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TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE URBAN SYSTEM
in AFRICA : PATTERNS OF DISJUNCTION and
INTEGRATION.

Note

Economic Development Research Papers are written as a basis for discussion in the Makerere Economic Research Seminar. They are not publications and are subject to revision.

The Challenge

In those parts of the world in which are found the so-called 'developing countries' which are at the same time in many cases 'new nations', a fundamental transformation is now in progress converting predominantly agriculturally-based rural societies into progressively more urbanised and industrially-based communities. In varying degree, the difficulty of ensuring an adequate life and livelihood in the countryside plus the attraction of town and city holding out the promise of more remunerative employment and better access to modern facilities, have combined to initiate a wholesale shift of people from the one environment into the other. While overall population growth rates in the 'third world' are considerable by world standards both current and historical, the growth rates of their urban communities rise even faster,³ sustained by their own natural increase as well as by in-migration.

The growth of a substantial population settled and employed in cities and towns is a necessary concomitant of economic development and cultural change. Urban areas are not only the sites for many of the more productive kinds of economic activity and the essential prerequisite for many forms of specialised enterprise and servicing. They are also the foci for the inception and dissemination of new ideas and forms of organisation conducive to making the maximum use of scarce resources. It is in the new urban environment that new opportunities are created for individual initiative and choice, sponsoring new family patterns and child-rearing, for community and more selective kinds of grouping attuned to the needs of a heterogeneous and flexible society, and for political and interest-group activity leading to the transfer of sovereignty to indigenous populations. Urban centres are the hinges of development, bringing into conjunction local peoples with the wider world, generating simultaneously rising expectations and a focus for their realisation in rapid expansion.

Unfortunately however, things do not seem to be working out as they should, or at least if they are, at an inordinately high cost, material and human. In many developing countries, the rate of addition to the urban population persistently exceeds the ability at present to satisfactorily 'accommodate' the increase; not only in terms of providing adequate shelter, but in the wider sense that productive employment and public facilities are insufficient by a wide margin to meet continuing demands. The situation is aggravated by the fact that very often migration to urban areas has been markedly disproportionate, with most of the new immigrants crowding into the largest centre or centres, the major metropolitan regions.⁵

The evident consequence of this state of affairs is a dual deterioration. On the one hand, the explosive expansion of capital cities and other metropolitan areas has brought with it a degree of congestion and blight which often seems to defy all efforts at improvement; the symptoms of deep deficiency in the physical and social environment - poor housing and worse sanitary conditions, under- and unemployment, maladjustment and delinquency - continue to spread. The emergence of the 'big city' with its attendant high cost and scarcity of land, choked-up traffic arteries and overloaded public transport, multiplies the problems of physical and social organisation. Finding solutions is complicated by the absence of an adequate economic base, severe shortages of public utilities and municipal services, inadequate administrative structures, and the difficulties encountered by rural migrants in adapting to urban life, with increasing numbers remaining slum-dwellers in peri-urban settlements unintegrated in the urban economy, community or its institutions. On the other hand, existing patterns of movement both indicate and aggravate the failure of smaller centres to expand and attract in a like manner to their big brothers, limiting local outlets for the employment of local resources and manpower. Consequently, the gap between the new urban order and traditional rural society becomes more difficult to cross in both directions: by peasants seeking even a quasi-permanent foothold in the towns, and by new innovations or improvements seeking a response among the mass of the populations. Thus the catalytic role of urban areas in the development process is impaired while the costs of urbanisation are at the same time increased.⁶

The challenge of uncontrolled urbanisation is becoming ever more urgent. Economically, the fact is often that both financial and technical resources needed to cope with urban expansion would, if fully met, impose a staggering burden on the countries concerned; yet at the same time, in an effort to cope, very often an imbalance has been created favouring the investment of resources in urban improvement at the expense of other priorities. Socially, the increase in numbers of illiterate, unskilled, poverty-stricken slum-dwellers or 'squatters' impose an enormous burden on the pitifully thin layer of public services, while at the same time contributing little to output and investment. Politically, the administrative machinery needed to bring some order out of impending chaos hardly exists, while large proportions of the population nominally residing within urban areas become progressively alienated from its organisation and government.

The situation here being confronted poses the central challenge of development, the allocation of limited resources between the immediate improvement of the living standards of their population and long-run investment in productive projects to ensure an adequate growth rate. The appropriate share of total efforts to be devoted to urban development has to be decided in the light of the sobering fact that at present there may be more urban residents than can be supported at current levels of productivity. Any arrangement of the urban population that will lower the costs of its accommodation and/or raise the level of induced improvement and investment, especially the level of industrialisation, so as to keep better pace with urbanisation, will stand as a contribution to the more rapid emancipation of the developing countries from their common enemies of poverty, ignorance and disease.

This conclusion applies as much to the continent of Africa as to the other underdeveloped areas. While the continent as a whole is one of the least urbanised areas in the world, it is also amongst the poorest, and already the tell-tale signs of accelerating population growth, urban concentration and inadequate accommodation are making their appearance. It is probable that by now that 7-8% of the continent's peoples live in large cities exceeding 100,000 inhabitants each, and another 7-8% in cities and towns having over 20,000 residents. In terms of the urbanisation of their populations the 40-odd territories which make up the continent vary widely, some outdistancing the average like S. Africa, Egypt the Magharib countries and to a lesser extent Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria and the Congo while others lag behind such as Mali, the Sudan, Tanzania and Malawi. In terms of urban concentration however the continent presents a more uniform face, each territory possessing in the majority of cases one or two 'primate' cities far outgrowing any others and characterised by the problems of the emergent metropolis briefly recounted above.

Something of the magnitude and momentum of the phenomenon of urban growth and concentration in Africa can be glimpsed from the selected data presented on Graph 1. Here are plotted the rates of increase in population over the last thirty years for a representative sample of the continent's larger urban areas, thirty cities from twenty territories. In 1936 these cities had between them under 5m. residents; twelve years later, in 1948, the figure had risen to 9m.; twelve years on again in 1960, the figure had grown to beyond 17m. The acceleration between the two periods may be gauged from the fact that twice as many of the centres included in the sample doubled or more than doubled their population in the period 1948-60 as against the period 1936-48; seven in the earlier period but 14 in the latter. The continent is characterised by widespread 'primacy' in its territorial divisions, whose often rather small proportions serve to accentuate the trend; thus twenty out of forty countries possess one city three to five times the size of any other, but over half of these had less than 5m. total population. Nevertheless, in a number of cases the degree of concentration is growing: in the north Casablanca, Alger and Tunis have far outpaced their nearest rivals, in the west Accra has gained on Kumasi, in the centre Kinshasa on Lubumbashi, and in the south Salisbury on Bulawayo.

