

POPULATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF URBAN PLANNING POLICY IN AFRICA

by
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ABSTRACT

The paper analyses the pattern of recent growth in African towns, examines the population component in this growth process and discusses the attendant urban planning problems. The contention in the study is that there are problems of definition, policy enunciation, and organisational co-ordination in the conceptualization, planning, orchestration and implementation of urban development and service systems. The magnitude of African urban developmental problems, and its multi-faceted nature demands that the latest in scientific knowledge and technological innovations should be integrated and incorporated into the urban planning and implementation processes.

INTRODUCTION

In almost all parts of Africa, urban centres have become the foci of intense economic activities: the indispensable crucibles for change and economic progress, destinations of over half of all the inter-regional migrations and the poles

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from where regional development is envisaged. Their urbanisation is built on diversity of cultures, political systems and economic resources, and so one discerns in Africa urbanisation a multi-faceted phenomenon. However, all the African cities have certain things in common. For instance they share similar growth trends, there are similarities in the demands on their urban governments, they have universal characteristics of urban life and form, and specific urban problems and goals are defined usually by a consensus among officials and specialists in their day-to-day operations of urban development. The objective of this paper is to identify and discuss the process of development and the underlying urban planning policy problems involved in this definition. These include manpower, innovations, decision making, new modes of urban analysis, socio-economic planning input and the definitive urban services systems.

URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

In many parts of Africa towns have been in existence for many centuries. In West Africa for example, there were many towns during the medieval period (Mabogunje, 1968). These consisted of a series of towns: (i) which grew up at the southern and northern fringes of the Sahara because of the Trans-Saharan trade route, Timbuktu, Kano, etc., and (ii) of towns which formed headquarters of ancient kingdoms: Kumasi, (Ghana), Abomey (Benin); and many Ooruba towns. In other parts of Africa, towns are new phenomena, closely associated with the coming of the Europeans—Zambia, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Republic of South Africa. No town in these countries existed before 1890 (Obudho, 1982).

Majority of towns in Tropical Africa are of colonial origin, and were established during this century. Many of the traditional towns have grown and expanded quite faster because of colonial influence—Ibadan, Benin City, Addis Ababa, Lagos. Before the 1950s, the distribution of towns in Africa showed a fairly even spread. Several areas had no towns particularly the Sahara, the equatorial rain forest, and the Savana areas of South-central Africa. By contrast, marked concentrations existed in the coastal areas, Zambia, and West Africa.

Since the towns are primarily central places serving the needs of the people in the surrounding areas one of the basic factors which affected their distribution was the general density of population in each area. Hence the largest zones with no towns occurred in desert and semi desert areas where a harsh environment supported very few people. The other factor which affected the urban pattern was the level of economic development achieved in each area. Thus the large size of Accra, Bulawayo, Salisbury and Lagos reflected the relative prosperity of the countries where they were located.

Since many African countries are mostly agricultural, the distribution of the main towns reflected the significance of export crops. For example the prosperity from cocoa reflected the high level of urbanisation in southern Ghana, southwestern and northern Nigeria. In contrast to the effects of export crops, the effects of mining did not cause major urban concentration in the mining areas except in the case of the Copper Belt, South African mines and Enugu. In Ghana, Tanzania and Sierra Leone where mining was important, the main towns lay far from the mineral workings. One can explain the Case of urbanisation in western Nigeria and Ethiopia in terms of cultural preference for urban living, except in Uganda where people prefer rural to urban living. (Hance, 1970).

The majority of the African towns depend on external relationship in terms of export and imports. Their coastal distribution reflects this pattern of contact, because of their port role and transit traffic from inland states. Many inland centres also developed as transport foci: while some declined as the result of trade reorientation.

Modern rail and roads contributed to the growth of many towns such as Salisbury, Bulawayo; while other towns such as Kinshasa and Bangui arose at strategic points on inland water routes.

