara Sienna Leone Cloth Industry | 698038802 | 76-82 | 3,000 |
| -Among components described: | | | |
| a) Primary assistance to individual rural <u>and urban producers</u> in implementing a regular continuous flow of goods to and from producers and to and from local and foreign markets. | | | |
| b) Train in areas of: | | | |
| 1) Overseas buying and selling. | | | |
| 2) <u>Urban product and production development.</u> | | | |
| c) <u>"An non-agricultural areas/women find it difficult to obtain credit, training, equipment and transportation. Many urban members."</u> | | | |

AFRICAN REGIONAL (Continued)

3. Liberian Expanded Program of Immunization	69801110	77-80	1,450
-One year project, grant for technical assistance, training, and commodities to immunize children and mothers against endemic childhood diseases.			701
-Objective - immunize 75% of children and mothers in target areas, 50% of children and mothers in the rest of the country against six endemic diseases.			3,408
<u>-Did include program in Monrovia.</u>			3,899

Geographic Area	Year 1975		Year 2000		Absolute Increase in Urban Population and %
	% Urban	Total Population Urban	% Urban	Total Population Urban, % Increase of Urban	
African Continent	25.7	405,845,000 104,302,000	42.5	828,050,000 351,920,000 337%	247,618,000 +237%
Middle Africa	29.7	46,733,000 13,879,700	57.6	86,282,000 44,521,000 320%	30,642,000 +220%
Northern Africa	40.1	94,071,000 37,722,471	58.3	183,666,000 107,077,200 283%	69,354,730 +183%
Eastern Africa	13.2	115,290,000 15,218,280	29.4	242,780,000 71,377,320 469%	16.2% +369%
Western Africa	19.6	120,983,000 23,712,668	35.9	261,358,000 93,827,522 395%	16.9% 70,114,854 +295%
Southern Africa	44.8	28,767,000 12,887,600	57.9	53,964,000 31,245,156 242%	13.1% 18,357,556 +142%

SOURCE: Derived from U.N. Statistical Abstracts - Urban - Rural Projections Medium variant (N.Y. 1978).

The following tables are taken from Annex 1 OF Urban Sector Strategies for Africa: The Next Twenty Years by Michael Cohen, Urban Projects Dept. World Bank. 1981, (draft).

URBAN POPULATION BY COUNTRY

Eastern Africa

Country	1975			2000		
	Population	% Urban	No.	Population	% Urban	No.
Burundi	3,934,000	2.2	86,548	7,832,000	4.1	321,112
Comoros	300,000	9.5	28,500	445,000	22.9	101,905
Ethiopia	25,450,000	11.7	2,977,650	55,347,000	28.2	15,607,854
Kenya	13,531,000	12.0	1,623,720	33,624,000	26.2	8,111,040
Madagascar	7,675,000	16.1	1,235,675	15,115,000	31.5	4,761,225
Malawi	5,250,000	19.6	1,029,000	11,928,000	68.0	8,111,040
Mauritius	903,000	47.2	426,216	1,319,000	67.3	887,687
Mozambique	9,206,000	7.1	653,413	3,282,073	18.1	18,133,000
Reunion	482,000	49.5	238,590	686,000	70.0	480,200
Rwanda	4,120,000	3.7	152,440	9,009,000	8.8	792,792
✓ Somalia	3,170,000	26.5	840,080	6,260,000	46.2	2,892,120
✓ Zimbabwe	6,247,000	19.8	1,236,906	13,981,000	38.2	5,343,034
Uganda	11,337,000	9.8		24,607,000	23.5	5,782,645
Tanzania	15,393,000	9.2	1,416,156	33,794,000	25.0	8,448,500
✓ Zambia	4,810,000	33.0	1,630,590	10,407,000	54.1	5,630,187

