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EDUCATION FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS
OF THE URBAN AREAS

by

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PREFACE

Education for urban planning is still a topic of some controversy. The planners often debate over what might be considered an appropriate educational program for training planners. This is so because planning is still a relatively young profession. Although numerous articles have been written on this, not too many books are available that have considered the subject in some depth. Nevertheless, it is the spirit of adventure, and with the advice and guidance of Mr. Dale, the Head of the Department of Urban Planning at the University of Oregon, that led the author to tread on these unknown waters.

The two sections into which this thesis is divided are interdependent. The first section introduces the reader to urban development in Kenya through its history and as well as the present time. The second section, which is the main thesis, attempts to find the type of training that would be appropriate for urban planning in Kenya.

The reader should note, however, that Kenya is used only as a point of reference. Most problems discussed and educational proposals made are good for Uganda, Tanzania and perhaps other East African countries too. The three
main East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are so interdependent that any discussion dealing with the economic, political, social, or physical development of one must have some bearing on the others. This is why the type of training suggested here is meant for all East African countries rather than Kenya alone, although Kenya is used for the discussion.

Secondly, the reader may note that throughout the thesis the author uses the words "town" and "urban" interchangeably. Whereas the two words may have different meaning when considered seriously, the author uses them to mean the same thing. The author feels that although the word "town" may have a limited definition in terms of physical area covered, it cannot exist as an entity but must be considered as part of the region around it. This is why the author uses it to mean the same as the phrase "urban area" which has a wider definition in terms of the geographical area it covers.

The author should not pass this opportunity to acknowledge the help and inspiration that was accorded to him by Mr. Dale in structuring and writing this thesis. The author must also recognize the Ministry of Housing and the Government Printers in Kenya for their prompt action in supplying the needed data and materials as soon as they were requested.

A good deal of thanks must also be made to the author's
wife for her endurance during the long six months she had to wait for the author to finish this work. Above all, the author wishes to dedicate the work to the two little ones in Kenya who for the period of four and a half years had to sacrifice to live without their parents around them.

Lastly, the author wishes to thank a lady who constantly helped in correcting the grammatical errors the author made, and also the members of the Thesis Committee for their understanding and suggestions.

It is the hope of the author that this work will not be an end result but an opening for further investigation in this rich field in which a lot has yet to be said.
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SECTION ONE

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

This section is aimed at briefing the reader regarding the historical basis for the urban situation in Kenya and also focusing the attention of the reader on what is evolving at present as far as the development of urban areas are concerned. This phase includes presenting the role that the urban areas in Kenya have played and will continue to play in the social changes and economic developments taking place in the country. The third chapter of the section then discusses the areas that seem to incite major concern in Kenya's urban development. These are mainly problem areas which need some solution.

This section of the thesis as a whole is an introductory part that is aimed at preparing the reader for the second section which is the main thesis of this research. The author, however, considers both sections as important components of the whole body of this work.
CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

When we speak of urban living, we are referring to a phenomenon that was entirely alien to the traditional social organization and economic activity of the East African inhabitants, with the exception of a narrow strip of land along the east coast of Africa. The traditional way of life of the East Africans favored only scattered development over fields and pasturage. Whatever concentrated settlements existed prior to European penetration into the interior were temporary in nature and usually centered around the chief's residence. Even this kind of concentration was rare in the area that is now called Kenya. Therefore, any study of urban development in Kenya, or in East Africa for that matter, must consider the influence of foreign elements.

Urban Dwelling from Early Times in Kenya

True urban development and dwellings started in Kenya as the result of the settlement of early traders from the Middle East, most of whom were Arabs. An exact date for the beginning of these Arab settlements is unknown. A Roman sailor called Hippalus, who sailed down the Red Sea
in 45 A.D., described the Arab settlements along the East coast of Africa.\textsuperscript{1} Other travellers who followed later also gave descriptive accounts of the Arab towns along the coast. One of the better known accounts is that of Ibn Battuta from Tangiers, written during the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{2}

Before the spread of Islam, the Arabs who settled along the coast established nodal points at which commercial activities could be conducted with the hinterland natives as well as with the traders from the Middle East who stopped along the coast occasionally. These nodal points developed into towns, each of which remained autonomous. In his book, \textit{Periplus of the Erythraean Sea}, (the Greek and Roman name for the Indian Ocean), Hippalus says that there lived along the coast "men of practical habits, very great in stature, and under separate chiefs for each place."\textsuperscript{3}

These early settlements were not founded by the Arabs alone, but also by their trading partners, the Persians. Together they came in waves beginning in "remote antiquity

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\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 9.
and continued more or less steadily for centuries. However, with the decline of the economy of Southwest Arabia, where most of the Arab traders came from, these settlements along the east coast of Africa began to diminish in size and importance. The rise of Islam in the seventh century, however, revived the trade and the settlements flourished again. New settlements were also established as a result of the Arab zeal to conquer and colonize new lands.

The dissension over the succession which arose after the death of Mohammed in 632 led to the establishment of more permanent and important settlements along the east coast of Africa. The dissident groups fled Southern Arabia and took refuge on the east coast of Africa. Most of the towns they founded remain important today. Such towns as Pate, Lamu, Malindi, Kilifi, Mombasa and Vumba on the east coast of Kenya are believed to have been founded by those groups of Arabs who happened to be on the losing side. Lamu, for example, was founded by the leaders of a rebellious group from Oman in the seventh century. Hasan bin Ali and his six sons fled Southern Persia in 975 A.D. in seven ships and founded seven settlements, one of which was Mombasa, the major port of the present Kenya.

The inhabitants of these Arab city states were Arabs,

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4 Ibid., p. 7.
5 Ibid., p. 8.
African slaves from the hinterland, a few Arabanized indigenous Africans and a few Indian merchants. The architecture of the towns resembled that of Arabia at that time. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a writer by the name of Duarte Barbosa described Mombasa as follows:

There is a city of the Moors, called Bombaza (Mombasa), very large and beautiful, and built of high and handsome houses of stone and white-wash, and with very good streets, in the manner of those of Quiboa. And it also had a king over it. The people are of dusky white and brown complexions,...and likewise the women who are much adorned with silk and gold stuffs. It is a town of great trade in goods, and has a good port, where there are many ships.... This Mombasa is a country well supplied with plenty of provisions...and very good water. The inhabitants at times are at war with the people of the continent (Mombasa itself is an island) and at other times at peace, and trade with them and obtain honey and wax and ivory.6

The above description of Mombasa also applied to other Arab towns along the coast. Most of these towns were strongly fortified to protect the inhabitants from the unfriendly African natives in the interior as well as from the rivalries between towns. The Arabs did not make any recognizable attempt to colonize the interior areas of the continent nor to urbanize the inhabitants of these areas, with the exception of those who were brought among them as a result of the slave trade and associated activities. For this

6Ibid., p. 11.
reason, the native inhabitants of the coast remained unaffected by urban developments during the Arab conquest.

At the end of the fifteenth century another foreign element was introduced on the coast. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer trying to discover a sea route to India, called at a number of the Arab towns on the east coast of Africa. He was followed by a wave of Portuguese who conquered a number of these Arab towns, thus securing them as ports of call for Portuguese merchant ships on the route to and from India. A substantial number of Portuguese citizens settled in these towns. Some of them were administrators and others were merchants, like their Arab counterparts. Fortified Portuguese garrisons were also stationed in the towns to defend them against attacks from the rebellious Arab and surrounding native inhabitants. A few of the Portuguese imprints can still be found in these towns. The best example is Fort Jesus in Mombasa which is currently being used as a museum. The Portuguese era lasted two hundred years.7

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Arabs had once again re-established their power and their colonies along the east coast of Africa. Oman Arabs became the new masters of the coastal towns. During their

reign, the major activities of the towns were trading in slaves, ivory and spices. This lasted until the British came into the picture toward the end of the nineteenth century.

At the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885, Africa was partitioned into European spheres of influence or colonies. The present Kenya and Uganda were included in the British sphere of influence. The task of developing the land in the interior was undertaken by a private company called the Imperial British East Africa Company. The primary aim of this company was to establish peaceful trade as an alternative to the slave trade. However, this task became so great for the company that the British government took over its activities in 1895. The administration of the interior areas was the first task which the British government undertook. As new areas within the British sphere of influence were brought under European administration, headquarters were established which eventually developed into many of the larger towns in East Africa today.

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8 Ibid., pp. 23-25, 30-34.
9 Ibid., pp. 106-108.
10 Ibid., pp. 107-110.
11 Ibid., pp. 121-126.
The development of the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria was another factor which contributed to the development of the towns. Many of them originated as railway stations and grew into larger towns. Nairobi, the largest city in East Africa, and three other Kenya towns originated in this manner.

During the early years of British administration in Kenya, urban participation by the Africans was little, except on the coast where a small mixed urban population of Africans already existed "though most of them were probably of slave status." Until very recently, the majority of the residents of the towns were non-Africans. No appreciable influx of Africans into the urban areas occurred until some time after World War I. Even then they were not considered permanent residents.

It was only after World War II that the size of the African population increased dramatically in all the major towns of Kenya and became a major factor in planning. By 1945 Nairobi was by far the largest town in East Africa with a population approaching 100,000. Mombasa held second place. The number of towns had also increased.

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In Kenya an area is considered a town if its population exceeds 2,000. According to a 1948 census, there were 17 such towns in Kenya. By 1962 there were 34. This means that by 1962, 6.3 percent of the Africans or 7.8 percent of the total population was concentrated in towns. About two thirds of these were in Nairobi and Mombasa.  

If the number of people living in an urban area may be regarded as some measure of urbanization, we may say that Kenya is the most highly urbanized of the East African countries. Tanzania and Uganda have 4.1 and 2.4 percent respectively of their population living in town.  

It was not only tradition which retarded African participation in urban development. Certain of the policies of the colonial government also tended to discourage African participation. These policies will be examined in the following section.

Colonial Policies Towards the Development of Towns

Colonial policies concerning town development were

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usually intended to deal with specific aspects of the towns. There were rules for the administration of the towns and for ranking towns, but an overall, comprehensive policy to deal with town planning and development was lacking.

In 1903 the legislature of British East Africa, later to be known as Kenya, passed the Township Ordinance. It laid down the procedure for the establishment of a township, the responsibility for its administration, the levying of taxes and the making of rules. The District Commissioner was to be responsible for the overall administration of the towns. The more advanced towns were to have an additional committee composed of residents of the town, to advise the District Commissioner.  

The absence of any comprehensive policy for town development during the first fifty years of the British administration may be attributed in part to the opposition of British settlers to urbanizing the Africans. In fact, during this time the settlers wielded a very strong voice in the direction of British policy towards the development of Kenya. They opposed any policy which threatened to cut the supply of cheap African labor for their plantations. Marjorie R. Dilley describes the situation in her book, *British Policy in Kenya Colony*:

The settler population after twenty years is still a comparatively small part of the whole, with disproportionately great influence not only upon local, but also upon the Imperial Government.... Officials would tend unconsciously to be guided by the opinions of the settlers.18

The settlers even opposed agricultural development in the African reserves "because they feared it would prove prejudicial to the adequate supply of labor for the development of the highlands."19

The strong opposition of the settlers, plus the tendency of most of the African urban workers to leave their families in the tribal reserves, encouraged the Imperial Government to maintain a policy which viewed urbanization as against the best interest of the Africans. This belief tended to justify the migratory system for Africans in the urban areas. Wringley writes:

The urban economy was based in the main, like that of the White Highlands, on the system of migrant or temporary labor. Africans came to work for short periods in the towns, leaving their families to support themselves in the reserves, whither they would return when they had saved a sum sufficient for their present requirements. This system...certainly accorded with the inclinations of the ruling classes, who were enabled to postpone serious consideration of the formidable social and economic problems which would be posed by the emergence of an urban proletariat. This development, in


the view of the Administration, would have disrupted the whole existing social and political order.... And employers, taxpayers, and administrators alike were relieved of the enormously expensive task of building towns in which large numbers of people could comfortably live. It was convenient for all parties to believe that Africans did not really live in towns at all, but merely camped briefly in the vicinity.20

The policy had a lasting effect on the Africans. It curtailed or postponed the full participation of the African in the urban economy. Wringley summarizes the effects of this policy on the Africans:

The defects of the temporary system are plain.... Socially, the system produced a large class of men who were neither citizens (of the towns) nor tribesmen, neither workers nor peasants, but moved uneasily between two incompatible and equally unsatisfying worlds. Economically, besides making for the inefficient use of land, which was an increasingly scarce resource, it prevented the accumulation of industrial skills, and so tended to perpetuate the closed circle of low productivity, low wages, low consumption, and a narrow market for industrial goods.21

Even today, although the Africans constitute a majority of the population in all Kenya towns, commercial activities are almost all controlled by non-Africans, which testifies to the long-lasting influence of this policy. It will take decades before this disparity will be corrected.


21 Ibid., pp. 262-263.
There were other policies that developed during the first fifty years of British Administration in Kenya. The Municipal Corporation Ordinance, passed by the Kenya Legislature in 1919, originally referred to Nairobi alone, but later applied to all other Kenya towns which achieved municipal status. According to the Ordinance "the [Municipal] Council may, with the approval of the Governor, lay out on lands under its control such locations for natives as may be deemed desirable; and erect suitable buildings thereon, for the occupation of natives...residing in the municipality...."22 This was the first piece of legislation passed which gave some consideration to African housing in urban areas.

The Local Government Ordinance, passed in 1928, further reinforced the 1919 Municipal Ordinance by including a provision which allowed the Council to erect additional urban living facilities. The Ordinance gave the municipalities extensive powers to develop the towns.

Subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council, (the Municipal Council) has power to acquire lands compulsorily within and without the municipality.... The Council may, but is not forced to, lay out native locations and erect dwelling houses, or make loans for buildings, to erect hospitals, acquire and maintain omnibus services, erect aerodomes,

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laundries, broadcasting stations, child welfare institutions, run its own water and electricity, cleaning, sewerage and drainage services, and to make by-laws as to licensing and in matters relating to safety, health and well-being of the inhabitants. 

In spite of these two ordinances, no serious thought was given to the building of African housing until the latter part of the 1930's. At this time, attempts were made by the East African Railway and the central and local governments to provide some housing for their African employees.

"Lands within the towns [were] either Crown (government owned) or freehold lands." The areas surrounding the towns were, in most cases, within the native land units and, in a few cases, within Crown lands or land set aside for the exclusive use of European settlers. Although the Africans were legally entitled to acquire leasehold plots inside or on the edges of the towns, few had the necessary resources to do so. Consequently, they settled in congested settlements just outside the town's perimeter. A few of these settlements can still be seen in towns like Kisumu around Lake Victoria. Any urban expansion in East Africa, therefore, meant "the taking in of these urbanized

\[23\] Ibid., p. 17.

peripheral areas, and the eviction and compensation of the African occupiers of the land in them became an inevitable part of the process. Whenever this occurred, the evicted Africans regrouped and formed a new settlement outside the new perimeter.

Only during and after World War II did the Colonial Administration make concerted efforts to develop urban areas, giving priority to housing for Africans.

World War II made it necessary for the Kenya government to encourage the establishment of industries to manufacture certain consumer goods that could not be imported from Europe. These industries used raw materials from Kenya. This situation provided additional employment for the Africans and enabled them to live in the towns. As a result, the lack of housing for the workers became an acute problem. The government was forced to take the initiative in building large housing estates for the African workers. City planning became an important aspect of town development. For example, the first comprehensive study of urban development in Nairobi was completed in 1945. From this came the Master Plan for Nairobi which was compiled in 1946.26

25 Ibid., p. 221.
26 White, Silberman and Anderson, p. 2.
The period after World War II witnessed the establishment of the Town Planning Department under the Central Government. The department was set up to perform services as a staff arm to the Commissioner of Lands and as the principal advisor to the Central and Local Governments in both urban and rural areas. It continues to perform these functions under the present Kenya government.

In spite of these developments, most of the Africans working in the urban areas were not yet fully integrated into Kenyan urban life. They were still deeply rooted in their tribal reserves as these were the only places where they had land holdings which acted as security for old age or in case of prolonged illness.

African Attitudes Towards Urban Living

The belief of the Colonial Administration in Kenya that urban living was unsuitable for the Africans was partially fostered by the Africans themselves. Like the middle-class Americans (but for different reasons), the African for a long time has regarded town life as an unsuitable environment in which to raise a family. He feared that the women would get up to mischief and the children would adopt bad ways. For this reason, a large

number of men came to live and work in town, leaving their wives and children in rural areas. This is especially true of the low-income workers who constitute the majority of Africans in the urban areas. The African on this economic level is still "reluctant to give up his one known form of social security; his hold on the land." He continues to maintain an interest in a piece of land in his tribal home, to which he hopes to retire during his old age or when his job in town is terminated. "His status is still intrinsically bound to the tribal culture." This is indicated by the fact that he contributes a portion of his salary regularly to relatives at his tribal home to help them meet the obligations imposed by tribal customs and modern society.