RECENT AND CURRENT GROWTH OF AFRICAN TOWNS

In almost all parts of Africa, towns are at present rapidly expanding, both in population and in physical extent. The proportion of the total population now living in towns has increased remarkably. In general the rate of urban growth has been steady during the last 15 years but the picture is different for individual countries. Before 1950 many towns grew up because of the general level of economic development in the individual countries, but in the 1960s the excitement and political consciousness since independence has enhanced urban growth. It appeared that the urban population in Tropical Africa alone doubled between 1955 and 1967 from 9 million to 21 million.

Much of the growth in urban population must be attributed to natural increase in population, for in contrast with some other parts of the world, this appears to be as rapid in towns as in the rural areas. A large proportion of urban dwellers are in the 15—45 age range and this contributes to a high birth rate. The physical growth of towns has included both a greater intensity of development in the older urban area, and the extension of the margins of the built-up area across land which was formerly rural in character (Sada, *et al.*, 1978).

In most African towns the remarkable increase in urbanisation which has taken place over the past two decades has almost invariably taken the form of

TABLE 1: POPULATION OF SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES 1950--2000

Regions and Countries	Population (in million)						Percentage of population in towns 20.0(0 + (1980))
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	
Western Africa							
Nigeria	39.2	50.0	55.1	73.1	98.5	135.2	24
Ghana		6.7	9.0	11.9	16.1	22.1	32
Bouking Fausou		4.3	5.4	7.2	9.7	13.3	5
Mali		4.1	5.1	6.8	9.1	12.5	14
Eastern Africa							
Ethiopia	16.7	20.0	25.0	31.1	39.4	50.7	13
Tanzania		9.2	13.2	16.4	20.8	26.7	8
Kenya		8.1	10.9	13.6	17.2	22.1	12
Uganda		6.5	8.6	10.7	13.6	17.4	8
Mozambique		6.5	7.7	9.6	12.2	15.6	7
Madagascar		5.4	6.7	8.6	10.9	14.0	10
Malawi		3.5	4.4	5.5	7.0	8.9	10
Zimbabwe		3.6	5.0	6.2	7.9	10.1	9
Zambia		3.2	4.3	5.4	6.8	8.7	38
Middle Africa							
Dem. Rep. of Congo	12.5	14.1	17.4	21.2	26.5	33.7	21
Angola		4.6	5.7	7.0	8.7	11.1	18
Cameroon		4.1	5.8	7.1	8.8	11.2	21
Northern Africa							
Egypt	20.4	26.0	33.9	45.5	59.6	75.1	42
Sudan	9.8	11.8	15.8	20.2	26.5	33.4	15
Morocco	8.9	11.6	15.2	20.1	26.3	33.0	22
Algeria	8.8	11.0	14.0	18.8	24.6	21.0	28
Tunisia	3.6	4.2	5.1	6.8	9.0	11.3	27
Southern Africa							
South Africa	12.4	15.8	20.1	26.2	34.7	45.0	52

Source: Data for 1950--1960: United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs (1966), Table A3.8 Data for 1970: Table 2.1 Data for 1980--2000: Projections on the basis of "medium" estimates of decennial rates of increase for major areas and regions of the world as reported in United Nations (1966), Table A3.6.

expansion of existing towns rather than establishment of new urban centres. Tema in Ghana, Nouakchott in Mauritania and the capital of Tanzania are few examples. Most urban development has taken place in the areas which were already most urbanised in the early 1950s. Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Zambia, Central African Republic, and Senegal are the most urbanised countries in Tropical Africa with at least 25% of their population in urban centres 20,000 and above.

The main effect of political independence has been to increase the significance of the political map for the distribution of urban development, and particularly to stimulate the rapid growth of the national capitals. It is notable that one of the countries in which the rate of urban expansion has been relatively slow is Ethiopia, where the past decade has not been marked either by rapid economic development or by transition from colonial rule to independence.