Middle Africa

Country	1975			2000		
	Population	% Urban	No.	Population	% Urban	No.
Angola	6,260,000	17.8	1,114,280	11,874,000	36.2	4,298,388
Central African Republic	1,985,000	36.0	714,600	3,597,000	57.8	2,070,060
Chad	4,030,000	14.4	580,320	7,422,000	33.4	2,474,948
Congo	1,352,000	35.7	482,664	2,468,000	49.5	1,221,660
Equatorial Guinea	323,000	46.6	150,518	561,000	70.9	397,749
Gabon	521,000	30.6	159,426	752,000	53.7	403,824
Cameroon	7,528,000	27.2	2,047,616	13,054,000	56.4	7,362,456
Zaire	24,655,000	34.9	8,604,595	46,446,000	56.3	26,149,098

Western Africa

Country	1975			2000		
	Population	% Urban	No.	Population	% Urban	No.
Benin	3,043,000	23.0	699,890	6,529,000	54.4	3,551,776
Cape Verde	298,000	5.8	17,284	427,000	9.3	39,711
Gambia	524,000	16.6	86,984	1,012,000	30.7	310,684
Ghana	9,990,000	32.3	3,226,770	21,231,000	51.2	10,870,272
Guinea	4,416,000	16.3	719,808	8,214,000	33.2	2,727,048
Guinea-Bissau	525,000	20.7	108,675	845,000	38.6	326,170
Ivory Coast	6,710,000	32.6	2,187,460	13,955,000	52.5	7,703,160
Liberia	1,574,000	29.4	462,756	3,464,000	48.6	1,683,504
Mali	5,807,000	17.2	998,804	11,632,000	33.8	3,931,616
Mauritania	1,421,000	23.1	328,251	2,919,000	66.1	1,929,459
Niger	4,587,000	10.3	486,634	9,670,000	24.5	2,369,150
Nigeria	65,663,000	18.2	11,950,666	148,889,000	33.4	49,728,926
Senegal	4,977,000	24.2	1,204,434	9,632,000	36.7	3,553,294
Sierra Leone	3,045,000	21.4	642,495	6,056,000	40.2	2,434,512
Togo	2,325,000	15.1	351,075	5,014,000	30.3	1,519,242
Upper Volta	6,074,000	7.5	455,550	11,814,000	15.8	1,866,612

Northern Africa

Country	1975			2000		
	Population	% Urban	No.	Population	% Urban	No.
Algeria	15,680,000	53.7	8,420,160	27,516,224	76.4	35,016,000
Egypt	36,916,000	43.5	16,058,460	6,467,200	57.4	37,121,728
Libya	2,430,000	43.7	1,061,910	5,768,000	71.9	4,147,192
Morocco	17,305	37.4	6,472,070	36,149,000	54.9	19,845,801
Sudan	16,015,000	20.4	3,267,060	31,270,000	42.5	13,289,750
Tunisia	5,608,000	47.6	2,669,408	9,563,000	65.8	6,294,540

Southern Africa

Country	1975			2000		
	Population	% Urban	No.	Population	% Urban	No.
Botswana	716,000	17.3	90,657	1,439,000	63.0	906,570
Lesotho	1,192,000	3.5	41,720	2,089,000	10.7	223,523
Namibia	878,000	39.6	346,500	1,697,000	62.9	1,067,413
South Africa	25,500,000	48.4	12,342,484	47,803,000	60.3	28,825,209
Swaziland	483,000	8.1	39,123	936,000	15.9	148,824

Sources: UN Statistical Office - Urban Rural Projections 1975-2000 (1978)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

-113-

KENYA

*

Collier, P. & D. Lal. Poverty and Growth in Kenya, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 389. Washington D.C.: World Bank, May 1980.

Ghai, D., M Godfrey M. & F. Lisk. Planning For Basic Needs in Kenya. Geneva: International Labor Office, 1979.

Lanrenti, Luisi. Urbanization in Kenya. New York: International Urbanization Survey, Ford Foundation, 1972.

Richardson, Harry W. "An Urban Development Strategy for Kenya." Journal of Developing Areas.
Univ. of Wisconsin, Opportunities for Rural Marketing and Infrastructure Development in Western Kenya, Consulting Report No. 3. Madison, Wisc.: Regional Planning and Area Development Project, Dec. 1979.