The wages of the urban worker (unskilled or semi-skilled) today are still usually inadequate. They are not sufficient to cover the cost of normal essentials and to meet the other obligations mentioned above as well. This situation justifies economically the dual system of residence for the urban worker.


30 Ibid.
The family gains an advantage by securing an urban wage, while, at the same time, supporting its wives and children ruraly through the maintenance of the largely traditional subsistence economy.... By the same combination, that social security—which neither state, city, nor employer provides for the unskilled worker—can be ensured by retaining the ever-present possibility of return to the rural family in case of unemployment, illness, or any other misfortune, and finally old age.31

Whether or not the tendency of the unskilled urban worker to regard his residence in town as temporary would change radically if his wages were increased is uncertain. Although specific data to support this contention is lacking, there are indications that those workers who have managed to sever their roots in the tribal areas and adopt the urban way of life are earning good wages, but they still experience some degree of social isolation and frustration. They have not yet been able to replace the values of their former culture and, as a result, find themselves in a "social and moral vacuum."32 The highly educated African has not entirely escaped this condition either, but he seems to be adjusting better than his unskilled, urban brother for a reason we will view later.

Urban life continues to remain a new experience for

the African in Kenya. It may take at least another generation before an African urban culture will emerge, a culture which may be partly western and partly traditional. There is no way to predict at present what form it will take if it in fact materializes at all.

At present "a class system has not yet emerged in the urban areas of Kenya." This may be attributed to the fact that only a small percentage of the urban Africans have an income which is sufficient to elevate them to middle class status. Status symbols common to western society like housing are not prevalent among the higher paid urban Africans. Achievement is still measured in terms of material possessions such as a car, bicycle, gramaphone, radio and furniture. More extensive research, however, is required to determine what changes in these values might occur as the process of urbanization intensifies and the income of the average African urban dweller increases.

Changing Attitudes Towards Urban Living Among the Africans

In spite of the spread of the existing attitudes among

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34 Bloomberg and Abrahams, p. 38.

35 Wilson, Social Change in Modern Africa, Part I, p. 111.
urban Africans in Kenya, which has been discussed in the previous section, the conditions for change do exist. Most important among the many factors which might instigate a change of attitude from a predominantly rural to a totally urban orientation are the social contacts among the Africans themselves, education, and income.

The recent African immigrant to town, as a matter of necessity, tends to associate with those whose language and customs are similar to his own. In all the major towns of Kenya, ethnic (tribal) associations are formed and usually serve an important function in helping the newly arrived adjust to the alien urban environment. Tribal associations "are an important mechanism of social security (especially to the rural immigrant) and even provide channels for the gradual transcendence of tribal separatism."\(^{36}\) At this point the newly arrived rural African begins to encounter the urban institutions which exert pressure on him to act as an urban man. The institutions force him to become an individual among strangers. He must create a new way of life for himself. "As townsmen the Africans develop new social wants including, among other things, market facilities, social services and related

amenities." This is the process of urbanization which prevails among the uneducated urban workers newly arrived from the countryside.

The major factors of change for the African urbanites, however, are education and income, both of which are inseparable in Kenya at the present time. Those with a high education are those who are well paid. They form the new elite in town, even though they are still in a minority. Southal comments further on the role of educated elite:

The integrating forms of a new African urban culture can only be worked out by the elite; for however much they too depend ultimately on local and tribal support, they have more chance to see above the welter of these functions.... [Their] status, education and income are higher and [they have] a much deeper commitment to urban life..., and increasingly occupy different positions in the urban structure. [They are] African businessmen or officers in large firms, teachers and professional men, civil servants and politicians.... Despite [their] potential rural involvement, the prospect of any permanent or even long-term return to rural residence and full participation in rural society is much more remote for them. Their daily energies and their goals are much more fully incorporated in urban society....

Personal experience [indicates] that there are now many African families of the top elite in Nairobi with their nuclear membership of husband, wife, and children firmly established in long-term urban residence.
Permanent residence in town will, therefore, increase its attraction to the urban Africans as the number of the educated elite multiply.

One of the justifications given for dual residency was that of economic necessity. With the high income that the educated African urbanite receives, it would not be necessary to keep the family in the country to supplement the urbanite income by working on the farm. Moreover, the income of the educated African is sufficient to allow him to participate in any social security program which would assure him of some income during old age.

The three factors--contact through associations, education, and a better financial position--will continue to play an important role in enabling Africans to accept readily permanent residence in an urban environment. Further studies are required to determine to what extent these factors will influence the change.

The view of the Colonial Administration that urban residence for Africans was unsuitable and undesirable tended to discourage scholars from conducting thorough, longitudinal studies in African urban areas. The results of those studies which have been carried out by some scholars so far do suggest that some changes of attitude have occurred and are occurring among the urban Africans. They may not be conclusive enough because they have not been conducted over a long enough period of time. A report
given by Etherington, on Nairobi, further suggests some of these changes among all categories of the African urban residents.

Urbanization in Africa is undergoing rapid change not only in terms of numbers but also in composition. The system of migratory labor, so common over most of Africa, appears to be breaking down so rapidly that the publications on the subject run the risk of becoming out of date.... No longer can the typical urban worker be regarded as merely temporary.... The composition of the population in Nairobi in the last two census indicates the nature of this change. In 1948, 71 percent of the African population in Nairobi was adult males. This percentage had fallen to 47% in 1962. The ratio of women and children to adult males has increased from 0.42:1 to 1.06:1 between the census and it can be expected that over time this ratio will tend towards the national average of 3.57:1. Thus the assumption that the rapid rate of 6% per annum which took place between 1948 and 1962, will continue may not be unreasonable, at least up until 1980.39

Gordon Wilson's study of Mombasa reveals trends similar to those described by Etherington. He says that "the trend in the African population is towards a more urbanized pattern as the ratios of women and children to men have changed. More Africans are bringing their families to town."40 The following table given by Wilson sub-


40Wilson, Social Change in Modern Africa, Part III, pp. 98-112.
Wilson's survey of Mombasa went further than merely measuring the increase in the ratio of women and children to men. He also tried to assess the attitudinal change on the part of the African dock worker in Mombasa towards his work. He found that the pattern of work had changed in the past ten years. "Large numbers of Africans are engaged in working the port of Mombasa.... Much of this work is piece work.... In 1946 and 1956 it can be seen that they worked at a 'target wage' of 12 shifts [of 8 hours each] per month in the former year and 18 shifts in the latter. The target had moved higher. In 1958, however, the average worker was working 26 shifts which is nearly his
full capacity."\(^{41}\)

Changes may be expected to occur in all aspects of urban life. Even such values as tribal affiliations may be replaced by class distinction. "If, as seems likely, the African population becomes more stable in the urban areas, African town dwellers will distinguish more between themselves and peasant and less between one tribe and another."\(^{42}\) This situation may perhaps frustrate the efforts of the present national government in Kenya to prevent the development of class distinctions.

To students of urban planning in Kenya, these indications of a change of attitude among the urban Africans should be a welcome relief. In the past, it has been difficult to draw up viable development plans in the field of housing because of the volatility of the African workers in the urban areas. If the characteristics of the urban population could be predicted, it would be possible to make definite projections and plans for urban development. Much, however, will depend on the policies of the Kenya government towards urban development.

\(^{41}\text{Ibid., p. 103.}\)

Present Kenya Government Policies
Towards Urban Development

The Kenya government, like that of the colonial administration, lacks an overall policy for urban development which takes all the factors of the urban situation into account. So far development plans have concentrated on the rural areas. Housing is the only major area of urban development included in the 1964-1970 Development Plan for Kenya. Other areas of urban development seem to have been neglected or given only slight recognition.

The policy of Kenya Government on housing is stated as follows:

The Government agrees with the findings of the United Nations Mission that to alleviate this hardship in the towns, at least 7,600 new housing units should be built each year (until 1970).... There is need to provide for slum clearance and obsolescence of existing stock of housing. In dealing with these problems, the Government's policy is to organize, in collaboration with the local authorities, a programme which seeks to develop housing projects, which will provide essential housing and a healthy environment to the urban dweller at the lowest possible cost to the occupants and within the target set. It is also the intention of the Government to move away from the policy of bed-space for families, which was practiced during the colonial era, and provide dwellings which have all the essential amenities for a decent family life. In an effort to encourage low income families to acquire decent housing at (equitable) prices, use will be made of the aided self-help techniques in urban sites.... At the national level, the (existing) Central Housing Board is to be
changed into the National Housing Corporation, whose functions will include management of the housing funds at present operated by the Board, and (act as) the chief agency through which public lands intended for low-cost housing will be channelled to local authorities, housing cooperatives and other housing development organizations.... The policy is to keep rent level in Kenya under review and to impose some measure of control to prevent abuses whilst ensuring that capital invested in housing yields profitable return. A Rent Tribunal for residential properties (will be set up for this purpose). 43

The policy is a very comprehensive one as far as housing is concerned. Although it constitutes the major problem in the Kenya urban areas, the development of housing alone could not possibly correct other problems. Government policies fail to deal with problems like urban land utilization, population growth in urban areas, urban unemployment, financial resources for the development of urban and related areas. The population of Nairobi and other Kenya towns is expected to increase at the present rate of 6 percent per annum until 1980. 44 If this prediction is at all accurate, it will not be long before a large percentage of the population in Kenya will be concentrated in urban areas. A comprehensive policy for urban

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development in Kenya is necessary in order to forestall those acute problems associated with rapid urban growth as witnessed in American cities today.

Policies adopted by the national government for urban development in Kenya will have to be based upon the conditions of the urban areas in Kenya and not upon those of the western cities. There is always a tendency for the new nations of Africa, including Kenya, to seek expert advice from the western nations. These experts have tended in the past to insist on policies which are suited to the needs of their own countries and are hardly applicable to Kenya urban situations. One of these policies is the expense of building standards established for urban areas.\(^45\) The Kenya government will have to be careful not to fall prey to this mistake when employing experts from abroad for advice on policy matters concerning urban development.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE PRESENT AND FUTURE URBAN AREAS IN KENYA

Just as elsewhere in Africa, the urban areas have played a major role as centers of change in Kenya. External influences have found their way into Kenya via the towns. The towns, therefore, have become the focal points for all of the major activities associated with modernization in the country. Their influence in effecting change extends beyond the boundaries into the rural areas. Each town leaves a cumulative imprint on each individual who resides there, regardless of the length of his stay.¹

The major changes that have occurred in the lives of the Africans are social, economic and political. This chapter will consider the social and economic aspects of change that the towns have been influential in bringing about.

The Role of the Towns in Affecting Social Change in Kenya

It would be inconceivable to expect an introductory

chapter such as this to discuss in detail all of the aspects of social change that have been accredited to the presence of the towns. This chapter will be limited, therefore, to a discussion of the most important and continuing aspects of social change.

In general the towns serve as "the primary agency and diffusion point of social change for the new nation. It is likely that here new ideas of national policy will emerge, new leaders will be discovered, new national programs will be evolved, and the administrative centers for the diffusion, propagation, and implementation of the programs will be centered. It is from here that the bureaucracy...is likely to exercise supreme extensive and intensive control over the life of the (towns) and, correspondingly, of the countryside."² It is here that the media for disseminating ideas and information that may influence the attitude of the people are centered. It is in the towns that people of differing ethnic, tribal and racial backgrounds have the opportunity to meet one another and to be exposed to ways of life different from their own.

The individual who has just moved into town is, as mentioned before, basically tradition-oriented. His

actions are still controlled by tribal laws and customs which are rural in outlook. In the town he begins to feel free of the burden of tribal control. He is now an individual who must create "the kind of institutions which will help him not only to adapt and adjust, but also to consolidate and expand distinctly urban ways." He must proceed to manipulate the various possibilities he has discovered in the process.

At this stage of urbanization, the individual normally limits his associations to his tribal kin residing in the town. Later he establishes friendships beyond the perimeter of kinship, but usually still within the tribal group. "For those who stay longer, neighborhood, similar economic status, common place of work, and other joint interest of an achieved kind begin to rival the claims of common descent." In this manner the urban areas are playing and will continue to play a leading role in reducing strong tribal loyalties that sometimes tend to frustrate the government efforts to unite the country.

Here a "network of face-to-face relationships spring up without the conventional bases of kinships or neighborhood associations."

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which are so all-embracing in traditional African society."

With regard to social standing, the opportunity for increased monetary income that the towns offer an indi-
vidual help to alter "the emphasis between the various prestige-conferring attributes. A good home is now a better symbol of urban prosperity than plural wives." 6

Under urban conditions, the possibility of social mobility too is increasingly available to the individual through his own efforts and initiative. This is not to say that everyone in the Kenya urban areas has this chance. Many urban immigrants are restricted in their ability to move up the social ladder because of a lack of education. Nevertheless, they will have a better chance of improving their living conditions than they would have if they remained in the tribal areas where a subsistence economy and tradition still persist.

The influence of the town also has some adverse effects on the family situation, especially on the wives. In the urban areas of Kenya, as well as the other countries of East Africa, we find a situation "dominated by the unequal numbers of men and women, causing among the

5Ibid., p. 30.
6Ibid., p. 22.
uneducated especially], the pressure to promiscuity, the lack of family continuity or security in town, and the somewhat empty role of the wife, who is deprived of her traditional economic pursuits while brewing and prostitution offer the only tempting opportunities.... Irresistible pressure carries the latter into irregular liaisons, brewing, and petty trade...."7

Of course this situation represents the other side of the coin and does not usually affect the family situation of the educated African in the urban areas. Nor does this include every uneducated family in the urban areas. In fact, Powdermaker finds a different situation in the Copper Town. Here he says:

The conjugal family with the husband as the head of the household is developing with emphasis on the individual household rather than on the extended family as the basic unit. Men likewise become more interested in the education and the future of their own children than in their matrilineal nephews and nieces.8

The conjugal family is also slowly developing among the families that are educated and have committed themselves to permanent residence in an urban area. The existence of insecure families and of promiscuousness reported by Southal and Wilson in Kenya cannot be regarded as some-

7Ibid., p. 57.

thing that will last, even among the uneducated in the urban areas. As the number of women increase in the towns, and as more male workers bring their wives to town to reside, the number of unstable families will hopefully decrease and the conjugal family reported by Powdermaker will predominate.

The influence of the towns is not only noticeable in men and families but also in young women too. The urban situation has influenced the position of women in the society. A woman with at least a primary education is no longer contented to remain at home and manage the household. One visiting governmental and private commercial offices in cities like Nairobi and Mombasa would find clerical work being done by both African men and women. This is a situation that was still rare a decade ago. This is not to say, however, that the opinion of the men with regard to the women who work in town has completely changed. In fact, "the recruitment of African female labor...is (still) viewed by (some) as demoralizing to the women and threatening to the traditional pattern of indigenous family life."⁹

A substantial number of women are now training for all

types of jobs. There are even African women doing professional jobs. A columnist in the East African Standard of Nairobi writes that "the economic revolution in East Africa has wakened the men from a long dream to find their women, both illiterate and literate, working side by side with them in factories and offices."\(^{10}\) The same paper noted that the professions of women living in a single place, the Y.W.C.A., were "air hostesses, nurses, doctor's receptionists, secretarial and accounting students, and shorthand typists."\(^{11}\) This represents a major change in the status of the woman. Their entrance into all types of professional fields in the urban areas may tend to raise their status so that they would be nearly equal to the men.

In general, changes will continue to occur in two directions. Not only will the urban areas influence the rural culture, but certain rural customs will continue to find their way into the towns. Of course some of these will be "functionally discordant to urbanism," just as some of the urban ways are to rural life.

Insofar as the introduction of discordant elements in either direction--i.e., from urban to rural or rural to urban--takes place, it is probable that what survives

\(^{10}\)Grace Ogot, East African Standard (Nairobi), September 15, 1967, p. 15.

\(^{11}\)East African Standard (Nairobi), September 8, 1967 p. 15.
from rural transplant of culture has suitability or functional value in the new context. Changes will occur, but presumably those that will emerge are likely to have the highest functional value to the new urban culture.12

**Urban Areas and the Economy of Kenya**

In spite of the fact that the population of the urban areas in Kenya was only 7.8 percent of the total national population in 1962, a substantial percentage of the country's economy came from the urban areas. For example, in 1964 it was estimated that 765,000 persons were employed in the monetary economy of Kenya.13 Of this number, 330,000 or 43 percent were employed in urban areas. This indicates the major role of the urban areas as the chief centers for employment.