The outcome of this prevailing pattern of selective migration and metropolitan expansion is much the same as elsewhere in the third world. The 'big cities' are characterised by extensive under- and unemployment, a lack of essential services, and spreading peri-urban slums. In the three largest cities in Algeria in the mid-1950's more than 150,000 people lived in the peri-urban 'bidonvilles' or nearly a third of their combined populations. At the same time, more than two-thirds of the 300,000 people resident in Dakar lived in districts without electricity or piped water. In the three main towns of Ghana in 1960 over a third of the residents lived twenty and more per dwelling. Less than 5% of the houses in Addis Ababa are supplied with running water. In Dar es Salaam 85% of low-income families lived in single rooms. The plagues and problems could be extended with ease.¹²

Equally important as these physical deficiencies is the situation of the majority of peri-urban slum dwellers. Though the lack of investment and technical progress in agriculture and related activities means a lack of alternative opportunities in the countryside and small towns, their failure to be integrated into the functional core of the city means that many migrants have an ambivalent status, unable or unwilling to adopt urban life as their permanent milieu. Prevailing conditions militate against the acquisition of needed economic and social skills and organisation, and failure to grasp the latter confirms the prevailing condition. At the same time, scarce investment funds are being devoted to the needs of the capital city, which often seems set apart from both its immediate surroundings and the country at large, so perpetuating the 'dualistic' relationship established during the colonial period.¹³

In Africa the challenge looms large just because of the possibilities inherent in a situation which is as yet only in its formative stages. In many territories efforts are being improvised to meet the test: new location policies are in the making, new housing programmes are elaborated, new infrastructural facilities provided, administrative boundaries redrawn, migration to the largest centres restricted and unemployment eased where possible by public works. Increasingly, such programmes are coming to reflect the state of knowledge and belief built up in response to the urban situation in developing countries. Though less work has been done in Africa than elsewhere, still the current thinking on the basis of urban growth and the extent to which it could or should be constrained is coming more to the fore in traditional physical planning and related exercises. The nature of this response has now to be discussed.

The Response.

It now seems to be generally accepted that accelerated and concentrated urban growth is necessarily associated in one way or another with concomitants of overall economic growth and structural change. The city provides the means and the markets to sustain commercial and industrial expansion and the focus for agricultural output and input distribution. Urban growth itself provides more available labour, urban concentration larger markets, both attract new migrants and new enterprises which benefit from increased propinquity and decreased service costs as local government responds to pressure for improved infrastructure. In particular, the external trade orientation of most developing countries encourages the expansion of major trading centres, port cities and the like, far above the norm of what can be supported elsewhere. The corollary of all this is the notion that urban agglomeration must be accepted for the sake of conserving the scarce means - in terms of money and manpower - for initiating and inducing further development, rather than dissipating efforts mistakenly directed at deliberate decentralisation.¹⁴

The efficacy of the response so far is weakened by an inability to generalise due to the lack of information on the costs and benefits of different sizes and forms of urban area. Moreover, what evidence does exist comes overwhelmingly from studies in advanced nations and one or two less-developed ones. The possibility of specialisation and interregional trade means that a considerable degree of commercial and industrial specialisation, diversification and scale economies can be realised even in a medium sized city, perhaps of 200,000, but the accretion of even more specialised kinds

of service and facility means that external economies for individual enterprises may not be fully exploited until city sizes twice this figure are reached. While on the one hand a decrease in the average size of viable economic units means the possibility of their accommodation in smaller towns, it appears to be the smaller plants that reap the most benefit from clustering together with a highly articulated network of supporting establishments in a single centre. Economies of scale in the provision of urban services such as police, fire and refuse do not appear significant above a size of perhaps 100,000, but once again the case of utilities such as electricity, water and sewerage may extend the range of the desirable up to 300,000 and above. While the possibilities of industrialised building methods and the establishment of a local building materials industry would indicate the advantage to be had from dealing with large residential units with populations of six figures, rising land-values, increasing densities and higher construction costs begin to make themselves felt in cities approaching half a million.

The current approach is further complicated because of the many other influences on the structure of costs and benefits besides the factor of size. In particular the nature of the urban form relating residences to workplaces and central business districts may much affect costs of travel and the provision of urban transport facilities, while the previous extent of urban growth will have a decisive bearing, 'new towns' involving a higher total cost per inhabitant initially, extensions to metropolitan agglomerations proving progressively more expensive, while additions to intermediate centres are likely to involve the least expenditure over time. In addition to these considerations, there has to be borne in mind the role of the urban area in providing a base for the integration of different ethnic groups and an environment conducive to the acquisition of the attributes of modernisation. If the big city perpetuates inter-ethnic segregation and makes more difficult the diffusion of new ideas, roles and organisational forms, its contribution to development is lessened. Equally, if the direction and control of the primate cities absorbs a high proportion of available administrative manpower, then the pursuit of planned development may be seriously distorted. It is probably this question of efficiently guiding the continued improvement of very large urban centres that decides the feasible upper limit to metropolitan absorption.

There are among the more heavily urbanised countries of Africa those in which there is a definite need for some form of effective decentralisation, and others among the less urbanised in which a policy of controlled expansion for their largest centres is advisable, in terms of the above considerations. The question remains however as to what kind of decentralisation is needed and how it can be made effective. In cases where metropolitan areas are already firmly established, they cannot be easily cut in half or have their expansion restricted in every direction for their continued operation depends on a complex and intricate mechanism built up from many pieces interlinked and possessing their own momentum. In cases where such areas are on the threshold of existence, untimely and unselective diversion of further growth elsewhere could retard the gaining of that momentum.

Slowly but surely it is being grasped that the question of urban expansion in Africa, as in other underdeveloped areas, cannot be dealt with in isolation from the entire spectrum of developmental concerns. Traditional 'town planning' is having to give way to a more broadly-based exercise. The problems of rural-urban migration, urban unemployment and slums cannot be divorced from the problems of a low-productivity agriculture, inadequate industrialisation, a lack of skilled manpower and low per capita income. Moreover, the prevailing pattern of urban concentration and rural stagnation cannot be divorced from the colonial 'dual economy' based on merchantile exploitation focussed in externally orientated commercial centres in a state of disjunction with the indigenous socio-economy. The possibility of improving the urban situation rests to no small degree on trends and policy on a much more general level, questions of structural change in the economy and efforts at integration enabling such changes to be carried through.