In West Africa, Ghana has the most reliable census figures from which the growth of urban centres can be documented. Between 1948 and 1960 the Ghanaian urban population rose from 0.72 million to 1.55 million. The growth was highest in the largest cities—Accra, Kumasi, and Tema where the rate exceeded 100%.

In Nigeria the result of the 1963 census gave some indication of change since the 1952—1953 census. Some of the Yoruba towns expanded only slowly, including Ibadan, but others more than doubled in population, for example, Ilorin.

Growth was very rapid in most of the towns in the east, e.g. Port Harcourt and in the north particularly Kaduna. Lagos overtook Ibadan as the largest city in the country. The city population rose by 150%, and also spilled over into Mushin and other adjacent municipalities, so that the population of the whole agglomeration rose from 323,000 in 1952 to 1.3 million in 1963, and 3.8 million in the 1980s. Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Togo and Mali are all examples of countries with a single dominant city which is growing very rapidly, and several small centres which show no signs of reasonable growth.

In eastern Africa the pattern of urban development differs greatly from one country to another. In Ethiopia the relatively slow growth noted above seems to apply equally to the small towns, such as Harar, Dessie and Jima, and to the capital Addis Ababa. In Sudan, growth has been extremely slow in the small towns since 1956, but Khartoum the capital and Port Sudan have expanded considerable, since the 1960s. In Kenya urban development began much more recently except at the coast and is now taking place much rapidly among the small interior towns: the population of Nairobi the capital rose from 119,000 to 267,000 and that of the next six towns together rose from 130,000 to 186,000.

In Tanzania, between 1948 and 1957, growth was faster in Dar-es Salaam than in any other town. The only exception is Arusha which expanded rapidly

because of its role as the Headquarters of the East African Economic Community.

The dominance of the capital city can be extended to the description of urban growth in other African countries particularly in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. In Malawi the situation is unusual, in two ways. First, Blantyre is clearly the dominant urban centre even though the administrative capital is Zomba. Secondly government policy now aims at spreading from south to the centre of the region by shifting the administration to Lilongwe, through a deliberate decentralization programme. There are few countries in Africa with a large number of medium sized urban centres. The pattern of urban growth and distribution in many African countries is tied up very closely with the pattern established during the colonial period (Figure 1).

Thus many of them are expanding in a framework established in the earlier decades. To their administrative and political functions have been added some commercial and industrial functions. Most of them have distinct residential localities for ethnic, racial and other purposes.

AFRICAN URBAN PROBLEMS

The urban problems of Africa cannot be strictly separated from the general problems of the continent. These problems include the physical, economic, social and political.

Physical Problems:

Problems arise directly from the physical location of some African towns. Town sites have possibly been as fortuitously selected in the African tropics as in any other part of the world. For instance where the colonial master preferred a location more for personal considerations than the convenience of the people he will rule; or the probable future growth. The major problems which arise from the physical circumstances of African towns include drainage, sewerage supplies of building materials, water supply. Others are slum clearance, provision of health and sanitary facilities, particularly within the context of the European (GRA) Quarters versus other areas of the town (Abiodun, 1971, Sada *et al.* 1978).

Economic Problems

Economic incentives form a major reason for urban influx. Among the



Figure 1. Africa: Countries and Urban Centres

most important economic problems are: (i) regular wages and strange working conditions which the rural-urban migrant might not have been used to. (ii) high rents and gross overcrowding. (iii) rent-profiteering. (iv) journey to work. tedious. long, tiring, due to division of work-residential zones. (v) unemployment. (vi) stabilisation of labour and employment.

Social Problems

Social problems in the African urban centres arise not only from the nature of their economic structure and organisation but also from the mixing together in the towns of many tribes as well as of different races. Sometimes there are considerable tribal tension.