Even though the Kenya Development Plan for 1964 to 1970 advocates more expansion in agricultural employment than in urban employment (an increase of 6.9 percent against the 5.2 increase in the urban areas14) the urban areas will continue to provide employment for more people than the rural areas. The 5.2 percent increase in urban employment could also be regarded as a conservative estimate

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12Breese, p. 46.


14Ibid.
because the plan was projected during the time when the neighboring countries were curbing the export of manufactured goods from Kenya due to their trade imbalance with Kenya.

Manufacturing is perhaps the major source of employment in the urban areas, second only to government services. The agreement between the three East African heads of government early this year\(^\text{15}\) will permit Kenya to manufacture goods for export to Uganda and Tanzania without the stern restrictions placed on them in the early 1960's. This agreement will probably result in more of an increase in urban employment than was anticipated in the Development Plan.\(^\text{16}\)

In terms of monetary economy, the urban areas in Kenya still play the leading role. The Gross Domestic Product of Kenya in 1964 was £ 209 million of which £ 156 million was contributed by the urban areas. This represents about 75 percent of the total Gross National Product of Kenya.\(^\text{17}\)

From these data we can without qualification conclude that the urban areas will continue to play an influential role as the major centers of economic activity in Kenya in


\(^{17}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER III

AREAS OF CONCERN IN KENYA'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Urban development is a new event for most of the developing countries like Kenya. It is new not only because it did not exist a century ago, but also because it has come before these developing countries are prepared for it. The countries' intuitional organizations have not completely matured for the event. In addition to this, the economic resources of the countries are limited so that expenditures for urban development only constitute an additional strain on the economy.

The above situation explains why the administrators and politicians of newly developing countries rather wistfully wish that they did not have to cope with the problems of such urban areas in addition to all the other problems which confront them, for there is no question that urbanization is an extremely important component.¹

In spite of this "wistful wish," the problems of urbanization have become a major concern of the countries because the administrators and leaders realize that no modern country can exist without at least one urban area.

This chapter will consider, therefore, some of the specific aspects of urban development that are creating problems and which, consequently, are currently the major areas of concern in urban development.

Housing: A Major Problem in the Kenya Urban Areas

The lack of decent housing for all urban dwellers is the major problem that plagues all the urban areas in Kenya. This problem is more serious for the low-income households, most of whom are indigenous Africans, than for those from the higher income bracket.

As already mentioned in the first chapter, the tendency on the part of the colonial administration to regard Africans as temporary residents of the urban areas delayed the development of any specific housing program for these areas for quite a long time.

Nairobi, as the capital of Kenya, has always been the leader in giving directions to other urban areas in the country for new urban development. It was in Nairobi that the first housing program was initiated in 1923 when dormitories were erected for the African workers to live in. This was done "in an attempt to get rid of the unsanitary settlements which had sprung up"² around the town.

Unfortunately the dormitories remained virtually empty until the city authorities partitioned them into single bed spaces for more privacy.

In spite of the Municipal Ordinance Authorization of 1919, no large scale African housing schemes were attempted by any urban area authorities until the close of World War II when the need for larger housing schemes began to be taken seriously.

A benchmark in the provision of housing for the African town workers was made in 1943 when a Housing Ordinance was passed in Kenya's Legislative Council. The Ordinance created the Central Housing Board for the purpose of administering a Housing Fund which had been allocated by the same Council. The Board could make grants and loans from this fund to local authorities to erect approved housing schemes. It was also authorized to make loans to individuals who wished to build their own houses. The latter provision was rescinded at a later date. By the end of 1963, twenty years after its inception, the Board had made more than £4,500,000 in loans to local councils for home-building.

The restriction of not being allowed to advance loans to individuals for private homes was recognized as an

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inhibiting factor to the building industry by the U. N. Mission to Kenya on Housing. The Mission recommended that in addition to making loans to local authorities, the Board should be allowed to build housing directly, invest in housing directly, and make loans to others, including individuals. These recommendations have since been acted upon. In 1966, The Kenya National Housing Corporation replaced the Central Housing Board with the expanded powers recommended by the U. N. Mission.

Local authorities, however, have not been entirely dependent upon the Housing Board for loans for housing schemes. Some local authorities like the Nairobi City Council have raised Municipal Stock issues on occasions to build some of the housing estates for the African workers. Other local authorities have been using local revenues to construct housing.

Organizations like the East African Railways and Harbours and the Central Government have also been instrumental in building residential houses for their employees. Other private companies have also joined in the effort.

In spite of the concerted efforts of local authorities,

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East African Railways and Harbours, the Central Government, and large private firms to provide housing for their urban employees, an acute shortage of housing continues to exist in all the leading urban centers in Kenya.

The causes for this shortage in housing in Kenya are numerous. The four major ones are: population increase, lack of adequate finances, the low income of the urban residents, and sometimes absence of coordinated planning.

There are two ways in which the population of the urban areas increases. The first is a natural increase. The high birth rate in Kenya has resulted in a population increase of about three percent per year. The second is by migration into the towns from the rural areas with due consequences for urban housing. Since 1948 the average rate of growth for Kenya major towns has been about 6.3 percent per annum. Most of the migrants recently have been women and children whose husbands or parents were already working in the town. This has resulted in a big strain on family housing. Most of the early housing that was built was not intended to be used for family dwellings for the Africans. One-room dwellings represent over 70 percent of the African housing in all urban areas of Kenya and as much as 80 percent of the African dwellings in Nairobi.

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6 Bloomberg and Abrahams, p. 4.
the capital city. It is not uncommon to hear of a family with four or five children living in a single room. In fact, a leading Kenya newspaper at the beginning of the year featured a husband and wife with five children, two of whom are teenagers, lived in a single room measuring 10 feet square. The problem of overcrowding applies not only to family households but also to single urban workers, especially those in the low-income bracket and those who are unemployed and underemployed.

Both the central and local governments are doing much to try to ease the shortage of housing. In the Kenya Revised Development Plan 1966-1970, the Central Government alone plans to spend from £1,250,000 to £1,500,000 annually on housing, the bulk of which will be on urban housing.

In spite of this generous contribution, the needs of urban low and medium income housing will not be met. This is mainly because of lack of finance to undertake the construction of additional housing to meet the need created by the rapidly growing urban population.

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7 Ibid., p. 5.
A questioning mind may ask what role the private building industry is playing if there is such a great need for residential building in the urban areas. The low income of the masses of the African urban dwellers is the main impediment to the full participation of the private industry in providing residential housing. The gap between need and demand becomes very great because of the low income of the average African urban dweller. Need here could be considered as what an individual wants or desires in terms of housing, while demand is what he can afford to pay to meet the need.

It is estimated that a mere five percent of the African dwellers in Nairobi, for example, have an income that would enable them to afford housing built by private industry. The study done by the U. N. Mission to Kenya on Housing,\(^\text{10}\) indicates that the private building industry cannot cater to persons with income below £516 per annum if they have to pay a rent representing one fifth of their income. Income of the Africans in Nairobi is higher than in other Kenya towns. For this reason it would be reasonable to say that less than five percent of the African urban dwellers can afford to buy or pay rent on housing built by private industry.

\(^{10}\)Bloomberg and Abrahams, p. 38.
Even those able to afford the type of accommodation built by private industry have not been served adequately because the building industry has been on the decline since 1956, the peak year when residential building worth £9.88 million was built. The decline hit a low in 1964 when only £2.04 million worth of residential housing was built. Fortunately the industry is picking up again, as indicated in the recent East African Standard, so that the private sector can serve the medium and high income groups in the housing.

The plight of the low-income African urban workers is still serious in spite of the efforts of the local and central governments to improve their housing situation. The minimum wage for males set by the Ministry of Labor for all the municipal areas is about £8 per month. The minimum wage for the areas of Nairobi and Mombasa is £8 15s. for males. In Nairobi, single rooms rent for 39 shillings per room per month, or 59 shillings when the rooms have separate water closets. Assuming that the desirable ratio between house rent and income is one to

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five, over 50 percent of the African workers in Nairobi could not afford to rent even one room alone because 47 percent of the workers earn less than 160 shillings a month in Nairobi and 23 percent earn between 161 and 240 shillings a month. This situation inevitably leads to the practice of sharing a room rather than spending a greater portion of the worker's income on rent.

House ownership, which is also being encouraged by the government, is desirable but will remain a dream to many of the African urban workers for a long time, even with the aid of self-help projects. The self-help housing scheme probably represents a cheaper way to acquire home ownership in Kenya urban areas. The most recently completed self-help project at Langata, a suburb of Nairobi, does not provide much encouragement for even a low middle income family who would like to own a home in Nairobi area. This scheme costs £ 800, excluding the free labor provided. There is no indication that it would cost less in other urban areas.

Bloomberg and Abrahams state that "there is evidence also that up to the present the African does not place a

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14 Bloomberg and Abrahams studies for Kenya Urban Areas indicate that the desirable ratio is one to six.

15 Bloomberg and Abrahams, pp. 19 and 20.

high priority on housing in his family expenditure" as, say, American or British people. In the British family, for example, studies indicate that the average price male workers are willing to pay for a new house is usually 2.7 times his average annual earning. Since an African does not place such a high priority on housing, the average price he is willing to pay for housing may not be as high as that of the British worker.

If this assumption is valid, then we may conclude that only a trickle of the male African urban workers can afford to own homes in urban areas even under self-help schemes. If we assume that the average African urban male worker is willing to pay two times his yearly income for a new home, less than 11 percent would be able to afford a home costing £800 under aided self-help schemes.

The above situation leaves one wondering whether the high standard of building materials required for urban homes in Kenya is desirable. Eighty percent of the housing in Nairobi is constructed of bricks or stones. The high cost of building materials could well be responsible for

17 Bloomberg and Abrahams, p. 18.
19 Ibid., p. 20.
the high cost of the houses. It is the government's intention to maintain high standards for buildings in all the major urban areas. This is a good thing at which to aim. At the same time, however, the reality of the situation would probably make it more desirable if a mediocre standard was established for certain areas within the individual urban areas so houses built with low-cost building materials could be erected.

The building materials used by the ordinary African in the rural areas drastically differ from those found in the towns. A migrant from a rural area, therefore, needs to change to be able to live in the kind of housing provided in the towns. It may take time for him to adapt to this new housing environment. For this reason it might be desirable for certain sections of towns to be zoned for building houses that do not differ in materials from those found in the rural areas. The housing in these transitional zones would be of wattle and mud with plaster coating and a roof of good material like aluminum or tiles. This would not be a lowering of the standard for buildings in the town since some of the houses built in this manner last almost as long as those built of bricks. This has been proved by the fact that some houses built in this manner in the countryside at the beginning of the century are still in
This type of housing could even have glass windows. As a matter of fact it would be hard to distinguish them from the other kind of housing.

The only difference between the kind of housing suggested here and the normal ones built in town is that the former would have the advantage of being cheaper and within the income of the worker in lower-income bracket. Secondly, the housing suggested would not differ radically from the traditional housing with which the town African worker is more familiar. Third, it would enable the urban worker to have a wider choice in the type of housing he can afford to buy or rent. Lastly, the government or even private building industry would be able to build additional housing units with the limited funds available for this purpose.

The town authorities would see to it that housing of this type was built to specific standards and maintained according to the building codes of the area. Sanitary standards would have to be the same as for other housing in the town. The town would also provide the necessary facilities required for other housing estates. These pre-

21I lived in a house that had been built with mud and wattle in 1920's. It was in good condition in 1960 when it had to be wrecked for open space in a mission school in Kenya. It was of less permanent nature than the one suggested above.
cautions would forestall most of the criticism regarding the lowering of building standards.

This proposal does not mean that the construction of houses of the usual standard would be neglected. Rather, the two types of construction could be used simultaneously to supplement each other so that the target of erecting 7,600 housing units per year as stipulated in the Development Plan\(^\text{22}\) in the Kenya urban areas could be realized.

Although these suggestions would not be able to fulfill the current need for housing, they would go a long way towards alleviating the acute problem of lack of housing in urban areas today. Continuous research would, however, have to be maintained to determine cheaper and more efficient ways of building houses, and also to determine other housing conditions. This will require the cooperative efforts of the University in Nairobi, government departments concerned, the private building industry, and the planners. The government will have to assume an even bigger share of the burden.

Whereas the national government has been trying hard to curb the high rent that is charged for houses which are privately built through rent restriction, the average rent is still too high and completely out of balance with the

average family income in Kenya urban areas. The classified advertisement containing housing to rent in the East African Standard every day proves this. One seldom finds good family house renting for less than £30 per month. This makes it hard even for the African families with higher income to afford decent housing. The government will have to introduce even stricter rent control than the one introduced recently\(^2\)\(^3\) to reduce the rent charged by these unscrupulous landlords, many of whom are absent.

Slum dwellings are still also very evident in Kenya urban areas. Efforts of the local government to get rid of these eye-sores on the fringes of the towns have been restricted to giving notice to the slum dwellers to vacate and then leveling the shanty town houses with bulldozers. This action has not always been preceded by efforts to resettle the slum dwellers in other more desirable housing. This is why fresh shacks spring up as soon as the old ones are burnt or leveled by bulldozers.\(^2\)\(^4\) Perhaps a better method of getting rid of these slums would be to conduct a survey of the area to be cleared and then to base the program of resettlement on the needs of the individual households in this area. The role of research is therefore very


important in housing and would continue to be so as long as housing remains one of the major areas of concern in the process of urban development in Kenya.

**Rural Emigration Towards the Towns**

The migration of people into the towns is of great concern to both the national government and the local urban areas.

As previously mentioned, the national population increase in Kenya is about three percent per annum and the population of the urban areas is increasing at the rate of 6.3 percent per annum. Thus at least 3.3 percent of the urban population increase is due to people migrating from the rural areas.

The migrants, as we may call these people from rural areas, are composed mainly of two groups. The first group is made up of young people who have either just completed eighth grade and have not been admitted to the high schools or have finished high school and cannot continue at the university. The latter sub-group has a better chance of getting a job in town than the former. Both sub-groups are unskilled. The second group is made up of the unskilled illiterate rural migrants who come to town hoping to find better income opportunities than that offered by subsistence farming in the rural areas.

The first group of migrants is young and very hopeful. These young people have been conditioned in thinking in
many ways by the actual fact of life in rural areas and by the education system which makes him believe that the only reward for his education is to be able to get a white collar job. Leslie calls this "a mistaken confidence in an inadequate education." For this reason, when he leaves school, the first place he looks for a job is in town. He may spend months or even a year or more in this effort before he begins to consider any alternatives. The author here speaks from personal experience in this respect.

Other factors which motivate the Africans to leave rural areas are summarized by Leslie who made a survey of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania:

They are drawn by success stories (not necessarily always true) of those who have gone before; the sight of goods brought home by those who have done well; and their polish; a disbelief in such stories as they hear of unemployment, and a converse belief in stories of available jobs...; the discontent with country life of the boy who has been to school; a dislike of irksome duties and discipline at home and in the village and tribal society; the search for an uncontributing anonymity in town; and by the glamour of the town reputation....

It may be added that the condition of overcrowding in certain rural areas coupled with landlessness in these areas also force the African toward the towns.

The migration of rural Africans into the urban areas


26 Leslie, p. 3.
has several implications, the most important of which are: unemployment, overcrowded housing, and latent political and social danger not only to the urban areas but also to the whole country.

In 1966 the number of unemployed, most of whom were found in the urban areas in Kenya, was estimated to be around 200,000. These are the people with no source of income at all. The prediction for the future is not encouraging either. In Kenya estimates show that

51 percent of the present population is under 16 years old and that about 720,000 young men will reach the age of 17 in six years. Nearly a half of the 720,000 will be primary school leavers, and will be conditioned to think in cash incomes.

This would add a large stream of literate, unemployed persons to the already oversized pool of unemployed. Although the Government plans to create 340,000 additional jobs in all sectors of the economy within a six year period (if the projected plan is realized), they will be able to absorb only a portion of the school leavers and the other rural migrants, not all the unemployed.


Kenya is primarily an agricultural country and may remain so for a long time. At the same time, however, there is a strong trend towards industrialization in the country, though this is still in its premodial stage. This trend will perhaps be accompanied by an increase in the migration to the urban areas. It will take at least 63 years before the urban population surpasses the rural population, assuming the current increase in urban and rural population remains constant. Nevertheless, the solution to unemployment will have to be based equally on both urban and rural development with emphasis on the latter in the immediate future. The unpredictable prices of world agricultural commodities, however, cannot make agriculture the economic mainstay for a country like Kenya which has a strong desire to modernize quickly. This is why it is necessary to give equal consideration to developing the towns as well as the rural areas. The heavier emphasis on rural development is necessary at this time because more people live there. The solution of some of the problems of the rural areas would lessen the strains caused by unemployment and overpopulation which are currently placed on the

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30 This number of years is arrived and based on the present population of Kenya which is about 9 million with current rate of increase of 3 percent per year and urban population of 720,000 with the rate of increase of 6 percent. We can calculate the year given above by using the formula $P_{urban} = P_{rural}$ where $P = P_0 (1+r)^t - (7.2)(1.06)^t = (7.2)(1.06)^t$. 