It is in this wider context of relating patterns of urban growth to patterns of aggregate development that a new approach is required, one which will enable us to observe more clearly the connections between the situation being faced in the cities and towns and the challenge being responded to on a national - and international - level.¹⁸

The Approach.

Until recently, most investigations into the nature of urbanism in Africa could be divided into two groups, whose separation reflected in a quite striking manner the real world disjunction between city and country peculiarly distinctive of African urbanisation. On the one hand were investigations into the internal mechanics of economic growth, largely concerned to elaborate models in which were set out the relationships between more or less aggregate magnitudes such as the various components of national income or factors of production, and the way in which these undergo alteration in the process of achieving 'self-sustained' advance. Such studies tend to appraise the growth of urban areas in relation to the major themes of 'industrialisation and productivity'. They stress the parallel between the shift in output and employment from primary to secondary and tertiary activities, and the movement of people off the land to congregate in cities and towns and wage labourers and entrepreneurs, attracted to an environment where all kinds of facilities and services can be found. Interlinked by major transport arteries with raw materials and markets, urban areas become aggregations of highly specialised commercial and industrial activities, forming the fulcrum around which a new economic order is built and the momentum for 'take-off' amassed.¹⁹

On the other hand stand the accounts of the intricacies of social modernisation, concerned to specify the relationships between such things as individual motivation, social roles, institutional arrangements and political organisation, and the way these are modified or transformed under the impact of development. They stress the parallel between greater rationality, autonomy and mobility conducive to the developmental propensities - to work, save, invest, innovate - and the spread of an urban way of life in which peasants emancipated from their traditional rural communities contract a substantive commitment to a new social order. It is in the urban environment that aptitudes and skills accumulate that go along with the accumulation of capital, enterprise²⁰ and new technology and the maintenance of large-scale organisations.

Whereas growth studies tended to be macrocosmic surveys inclusive of total national production, income and expenditure, treating the 'urban sector' as a composite variable with little or no indication of varying individual situations or non-economic factors, modernisation studies tended to microcosmic delvings into particular localities, treating the social characteristics of individual cities or parts thereof, with little or no indication of their place in a wider developmental context. While growth studies stressed the necessity of large urban agglomerations in which large-scale productive pursuits could be supported, the army of under- and unemployed nestling on the urban periphery the requisite proletarian mass for progressive absorption into the metropolitan economy, modernisation studies pointed up the transitory nature of much migration with unsatisfactory conditions in both country and town leading to a temporary allegiance to both on the part of many, which inhibits the absorption of the population into modern situations and places an extra economic and psychological burden on the communities concerned. The choice between these two perceptions of urban growth became one between "an economic formalism stressing revolution" on the one hand, and "a sociological eclecticism stressing gradual evolution" on the other.²¹

It is by now possible to combine these perspectives in such a way as to highlight the main features of 'development' as a whole, and from this derive a similarly integrated approach to the consideration of the urban centre in terms of the whole arrangement of activities and settlements in a developing country, thus redefining the situation in terms of the concept of 'spatial organisation' and the design of a territorial location pattern most conducive to optimal urban expansion.

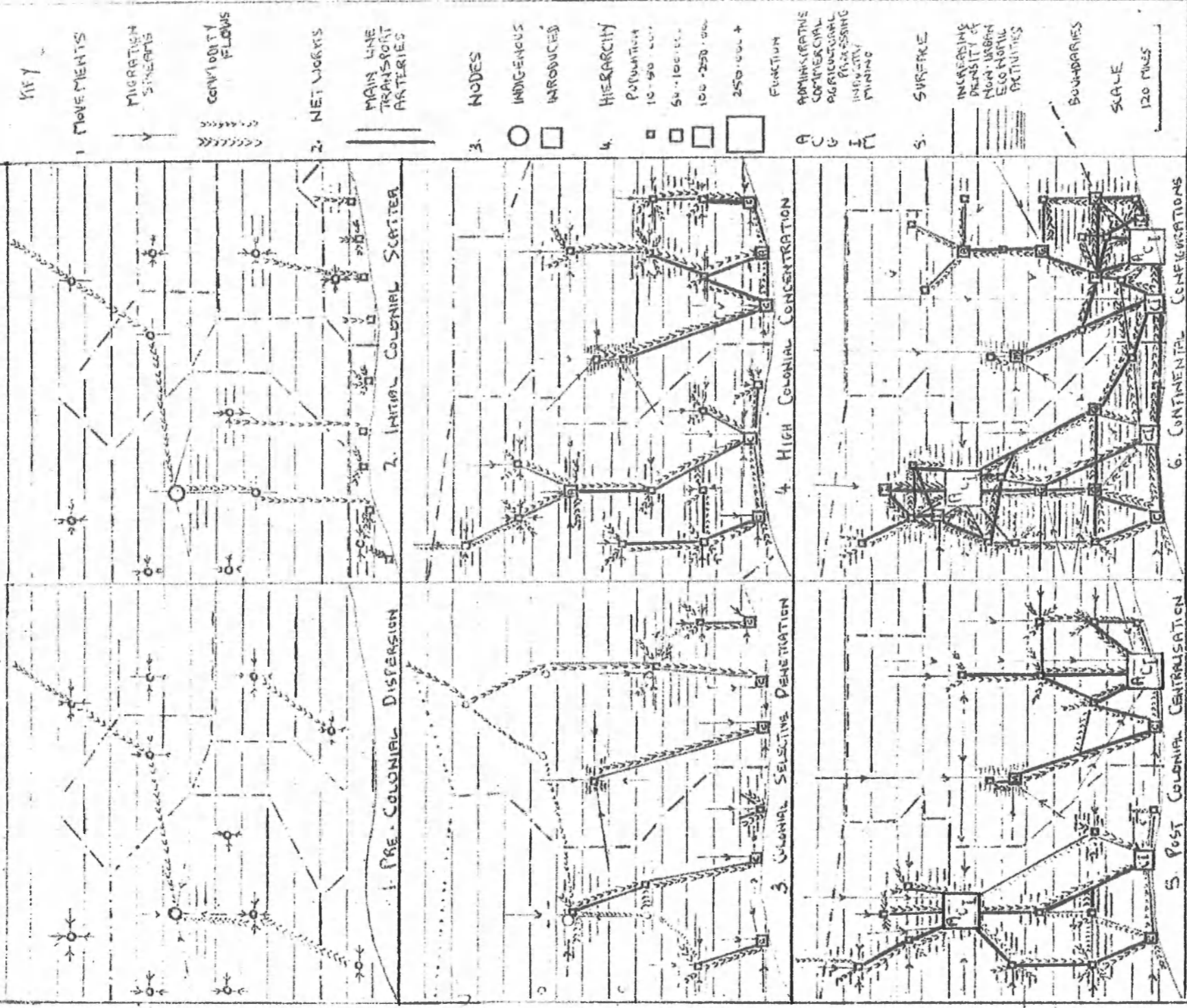
The central notion of the new approach is the idea of a progressive shift in the structure of spatial organisation during the course of development from a basis in the natural advantages of certain 'localities' to a basis in the acquired advantages of 'localisation'. The latter basis provides for the increased efficiency of distribution of population and production consonant with the concentration of effort to reach the 'take-off' by the arrangement of centres in proximate relationship to one another and to their mutual bases of support in the space-economy. The sequence of changes in the spatial organisation of an idealised African territory(s) is depicted on Fig. 1. in terms of the major components of such organisation, namely patterns of migration and trade, the size and spacing of urban centres and the arrangement and expansion of the transport network and specialised economic activities.