Political Problems

Of more immediate and practical problems are the day-to-day administration in towns where the officials deal with a highly mixed urban population: who have been thrown together with no common tradition. inefficient administrative personnel—and political instability. ineffective urban planning: rural ways of life in urban setting—and the problem of land tenure.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN PLANNING POLICY SKILLED MANPOWER

There are shortages in particular kinds of skilled manpower required for the conceptualization, planning, orchestration, and implementation of urban development. Many urban centres in African countries are growing rapidly without the benefit of planning at all or with plans developed by colonial governments long ago and under very different circumstances. Planners themselves, where they do exist, frequently have been trained at a time and in a place that have very little relevance to the situation that now confronts them. In some situations planning is being done but not by professional planners. In such cases the probability of costly mistakes is high and confidence in the planning process is shaky.

In general, schools of city or urban planning have been slow to develop, and most African countries lack them altogether. Schools or faculties of architecture and civil engineering are in abundance, but planning institutes *per se* are few.

Moreover, professional planning itself is going through somewhat of a revolution. It is becoming much more interdisciplinary and less physically oriented in approach, and is tending towards more meaningful public participation. There is also both the tendency and the need for urban planning in a context of metropolitan regions and larger socio-economic regions, including in some instances entire national economic and international economic regions. While a few African countries are at the forefront of this change, for the most part they have yet to be touched by it. Hence there is a requirement not only for the production of more urban planning skills, but also for the updating of existing concepts, practices, and instructional institutions.

Implementation of urban development plans and policies is another difficult problem which has received too little specific attention. It is an area of great challenge universally, but in the African countries, with serious limitations on most of the required resources, skilled, imaginative management is even more important. There are far too few institutions that focus specifically on problems of urban administration in African countries. Some suggestions can be effected towards solving some of these problems:

(a) Consideration of the most practical intermediate or stop-gap measures to improve and increase urban planning and urban management skills in African countries. Traditional as well as new and innovative technical assistance approaches and African-specific policy orientation and actions would appear to be requisite.

(b) Development of new and updating of existing urban planning and urban administration faculties and institutes in the continent. In the advanced countries there is a need for more conscientious encouragement and development of academic institutions and programmes geared to problems of urban development in African and other developing countries.

(c) Creation of some effective media for meaningful and far-reaching international communication in the field of urban development, with particular emphasis on African and other developing countries. There is enormous need and potential for cross-fertilization here.

APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

The magnitude of developmental problems is such that the latest in scientific knowledge and technological innovations, including ecological considerations, should be incorporated into the planning and implementation processes.

The problems of urbanization in Africa are so vast and complex that their

solution must depend in part upon as yet unforeseen advances in science and technology. Nor should one neglect the considerable potential in today's science and technology for helping to cope with existing problems and helping to avoid still others. There are a number of areas which, for the present and the foreseeable future, appear not to be susceptible to conventional approaches, available levels of financing, and existing resources.

In these areas advances and new applications of science and technology offer some hope for solutions. Such areas are, for example, environmental sanitation and pollution, ecological balance, mass transportation, waste disposal, basic education, communications, power, housing, building, and employment.

Alternative measures are required, and science and technology, given appropriate direction and backing, are capable of making important contributions. Examples of solution-seeking efforts which should be pursued include:

(a) More labour-intensive technologies of production that would maintain production and quality, and increase employment opportunities without increasing costs overall. Western productive technology has moved steadily in the direction of increasing capital-intensiveness—a direction that, until now, has been consistent with western goals, objectives and socio-economic realities. This course, however, is not considered inevitable for the African countries. Particularly where large and potentially larger reserves of unemployed and under-employed urban labour exists, there should be an attempt, through scientific research and development efforts, to develop labour-intensive productive technologies.

(b) Continued and intensified experimentation with alternative sources of power, e.g., solar heat may be particularly appropriate in desert and tropical climates. Ecological considerations should be paramount here.

(c) Continued and intensified research and development in the field of housing and building techniques, materials, designs, etc. Here again, labour-intensive technologies should be sought.

(d) Development of ecologically sound but economically feasible waste disposal methods that will not pollute and, possibly, will recycle waste materials as fertilizers, reusable fibers, glass, metals, etc.