In fact, one of the causes of overcrowded housing and slum dwellings in the urban areas is unemployment. The extended family system of the African makes it possible for relatives of a family seeking jobs in urban areas to stay with the family for an indefinite period of time while looking for jobs. This in itself may cause overcrowding since most of the families may not have more than two rooms. The job seekers from rural areas who have no relatives in towns sometimes resort to building shacks on government land in the urban areas where there is less chance of eviction. Most of the shanty towns on the fringes of the towns in Kenya originated this way.

Rural emigration to the towns is, therefore, a condition that must be taken seriously by both the government and the planners because of the many implications it has for the conditions of the towns and perhaps the country as a whole. The unemployment in the towns, which results from this movement also carries severe political implications. The unemployed can always fall prey to political agitation when they are concentrated in a given area. Moreover, out of frustration, a jobless person may resort to illegal practices like thievery, robbery, immoral practices like prostitution in the case of women, and even murder. The regular reader of any Kenya newspaper would notice that these conditions are increasing in the major urban areas.
A very carefully thought out and well balanced plan is needed for all urban and rural areas in order to prevent further unemployment and rural emigration to the towns.

The Need for Planned Change and the Role of Urban Planner in Kenya Urban Development

In the six year development plan, the Kenya Government stated its desire to plan for industrial expansion. This has a direct bearing on the urban areas since industrial development usually occurs in these areas. This may mean that urban areas will expand according to the rate of industrial expansion that takes place in the country.

What is needed, then, is a statement of policy dealing with urban development. The statement, which might be written in the form of a goal statement, should indicate the desired population in the leading urban areas. There is a need for a planned redistribution of the population not only in the rural areas as is being carried out at present, but also in certain urban regions like that around Nairobi where heavy concentrations of population are causing a shortage of necessary housing as well as shortages of those essential urban facilities like sewage and recreation which are provided by the urban local governments.

The move on the part of the government to establish five industrial estates across the country would help redistribute the population in other urban areas.\(^{32}\)

This alone, however, will not alleviate the pressures of overpopulation in the urban areas. The intensive rural development must continue and requires an attack on the major source of urban population pressure.

Besides the lack of adequate financial resources, the major impediment to rural development is illiteracy and the unfavorable attitudes of the young school leaver towards farming as a life career. Both conditions require a radical change in curriculum of the school system at the primary level and in the training of teachers.

Most of the students in the primary school are terminal students since only 20 percent are admitted into secondary schools.\(^{33}\) The curriculum should, therefore, be structured in such a way that when a student completes his eighth year of school, he would be able to find employment. Training in arts and crafts and other trades skills should be instituted in the curriculum of the primary schools. Some agriculture should be taught too so that the students who wish to farm would know how to do so economically.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 244.

Youth should be encouraged by demonstrations to regard farming as a profitable career. This kind of curriculum would require an intensive training on the part of would-be teachers.

A literacy campaign ought to be planned and launched throughout the country. Since Kenya does not have compulsory military service, students could be drafted after their senior year in high school to teach reading and writing to illiterate masses in the countryside. Literacy is the means by which traditional farmers and herdsmen could be brought to change their primitive way of farming. The government can easily disseminate information on its policies and also information on better methods of farming through the newspapers, if the population at large could read.

At present family planning is only given token support by the government. The little research and work that has been done in this area has been carried on by a small interested group called the Kenya Family Planning Association. The need for additional study and a campaign program to develop an interest in family planning is in order at this time. Kenya can hardly afford to accommodate a population which increases at the rate of three percent

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per annum if the present trend is allowed to continue.

Where the development of the urban areas is concerned, research should be done to determine what changes could be initiated without destroying the African values. In planning, one must remember that the urban areas are the centers of change in Kenya.

As has already been mentioned in the early part of this chapter, the current practice of getting rid of slum dwellings is to burn them down or to level the dwellings with bulldozers without first conducting a thorough survey on the nature and needs of the slum dwellers on the fringes of the towns. Before resorting to this action, however, the urban planners should realize that the slums, although in themselves undesirable, perform an important function for migrants from the rural areas.

[They] function as a type of 'school' to educate newcomers to the city. It gives them a place in which to become oriented upon arrival, to find jobs, and to learn the ways of city life. This function is particularly necessary in developing countries, where the contrast between village life and urban life is often great.35

It also provides them with housing which they can afford.

If an adequate program of resettlement which would encompass social and economic values cannot be provided, it

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would be better to leave the slums undestroyed so that they may continue to serve their function. The planner would then only need to worry about ways of making the slums sanitary enough for their inhabitants.

Planned change in urban areas has other aspects besides slum clearance—the provision of housing being the most important. The housing provided in the Kenya urban areas should reflect the values of the inhabitants. Before embarking on housing schemes, the government should consult the Africans who would be served. Citizens should be given the chance to air their views on all of the major decisions on urban development. The literature read by this author on urban development in Kenya so far contained no indication that this practice has yet been instituted.

The role of the planners here is crucial. They are the people who have, or are supposed to have the know-how on the facts that have been mentioned. They are the ones who present to the decision-makers the relevant facts about the situations. They are also the ones who should conduct research, draw up the actual plans, and construct statements about these plans. Most important, they are the ones who have the training to translate the citizens' values into actual planning. These multiple roles of the urban planners help the decision-makers to arrive at wise decisions based on the facts.
Since the urban planner performs such an important role, it is necessary that he should be well equipped to perform his duty. This he can do only if he has received the proper training. The proper training here means a suitable planning education that is directed towards the urban planning relevant to Kenya or East African urban situations. Currently all the practicing or the would-be urban planners in Kenya get their education in urban planning overseas institutions. Their training in these institutions, therefore, reflect the planning practices of those countries where the institutions are situated. Their education hardly reflects the situations in Kenya. To train urban planners who are properly equipped to plan for and/or solve the problems of Kenya urban areas, it would be a practical idea to situate an urban planning institution in Kenya within the system of higher education of the country.

In the next section, which forms the bulk of this thesis, we shall endeavor to justify the establishment of such an institution and explore at length what kind of urban planning education a student in that institution should receive in order to be equipped to plan in Kenya or East African urban areas.
SECTION TWO

AN APPROPRIATE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR

URBAN PLANNER IN KENYA

Before we consider the educational program that would be appropriate for an urban planner in Kenya or East Africa, we will make two assumptions. On the basis of the survey of urban conditions in the first section of the thesis we assume that there is a definite need for more planners for Kenya's urban areas and that establishing an urban planning educational program is appropriate at this time in Kenya.

The Kenya government's manpower requirement survey for 1964-1970,* indicates that there will be a need for eight more town planners in Kenya than can be supplied by the overseas institutions for Kenya by 1970. This estimate includes only those in the upper ranks of the town planning profession. It does not include junior planning staff or positions. Furthermore, if the current process of urbanization continues, there will be an even greater need for all ranks of town planners before 1970.

If these assumptions are valid, then one may ask the important question—what form or type of education should a town planner have in order to be able to plan effectively for urban development in Kenya or East Africa (whichever the case may be). Before we endeavor to answer this question (in the last two parts of this section) we need also consider the reason why the establishment of an urban planning institution in Kenya is necessary at this time.
CHAPTER IV

JUSTIFICATION FOR URBAN PLANNING EDUCATION IN KENYA

The need for trained physical planners is a fact that is apparent not only in Kenya but also throughout the developing nations. These nations have reached a stage in their development when they can ill afford to make any mistakes in physical planning that may later require vast expenditures to correct.

To fulfill this need for planners these countries have been led to try different methods of training.

Broadly speaking, however, the methods employed usually fall into two main categories: First,

...under international as well as national aid programs, many professionals and public officials of recently independent countries are awarded fellowships which enable them to study abroad. Second, a different approach to the problem of training for physical planning has prompted established universities in the U. S., Canada, and England to share their institutional and pedagogic experience with academic institutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and has encouraged the establishment of indigenous programs of education and research.¹

This paper endorses the second method as the most

appropriate for Kenya and East Africa as a whole. A number of reasons may be advanced in favor of the latter method of training.

Economic, Cultural, Physical Differences and the Problem of Transferring Knowledge

The most important reason for establishing these training institutions in the country where one would be working is because of the substantial cultural, physical and economic differences between the developed nations and the developing nations. The educational programs in the developed nations reflect certain values and methods which have little application or relevance for the developing countries. Professor Oberlander comments:

Most normal degree programs [in the U. S.] reflect the current American planning process and the legal/administrative framework within which future planners are expected to perform. The planning process is ultimately related to social and economic values and public purposes which may have little relevance to value systems in other nations.²

These differences are compounded by the fact that Folkways concepts of familial obligations, religious beliefs, traditional manners of buying, storing and preparing foods, etc.—all affect patterns of land use.... Indeed, climatic differences alone make planning

standards of housing, recreation, community facilities and even commercial and industrial areas inappropriate when transferred from colder regions to warm areas in which most of the developing nations are located.\(^3\)

For this reason, the developing countries would be better off to establish their own planning schools.

Even if some of the basic concepts of planning are common to all situations, the problem of transferring knowledge obtained in North American and European schools to the developing countries would still be difficult to overcome. A student who has had his education in urban planning in North America or Europe is likely to want to apply models used in these countries to urban situations in such developing countries like Kenya. The effects of planning on this basis are noticeable at present, particularly in Kenya urban areas. The standard of buildings in the urban areas, as previously mentioned, has constantly reflected that of the European countries like Great Britain, consequently making it rather difficult for most of the African urban dwellers who normally have meager income to afford buying or renting the houses in the urban areas.

Some North American universities have attempted to recognize the problem of educating students from developing

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countries. However, most of the institutions with planning departments often fail to realize, in spite of the presence of large numbers of overseas students in their programs, that

Students, particularly those from newly independent countries, represent an entirely different group and their roles in... planning school and... approach to them deserve a special point of view and possibly a new teaching method. They are concerned with the acquisition of special information and relevant experience which they are expected to apply almost at once upon returning home. This involves training as well as education, and for this reason the transfer of North American knowledge through the normal academic curriculum has often proved inadequate for the needs of overseas students.4

This condition mentioned above further supports contentions advanced by this author in favor of establishing planning education programs in the so-called home country, rather than sending students to the overseas institutions to be trained as planners for their home countries.

Planning Methods Vary

Planning methods, and therefore practice, vary so much from country to country or region to region that if it were all possible, it would be proper for every country to establish its own urban planning education. These

variations are brought about by political, cultural and geographical differences between countries and more specifically between the developed and the developing countries. For example,

No system of planning legislation or administration can be recommended for universal adoption. There has already been too great a tendency in the rapidly developing countries to adopt rather than adapt the specific techniques and procedures which countries with...long history of industrialization have found appropriate to their needs.\(^5\)

If a country establishes its own program for training urban planners, it would be able to gear the planning curriculum to the kind of work that the prospective student is expected to do upon graduation. Of course, some neighboring countries may have almost similar planning problems. For this reason, it would be economically feasible to establish only one planning school for the region. The East African States may be used as an example of a region having the aforementioned similarities.

Students Proximity to Planning Problems

When the students in urban planning receive their education at home, they will be able to meet and experience the problems for which they are in training to solve. Work-

shop studies that may be instituted during the course of their studies will carry a meaningful value as they would be based on local problems or situations in the process of learning. This would help the students to accumulate some knowledge which would be directly useful to them when they graduate.

The research which this planning institution might conduct would also directly benefit the country's urban areas. Professor Oberlander elucidates this point further when describing the Banding School of Regional and City Planning in Indonesia in these words:

Students...will be educated in the techniques of comprehensive planning for physical development of natural regions and of urban and village centers. The development problems of Indonesia will be given a special attention.... The principles underlying all long-range planning will be taught in conjunction with a variety of field problems in which students will prepare actual plans for regions and urban areas....

This form of learning would be very important to the students in their later professional practice since the students would be oriented towards problem solving as an essential part of the planning profession. This can only be accomplished if a student is educated near or at the place where these problems exist. This cannot properly be done in an overseas institution. Professor Oberlander adds:

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6Ibid., p. 121.
It is historic experience that only when a young country develops its own school of...planning does it begin to provide facilities not only for training the greatly needed staff but to create the environment and intellectual climate for solving its own...planning problems in its own way.\(^7\)

Kenya would certainly benefit by having its own urban planning school.

**East African Governments Have Favorable Dispositions to Planning**

One of the prerequisites to planning and also planning education is a recognition and acceptance by both the national and local governments that planning is one of the surest ways to accomplish national or local developments.

Professor Oberlander substantiates the above contention by citing three conditions that he considers essential for an effective program in education for physical planning. There must exist, first

A clearly structured national development process recognizing the economic, social and physical components; second, physical planning as an exercise of government at national, regional and local level; and last, an educational structure offering opportunities for higher learning and acquisition of professional skills.\(^8\)

\(^7\)Ibid.

The East African governments have, by and large, accepted the need to plan. Each of the three countries of East Africa have instituted five-year or longer development plans and have developed the necessary constitutions and legal means and power to carry out these development plans which include also some degree of physical planning. In Kenya three ministries have been created by the constitution to coordinate economic, physical and social development plans. They are the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, and the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

Each of the three East African governments also have Town Planning Departments under a Ministry that advises the national government on town planning and also oversees the town planning of most of the towns. The author, however, does not wish to contradict the contention in the first chapter that there exists a lack of definite policies towards urban development in the three countries of East Africa. In spite of this lack, the organizational structure exists both in the national and local governments of the three countries which favors urban planning and therefore


the establishment of urban planning education programs.

Existence of Educational Institution for Higher Learning and Professional Training

One of the three conditions cited by Professor Oberlander as a prerequisite to the establishment of a planning institution in a country is that there should exist in the same country an institution of higher learning and professional training.

The reason why it is recommended that the education for planners should be carried out within the body of a large and strong university is that a student in the early stages of his education may acquire a broad insight into scientific and humanistic disciplines while at the same time acquiring the tools and the aptitudes of his profession.\(^{11}\)

It is only an institute of higher learning that is able to meet these qualifications and provide this opportunity.

Also, the establishment of planning education within a large institute of higher learning provides opportunities for a closer working relationship with other fields that are related to planning such as economics, architecture, and sociology. Students may be able to take courses from these disciplines without extra cost if the planning cur-

\(^{11}\)Pietro Belluschi: Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 25.
curriculum was set up within the university system. Professor Oberlander says that

The close association between a planning curriculum and higher education generally ought to provide: an emphasis upon universal and general knowledge as a basis for professional curriculum rather than local and concrete cases of practice; continuity and growth of planning as a profession and its relationship to other disciplines which historically have supported planning.12

This is only possible within an institution of higher learning.

All of the three East African countries of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda have institutions of higher learning. University College of Dar-es-Salaam specializes in law and also offers some liberal arts courses. Nairobi University College offers degrees in humanities, social science, commerce, liberal arts, engineering, and architecture. Makerere University College has both professional degrees like medicine, veterinary and also a wide range of liberal arts courses, as well as humanities, social sciences, and physical science courses for degrees. In viewing the three colleges that make up the University of East Africa,13 the University College of Nairobi is more suitable for

12H. Peter Oberlander, Town Planning Institute, Vol. 50, p. 20.

establishing an urban planning department because it has such professional disciplines as the faculties of architecture and engineering. It also has departments of sociology, economics and geography, all of which could be regarded as supporting disciplines to the area of urban planning education. For this reason, it would be more practical for the urban planning department to be established at the University College of Nairobi in Kenya rather than in Uganda or Tanzania.

Moreover, Kenya is more urbanized than her two neighbors (as already mentioned in Chapter I). For this reason, we may assume that she has more urban problems than her two neighboring countries of Tanzania and Uganda. It is the belief of the author that planning education should be oriented to problem-solving. If this proposition is acceptable, then it would seem reasonable for the planning school to be located in that area where the most urban problems exist. Kenya would, therefore, be favored in this respect for the establishment of urban planning education.

The Cost of Educating Urban Planners Abroad vs. Educating at Home

The cost of educating students is the same at each campus of the East African University. Board, room, and
tuition at the East African University is £428 annually for undergraduate students and £259.6 for graduate students. The three East African governments usually meet part of the cost for their respective students through bursaries.