For reasons of space and time, the discussion is brought to a close at this point, leaving an elaboration of the approach to oral presentation. The sequence of Fig's. 2 through 6 together with Tb. 1. comprise some part of the evidence that urban growth in Africa is poised between stages 5 and 6 on Fig.1. and that a major influence in consolidating regional differentiation and localisation of the urban population is the prevailing locational pattern of manufacturing (see Fig. 5., and Tb.1., columns 11 and 12). It is hoped that the presentation of these maps with their attendant index's will provoke some thoughts on the current situation without the benefit of the argument that will accompany them; others may reach quite different conclusions than those which might (and will) be presented by the author.

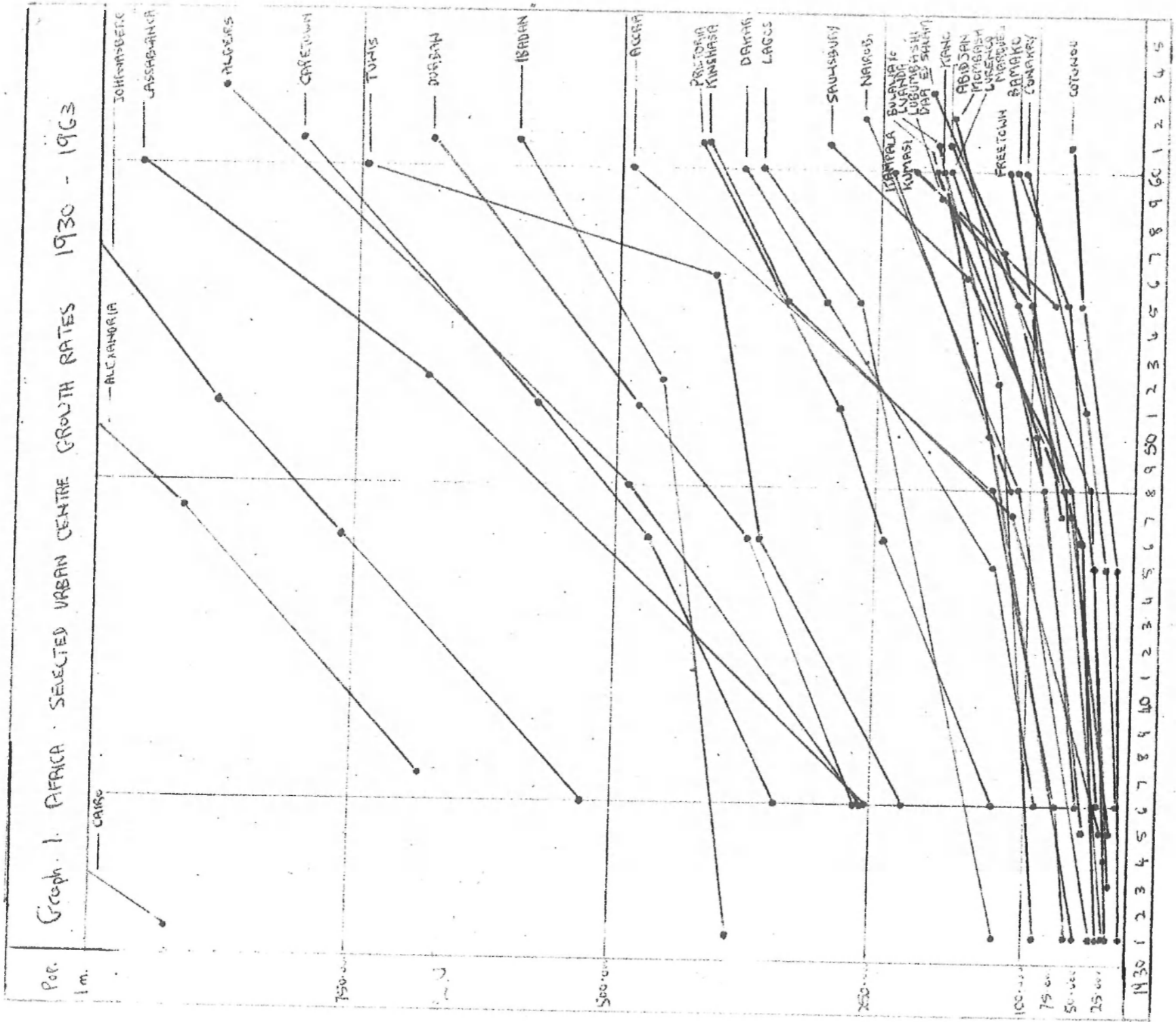
M. Safier.

(Notes to text and figures to be provided)

Fig. 1. Diagrammatic Sequence & Developing Spatial Organization in Africa



Graph 1. AFRICA · SELECTED URBAN CENTRE GROWTH RATES 1930 - 1963



1930 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 40 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 50 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 60 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 2. AFRICA: LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY TERRITORY CIRCA. 1961/3.