USAID. Kenya Country Development Strategy Statement FY 1984. Washington D.C.: USAID, January 1982.

USAID. Kenya Shelter Sector Study and AID's Experience. Nairobi Kenya: USAID Regional Housing and Urban Development Office, August, 1979.

World Bank. Kenya: Urban Sector Memorandum (preliminary draft, Annex 1, for official use only). Washington D.C.: Urban Projects Dept., 1982.

World Bank. Kenya, Population and Development, A World Bank Country Study. Washington D.C.: Development Economics Department, 1980.

World Bank. Appraisal of Site and Service Project, Kenya, (for official use only). Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1975.

* Boalt, Carin, et al. Bibliography on Human Settlements With Emphasis on Households and Residential Environment - Kenya. Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish Council for Building Research, S:t Goransgatan 66, S-112 33, Stockholm, Sweden, 1982.

SUDAN

Antoniou, Jim. Sudan-Water Supply Project, Urban Poverty Review, Khartoum and El Obeid. Consulting Report prepared for the Urban Projects Department and East Africa Water Supply Department. Washington D.C.: The World Bank, Oct 12, 1979.

Badran, Margot. Low Cost Water Supply and Sanitation, Report on Mission to Sudan. UNDP Global Project GLO/78/006, May, 1980.

Breima, A.Z. et. al. The Challenge of Development in Red Sea Province- Report of an Administrative and Planning Survey of the Province. University of Birmingham: Development Administration Group & Dusan Institute of Public Administration, 1979.

Carroll, Frank & Margot Badran. Demonstration Projects in Low-Cost Water Supply and Sanitation, Report on Mission to Sudan. UNDP Global Project GLO/78/006, April 1980.

Cooperative Housing Foundation. Cooperative Self-Help Housing Program for the Democratic Republic of Sudan. Washington D.C.: CHF, Feb. 1979.

Davey, K.J. et al. Local Government and Development in the Sudan-The Experience of Southern Dafur Province, Vol. 1: Report of the Administrative Planning Conference, Nyala, Oct. 1976. Development Administration Group-Institute of Local Government Studies, Univ. of Birmingham & Academy of Administrative and Professional Sciences- Ministry of People's Local Government, Khartoum.

Glentworth, Garth & Mahdi S. Idris. Local Government and Development in the Sudan-The Experience of Southern Dafur Province, Vol. 2: Report of the Administrative Survey of the Province, 1976. Development Administration Group-Institute of Local Government Studies, Univ. of Birmingham & Academy of Administrative and Professional Sciences-Ministry of People's Local Government, Khartoum.

Mills, L.R. Population and Manpower in the Southern Sudan. University of Durham: Prepared for the ILO and the Regional Ministry of Public Services and Administrative Reform, Southern Region, Sudan, May, 1977.

Ministry of Finance, Planning and National Economy, Development Perspective of the Sudan. Democratic Rep. of Sudan, Sept. 1976.

Preston, Jack and Richard Cree. "Urban Sanitation and Planning in Khartoum and Omdurman." Paper presented at the 7th Water and Waste Engineering for Developing Countries Conference, Sept. 23-25, 1981. Proceedings published by WEDC Group, Dept. of Civil Engineering, Univ. of Technology, Longhborough, Leicestershire LE11 3TU, England.

USAID. Sudan Country Development Strategy Statement, FY 1984. Washington D.C.: USAID, January 1982.

USAID. Sudan Shelter Sector Assessment. Washington D.C.: Office of Housing and Urban Development, November 1978.