Assuming that any of the three countries elect to send their students abroad to the United States, for instance, for education in urban planning rather than train them at home, it would cost the government about £794.3 annually to provide tuition and maintenance in the United States. This cost excludes traveling expenses. The mentioned sum of money is the amount of bursary that is currently being given by the Kenya government to students receiving the Government Bursary in the United States. This is more than twice as expensive as training an undergraduate student at the home institution or more than three times as expensive as for graduate student training at the home institution. The educational expense alone, therefore, strongly favors the establishment of urban planning education within the system of the East African University and in this case within the University College of Nairobi.

The initial cost of establishing the urban planning

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14 Ibid.

15 The figure is supplied by a student receiving the Kenya Bursary at the University of Oregon in 1967.
department at the University College of Nairobi might be
very high, but, in the long run, it would be less expensive
to train urban planners in Kenya rather than in the North
American or European universities.

Considering all other factors discussed, the better
of the two choices mentioned at the beginning of this
chapter would be for the establishment of an urban plan-
ning education within the higher learning institution in
Kenya.
CHAPTER V

THE BASIS ON WHICH PLANNING EDUCATION CURRICULUM SHOULD REST

If we accept the proposal that a planning education program should be established within the University College of Nairobi, which is the only large institution of higher learning in Kenya, the next question is, on what basis should our planning curriculum be structured? As a house needs a foundation, so does a curriculum. If our curriculum is not structured upon a valid basis we may be educating our urban planning students for irrelevancy, thus duplicating the same weaknesses that have been existing in training urban planning students abroad for planning work at home.

Our curriculum should be structured on grounds that will enable the student to apply his knowledge effectively and efficiently upon graduation. Mr. Francis Violich, referring to physical planning education, mentions four facts about qualifications of a planner that have to be remembered before considering the basis on which to structure the curriculum. These facts could be considered also relevant to urban planning education as a whole.

First,
Planning education must develop within the 'whole man' the capacity to deal with such specialized phases as the geographical region, the metropolitan urban region, the city, and urban project planning....

[Second,] the physical environment as it is or will be molded, plays a major role in shaping social pattern and economic productivity.

[Third,] the physical planner must be educated to become socially effective and a careful balance must set up between his sense of values as they relate to the physical scene and to the social conditions which the physical environment should affect.

[Fourth,] since the physical planner is in a position to influence the social and economic development of his community to a considerable degree, it is essential that he should understand what the community wants and his planning will affect its economic and social objectives.... His responsibility is really that of translating public policy into physical terms."

In order to educate a planner with the qualities mentioned above, this author recognizes four major factors around which the curriculum could be structured, namely: the needs of the country's urban areas; the goals and objectives of Kenya at national and local levels; the need to accommodate for external influences; professional needs.

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The Needs of Urban and Supra-Urban Areas of Kenya

Town and country planning evolved as a profession because of the need that arose for it as a result of the urban expansions, which was in turn caused by the process of industrialization and the accompanying growth of population.²

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Kenya is by and large an agrarian country just beginning to move towards industrialization. For this reason, its basic problem consists mainly of spatial reorganization which involves concentrating people and economic activities in the urban areas.

This spatial shift creates serious problems for the country's urban areas, some of which were discussed in the past chapters. These problems could be regarded as involving social, economic, physical and political considerations.

Here we have a country or countries just in their transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy. The majority of people are still agrarian oriented. The problem of accommodating these transitional people who have recently moved into the towns, then, becomes the problem

of the planner.

The curriculum created to train a planner should in this respect contain subject matter that would help a student recognize the social institutions that exist among the townspeople. The student of urban planning should be taught how to work with some of these local institutions to affect changes in some of the social institutions that prove to be unamenable and discordant to modern urban development. He should be equipped to help the urban communities cultivate and revitalize some of the social institutions that are good for the societal continuity and which are in constant danger of dying due to the importation and imposition of the western cultures and institutions. Some of these western influences have very uprooting effects on the African.

As mentioned in Chapters II and III, the traditional family ties that bound together many families are breaking up in towns, and the author is not sure whether the break-up of the family ties is a good idea, at this stage of development, when the government cannot offer every worker in town a social security which the extended families provided. A break-up in marriage as mentioned previously is also now a common phenomenon in towns. Likewise, crime, immorality and drunkenness are also increasing. All these have been attributed to the uprooting effect of western institutions on the African town dwellers. The question
then is, can we train a planner to be able to help guard against these negative influences?

It is the belief of this author that since the planner would be trained to be able to create or pose alternatives by conditioning students to be research-minded, alternatives could be found to plan for orderly social changes without suffering the disrupting effects that have been noticeable in East African urban areas. Research must then be an essential part of the curriculum. Such research would look into questions like: what makes family life stable in the rural areas but is lacking in the towns and how can we plan for the inclusion of such an ingredient in the towns?

A student should also be equipped to recognize and plan for other social needs of the African town dwellers. Such needs might include market facilities, social services, and related amenities to make the towns more liveable. We mentioned in Chapter I that recreation in the major towns is often lacking and usually consists of beer halls and, on rare occasions, a playfield. Other social services like health clinics, schools and market facilities are not adequate either. Whereas a planner cannot plan for these facilities if sufficient funds are not allocated for them, he can help the decision-makers to locate such facilities in the critical areas with easy access that would serve
wider perimeters than otherwise would have been possible.

An effective curriculum structured to train a planner to plan within the social institutions of the country would be aimed at creating an effective planner. Pietro Belluschi says "each country needs a full understanding of its historical and cultural development and a sympathy for its special institutions developed in a particular climate by people of unique background." This is why it is important to study and recognize the social institutions of the country before one is able to plan successfully.

Other than the social wants that the curriculum must satisfy it should also aim at educating planners to plan for economic needs of the Kenya urban areas.

A planner himself may not be an economic specialist. But he must have a "knowledge of the structure and functioning of the urban economy." Unemployment is currently one of the chief problems in Kenya. This is brought about by the fact that urban areas are the chief centers for wage employment opportunities because of the industrial, commercial and governmental establishments in these areas. The problem of supplying full employment is a macro-economic

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problem that has to be dealt with at the national level, but individual urban areas constitute part of the whole. It is therefore essential that a planner be equipped to understand what part the individual urban area plays to fulfill the economic need of the country. The urban planner must understand and be able to advise the local urban government on the rationality of locating certain new economic activities in the area and the repercussion involved.

Equal distribution of economic activities throughout Kenya is one of the major aims of the Kenya Development Plan 1966-1970.\textsuperscript{5} If this goal can be fulfilled, then it would mean that urban areas throughout Kenya must be planned to accommodate this redistribution of economic activities and hence the redistribution of employment centers. The urban planners should therefore have some knowledge of forecasting economic trends in the urban areas.

With a knowledge of the trends of growth, leveling off, or decline in economic activity, the city planner is better able to develop yardsticks which assist him in estimating the extent and character of changing land requirements that form the basis for a land development plan.\textsuperscript{6}

The curriculum, therefore, should include areas of economic


\textsuperscript{6}Chapin, p. 107.
studies that would enable a student to understand and plan for the mentioned economic dynamics in the urban areas.

The curriculum designed to give a student the understanding and knowledge of the social and economic needs of Kenya urban areas will not be effective unless a student is also trained to apply them in physical forms.

Physical planning must be an essential part of the economic and social development process. It can, therefore, be maintained that unless the necessary physical changes are also considered and the environment...prepared for these changes, the social improvement which economic development was to foster will fail to be achieved.

One of the major physical needs of the urban areas in Kenya is the provision of decent, low-cost, and adequate housing for the urban residents, most of whom have low incomes. The curriculum should give emphasis in this area too. Research should again form an important part of the curriculum. The research should be conducted in techniques and means of building cheaper but decent residential housing.

The students should be trained to recognize the importance of "work-live" relationships in planning for residential areas. The research should constantly endeavor to discover the urban land use pattern that would be most efficient for Kenya where the chief means of moving around,

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7Ernest Weissmann, *Housing, Building & Planning*, No. 11, p. 17.
except in the three major towns, is still largely by walking or cycling.

The students must also become familiar with locational theories which would make them capable of advising the municipal government on the desirability or undesirability of locating certain new activities within the corporate part of the municipalities. Kenya, as previously mentioned, is moving towards industrialization and mistakes made now in locating activities within the urban areas may prove to be very costly in the future as more industrialization takes place.

Urban areas do not exist in a vacuum. They have direct influence on the hinterland surrounding them and the country as a whole. A regional approach in planning for urban areas is important in this respect. The Development Plan of Kenya does not seem to approach planning on a regional scale, but rather on the national level. But in other developing countries,

There is...a growing recognition to the 'region' as a suitable unit for planning and development. Local development action can best be conceived and carried out only when it is related to regional and national planning.... 8

The implication for urban planning on national scale becomes evident only when prior attention has been given to the regional

8Ibid.
problem, and the basic allocation decision has been made. The urban problem will often be decisive, for regional space is structured primarily through a hierarchy of urban places and through the fields of interaction which relate them. The very closest coordination of city and regional policy planning is therefore essential.\footnote{John Friedman, "Regional Planning as a Field of Study," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, (September, 1963), pp. 171, 172.}

It is therefore very important that the curriculum contain studies aimed at training planning students to know and understand the interrelationship that exists between the regions and the urban areas so that they would, on graduation, be able to plan urban areas that relate to the region and finally to the country as a whole.

**The Goals and Objectives of Kenya**

The curriculum should also reflect national goals and objectives. The students must be made aware of where the national or regional governments come in the planning process. They should know in what manner "the national government is to support such urban activities as public housing, mass transit, sanitary works, and metropolitan highways."\footnote{Ibid., p. 171.} In other words, a student should be familiar with the function of national and local governments in relation to the planning process.
In addition to familiarity from the functions of the government in the planning process, "the future planner ought to be oriented towards economic and social goals of his society and ought to be conversant with the methods available to him to implement the plans." However, the goals and objectives of the country must be found and defined before academic means can be found to satisfy them.

In Kenya the national goals and objectives are spelled out in the Republic's Development Plan of 1966-70. They are contained in the form of policy statements in the introductory part given by the President of the country. It is not the aim of the author to explore in detail these objectives and goals. We shall, however, mention a few that have some direct effect on urban planning.

The President laid emphasis on the fact that the four year development plan will stress the development of small-scale farming "into modern productive economic activity," to insure a better living standard to the millions of farmers and their families in the country and also to hired labor. This has a direct bearing on the urban areas of Kenya. The raising of the standard of living of the peasant farmers and hired labor is one way of easing the


12 Republic of Kenya, pp. i-vi.
unemployment in the urban areas. Annually hundreds of these farmers abandon their farms or leave their wives behind to till these lands, as mentioned in the first chapter, to seek employment in the urban areas because of the meager income their small farms produce. Raising the income of these farmers would induce them to stay on their farms and possibly attract some of the school leavers, also mentioned in the third chapter, to farming as a desirable occupation. The urban areas would still function as major distribution centers of commerce, service and markets for both the urban dwellers and these enovated farmers. Their functions as focal points will become even more prominent with the improved farming in the rural side.

If this goal is to be realized, a network of infra-fracture connecting all the farming areas and urban centers must be developed. Urban areas would have to develop facilities that would enhance the movement into and from them. Efficient market facilities would also have to be developed in the urban centers to enable farmers to sell their products easily. Lending institutions, such as banks, would have to be increased in the urban areas or towns adjacent to farming areas to enable the farmers to obtain credits and other banking services easily.

In other words, the development of the hinterland would depend to a certain degree on the accessibility to
facilities and services available in the city and also on the activities such as "trade, finance, transport, government and other services using the city as a base of operation."\(^\text{13}\)

The curriculum should include courses that would enable students not only to recognize the part that the urban centers will play in fulfilling these goals but also to be able to plan urban areas for these fulfillments. The courses should enable the student to visualize urban centers as part of greater regions rather than independent entities.

Agrarian reform also includes the reshifting of population in the form of settlement schemes. More planners (who have the training to plan villages and small and medium towns in these resettled areas) will be needed. The planning curriculum should endeavor to fulfill these objectives by including courses that would train students in new concepts of resettlements relevant to Kenya or East African situations.

Together, with the agrarian reforms mentioned, the plan calls for stepped up education and training of the Africans to increase the supply of high-level and middle-level manpower in order to increase the African partici-\(^\text{13}\)Chapin, p. 108.
pation both in the economy and in administrative jobs as well as in professional occupations. The emphasis would be put on secondary education. This objective will have a bearing on urban areas in two or more ways. But the author wishes to discuss only two effects.

The first effect of this objective statement is that urban areas would be required to plan for more schools at the primary, secondary, and technical levels. A planning student should have some training that would enable him to know what factors should be considered in planning for new schools in the urban areas.

The second effect of the statement on urban areas is the most important of the two. The stepped-up education and training is aimed at producing the manpower that will find employment chiefly in the towns. This may necessarily mean that with more educated persons finding employment in the towns and less uneducated peasant farmers moving into town because of the improved farming in the rural areas, the educational level and the income of the urban residents may rise. This may mean that the urban residents would begin to demand better services and facilities in the towns.

A planning curriculum should endeavor to train students to be amenable to these shifts. The proposed planning institution would act as a center of research which would constantly seek to discover what changes are occurring in
the urban areas and have to accommodate these changes. Students should be trained to anticipate these changes too. The curriculum would have to be developed to include areas that would equip students to determine trends, forecast for the future, and plan for them.

Proceeding further, the Kenya Development Plan proposes to expand health facilities both in urban and rural areas. New health facilities will have to be built. More hospitals, however, will not be built in the rural areas but in the urban areas only. The students of planning should be taught to plan for such facilities. This is the area where close cooperation between planners and the health and sanitary authorities will be necessary. The curriculum should equip a student to work with different professions cooperatively in executing plans requiring the advice and cooperation of other disciplines. This is why it was mentioned in the earlier part of this section that it was necessary for an urban planning department to be established in an institution of higher learning where a planning student would be exposed to different disciplines and professions with which the future planner will be working upon graduation.

The curriculum should also include studies that will equip students to understand factors involved in planning for industrial development. The Kenya Development Plan aims at expanding manufacturing and industrial output at
an average rate of eight percent annually. This will require establishment of new industrial estates, as already mentioned in Chapter III, and also the facilities for industrial expansion.

The urban planners should be trained to determine what is required for industries to grow in the urban areas and to plan for them. Such facilities, like new housing for the workers, means and systems of communication, sewage, and other utilities, like water and power, will have to be considered. Planning education should produce planners capable of anticipating these demands.

In summary, Mr. Harvey Perloff writes thus:

In a country trying to speed up development, a truly effective planning system would not draw too sharp distinction between key elements of town and country planning, regional resources planning, and national economic planning, but would rather view these as parts of a single system aimed establishing and achieving common goals.... The town planner sees his task as not only involving the creation of an improved environment for the people now living and working in the city, but also guiding urban development so that the city can serve as a dynamic element setting an example in fostering regional and national economic growth.14

A planning student in Kenya would have to be oriented to this kind of thought if the curriculum was developed for this type of planning.

14 Harvey S. Perloff, Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 66.
Accommodation for External Influences

The curriculum for urban planning in Kenya must be futuristic oriented to include studies that will make accommodations for future economic and political trends in East Africa. The University College of Nairobi is part of the greater system of the University of East Africa. Students admitted to this institution not only come from Kenya, but also from Uganda and Tanzania. A few students also come from Malawi and Zambia. The cost of running the University College of Nairobi is mainly contributed by the Kenya government and partly contributed by the Tanzania and Uganda governments. Therefore, the institution must cater to both Kenya and East Africa as a whole.

With this in mind, the proposed urban planning department will not only have to cater to Kenya urban needs but also to the needs of Tanzania and Uganda and maybe even to other Eastern African countries like Sudan, Malawi, Ethiopia, Zambia, Ruanda, Burundi, Congo and Somalia.

Both Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda may possess similar urban and regional problems because they have been under the same colonial rule and policies that created to a large extent the urban situations viewed in the first chapter.

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For this reason their urban needs may largely be satisfied by the same curricula.

Another important fact to be considered in structuring the urban planning curriculum is that several countries in Eastern Africa are planning to join the East African Community, an economic and social cooperation very similar to the European Common Market whose membership is currently made up of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. The University of East Africa is administered under this organization.

Ethiopia and Zambia have applied to become members of the Community and Somalia promised to follow suit by December 24, 1967. Other East and Central African countries like Congo, Sudan and Malawi show some interest in the Community and may soon apply to join also.

If all this occurs, the universities in these countries will also come under the East African Community, in which case a professional school like the proposed Urban Planning Institute will have to cater to the needs of these countries also. In fact, countries like the Congo with 22.3 percent of its population living in the urban areas may need even more consideration in setting up the cur-

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17 Ibid.
riculum than Kenya with 7.8 percent of its population living in the urban areas. The economic necessity may make it possible to have the Planning Education program in Kenya serve the whole region of Eastern Africa.