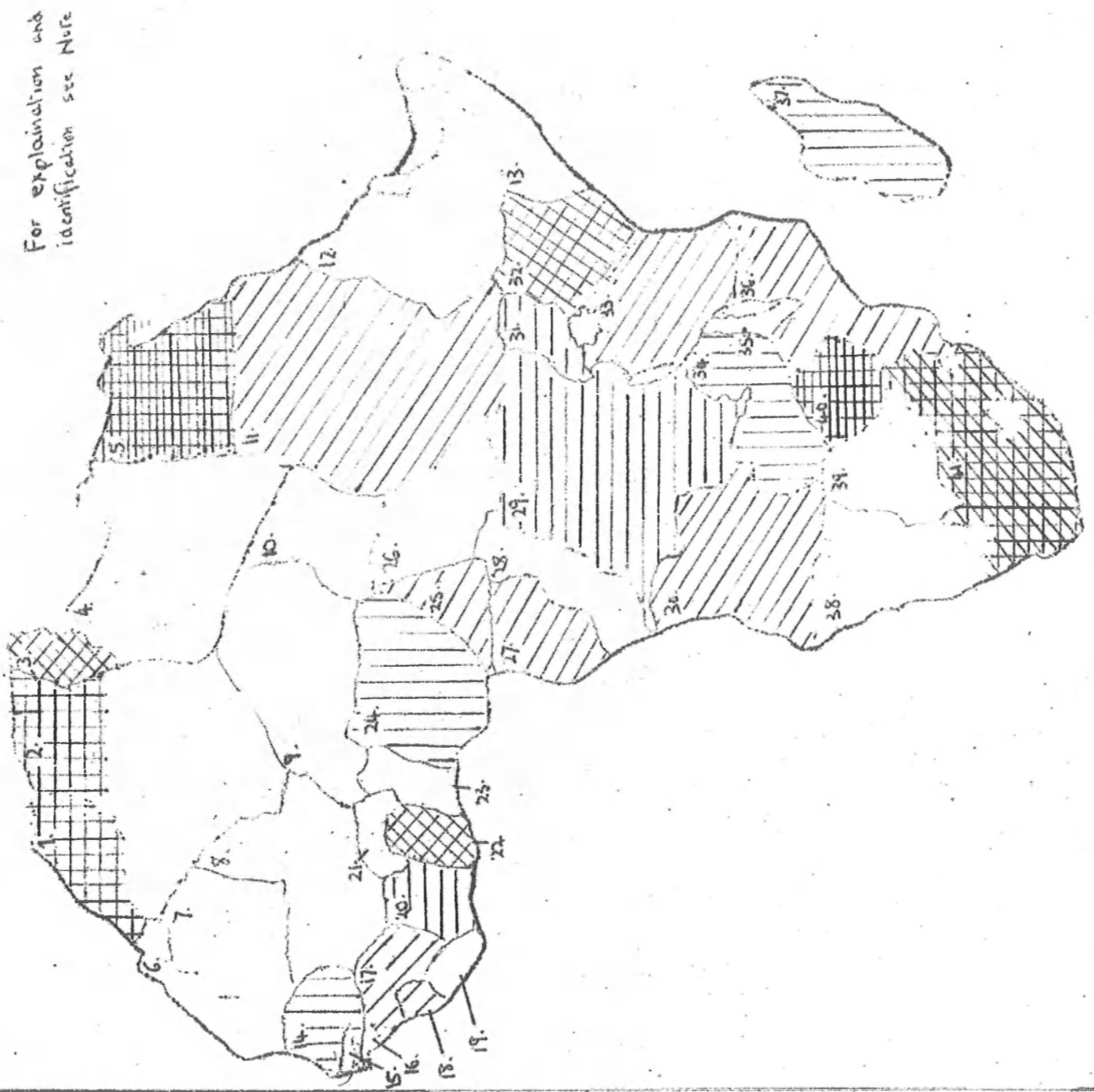
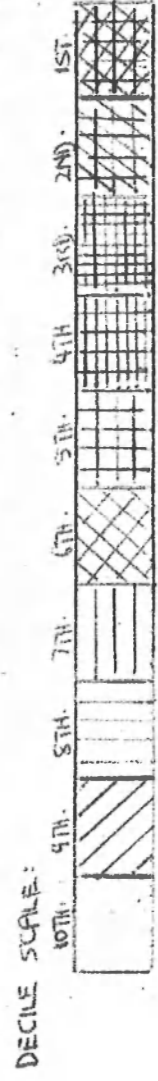


TABLE I. AFRICA: SELECTED INDICES OF DEVELOPMENT AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION FOR CITIES 1961/3

COUNTRY	Group Classification Index No.	Group Classification Index No.													
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X				
1 MOROCCO	8	4	2	1	2	3	2	5	1	1	2	2	3	2	5
2 ALGERIA	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	2	5	6	5	2	0	4	5
3 TUNISIA	3	5	4	1	2	2	4	1	3	2	0	1	3	2	0
22 GHANA	3	5	3	1	2	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	2	6	4
23 KENYA	3	4	3	2	4	2	4	4	2	3	5	1	3	5	4
14 SENEGAL	4	5	5	2	2	3	2	5	1	1	2	0	1	2	0
20 COTE D'IVOIRE	4	4	5	3	2	3	4	5	1	1	4	0	1	4	0
21 NIGERIA	4	2	1	1	4	4	3	4	10	5	9	2	6	0	0
24 REP. OF CONGO	4	1	2	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	0
31 UGANDA	4	5	3	1	5	4	5	5	1	2	4	2	0	5	0
34 ZAMBIA	4	3	5	4	2	1	2	5	2	3	2	0	2	0	0
27 MALIBUSI	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	5	1	4	2	0	1	4	0
4 LIBYA	5	1	5	5	2	2	2	5	1	2	5	8	0	5	0
8 MALI	5	2	4	4	4	5	5	5	1	5	5	0	1	5	0
9 NIGER	5	2	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	6	0	0	1	6	0
10 CHAD	5	2	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	4	0	0	1	4	0
11 SUDAN	5	1	2	4	3	4	5	5	1	2	9	2	1	9	0
12 ETHIOPIA	5	2	2	2	5	5	5	5	2	2	7	4	0	4	0
13 SOMALIA	5	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	1	8	5	0	1	8	0
17 GUINEA	5	5	5	2	4	5	4	5	1	5	1	0	1	5	0
18 GUINEA BISSAU	5	5	5	1	3	4	4	5	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
19 LIBERIA	5	5	5	2	2	4	4	5	1	4	0	0	1	4	0
21 HAUTE VOLTA	5	4	4	2	5	5	5	5	1	2	3	0	1	2	0
23 TOGO/BENIN	5	5	4	1	4	5	4	5	1	4	0	0	1	4	0
25 CAMEROON	5	4	4	3	3	4	4	5	2	1	5	0	2	1	0
26 C. A. R.	5	3	5	5	4	5	3	5	1	4	0	0	1	4	0
27 GABON	5	4	5	5	2	2	3	5	1	2	0	0	1	2	0
28 CONGO REP.	5	4	5	4	3	2	2	5	1	2	0	0	1	2	0
33 TANZANIA	5	2	2	3	5	4	5	5	1	1	8	0	1	8	0
20 ANGOLA	5	2	4	4	4	4	4	5	1	2	4	2	1	2	0
36 MALIBUSI	5	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	1	2	5	5	1	2	0