ARTICLES

- Cowell, Alan. "Regional Dispute Divides The Sudan." New York Times, Feb. 22, 1982.
- "Funds and Feasibility." Sudanow, April 1981, pp.26-30.
- "Housing: Back to Basics." Sudanow, July 1981, pp. 35-36.
- Ignatius, David. "Sudan, Facing a Threat From Qadhafi, Is Beset by Problems at Home." Wall Street Journal, Oct. 13, 1981, p. 1.
- Ignatius, David. "Sudan Farmers Find That New Methods Aren't Always Better." Wall Street Journal, Nov. 27, 1981, p.1.
- "People of the Street." Sudanow, March 1980, pp. 49-51.
- "Switch to Realism." Sudanow, July 1981, pp.9-11.
- "The Two Faces of Numeiri Bowing to Left and Right." New African, Jan. 1982, pp.21-22.
- "The Fight to Get On." Sudanow, April 1980, pp. -2-24.
- "Town Planning Crisis." Arabia, March 1982, p. 71.

CAMEROON

Cooperstock, Aryeh. Urban Development in Cameroon: Possible Initiatives for USAID. Washington, D.C.: Rivkin Associates Inc. for USAID, July 1981.

Delancey, Mark W. "Cameroon National Food Policies and Organizations: The Green Revolution and Structural Proliferation." In: Journal of African Studies, Los Angeles, Summer 1980, pp. 109-22.

Gilroy, Tom. "If you Think Your City's Costly, Try Dovala or Libreville." Christian Science Monitor, May 8, 1981, p. 1.

Hewitt, Adrian. "The European Development Fund as a Development Agent: Some Results of EDF Aid to Cameroon." In ODI Review, London, 1979, pp. 41-56.

Kofele-Kale, Ndiva. "Patterns of Political Orientations Toward the Nation: A Comparison of Rural-Urban Residents in Anglophone Cameroon." In: African Social Research, Lusaka, Zambia, December 1978, pp. 469-88.

LeVine, V.T. Perspectives on Contemporary Politics in Cameroon. Briefing Paper. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, June 11, 1980.

Ministry of Equipment and Housing Urban and, Rural Lands Development Authority, and USAID. Yaounde Household and Housing Characteristics, February 1978.

PADCO. Final Report Cameroon Low Income Housing Project. Washington, D.C.: USAID, Office of Housing, January 1981.

U.S. Department of State. "Cameroon." Background Notes, July 1980.

USAID. Cameroon Country Development Strategy Statement FY 82. Washington, D.C.: USAID, January 1980.

The Futures Group. Cameroon: The Interrelation of Population and Development. Washington, D.C., n.d. 64 pp., illus., bibl. Prepared for the Resources for the Awareness of Population Impacts on Development (RAPID) project, funded by USAID.

World Bank, IBRD. Cameroon: Forestry Project. (For Official Use Only). Washington, D.C.: IBRD, January 26, 1982.

World Bank, IBRD. Cameroon: Second Technical Cooperation Project. (For Official Use Only). Washington, D.C.: IBRD, June 4, 1981.

ZAMBIA

Dumont, Rene. Towards Another Development in Rural Zambia. Paris: Institut National Agronomique de Paris, 1979.

International Labor Office. Basic Needs in an Economy Under Pressure. Addis Ababa: JASPA, 1981.

Kaplan, Irving et. al. Zambia, a Country Study, 3rd^e edition. Washington D.C.: American University, Foreign Area Studies Division, 1979.

Ledogar, Robert. Community Participation, Collective Self-Help and Community Development in the Lusaka Housing Project, Draft Evaluation Report. Zambia: American Friends Service Committee, March 1979.

Mwanza J.M. "Rural-Urban Migration and Urban Employment in Zambia." Developing Economies, N2, 1979, pp.172-181.

Sanyal, Bish et. al. Evaluation of the First Lusaka Upgrading and Sites and Services Project (Vols. 1 & 2). Washington D.C.: Urban and Regional Economics Division, Development Economics Dept., World Bank, Sept. 80.

Sanyal, Bishwapriya. "Who Gets What, Where, Why and How: a Critical Look at the Housing Subsidies in Zambia." Development and Change, Vol 12, * 1981, pp. 409-440.

Todd, David & Christopher Shaw. "The Informal Sector and Zambia's Employment Crisis." Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol 18, No. 3, 1980, pp.411-425.

ARTICLES

Egzazian, Gregory. "Zambia at Seventeen." Africa Index, Vol. IV No. 20, December 3, 1981.