As mentioned in the early part of this section, an educational institution to train urban planners should be established in each country if it were possible because no matter how countries may appear similar they have some problems that may be peculiar only to themselves. For this reason each of the members of the Eastern African Community may wish to establish their own urban planning schools. These schools may cater to manpower requirements for junior urban or regional planning positions. However, the planning school at the University College of Nairobi, as this paper proposes, will have to train urban planners for a higher level of the urban planning profession for the region. This may include training general urban planners and urban planning specialists at the graduate level. Of course, the manpower requirement for junior positions in urban planning for Kenya will have to be satisfied too by having the curriculum structured for this need also.

In starting an educational program of this nature, the University may have to look for overseas help to assist

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in its establishment. This may have some influence on the curriculum in that it may have to adapt some of the older planning institutions' methods from European or North American countries. But, the establishers of the urban planning education program in Kenya would have to take care not merely to copy the educational programs in these countries because they may not be relevant to East African situations.

There are several ways in which the older North American and European urban planning schools could help in establishing an urban planning school or department in the University College of Nairobi. For example,

The University of Pennsylvania has played a vital role in the establishment of a planning department in the School of Architecture of the Middle East Technical University in Turkey. Harvard University is assisting substantially in the creation of a new Department of Regional and City Planning at the Bandung Institute of Technology in Indonesia, and the University of British Columbia is currently engaged in staffing and, to some degree, supervising an Institute for Community Planning at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology at Kumasi in Ghana.

Under technical aid the Kenya government could negotiate with Great Britain, Canada or the United States to have one of their reputable urban planning institutions

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help her set up an urban planning department at the University College of Nairobi. The institution would agree to train future professors of urban planning education from Kenya or East Africa and also supervise the initial establishment of the institution.

An agreement would also have to be concluded with the selected institution from any of the mentioned countries to agree to set up an exchange program that would enable faculties from the old institution and the new one to exchange their members on a yearly basis. This would strengthen the educational program in the new institution and at the same time make the faculty members from the older countries appreciate and have knowledge of the problems of the developing countries in East Africa. The curriculum would, therefore, have to be developed in anticipation of all these external influences discussed above.

**Professional Needs**

Urban planning itself has emerged as an independent profession. Frederick Adams writes:

Over the past twenty or thirty years, physical planning in the industrialized countries has increasingly become accepted as an independent profession. It has developed a point of view and an ethos which make possible a distinctive approach to the solution of physical planning
problems. If physical planning must remain an independent profession in East Africa as it has become in the western nations, we must structure our curriculum not only to satisfy areas discussed so far but also to fulfill its professional needs. The professional needs would not be akin to Kenya or East Africa alone but also to the professional needs that are recognized universally.

One may ask what these professional needs are. This is still a difficult question to answer. Although the current urban planning profession is about 60 years old, it is quite young compared to other professions such as law, medicine, and architecture. There is still some disagreement as to the nature, hence the needs of the profession. Adams writes that

The lag between professional education and the requirements of practice can be traced to a lack of agreement among practitioners, educators and the public at large concerning the essential nature of professional planning.

Nevertheless, this lack of agreement may not bar us from recognizing some of the most obvious needs. There is definite need in such areas as development of particular techniques, principles, methods and objectives in planning

Fredrick Adams, Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 37.

Ibid., p. 40.
for various known urban situations. Lack of enough research to formulate these needs is cited as the main reason for their existence. Sir William Holford summarizes the areas in the urban planning profession that need to be formulated as consisting of:

(a) The objectives of city and regional planning; for example, the size and character of communities best suited to given economic and geographical situations; (b) planning principles and concepts, such as the city, region, decentralization, the mixed residential neighborhood, optimum densities, amenities; and (c) planning techniques, including those of control, development and management.\(^\text{23}\)

These needs may be more intensified in the developing countries like Kenya where lack of data in many aspects of urban situations is still great.

The disagreement over what the nature of planning is or should be is a clear indication that the profession is still in its formative stages. As a matter of fact, in comparison to the well established professions,

The responsibility of a planner is [still] wider and looser, his professional associations—whether in their capacity as trade union or as learned society—are less exclusive and less strict and his professional status (where it is recognized at all) is not yet clearly defined.... The professional approach to planning education must therefore be a struggle for recognition, not only as a profession, but as a separate profession.\(^\text{24}\)

\(^\text{23}\)Sir William Holford, \textit{ibid.}, p. 51.

\(^\text{24}\)Ibid., p. 53.
With regards to which approach is used to train a planner, Mr. Perloff does not believe that it would make a great deal of difference whether the training was mainly professional or technical, ..., or whether the main approach was to train generalist or specialist, or both, as long as the training was dominated (a) by a view of planning as geared to positive creative development; (b) by the use of research wherever it was appropriate, and (c) by over-all excellence. 25

First of all, however, we should be able to identify some of the general functions a planner performs before we can consider how to structure our curriculum to satisfy these conditions.

Of the numerous articles and books written about the functions of a planner, the author feels that Belluschi summarizes them best, thus:

A planner brings method and balance to the process of exploiting land areas and natural resources for the benefit of an organized society. His tools are ability to analyse and reconcile, the power and imagination to synthesize and give form, and the willingness to communicate and persuade. 26

Rafael Pico also adds:

By training, planners are able to understand the specialist whose language they often have to talk.... They are able to transmit the knowledge of the specialist in a well integrated form to the public, to executives,

25 Perloff, ibid., p. 67.
26 Belluschi, ibid., p. 24.
and to legislators.  

In structuring the curriculum, with the above functions in mind, we should, therefore, aim at directing the students' education partly towards the conditions of practice as they exist at present. In other words, what functions is a planner supposed to perform upon graduation, and what may these functions become in the future? Thus the students' education would not become obsolescent upon graduation.

To fulfill this kind of education, Perloff proposes a model that would consider

(a) an interrelated system of national, regional, and local planning (b) careful attention to the social, economic, political, administrative, design, engineering, and technological elements at every level (c) emphasis on positive development measures with a focus on a limited number of strategically important factors, rather than on the negative elements of detailed control (d) research as an integral part of the planning process, and (e) planning marked by expertness not amateurish groping.

The above characteristic of a planning curriculum would not be meaningful unless careful attention is also given the process through which a student should pass before he qualifies as a professional planner worthy of holding a higher rank of an urban planner.

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27 Rafael Pico, ibid., p. 34.

28 Perloff, ibid., p. 67.
As mentioned earlier in this section, before a student is admitted to an urban planning program, he should possess at least the basic qualifications required of all other students for entrance into similar professional programs in the university at the undergraduate or graduate level.

After his admission into the urban planning educational program, the student should be required to take some basic educational disciplines not necessarily related to planning but which would widen his horizons. He would, of course, be required to take disciplines that usually are regarded as supporting the urban planning profession.

During and after this learning schedule, the students would be introduced to some specialist education purely aimed at qualifying the student for the planning profession. This specialist education would be intensified towards his last years at the university. The specialist education would mean acquiring a discipline or disciplines that is unique to the planning profession, thus identifying the student apart from other disciplines of education.

Upon completion of this phase of education, a student should be required to undergo a period of practical training and experience. This would be like the internship program required of the students of medicine. The author sees no reason why planning, if it has to evolve as a profession, should not be accorded the same treatment the
medical profession receives. Moreover, planning as a profession directly or indirectly affects human health and welfare just as the medical profession does.

The planning school would have to work in close cooperation with qualified planning practitioners in the field so that students could be placed with them for the period of the internship. A professor would be required to supervise this fourth step of the educational program in the field. The author recalls that when he was undergoing teacher training in Kenya, there was a period when teaching practice was required for all particular-year teacher training students. The instructors stationed at certain focal points in the country came at various times to supervise the teaching, and this became the normal process of learning for the interns. This kind of program can also be followed for urban planning students in East Africa.

Upon completion of the intern program, the student would be regarded as a qualified urban planner whatever the rank of his qualification would be. These steps, of course, would not be the same for those students training only for technical positions in the planning profession. Other steps and programs will have to be devised for them.

We should bear in mind at this point that

Physical planning as a profession involves (or should involve) a hierarchy of competence and this ought to be expressed in a comparable hierarchy of professional qualifications, appropriate to the development process and
When devising our curriculum to satisfy the professional needs, this must be taken into account.

Adams elucidates further thus

"Definition of planning education and planning training must be broad enough to include the professional training not only for the future city or regional planner, but also for the planning specialist who will be collaborating in the overall problem of development in cities, states, and nations."^9

In developing countries like Kenya or other East African countries, ample opportunities still exist for experiments. Perhaps planning schools established in such countries could research, experiment and come up with new ideas and methods that the developed countries have not been able to formulate. Adams adds:

"All countries would benefit if those in a transitional stage would pioneer in the evolution of a broad new approach to the planning of geographical areas. What is true of planning procedures is true also of methods of planning education, so that in the less developed countries it is more important to maintain a flexible position on types of training and content of curricula."^1

The curricula should always be sensitive to changes

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^10Adams, Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 41.

^3Ibid., p. 43.
that would occur in the planning profession as this profession goes through its stages of maturity. This is why it is important that planning schools such as the one this paper proposes should incorporate research as one of the most important parts of whatever curricula that would evolve.
CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE CURRICULA

So far we have attempted to justify the establishment of an urban planning department at the University of East Africa in Kenya. We have also surveyed the basis for the curriculum that would be established for urban planning education. However, we have not considered the specific areas that this curriculum for urban planning education should cover. It is not the intention of this paper to suggest specific course work that the curriculum should include, but rather areas that should be covered in general. Before we discuss the areas the program should cover, we should consider what form the curriculum should take; that is, whether it should be an undergraduate, technical, or graduate program or some combination of these. Of course, the discussion in the last chapter would help us to decide what would be appropriate. First, however, we should review programs the U. S. and two other developing countries have in-planning education. We will briefly discuss Indonesia and Ghana in this respect.
The Form of Planning Education Programs in the
U. S., Indonesia and Ghana

Most of the 39 institutions of higher learning which give degrees in urban planning in the United States offer them at the graduate level. There are a few institutions which have either undergraduate programs or both graduate and undergraduate programs in urban planning. Whether or not a graduate or undergraduate program is the best form for the urban planning education in the United States is not the concern of this paper. The question is whether the proposed program at the University College of Nairobi should use United States planning institutions as the models for its program. We need not discuss this question further because the answer has already been provided in the last chapter. Any programs evolved must have only a form that would respond to the situations and needs of Kenya and East Africa.

Nevertheless, there are certain aspects of courses offered in the United States planning school programs which are applicable to both the United States and Kenya as well that are worth viewing at this point. The bulletins of

six of the leading planning schools in the United States which include Harvard University, University of California at Berkeley, Pratt Institute, University of North Carolina and Columbia University, were reviewed by the author.

Many courses offered in these planning schools would be applicable in Kenya. Those would include introductory courses in planning which attempt to acquaint a student with the historical basis for planning, tracing the development of concepts and theories in urban planning through the years. Even a student in Kenya would need this background in order to see some logic in present planning and also to help develop his own philosophy in his field to suit the circumstances under which he is supposed to work. However, in Kenya or East African situations the emphasis would be on planning development nearest to the student's experience. This can be done by seeking possible theories and concepts of city planning that evolved in the history of the Middle East and Africa. Each of the schools mentioned above, including the University of Oregon's Department of Urban Planning, offer these courses under different titles. At the University of Oregon it is called City Planning I.

Modern Planning Theories (or Planning Theory) as given in Pratt Institute, Columbia University, University of North Carolina or Harvard University may be useful to a student from a developing country like Kenya too in that it
disciplines the student to principles involved in planning. On the basis of these principles, a student would be able to adapt methods of applying them in practice. The principles of a discipline should be universally applicable because they emanate from proven theories. Only the methodology should vary according to the different circumstances requiring their application. Planning theories as a course of study, therefore, should be useful to a student without respect to where he comes from.

The University of Oregon does not offer courses specifically in planning theories, but City Planning II does consider some planning theories. However, we should remember that city planning is still a young profession which has not yet developed extensive theories as other disciplines have.

Of the courses offered in general studies, those connected with regional resources and physical planning seem to the author to be the most likely to be applicable to developing countries like Kenya where the development of natural resources is most desirable. This kind of course is critical and ought to be offered in every planning school. All of the six schools mentioned offer such studies, both theoretical and practical.

Courses dealing with techniques and tools of planning are also important. The University of North Carolina offers a course in Planning of Water Resource Systems
which involves the use or application of system analysis. This is a unique course in itself for developing countries where the planning of water resources is critical.

Courses in planning techniques and tools which the author feels would be useful include an introductory course in design (such a course is offered by Harvard University and the University of North Carolina). Every planning student should be exposed to theories and techniques of urban design because they may be required to create designs or pass judgment on designs when they return to their home countries.

Techniques in regional planning are equally important as studies in regional planning. Most of the schools mentioned offer courses in regional planning. The author feels that a knowledge of these techniques would be advantageous to students returning to developing countries where regional planning is considered the best approach to resource and physical planning as discussed in the last chapter.

Courses in graphics are also universally applicable. A planner who has had courses in graphics would be able to present his planning ideas more vividly to his clients.

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Knowledge of the method and use of urban data processing and analysis is also an important tool for any planner. The University of California at Berkeley seems to have a strong program in this area. A planner whether in East Africa or in the United States ought to be well versed in the use of this technique because where research is conducted, the ability to sort out relevant data becomes essential.

Courses in administration and regulations like zoning subdivision, however, generally have very little applicability in East Africa or other developing countries because the administration of these countries is quite different from that found in the United States. Regulations governing towns also differ. Most of the planning schools in the United States require all students to take these courses.

Courses in housing, on the other hand, are only partially applicable in the developing countries because of the wide differences in cultural backgrounds and economic abilities between the developing countries and the United States.

Although some of the courses offered in the planning schools of the United States reviewed above could provide valuable examples for our proposed program, we could not adopt the planning education programs from these schools as
they are because such programs would not be relevant to planning situations in East Africa. But the examples of educational programs in urban planning established in other developing countries might be more useful to us since these countries have developmental problems similar to those found in East African countries. One problem that might bar us from using and, of course, copying the examples provided by these countries, is the fact that not enough experience has been gained by their planning institutions to indicate their success or failures.

We may, however, very briefly review urban planning education programs in two developing countries that the author had had an opportunity to read about. These are the programs offered at Bandung School of Regional and City Planning, Bandung Institute of Technology in Indonesia and the Institute of Community Planning, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana. 3

The Bandung School of Regional and City Planning was established in 1959 to offer a four and a half year curriculum in planning. Sometime before the program was

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inaugurated, the faculty of the school was carefully selected and sent overseas for advanced graduate training. Their education at the overseas universities was tailored in coordination with one another to produce a well rounded faculty whose aggregate education covers all major areas related to planning in an Indonesian context.

Initially, a problem of decision existed, similar to the one this paper faces in this chapter. The problem was that of determining what level of training would give a maximum long-range benefit to the Indonesian situation. Finally, after a careful consultation with a U. N. expert in planning and a Harvard University advisor to the country, the Indonesian government decided to have the program established as an undergraduate specialization program offering a professional degree. The school was also designed to be a research center to service Indonesia as well as the whole of South East Asia.

The four and a half year curriculum compared well with the degree requirement for other disciplines in the Institute and other Indonesian universities. There were the equivalent of eight and one half full time faculty members teaching in the program by 1962 and it was hoped to be expanded to 15 by 1965. About 40 students were to be admitted to the program annually. The students were
to be selected carefully from all over Indonesia. 4

The curriculum was divided into two parts: "the first two years encompass basic knowledge and general background studies, while the last two are more directly concerned with professional skills." 5 The curriculum emphasized, as opposed to traditional curricula, three areas:

(a) The region as the planning area of greatest interest and concern, (b) knowledge of economics and public finance as the indispensable foundation for effective planning activity at any level in a developing country, and (c) implementation, particularly through physical mechanism, as a supplement to conventional legal devices, ... 6

The emphasis on regional planning is of particular interest here because "the region" usually presents the most sound unit for planning in developing countries where exploitation and coordinated development of natural resources is still the major concern and also still in a primodial stage. The students in the program were to be "educated in the techniques of comprehensive planning for physical development of natural regions and of urban and village centers," 7 related to Indonesia and other countries

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5 Ibid., pp. 105, 106.

6 Ibid., pp. 105, 106.

of South East Asia.

The success or failure of this program is still to be seen. But an observer may wonder whether the needs of this part of the world will be served adequately by having the school offer no program toward an advanced degree. If the school has to serve as a regional school of planning for South East Asia as intended, it ought to have included training of specialists at a more advanced level too. It nevertheless provides a very useful service in this area of the world.

Coming closer to home, we may also briefly consider another planning education program offered at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology at Kumasi in Ghana.