I Level of Development
Groups correlated to quantitative division of scale of Fig 2

II AREA (sq. km)
Above 1.500
Below 1.500

III POPULATION (M.)
Above 1.500
Below 1.500

IV POPULATION DENSITY (persons per sq. km.)
Above 20
Below 20

V PER CAPITA INCOME (#)
Above 200
Below 200

VI PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION (kgs.)
Above 200
Below 200

VII PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION (kgs.)
Above 200
Below 200

VIII INDUSTRIALIZATION (Employment in Manufacturing - 000.)
Above 500
Below 500

IX The Urban Pattern
No. of Cities with Pop. exceeding 100,000

X The Industrial Pattern
No. of Centers making up for 80% of total Manufacturing

XI/XII Shortest road/rail distance in miles between places of extraction of urban system - XI and industrial distribution - XII as portrayed on Fig's 5 and 6.

KEY
I Above 200
II Below 200

KEY
I Above 200
II Below 200

KEY
I Above 200
II Below 200

KEY
I Above 200
II Below 200

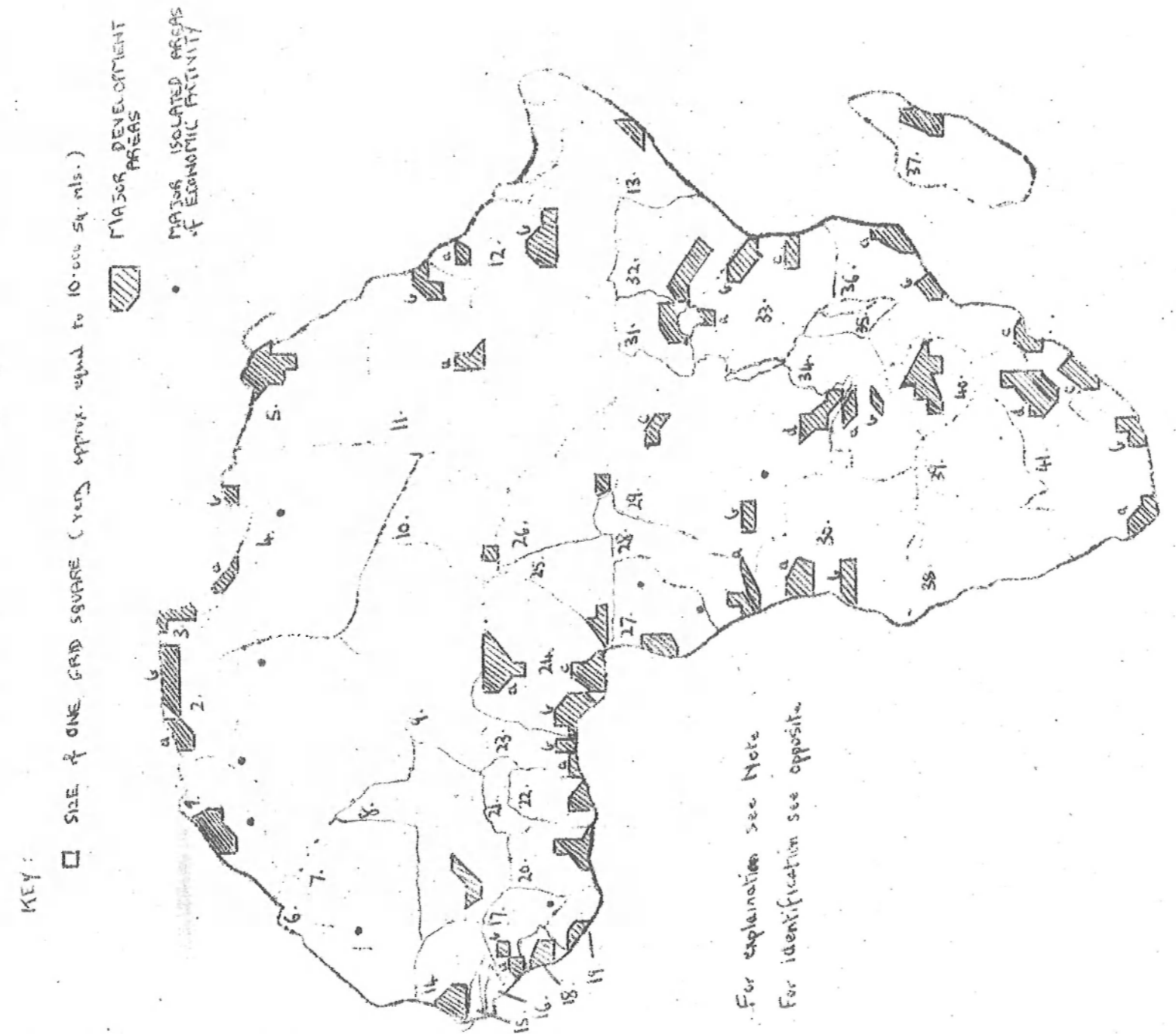
KEY
I Above 200
II Below 200

INDEX to PAPERs on Fig. 3.

- 1. MOROCCO
- a. ZAÏR, SEBHOU and KHARAB
- 2. ALGERIA
- a. NORTH WEST
- b. CENTRAL COAST and TELU
- 3. TUNISIA
- a. PENINSULAR
- 4. LIBYA
- a. Northern TRIPOLITANIA
- b. Northern CYRENICA
- 5. EGYPT
- a. DELTA and CANAL
- 6. RIG DE URO
- 7. MAURITANIA
- 8. MALI
- a. RLY. ZONE and UPPER NIGER
- 9. NIGER
- 10. CHAD
- a. LOGONE
- 11. SUDAN
- a. GEZIRA
- b. RED SEA COAST
- 12. ETHIOPIA
- a. Northern ESTIFEA
- b. SCIOA and HAARA
- 13. SOMALIA
- a. SHABEL and JUBA
- 14. SENEGAL
- a. WEST CENTRAL
- 15. GAMBIA
- 16. P. GUINEA
- 17. GUINEA
- a. SOUTH COAST and IS.
- b. FUTTA DJALLON
- 18. SIERRA LEONE
- a. WEST CENTRAL
- 19. LIBERIA
- a. WEST CENTRAL
- 20. COTE D'IVOIRE
- a. COAST and RLY. ZONE
- 21. HAUTE VOLTA
- 22. GHANA
- a. COAST and Southern ASHANTI
- 23. TOGO / DAHOMEY
- a. Southern TOGO
- b. Southern DAHOMEY