Jacobs, Gloria. "Zambia: The High Price of Peace." Southern Africa, Vol.14, No.2, March/April 1981.

* Schlyter, Ann & Jairus Chanda. Bibliography on Human Settlements With Emphasis on Households and Residential Environment-Zambia . Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish Council for Building Research, S:t Goransgatan 66, S-112 33, Stockholm, Sweden, 1982.

ZIMBABWE

USAID. Zimbabwe Shelter Sector Assessment. Washington D.C.: Office of Housing and Urban Development, January, 1981.

USAID. Zimbabwe Shelter Project Paper. Washington D.C.: Office of Housing and Urban Development, September, 1981.

USAID. A Framework for US Assistance in Southern Africa: Country Resource Paper, Rhodesia. Washington D.C.: USAID, 1977.

USAID. Zimbabwe Namibia: Anticipation of Economic and Humanitarian Needs. Washington D.C.: USAID, 1977.

USAID. Development Needs and Opportunities for Cooperation in Southern Africa-Urban and Shelter Needs. Washington D.C.: USAID, march 1979.

ARTICLES

Borrell, John. "Black Rule Rankles Zimbabwe Whites." Wall Street Journal, International Section, Nov. 19, 1981.

Brayton, Abbot, A. "The Future of Zimbabwe: An Overview." Africa Today, 4th Quarter, 1980.

Carter, Gwendoln. "The First Year." Africa Report, May-June, 1981.

Hawkins, Tony. "Whites in Zimbabwe: Is There a Future?" Christian Science Monitor, March 17, 1982.

Kumbula, Tendaye. "Mugabe's Balancing Act." Africa Report, March-April, 1982.

Quinn, Bowden. "Zimbabwe Turns to 'Practical' Schools to Keep on the Farm." Christian Science Monitor, April 20, 1982.

Slambrouck, Paul V. "Zimbabwe Plows Ahead on its Ambitious Land Resettlement Program." Christian Science Monitor, March 1, 1982.

"Zimbabwe, Economic Planners Face Dilemmas." Africa News, April 5, 1982.

"Zimbabwe, Health Care a Critical Issue." Africa News, Nov. 2, 1981.

"Zimbabwe, Economic Policy Based on Gradualism." Africa News, August 17, 1981.

GENERAL REFERENCES

- Acharya, Shankar, N. Two Studies of Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Staff Working Paper No. 300. Washington D.C.: Eastern Africa Regional Office, The World Bank, 1973.
- American Technical Assistance Corporation. Assessment of Impact of AID Programs on the Urban Poor. Washington D.C.: ATAC, AID contract otr/C-1379, W.O. # 7, March 1976.
- Blitzer, Silvia, Jorge Hardoy & David Satterwaite. "Shelter: People's Needs and Government Response." Ekistics 286, January/February 1981.
- Chetwynd, Eric & Robert Young. Botswana's Major Villages. Some Pre-Project Thoughts on Employment and Development. Draft. Washington D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Bureau of Science and Technology, USAID, Sept. 24, 1981.
- Cohen, Michael. Urban Growth and Economic Development in the Sahel, Staff Working Paper No. 315. Washington D.C.: Development Economics Department, World Bank, 1979.
- Cohen, Michael. Urban Sector Strategies for Africa: The Next Twenty Years. Draft. Washington D.C.: Operations Review and Support Unit, Urban Projects Department, World Bank, 1981.
*
- DEVRES, Inc. Small-Scale Enterprises (SSE) Development: A Summary of Descriptions and Evaluations of SSE Projects and an Assessment of the Approaches Used in SSE Development by AID. The World Bank and Other Funding Agencies. Washington D.C.: DEVRES, Inc., AID contract no.: AID-SOD-PDC -C- 0187, July 1, 1981.
- Dunkerly, Harold, et al., Urban Land Policy Issues and Opportunities, Vols. 1 & 2, Staff Working Paper No. 283. Washington D.C.: Urban Projects Division, World Bank, 1980.
- Farbman, Michael. Providing Assistance to Informal Sector Enterprises: The Neglected Side of Urban Development. Washington D.C.: Office of Urban Development, USAID, (presented at East-West Population Institute Workshop on Intermediate Cities, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 16-18, 1980).
- International City Management Association. Report of the Exploratory Mission to Africa, Oct. 28 to Nov. 22, 1978. Washington D.C.: African Local Government Management Program, ICMA, 1978.
- Jorgensen, N.O. Housing Policy Guidelines for African Countries. Nairobi, Kenya: Housing Research and Development Unit, University of Nairobi, Nov. 1972.
- Lubell, Harold. Urban Development Policies and Programs. Working Paper for Discussion. Washington D.C.: Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Office of Policy Development and Program Review, Economic Development Division, USAID, Nov. 30, 1979.