IMPROVED TECHNIQUES AND APPROACHES FOR DECISION-MAKING

There is a need for improvements in, and increased applications of existing techniques and approaches important to the decision-making process, e.g., cost/benefit analysis; environmental impact analysis; pricing; land use analysis; data generation screening, and storage; information feed-back systems;

establishment of realistic and appropriate standards.

Decisions influencing the allocation of resources, the spatial distribution of people, and the quality of human life are among the most important decisions made. Such decisions should be made on the basis of the best information available. However, too frequently the best information available is not good enough, the available information is not used, or it is not used correctly. This problem is universal to urban development decision-making, and is much more serious in developing countries. It is an area in which scholars and administrators alike can make significant contributions through increased use, refinement, and innovative application of existing techniques.

There is a significant gap between potential and practice in urban decision-making, and it is important that deliberate steps be taken to bring about first a recognition of this gap and subsequently the elimination or reduction of the gap. This, in effect, amounts to the development of a "science of urban decision-making".

It is most difficult to introduce aids and new approaches into the decision-making process. They lack glamour and visibility. They tend to be painstaking and not easily understood. Most of those techniques have a credibility gap, moreover, that will have to be overcome. Too much ritualistic analysis has gone by the boards. Hence, a major challenge is to find ways to put vitality into basically sound analytical processes and to bestow on them an aura of credibility.

Examples of the kinds of decision-making aids and approaches referred to are as follows:

(a) Cost/Benefit Analysis. This is a technique that should be applied much more broadly and effectively in the allocation of resources to urban projects. Moreover, effort should be made to include in the calculations a measure of social cost and benefits as well as the usual economic considerations. Good cost/benefit analysis should help also to get at the question of opportunity cost; for example, the price of investing in project A rather than project B; how much should be invested in infrastructure before investment in other projects would produce a larger monetary pay-off or net gain to society.

(b) The Pricing System. Knowledge of market behaviour and phenomena can be a useful tool in the spatial distribution of people and resources. When its value as a behavioral tool is underestimated, many costly decisions are made. Unfortunately, its application to spatial dynamics is a relatively uncharted area, and much more needs to be known about it.

(c) Environmental Impact Analysis. Environmental impact analysis (EIA) is an activity designed to identify and predict the impact on the biogeophysical environment and on man's health and well-being of legislative proposals, and to interpret and communicate information about the impacts. These impacts must be

described in terms of penalties and benefits and communicated in understandable terms to the community and decision makers.

(d) Land Use and Location Theory. Consideration of alternative in land use decisions should be more conscientiously incorporated in the urban decision-making process. Here again, environmental considerations, as well as the availability of some relatively sophisticated tools of analysis, have added new dimensions to land use analysis. They should be applied. New break-throughs have made location theory a more powerful analytical tool and this too should be applied where practicable in land use analysis.

(e) Information. Cutting across almost all aspects of urban decision-making is a requirement for more effective and more relevant systems for generating the data, information and feedback needed in analysis of urban development problems and decisions. To a very great extent, the depth, breadth and validity of these systems will determine the effectiveness of many of the analytical tools. Some means of evaluating these systems is almost a prerequisite to meaningful analysis and efficient decision-making.

(f) Standards. Also related to all aspects of urban decision-making are the establishment and maintenance of acceptable and realistic standards. These provide the orders of magnitude and criteria essential to the decision-making process. Standards are also requisites of meaningful evaluation.

NEW MODES OF ANALYSIS

New modes of analysis are required where developmental problems are as such that conventional analytical approaches are inadequate (Uyanga, 1979). Urban development is a relatively new field, and many questions remain unanswered. There is still a relative paucity of analytical techniques. This is all the more so when planning horizons are elevated above the familiar single urban center to include a metropolitan region, an economic region, a system of cities, or questions relating to regional or national urbanization strategies.