- 24. NIGERIA
- a. Northern
- b. Western
- c. Eastern
- 25. CAMEROON
- a. COAST, SAMBICA and Southern HIGHLANDS
- 26. C. A. R.
- a. UBANGI
- 27. GABON
- a. Northern COAST
- 28. CONGO Rep.
- a. NIARA and BAZZAZ
- 29. Rep. of CONGO
- a. CONGO CENTRAL
- b. KIVU
- c. HAUTE CONGO
- 30. KATANGA
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- 34. LAKE and NORTH EAST and EAST
- 35. ZAMBIA
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- b. RLY ZONE
- 36. MALAWI
- 37. MOZAMBIQUE
- a. NORTH EAST
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- 39. S. W. A.
- 40. BECHUANALAND
- a. CENTRAL HIGHLANDS
- 41. ZIMBABWE
- a. SOUTH AFRICA
- b. Western CAPE
- c. SOUTH EASTERN CAPE
- d. Northern NATAL
- e. Southern CENTRAL TRANSVAAL

Fig. 3. AFRICA: INTRATERRITORIAL REGIONAL AREAS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT c. 1961/3.

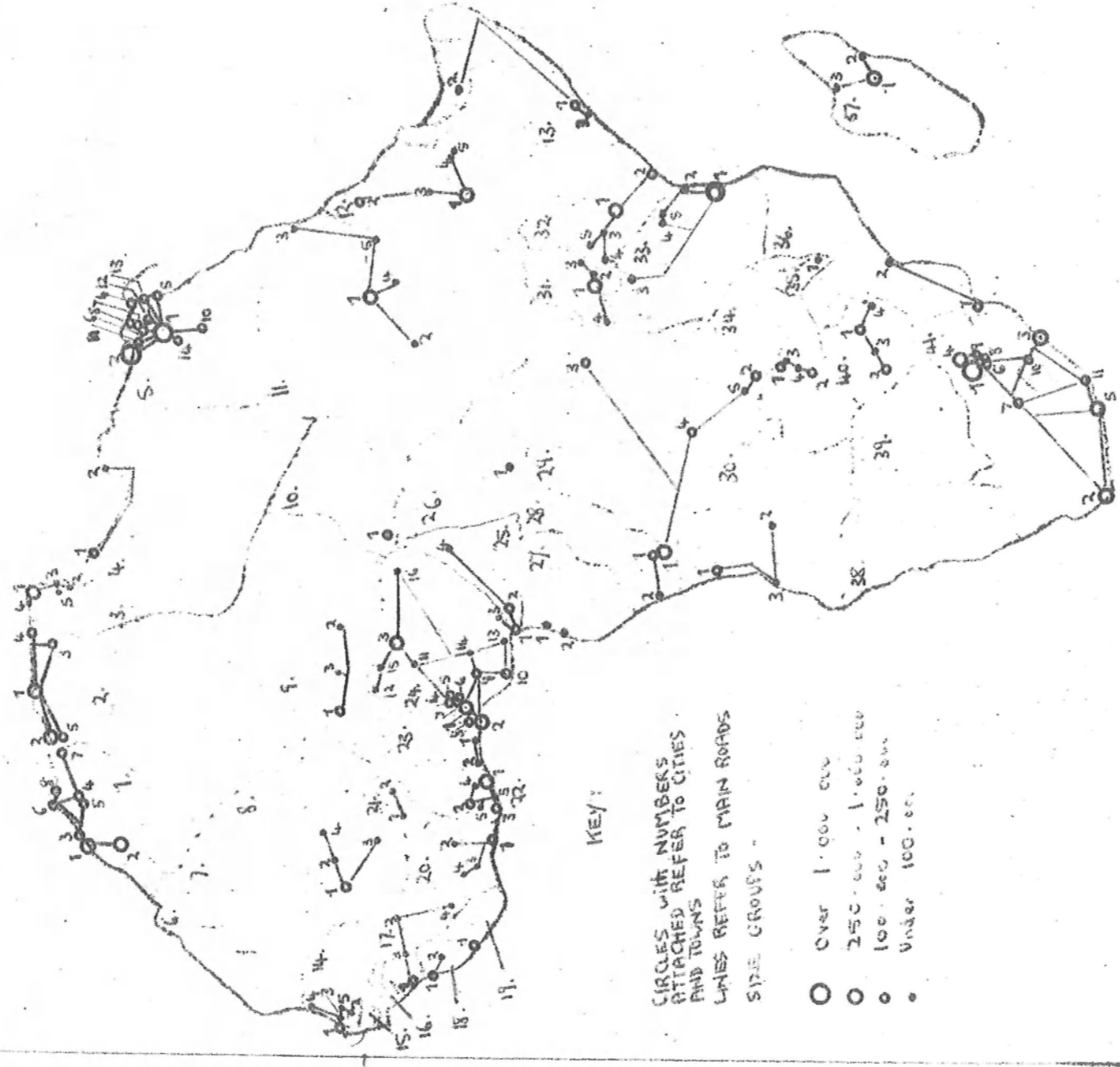


INDEX to PRICES in Fig. 4.