The Institute for Community Planning at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Ghana was established under the Faculty of Architecture in June, 1961. The education program under the Institute is unique in a way. It is not geared to train professional urban planners but rather to train qualified "planning assistants (whose chief functions are to act) as the eye and ears of a regional planning officer and as technical aides to village development committees in their assigned districts." The

\[8\text{Ibid., p. 122.}\]
The immediate need in the country did not seem to be an increase in postgraduate degree professionals. Instead, a cadre of well-trained planning assistants, under professional guidance, could carry out essential technical and routine services, thereby releasing degree-trained and experienced planners for the complex task of developing programs and coordinating the full range of physical growth of urban and village communities.  

The curriculum was structured in such a way that during the first year the architects, planners and builders all attend the same classes. The students in the building program branch off after the one year. But the planning and architecture students continue until the fourth year, after which they branch into their specialties for another two years.

To the author, the program seems very appropriate as long as it is geared only to Ghanean needs. The length of the curriculum, however, is too great for an undergraduate program and does not seem justified at all if it is aimed only at qualifying planning assistants rather than full-professional planners.

Other aspects of the program seem very attractive and worth noting. Some members of the faculty with student assistants under the Settlement's Research Department are

9Ibid.
busily engaged in researching for new and old settlements in Ghana, especially those around Volta settlements.¹⁰

The Institute has actually been responsible for designing low-cost housing in Ghana and some of the settlement schemes around the Volta projects. This makes the school an essential and integrated part of the community. This is a very important function, especially to a developing country like Ghana. It is something that ought to be emulated not only in developing countries but also in developed countries where institutions of higher learning often stand aloof from the problems of the countries in which they are located even when they can be of immediate use to the community.

The Form of Education for Urban Development in Kenya and East Africa

Like the planning school at Bandung in Indonesia, we would have several choices regarding the form our educational curriculum will have if we decide to start such a program in Kenya. Six choices will briefly be considered here for the sake of brevity.

The first choice we may have is if the curriculum should consist of a graduate program only as is the case of

most of the American urban planning schools. A second choice may be to have an undergraduate curriculum aimed at training technicians in the planning profession and/or planning assistants like the one discussed at Kwame Nkrumah University in Ghana. We might also decide to emulate Indonesia and establish an undergraduate program aiming at producing fully qualified urban planning professionals. A fourth choice exists too, where the program would consist of an undergraduate curriculum for training technicians and assistants and a graduate curriculum for advanced planners and specialists. The fifth choice would consist of both an undergraduate curriculum for professional qualification and graduate curriculum for advanced degrees in planning and for specialization. The last choice would consist of three programs combined: two undergraduate curricula would exist with one curriculum for planning technicians and the other for qualified planning professionals; a graduate program would then permit specialization or an advanced planning degree.

Viewing the situation of Kenya and East Africa, as discussed in the last chapter, the fourth alternative seems to be the best of the lot for the reasons to be advanced below.

Having a program for technicians at the undergraduate level and qualified planners or specialists at the graduate level would go a long way to fulfill the needs of Kenya
and East Africa. Through the development plan mentioned in the fourth chapter, the East African governments have expressed their desires to advance quickly in their economic development plans. If the urban areas continue to act as dynamic centers for development, the immediate needs would be to recruit persons who would be capable of supervising the day-to-day implementation of the government policies for these urban centers. The same persons would be acting as technical advisers to local bodies invested with the power to carry out the administrative functions of these areas. As mentioned previously with regard to Ghana, these "planning assistants are to provide the technical skill to guide physical improvements and to insure that all buildings are built in the right places and in accord with over-all regional and local development."\(^{11}\) This routine but important work could not be required of professional planners, but rather of the technicians who will be regarded as assistants to the professional planners.

In summarizing the proceedings of a conference Frederic Adams comments:

Ernest Weissmann pointed out that we need to make available as many fairly trained people as possible, who can interpret the general

lines of a plan and translate them into local action programs. These people would not normally become members of planning profession, but should be able to continue with advanced training and become full-fledged planners if they so wish.  

The developing countries like Kenya need this kind of technicians much more than the developed countries because they are still in a very critical stage of development which require careful supervision in order to succeed.

The need for planning technicians or assistants, although more critical in developing countries, is not confined to the developing countries only. For Carl Feiss writes:

It would seem advisable...to draw the attention of university administration to the importance of undergraduate programs in planning as providing the soundest basis for advanced academic work in this field.... Urban planning...courses in...undergraduate years of a curriculum will, in time, help make up for the serious lack of skilled technicians which this country [U.S.] is now facing.  

In our discussion of professional needs we mentioned that if planning has to be regarded as a separate profession, planners should be trained to occupy different hierarchial levels of competence just as in the medical

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profession or other well established professions. Training planning assistants or technicians would be the first step in meeting this need.

As the department matures, other undergraduate programs such as the one suggested by Perry L. Norton could be started to give a real professional flavor to the planning profession in Kenya. He suggests that

There may be developed, at the undergraduate level, a system of courses or a major,... which might be called urban affairs or for professional purposes, pre-planning. After this type of preparation, students would pursue their special professional interests at the...early graduate level,...\textsuperscript{14}

This kind of arrangement would permit a better and stronger graduate program because the students admitted to it would have had better preparation for the graduate courses. The students who would not wish to continue in the graduate school could take courses that would enable them to finish their undergraduate training as planning technicians.

The above suggestion may help avoid some of the problems experienced in graduate programs in countries like the United States. The author has found from personal experience that there is always a feeling that too much course work is crowded into the limited time the urban planning students have available during the graduate years

of study. Lloyd Rodwin also contends:

One reason in my judgment why there is relatively little content in planning education is that it begins on an elementary plane, and the first years tend to be relatively superficial.... The faculties of most of the universities I am familiar with are always having difficulty squeezing the courses into the little time available.\(^{15}\)

In support of the suggested undergraduate program Belluschi also adds:

We should generate new type of undergraduate subjects as a basis for a new type of undergraduate technical education.... A professional direction in the early years of a student's life provides the motivating force, ..., together with the foundation of a general education he will have acquired an attitude and a point of view, a feeling for and an understanding of the character and quality of his profession; he will already have the vocabulary as well as the basic tools and methods of attack with which every profession must operate.\(^{16}\)

In further support of this approach to undergraduate programs, Oliveras says that

Learning the basic principles of planning will enable the students to determine whether their future should be in the planning profession. The student who will proceed to postgraduate levels will be free to concentrate on bringing his knowledge of basic planning

\(^{15}\) Lloyd Rodwin, *Housing, Building and Planning*, No. 11, p. 81.

principles closer to his profession.17

It is curious to note that there already exists an educational program in the United States which trains urban planning technicians at the junior college level around Baltimore in Maryland.18 It would be of interest to watch the progress of this program in future years.

One caution has to be remembered at this juncture. The training of students to become planning assistants or technicians does not equip them to become full-fledged professional planners upon graduation. The Kenya or East Africa governments, since they will be the employers of these assistants, will have to specify the years of experience the technicians need as well as their level of proficiency before they can be promoted to a full planning position. For this reason there would have to be different grades or scales that these assistants have to go through in their promotions before reaching full professional level. All of the technical students would have to start at the same level upon graduation and would be promoted according to their progress.

Another avenue of advancement open to the planning assistants would be to go back to a graduate program after

17 Candido Oliveras, Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 27.

some experience in the field. Some credits would have to be granted to these assistants for the field experience so that they would not have to spend the same number of years in graduate school as those who proceeded straight to a graduate program from undergraduate pre-planning program.

Currently there are a number of institutions in the United States and elsewhere which offer undergraduate education to students to qualify as full professional planners. Whether this kind of program is good or bad is still a matter of controversy as indicated in different articles in planning journals. This paper, on the other hand, does not feel the interests and needs of Kenya would be served best by instituting an undergraduate curriculum to train fully qualified professional planners.

A student would need a broad base of educational background to qualify as a full-fledged planner and to meet the challenges that his profession will require when he graduates. The broad base mentioned here would consist of interdisciplinary and professional subjects. While the undergraduate studies would satisfy the students' inter-

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disciplinary course requirements and also his preparatory professional courses requirement, it would not enable him to study in depth for professional requirements in the same period of time as in a normal undergraduate program. This is why this paper proposes an undergraduate program for technicians rather than for full planners.

A student may find himself, upon graduation, to be the only knowledgeable planner who would be coordinating, interpreting, or even formulating a development plan in a medium sized town in Kenya or East Africa, since there is such a lack of trained professional personnel. This is a great task that can be done only by a person who has had training in depth such as graduate training would provide or by a full-fledged planner who has qualified as such through experience. Tugwell adds:

If we think of the education of the young people who must make up the agency's personnel as being not necessarily post graduate but undergraduate, we risk something. It is quite possible that they may not have the background they require. But if we put off specialization to the post-graduate years they will have some sociology, they will know about problems of population, they will know something about geography and they should know something about urban life.20

This paper has endorsed a choice where the proposed

20Tugwell, Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 30.
program of planning education would consist of three curricula, one consisting of an undergraduate program aimed at training planning assistants and technicians, a graduate program to train professional planning generalists, and a program to train planning specialists. The main reason for this choice is that the undergraduate program would provide the broader base needed for a graduate program and the supporting skills needed in East Africa. The graduate program will provide the professional manpower skill needed for all major urban areas in East Africa.

The major aim of the graduate program would be to train specialists and generalists at a professional level in city or regional planning. The curriculum at this level of education would also aim at expanding the professional courses into a broader scope than possible in an undergraduate curriculum. Commenting on graduate training, an editorial adds: "It is by definition a training in breadth for people who have already studied certain subjects in depth." Perloff adds:

Today the highly complex task of city planning calls for graduate training in urban planning as such.... Given the complexity of modern city planning, some degree of specialization seems inevitable.... The objective for planning education seems clear enough. It is to provide expertise with breadth of outlook.

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This can be done by encouraging the student to build a 'planning specialization' through a carefully devised program to meet his special needs and aptitudes after he has had his general education and his planning core. I would call a person who has had this type of training a generalist with a speciality.  

Although this paper mentions the existence of two types of students in the graduate programs, namely the generalist and specialist, there are not any pure types. Even the generalist will have developed an aptitude in areas of his studies that he explores in more breadth. The curriculum should be flexible to allow for this.

As for duration of graduate curriculum, two years seems to be the normal rule. "The normal two years... certainly produces the good general planner as well as a number of first class specialist planners."  

A few writers, however, dispute the two years of urban planning graduate curriculum, as we have already mentioned. As one writer puts it, "Planning educators will admit--off the record of course--that their courses should be three years long, two is not enough." This paper has already

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agreed with this view, but only where a student starts a planning curriculum at the graduate level. If a student has had the preparation at an undergraduate level, as this paper proposes, there would be no need of extending the graduate curriculum longer than the two years. Of course, if a student wishes to engage in a substantial research program, then his curriculum could extend longer than the two years suggested.

If the undergraduate curriculum is properly coordinated with the graduate curriculum, it should take about six years or more for a student to qualify as a professional urban planner.

At present, training of the would-be professors for the pre-professional and professional courses would have to be carried out overseas until the proposed program is mature enough to provide this kind of highly specialized training. Moreover, the need for training professors would be great only when individual East African countries outside Kenya start training their own planning assistants and technicians.

In establishing the urban planning curriculum in the University of East Africa, care should be taken to see that the curriculum is well balanced and not biased in one

direction. It could be a natural tendency of the curriculum to favor one field of specialization over another, depending on which faculty the Department of Urban Planning is affiliated with. For this reason, the program should achieve independent status within the university if this is possible. Isaacs writes:

The schools and departments of planning should have independent status within the universities. They should have balanced programs permitting natural specializations and compensating and complementary programs of studies.25

This would not prevent the planning department or faculty from cooperating with other related disciplines within the university and it might even facilitate cooperation.

As far as the professors of the proposed program are concerned, a careful tally would have to be made to determine which courses are to be taught to satisfy the curriculum and then determine how many instructors and professors will be needed. The Indonesian method of recruiting the would-be professors, recounted in the early part of this chapter, could also be emulated for this East African institution. Qualified candidates with bachelors or masters degrees in planning or fields related to planning like sociology, geography, architecture, engineering, economics, and political science could be sent to particular overseas

institutions with strong programs in the fields desired, to train for teaching positions in the proposed urban planning department.

Upon their return to Kenya to take up teaching positions, the government should retain the new faculty members as consultants in their fields of competence in order to relate teaching with the actual practice or theory with application. This would make teaching more effective and relevant to the needs in the field. A professor in one of the American planning schools writes:

The most satisfactory arrangement I have had, and the one I would recommend for more frequent application, is when a faculty member is retained by a planning organization as a regular visiting staff consultant. In this capacity the faculty member performs the multiple roles of the visiting critic, the idea man, and the translator and adaptor of theory to practice. If this becomes a continuing relationship which lasts for over a period of years it provides an excellent avenue for a constructive dialogue between practice and teaching, with feedback from theoretical research to applied practice and vice versa.\(^{26}\)

While the proposed planning institution would serve chiefly as a center for educating and training urban planning assistants, technicians, and professionals; research must form a vital part of the school. The research division of the department of urban planning would serve

as a chief center for organized research to enlarge the understanding of the environmental problems of Kenya and East Africa as a whole. The center would open its branch centers in major towns of East Africa as needed. But it must be under the supervision and in close cooperation with the urban planning department at the University College of Nairobi in order that it may serve both the needs of the students and of East Africa countries.

The Main or Core Curriculum

As mentioned before, it is not the intention of this paper to explore in detail how the curriculum should be structured nor to explore what course work is to be given. This paper will, however, discuss rather briefly what areas the curriculum would cover and in a few paragraphs to follow, what areas would make the core curriculum.

In summary the following could be said for the nature and function of a core curriculum:

A deliberate effort must be made to speed the development of general principles of city planning...as well as the development of the basic methodology of planning. A core program should center about the basic principles and methods of planning.... It should permit or encourage the student to rediscover the validity of the basic propositions by painfully struggling through the hypotheses and attesting to them himself.... He should learn to use the basic methods by employing them in a problem-solving context.... The core program should...make it possible for the student to become acquainted first-hand with the primary materials and pri-
mary sources. It should enable him to come to understand various kinds of interrelationships—among problems, subject mates, specialists.... The core program should provide a sound base on which advanced, more specialized, and life-time planning education can be built. 27

This paper reasons that these characteristics of the core curriculum given above closely correspond to and fully satisfy the needs of the planning assistants and technicians being discussed. A student who completes the core curriculum together with other general educational requirements should be able to qualify as a planning assistant or technician.

The core curriculum could be divided into two parts. The first part would consist of general studies which would aim at indoctrinating a student into theories, hypotheses, and principles behind planning within the universal and East African contexts.

One of the areas that would be covered by the general studies would be urbanization and the planning process. This would correspond to City Planning I and II taught in the Department of Urban Planning at the University of Oregon. The study should cover the historical background of the city planning concepts from the ancient civilizations to the present time, giving more weight to ancient and...
recent cities of Africa and Middle East than the western cities because traditional values in them may be nearer to the student's experience than the western ones. The studies would also involve topics like planning processes. It would explore what is involved in the normal planning process and how decisions are made and which people are involved in this decision making that affects the planning. The topics included would also consist of a comparison between the western planning process and that of East Africa. Areas like the steps involved in the planning process would be given much weight because students will always be affected by them during their professional careers. The students should be indoctrinated thoroughly on the parts played by goal formulation, research, analysis, actual planning, and effectuation of plans in the planning process in Kenyan or an East African urban context. These five components of the process have been recognized as most crucial to the modern planning process.28

The curriculum would also include, under general

studies, urban housing. Areas such as the characteristics, problems, demands and needs, and types of urban housing in Kenya or East Africa would fall in this category. This study will aim at acquainting students with the most problematic area of planning in East Africa. It would also aim at making the students aware of the concepts and principles behind planning urban housing. This study may provide the foundation for further or advanced studies in urban housing later on.

Under general studies, students should be familiarized with the structure or morphology of a typical East African city. The reason for studying urban morphology and the areas that could be covered by such studies is summarized thus by Gerald Breese:

Knowledge of the morphology of urban areas in newly developing countries facilitates the understanding of the general characteristics of cities and their implications for these countries.... [The study may include the learning of] various growth patterns, ecological processes at work, pattern of land use, values, and land ownership, as well as general questions related to supplying facilities and services.