There is a distinct urgency for the development and use of new modes of analysis and for the rapid dissemination of results. Decisions are in process in several countries which require better analytical and informational foundations. Examples of problems areas in which existing modes of analysis fall short and for which innovations are hardly needed are:

(a) Growth Centre Analysis. There is a need for appropriate measures to establish the relative growth potential of the various urban centres in a given region, country, or system of cities. This is becoming increasingly important as countries begin to look towards strategic decentralized urbanization strategies as a

means of controlling growth and overcoming economic backwardness on the periphery of large African cities and in lagging regions. Given the seriously limited resources of most African countries, it is of critical importance to make optimal urban investments.

(b) Urban Growth Components. The sequel to the above decision as to location of strategic investments relates to the appropriate areas of investment in potential growth centres. Analytical techniques have to be perfected that will indicate what kinds of investment will tap most fully the potential of the chosen centre to grow.

(c) New Towns. The concept is not new. In the African context of very rapid urbanization and the need to develop more rapidly the concept takes on new dimensions. African countries require better analysis of all of the factors and better and more information with which to make the necessary decisions about the where, when, why, and how of new towns in the framework of urban and national development.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INPUTS IN PLANNING

There is a need, in the interest of socio-political stability and a more equitable distribution of progress, for more of a socio-economic focus in the African urban process.

African urban planning has traditionally been a matter of aesthetics, engineering, and economics. However, in recent years this triumvirate has yielded to encroachment by some of the softer sciences such as sociology, psychology, educational science, criminology, and anthropology. This situation has been dictated, more or less, by social and political realities and the awareness that urbanization and city growth have undergone considerable change in part decades. Suddenly problems which 25 years ago were unforeseen by most are hard upon the majority of the major cities: problems, such as, dangerously high unemployment rates, spectacularly rising crime rates, lively trade in narcotics, overcrowding and overstretching of housing, sanitary, recreational and educational facilities, and prospects of rapid population growth for the foreseeable future. African urban planning and urban development strategies must be responsive to these emerging problems and this calls for more than aesthetics, engineering and economics.

Appropriate responses are still in question, and there is still much groping. In many countries responses have been inappropriate, weak or non-existent. There is a great need for coming to grips with the essence of the various socio-economic problems and attempting meaningful solution.

Because planning should be a flexible and responsive process, there undoubtedly will be trade-offs between and reconciliation of such diverse goals as efficiency, growth, amenities, and welfare. This "new breed" of urban problems should be a part of the planning process.

Examples of such problems are:

(a) Unemployment. New approaches to the problems of urban unemployment will have to be developed. These approaches should draw on conventional wisdom and past experience but not be the captive of them. This is unemployment of a nature that is unprecedented in modern history and innovations are required.

(b) Marginal Elements. Every socio-economic order has its marginal elements, but the term usually refers to a small minority. However, in many of the African cities those elements of society existing on the socio-economic margin constitute the majority. They are a vital component of urban society and somehow they have to be incorporated into the development process. This will occur naturally to a limited extent, but the rapidity of urban population growth is a complicating factor. There again, innovative solutions are in order. An example of the challenge to planning in relation to marginal groups can be seen in the location problem. If migrants settle in locations which are inaccessible from an engineering or other standpoint by urban services, such as sewage lines, waste disposal, mail, etc., there is little that can be done to improve their living conditions. It is important to guide such population increases into areas that are at least serviceable at some future time. Here there is a great need for methods to forecast the dimensions and directions of urban growth. (Uyanga, 1982).

(c) Urban Education. Educational aspirations and requirements for new masses of people are increased considerably in the dynamic urban setting in Africa, creating new and unforeseen strains on the educational system. Expansion of traditional educational infrastructure is an unrealistic approach, given the magnitude of the requirements. New concepts of mass education will have to be developed, and technological innovations can aid in their application.

SERVICE SYSTEMS

There is a need for the development of service systems which are integral parts of and compatible with urban development and national development in Africa. That is, a systems approach is needed to such service delivery: systems as transportation, administration, health, etc.