<p><u>1. MOROCCO</u> 1 CASABLANCA 2 MARRAKECH 3 RABAT 4 FEZ 5 VIEYENES 6 TANGIER 7 CUZDA 8 TETOUAN <u>2. ALGERIE</u> 1 ALGER 2 ORAN 3 CONSTANTINE 4 BONE 5 SIDI-SALIMBES 6 TUNISIA 1 TUNIS 2 SFAX 3 Sousse 4 Bizerte 5 Kairouan <u>4. LIBYA</u> 1 TRIPOLI 2 Benghazi <u>5. EGYPT</u> 1 CAIRO 2 ALEXANDRIA 4 PORT SAID 5 SUEZ 6 TRINTA 7 EL MARIUTA 8 MENAOUA 10 ASHUT 11 DAMIATRA 12 ZIGAZIG 13 ISMAILIA 14 EL FAYUM <u>6. RIO DE JANEIRO</u> <u>7. TRANSEILAVIE</u> 8 IASI 1 BAPAKO 2 Segou 3 Sikasso 4 MOPTI <u>9. NIGERIA</u> 1 NAIROBI 2 Zinder 3 Ibadan <u>10. CHAD</u> 1 FORT LAMY <u>11. SUDBAN</u> 1 KHARTOUM 2 EL Oued 3 Pt. Sudan 4 Med Medani 5 KASALA</p>	<p><u>12. ETHIOPIA</u> 1 ADDIS ABABA 2 HARAMA 3 Dessale 4 Direawa 5 Harar <u>13. SOMALIA</u> 1 MOGADISHU 2 Harar 3 Berbera <u>14. SENEGAL</u> 1 DAKAR 2 Kaolack 3 Thiès 4 SI LOUIS 5 Diourbel <u>15. CAMBODIA</u> <u>16. PT. CONGO</u> <u>17. GUINER</u> 1 CONAKRY 2 Monkan 3 Kindia 4 Nzérékoue <u>18. SIERRA LEONE</u> 1 FREETOWN 2 Bo <u>19. LIBERIA</u> 1 Monrovia <u>20. COTE D'IVOIRE</u> 1 ABIDJAN 2 Yamoussoukro 3 Gagnoa 4 Daloa <u>21. HAUTE VOLTA</u> 1 Bobo Dioulassa 2 Ouagadougou <u>22. CHINA</u> 1 HONGKONG 2 KOWLOON 3 SEIKING 4 HONGKONG 5 Ouwai Cape Coast <u>23. IONC/DORHNEY</u> 1 Cotacotum 2 Lima <u>24. NIGERIA</u> 1 IBADEM 2 LAGOS 3 KANO 4 OSHOGBO 5 OSHOGBO 6 IFE 7 IWO 8 ABERCROMBY 9 OAITSHA</p>	<p>10 PT. HARBOUR 11 ZARIA 12 Sokoto 13 Calabar 14 Enugu 15 Katsina 16 Maiduguri <u>25. CAMBODIA</u> 1 DUBOIA 2 PHNOM PENH 3 N'KONGSAMBA 4 N'gaoundere <u>26. C.A.R.</u> 1 Bangui <u>27. GABON</u> 1 Libreville 2 Pt. Gendal <u>28. CONGO REP.</u> 1 BRASSOUILLE 2 Pointe Noire <u>29. Rep. E. CONGO</u> 1 KINSHASA 2 LUBUMBASHI 3 KISANGANGHI 4 LULUBURGE 5 TADUKVILE <u>30. ANGOLA</u> 1 Luanda 2 Lobito 3 Nova Lusua 31. VAMPORA 1 KAMPALA 2 Jinja 3 Firyale 4 KALALE <u>32. KENYA</u> 1 NAIROBI 2 MOMBASA 3 Nakuru 4 Kisumu 5 ELALET <u>33. TANZANIA</u> 1 DAR ES SALAM 2 Tanga 3 Mwanza 4 Arusha 5 Moshi <u>34. ZAMBIA</u> 1. KITWE 2 LUSAKA 3 Ndola 4 Broken Hill <u>35. FIJI</u> 1. Blantyre</p>	<p><u>36. MOZAMBIQUE</u> 1 LUENCO MARGUES 2 Beira <u>37. MALACCA</u> 1 TANANARIVE 2 Tananarive 3 Majunga <u>38. S.W.A.</u> <u>39. BECHUANALAND</u> 1 SPRUISBURG 2 BUTHURYO 3 Gwelo 4 Vintadi <u>41. SOUTH AFRICA</u> 1 JOHANNESBURG 2 URB. TOWN 3 DURBAN 4 PRETORIA 5 PT. ELIZABETH 6 VERMISTON 7 BUETEFONTAIN 8 SPRINGS 9 GENONI 10 PIETERMARITZBURG 11 EAST LONDON</p> <p>Note: Capitals denote city of 100,000 or more</p>
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Fig. 4. AFRICA: The LOCATIONAL PATTERN of the MAJOR URBAN CENTRES c.1961/3.

For explanation see Note
 For identification see opposite



KEY:

CIRCLES WITH NUMBERS
 ATTACHED REFER TO CITIES
 AND TOWNS
 LINES REFER TO MAIN ROADS
 SIDE GROUPS -

- Over 1,000,000
- 250,000 - 1,000,000
- 100,000 - 250,000
- Under 100,000

INDEX to PLACES on Fig. 5.

1. MOROCCO	12. ETHIOPIA	20. ANGOLA
1. CASABLANCA	1. Addis Ababa	1. Luanda
3. Rabat	2. Djibouti	2. Lobi
4. Fez	13. SIERRA LEONE	31. ZAMBIA
5. Meknes	14. SERELEULE	1. Kampala
2. ALGERIA	1. Dakar	2. Kampala
1. ALGERIA	15. GAMBIA	32. KENYA
2. Algiers	16. Pt. GUINEA	1. NAIROBI
3. Blida	17. GUINEA	2. NAIROBI
4. Constantine	18. SIERRA LEONE	3. NAIROBI
5. Saida	19. LIBERIA	33. TANZANIA
6. Mostaganem	20. COTE D'IVOIRE	1. Dar es Salaam
7. Mascara	21. EL DUA	34. ZAMBIA
3. TUNISIA	1. Evdjidja	1. Kitale
1. TUNIS	21. HUTE VICTA	2. Kitale
2. Bizerte	22. GITHIKA	3. Kitale
3. Sousse	1. Patra	35. TIBET
4. LIBYA	2. Kufuni	36. MODRIBIQUE
1. Tripoli	3. Sekondi	1. Lawrence Marques
2. Benghazi	23. TOGO	2. MAFRASY
5. EGYPT	24. NIGERIA	37. MALDEN
1. CAIRO	1. Ibadan	38. S. W. A.
2. AIN HELWAN	2. Lagos	39. BECHUANALAND
3. Luxor	3. Kano	40. ZIMBABWE
4. Pt. Said	4. Kalamo	1. SOUTHBURY
5. Mansura	5. Harcourt	2. SOUTHBURY
6. RIO DE CRU	25. CAMEROON	3. SOUTHBURY
7. MANJESSTANA	1. Douala	4. SOUTHBURY
8. M'P	26. C. A. R.	5. SOUTH AFRICA
9. NIGER	27. GABON	1. JOHANNESBURG
10. CHAD	28. CONGO. REP.	2. CAPETOWN
11. SUFRA	29. Rep. of CONGO	3. DURBAN
1. Khartoum	1. Kinshasa	4. PT. ELIZABETH
2. Atbara	2. Lubumbashi	5. Pretoria
	3. Kinshasa	6. GERMISTON
	4. Saabani	7. VERENINGING
		8. Springs
		9. GERMISTON
		10. PIERREMARITZBURG
		11. East London
		12. Paarl

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