Mazepink, Michael. Human Services for the Urban Poor. Washington D.C.: Office Of Urban Development, Bureau for Technical Assistance, USAID, Oct. 1975.

Page. John M. Small Enterprise in African Development: a Survey, Staff Working Paper No. 363. Washington D.C.: Development Economics Department, World Bank, 1979.

Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). Intergrated Improvement Program for the Urban Poor, Vols. 1 & 2. Washington D.C.: PADCO, May 1980.

Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO). The Bertaud Model, a Model for the Analysis of Alternatives for Low-Income Shelter in the Developing World. Washington D.C.: Urban Development Department Technical Paper No. 2, World Bank, December 1981.

Renaud, Bertrand. National Urbanization Policies in Developing Countries, Staff Working Paper No. 347. Washington D.C.: Development Economics Department, World Bank, 1979.

Rhoda, Richard. Development Activities and Rural-Urban Migration: Is it Possible to Keep them Down on the Farm? Washington D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Bureau for Development Support, USAID, March 1979.

Rosser, Colin. Urbanization in Tropical Africa; a Demographic Introduction. New York: International Urbanization Survey, The Ford Foundation, 1972.

Southall, Aidan. Small Urban Centers in Rural Development in Africa. Madison Wisconsin: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1979.

USIAD. A Statement of Policy and Program. Washington D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Bureau of Development Support, April 1981.

USAID. African Development Bank: Shelter Policy Considerations. Washington D.C.: Office of Housing and Urban Development, USAID, April 1977.

USAID. AID Policy and Strategy Regarding the Urban Poor: Options and Recommendations. Washington D.C.: Bureau for Technical Assistance, USAID, March 24, 1976.

USAID. Southern Africa Regional FY 82 CDSS. Washington D.C.: USAID, Feb. 22, 1980.

USAID. Congressional Presentation, FY 1982, Annex I Africa. Washington D.C.: USAID.

USAID. Memo to Dr. Franklin Tugwell from Willian R. Miner, "Project Portfolio of the Office of Urban Development," Feb. 13, 1981.

USAID. Memo to Haven North from Peter Kimm, "Housing Guaranty (HG) Program in Africa," Office of Housing and Urban Development, June 8, 1981.

USAID. The Pisces Studies: Assisting the Smallest Economic Activities of the Urban Poor. Washington D.C.: Office of Urban Development, Bureau for Science and Technology, USAID, Sept. 1981.

USAID. The Development of African Private Enterprises, Draft Discussion Paper.
Washington D.C.: Office of Regional Affairs, Africa Bureau, USAID, Oct. 1981.

World Bank. Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, An Agenda For Action.
Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1981.

World Bank. World Development Reports, 1981 & 1982. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Zachariah, K.C. et. al. Demographic Aspects of Migration in West Africa, Vols. 1 & 2, Staff Working Paper No. 315. Washington D.C.: Development Economics Department, World Bank, 1979.

*

* Curutchet, Mirina. Bibliography on Human Settlements in Developing Countries. References With Relevance to Eastern Africa. Stockholm, Sweden:
Swedish Council for Building Research, S:t Goransgatan 66, S-112 33,
Stockholm, Sweden, 1982.