There is world-wide concern that there is not only a lack of much-needed services and service infrastructure, but also that the services and infrastructure which exist are costly, ineffective, and fail to reach those for whom they are

intended. As costs and demands for services rise, there seems to be a corresponding decline in the ability of existing systems to deliver. Where such lacks and ineffectiveness are less disguised by affluence, as in Africa, they are more stark, and the need for corrective action is more acute.

At the same time, the structure and functioning of one services system sometimes is counter-productive to another service system. This may occur within an urban area, a region, or a country, and may affect also urban and national development goals. Since service systems in most African cities are planned and implemented in isolation from each other, more or less, there is a lack of coordination. Worse still is the waste of extremely scarce and costly resources. It is, perhaps, the effects on human resources which are the least calculable and most devastating.

An important idea of the systems approach is awareness of the consequences of policies and actions. These consequences may affect other parts of the system, even though the policies and actions which produce them are designed to fulfil more narrow goals. While all consequences cannot be anticipated or delineated, it is important to be sensitive to the possibility of important and wide-ranging fallout effects and to allow for them.

The systems approach to development is probably more appropriate in the urban sector than in any other aspect of the national economy. Here the interaction of systems is so obvious that the urban setting provides an equally great opportunity either for harmony or disharmony on the functioning of its collective machinery.

Some of the service systems for which a systems approach is essential to urban growth and national development are:

(a) **Transportation Systems.** Various modes of transportation are needed for a balanced and effective network which can ensure the efficient flow of people, goods, and services. It would be inconsistent for example, to invest in expensive freeway systems in a city to speed and facilitate commuter traffic if it would mean the disruption of intra-city vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Similarly, it would be unwise to ban a major city's pedicabs for the sake of diminishing downtown congestion and making cosmetic improvements without first determining what effect this would have on the millions of people who depend on pedicabs for transport and the hundreds of thousands who depend upon them for a livelihood. Such services and opportunities are essentially irreplaceable in a low income area.

(b) **Administrative Systems.** Systems are needed to serve to administer the various aspects and components of urban development and planning and to coordinate and rationalize them with each other and with national

development. Change is the by word in urban growth and development, particularly as it is being experienced in Africa. There is steady pressure for new and increased innovative administrative system as urban growth processes are enhanced. There are no reasons why the new and evolving African urban systems should continue to be managed with old and traditional instruments.

CONCLUSION

The urban place will continue as the residence of an increasing number of Africans, but the pattern of urban development has generated many negative side effects which relate to planning and policy. The contention of this paper had been that those policy instruments meant to solve African urban ills should be streamlined and modernised.

The African urban planners, designers and administrators must come to terms with the realities of the African town as a living dynamic system—a conflux, a market place, a religious centre, a place of authority, with fast expanding population growth, inspiration and frustration.

Quite often the town planner does not know that in any attempt to create order in African cities, he introduces a measure of chaos: or that he approaches some urban problems from biased and non-integrated viewpoint. With his conception highly weighted in favour of who shall approve his plan: the policy makers, decision makers, and people of the planners' social status, the plan often ends of giving advantages to a few people and leaving the large majority of urban dwellers at the mercy of the ambivalent ambience. Often, most urban problems are tackled in isolation, as these are not one side of the other coin.

Urban planning should therefore be more in terms of doing the best to co-ordinate the population, organisational and spatial relationships among urban dwellers who are space users within the city. Such issues as architectural arrangements should take second place in African towns. Town planners should understand the details of how the African city, as a system, really works. They should endeavour to understand how the people live, what they need and should evolve an effective planning process so as to harmoniously marry people's needs to the available limited resources taking into account the peculiar environment of the African city, the heterogeneity of people, interests and forces. Because the African urbanisation is built on a diversity of cultures, political systems and economic resources, the approaches to planning African towns should be comprehensive, multi-faceted and integrated: based on adequate information and decision-making models.

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