Topics related to regional studies could also be introduced to students at this stage. The topic could cover such areas as the relationship between urban areas and

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the regions around them. Theories and principles related to regions could be studied using Kenya or East Africa as the areas of reference. Careful examination would be given to find out if some of the theories advanced in the western countries concerning regions such as Christaller's hierarchy of central places, or Van Thunen's rings of economic activities surrounding central places, or Ricardo's theories on values of land, and others, have any bearing on East African urban places and regions. Such theories, if they apply, may help us understand the basis for regional planning. Regional studies would also enable the student to conceive urban areas not as isolated entities but rather as an essential component of a region, and a good plan would therefore be one that seeks to relate the local activities with those of the region as a whole.

General studies would also include urban sociology. This is important because the planners may find themselves directly or indirectly involved in planning for social reforms. It is, therefore, important that they understand "the key factors in human behavior as they touch upon such matters as decision making, goals implicit in the culture, types of controls that tend to be resisted [and] types of

problems for which solutions are collectively sought.\textsuperscript{31} Moreover, as we have mentioned in the last chapter, planning should be done within the social institutions of a country. It is imperative that the would-be planner know the ins and outs of the society for which he is planning.

The urban planning students should also be thoroughly indoctrinated in planning administration and regulations concerning planning. This is one of the most important parts of their education since most of them will find major portions of their time occupied by administering plans and interpreting or even helping in the formulation of laws governing such areas as land use and zoning. A Canadian planner complains:

The curricula of most planning schools bear little relationship to those things which occupy the vast majority of planners, the vast majority of time.... I had hoped to be able to find more courses clearly devoted to this [zoning] phase of planning.... Unfortunately,... examination of the curricula of the planning schools would lead one,..., to the conclusion that zoning,..., was an esoteric and uncommon part of planning operation.\textsuperscript{32}

Our proposed curriculum should not have similar complaints made about it.

Related to planning administration and regulation is

\textsuperscript{31}Perloff, Education for Planning: City, State and Regional, p. 42.

public administration. Students must be made aware of how the local, regional and national governments operate, where they get their revenues and how they spend it. The students should know where and how these bodies affect planning. They should know how to work with and coordinate the local government activities in areas concerning planning. They should be briefed thoroughly in the decision making process of the government so that they can be able to help influence indirectly those that would affect planning. A planner writes:

Planners must be introduced into the joyous, dirty, satisfying, brutal, exuberant game of the political decision process in which they must participate, if they wish to make any lasting impact on the future. Student planners must be made to realize that if they wish to be effective urban mechanics, they must understand the tools of the trade.33

General studies should also include topics dealing with population and ecology. A student should understand the basic theories about population. This would include studies in settlement patterns within and without the urban areas and the forces that bring about these patterns. A planner should be able to understand the factors behind the population trends and where planning affects these trends. He should know how to quantify the needs and demands of urban

33Ibid., p. 130.
areas according to the population of the areas that are to be planned. The techniques of forecasting population becomes essential here and the planner should be taught how to use these techniques of population forecasts.

This list of areas that could be included in the first part of the core curriculum is not exhaustive. More subjects would be included as the need dictates.

The second part of the core curriculum, on the other hand, would aim at equipping the student with planning techniques and tools that a planning student will be using after graduation.

One of the most important areas in which the author feels a student must be instructed is the area concerned with urban design. All students should be exposed in one way or another to urban design. Preparatory courses such as graphics, illustrative painting, etc. should be introduced, aimed at preparing students to take an introductory course in urban design. Most of the time after graduation, a planner in East Africa will find that he is the only knowledgeable person around and he may be required to do some small-scale design work for a housing project, or other kinds of urban design in smaller towns, especially when he is the only qualified urban planner in the town. This condition would make it mandatory that all planning students, whether they are to graduate as planning
assistants and technicians or professional planners, would take a course or courses in urban design. The students aiming to qualify as general professional planners and urban design specialists would have to take further design courses, with design specialists taking more advanced ones, as will be discussed later.

Moreover, exposing all incoming urban planning students to different degrees of urban design, depending on their ultimate qualification, would enable them to better judge the logics existing in the relationships between buildings and urban patterns as a whole, which harmonize the functions of the city. A planner would also be able to foretell social and economic consequences of certain proposed physical plans if he were exposed to design courses during his college years. In other words, the planner would be able to interpret the urban design specialist's language to the public with more confidence if he had had courses in design during his training. For students who certainly would not be required to design any form of an urban situation, a design course with the aim of making them aware only of the principles and methods of design would be sufficient.

Harvard University has this kind of program.

At Harvard we have two programs in urban design which fall into the awareness field and one that is strictly professional. We endeavor to expose all students entering architecture, landscape architecture, or city planning to some general principles of environmental design.
This occupies studio periods throughout the first term. After this joint work, designed to give an intelligent awareness of the interaction of man and his physical setting, all students are plunged into the technicalities of their separate fields.\(^3^4\)

Students wishing to take graduate work as professional planners should take further studies in techniques of planning and building urban housing. Students taking such courses would work in close cooperation with the research division of the department that does research on housing. Case studies and live projects will have to be taken by the students under a professor’s guidance during their course work to come to actual grips with the real life outside the classroom. This would enable students to deal with the real problems as they would be doing after graduation. This can be a very effective learning situation. Harvard Graduate School of Design and other schools in the United States like Miami University School of Design and Pratt Institute have such program.\(^3^5\) This program would


not only benefit the students because of the experience they gain, but also the smaller towns for which they do the designs or projects. In this way the school would be regarded as essential part of the country. At this stage, however, only very small projects could be taken by the students. Bigger projects and problems would be introduced only at the graduate level of urban design. But in all such courses, students would work closely with the planners in the field. It is only the qualified planners in the field and their local government who would determine which housing projects students could work with.

In addition to the above studies, all planning students should take all other core studies. One of these would be training of the students in the techniques and procedures of conducting surveys, including the principles behind them. These would be economic, physical and social surveys. Before planning should start, the existing condition and characteristics of the areas to be planned should be known and studies done about the people who would be affected including the consequences of different alternatives proposed. This is what is involved in a survey. The students should be trained in the use of different survey tools for different situations in Kenya and East Africa. A lot is yet to be known about many urban areas of Kenya or East Africa. Such surveys would always be helpful in revealing
many unknown conditions of the East African urban areas if students are trained to do them. Introductory courses in research methods could also be included here.

Akin to the above studies, students would be trained in the techniques of making projections or forecasts. This is an essential part of planning. Since

The purpose of planning is to provide a desirable physical environment for the people who live in the area, ... it is necessary to anticipate how many people will be living in that area, what needs and resources they will have, and how they will utilize the land to fulfill their private and public needs. The major studies required to provide this basic information are consequently concerned with: (1) population, (2) economy, (3) land use.36

After the forecasts are made, then planners would be able to determine what the needs and demands would be in terms of services and facilities to be provided. For these reasons a planner should know how to plan for these facilities, most of which would be for public use. These would be planned only on the basis of the economic and social forecasts for the area.

Public utilities and related service facilities are provided in response to existing and prospective pattern of urban development. Therefore, they must be provided in close coordination with changes

in land use and future plans.\textsuperscript{37}

Such facilities include water, electricity, telephone, sewage and sewage treatment, gas, central steam heating, and refuse disposal. The students should be trained in the methods of planning for these essential facilities and services for the urban areas. Most of these facilities are lacking even in some of the medium-sized towns of East Africa. But more and more of them are being or could be provided as the countries of East Africa advance economically. This suggests that more planners with this knowledge will be needed.

An area that has been discussed in the third chapter and is related to urban renewal and is known mostly in Kenya as slum clearance. As the term suggests, most often the solution to urban slums in Kenya has been to "bulldoze" the undesirable buildings, leaving the former residents to their own devices. Most of the time the former slum dwellers just move to a new perimeter outside the city limits and erect new slum residences.

A new approach to slum problems is desirable in East Africa, hence a course that would introduce and train students in ways of dealing with urban renewal would be appropriate here. Students would be introduced to newer

\textsuperscript{37}S. J. Schulman, \textit{Local Planning Administration}, p. 233.
and different approaches to all phases of urban renewal including slum problems. This area would include such topics as the development of flexible standards, procedures and tools for urban renewal; social organizations of the slums and how to preserve them in the renewed area, and how to coordinate the activities related to urban renewal. This would be considered as one of the service courses open to students from many other departments within the university.

Other technical courses like drafting, graphics, illustrative painting and aerial photography could be included in the curriculum as a requirement for the planning technicians and as an option for planning assistants.

Coordination is considered by the author as one of the chief functions of a planner. For this reason courses given to equip students in the art of coordination must be mandatory for all those in the planning program either the undergraduate or graduate level. A planner might find himself working with different elements or variables at the same time. Knowledge in such fields as operation research analysis methods might, therefore, be considered crucial to modern planning.

Students should be well versed in methods of program planning and other operational strategies since they will be dealing with different subsystems that make up the urban or regional systems during their career. Such other studies
as public administration become important for understanding the functions that have to be coordinated in the urban or regional system. Methods of program planning and operation research would help the student acquire the tools for coordinating the different activities and bodies involved in planning. This kind of study then becomes the most important core of the planning curricula.

The core curriculum, on the whole, ought to equip planning assistants and planning technicians for their jobs after completing other courses required of all planning students for graduation.

**Special Studies**

The general aim of the special studies program would be to give training for those students entering graduate programs and wishing to qualify as general planners. Planning assistants and technicians wishing to take short courses to increase their competence in their work or to prepare them for further graduate work could also enroll in these studies. In addition, refresher courses could be conducted under this program for practicing professional planners in the field.

Students who enter graduate programs from other fields like sociology, economics, geography and like fields and who did not take undergraduate core courses would be required to take some of these before taking courses that
would be given in this program.

Assuming, therefore, that all of the students admitted to this program had had proper undergraduate planning courses, the area covered could include: seminars under workshop situations, case studies, studies in the latest concepts of planning, other seminars on particular aspects of planning in East Africa, research work, refresher courses and practical experience programs.

Studying under workshop conditions is an important aspect of learning. "Integration of the work covered in the various courses can best be achieved through the workshop courses dealing with specific problems in physical planning."

This, however, is really more suitable for postgraduate years when students can bring to such work a certain maturity and a familiarity with the techniques common to all who have had a college education--mathematics and statistics, ability to write, sociological and geographical knowledge and some understanding of government and the economic system.

Students and the department, as mentioned for the undergraduate curriculum, would be involved in the solution of live problems for particular urban areas chosen for workshop studies. This kind of study would go hand in hand

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with research programs of the department, thus making the school an essential part of the community as was previously mentioned in the case of the Institute of Community Planning in Ghana. 40

An opportunity might present itself in the workshop study situation for other disciplines within the university to participate. The workshop study classes would require the participation of students from other departments such as economics, sociology, business administration, engineering, architecture, and political science. For example, a workshop study may involve the study and planning of a live city neighborhood. Here the study would be made under the proposed urban planning department but would also be listed in other departments for students of equal class standing to participate.

A professor from each department concerned would be put in charge so that when the students are sent to the field to study the problems of the neighborhood, each professor would give some direction to all the students in the areas of the professor's respective specialty. The professor in charge of urban planning students would normally become the chairman of such workshop study. After each field study, conferences would be held for students

40 Jones, Royal Institute of British Architects (May, 1965), p. 218.
to report on their respective areas and the professors from different departments would give critiques under the chairmanship of the professor from the urban planning department.

This workshop study could be extended to regional planning where other disciplines like agronomy, soil conservation, geography, geology, medicine, education, and biology could be included in the program and students from these fields required to participate.

This kind of interdepartmental course work would serve a very useful purpose. It could enable different disciplines within the university to be concerned regarding the economic development not only of the urban areas but also of the rural areas and hence the whole country as well.

Case studies also could be included under this program for the benefit of the students.

The use of case studies seems...to offer an interesting opportunity. It is possible that students might be led to examine their own attitudes...on the problems revealed in the cases.... At least it would give them a clearer idea of the complexities of the profession. Execution of a thorough analysis will give the student a better understanding of what he is doing, and of the problem. He will thus have a better chance of bringing out his latent potentialities.41

The problem that would be selected would be from a real situation that the students might be familiar with. This would have more meaning to students than hypothetical problems which are often used in case studies.

Special studies could also include topics on the latest concepts in the field of planning. Students would be familiarized with some of these concepts to keep them abreast of the latest developments. More weight would be given to the latest concepts of planning in developing countries because, as previously mentioned, they have more relevance to Kenya situations than others. The students will be encouraged and, where possible, guided to relate the concept to the Kenya or East Africa situations. They would be encouraged to adapt and test the concepts in a workshop situation if possible. Here the cooperation between such a class and the research division of the department would be of paramount importance.

Other seminars would also be included under the program. These seminars could cover such problem areas as housing, urban land use and values, urbanization problems in East Africa, and others that might be required as the need for them arises. The seminars would not only be aimed at familiarizing the students with planning problems in East Africa but also with inciting them to seek solutions to them.
Service courses could be developed under such seminars for different departments within the university. Kenya and possibly other East African countries have resettlement programs for their citizens. These resettlement programs include the development of new farm areas and small towns or villages. A service course could be offered in resettlement planning which would cover wide areas not only concerning physical planning but also other areas. The course could include discussions on soil types suitable for the farms and those suitable for small towns, topography, watersheds, desirable patterns of a settlement, necessary transportation networks, human factors required in terms of such factors as desirable social organizations and other cultural traits that need to be preserved or moderated, health factors, and needed facilities.

This kind of course work would be open to students from many other departments such as sociology, geography, medicine, architecture, economics, business administration, public health, agriculture, engineering and political science. This is why such a course would be considered a service course.

At this point research will be the necessary component of all courses taken. The graduate students in this program should be required to spend at least a term in some sort of research which may be individual research under a faculty member's guidance, a group research, or both. At
least some phases of the research should be done in a group to train a student to work with others as the work in the field will require this after graduation. The research should be on a "live" situation.

The time is ripe to point out that Education and training for physical planning [or any other planning] must include the active encouragement and support for research in this field. Education within a research oriented environment is likely to stress advancement of knowledge rather than only its transmission.\(^{42}\)

In addition to this,

During the period of professional training,..., students should be in touch with 'live' problems and with instructors who are actively participating in the solution of such problems in the field either as consultants or as staff members of a planning agency.\(^{43}\)

This can be done through "live" research projects in which students and faculty members can participate. Here the case of Ghana could be cited again. Describing the Institute of Community Planning at Kwame Nkrumah University at Kumasi, Ghana, Jones writes:

Hungarian Laslo Huszar, an architect-planner member of Settlement's Research Department was responsible for 18 of the 52 new Volta


Settlements.... Miles Danby, who has had a good deal of experience with low-cost building in Ghana, has designed a very cheap expandable house which is being built in large numbers. Live projects like this make the school an integrated part of the community.44

Both the faculty members described and the students of the institute participated in the research that ended in these projects. This kind of program becomes very valuable to the students who gain much experience by getting involved in the projects, the communities which benefit from the projects, and the school which gains recognition from the community as being an integral part of the community. Kenya or East Africa would certainly benefit from this kind of program in a planning school of their own.

The special studies program could also include courses geared to upgrade practicing planners, and also planning assistants and technicians. The refresher courses offered would be in the form of seminars and short courses each lasting only a few weeks.

The Adams report on urban planning education notes the following in support of the above proposition:

Encouragement should be given to the establishment of school courses or institutions on a regional basis, to bring together practitioners in various fields for a discussion of planning

problems of mutual concern and to enable practicing planners to keep up with the developments in planning techniques and procedures.\footnote{Summary of Recommendation of the Adams Report on Urban Planning Education in the U. S.," \textit{Housing, Building and Planning,} No. 11, p. 115.}

Conferences and panel discussions could also be organized and sponsored by the proposed department. Scholars from different disciplines in the university or out of the university could be invited to participate in the conferences and discussions. Students and faculty members in fields directly or indirectly related to planning would be invited to participate too. The participation could be extended to members of different communities including local and regional authorities. The subjects discussed could cover areas related to planning and other aspects of development. In this way the proposed department would act as a catalyst for bringing different disciplines together so that they too become planning oriented as well as coordinated with one another in the process.

Such a program could be extended to include short planning courses offered for members of municipal authorities and interested members of the communities. This may enable such citizens to appreciate and support planning programs in their local communities.
In addition to the areas that may be covered under the special studies discussed so far, practical training should also be offered under this curriculum. Students who have fulfilled the department's and the university's requirements for graduation should also be required, especially in the case of graduate students, to spend some time in the field as planning interns. The duration of internship would depend on whether a student had had previous similar work experience. Those students who had been in the planning field before entering the graduate program would need only a short internship. But those who had no prior experience should be expected to have longer practical training but not more than a year.

To make this program attractive, students should be paid at least a half of the salary they would normally get after graduation. Upon completing the internship the students should be awarded their degrees.

This kind of program is necessary in that it would set the student in the right direction towards his professional practice. In addition, the internship program would act as a bridge between academia and practice. "The people who will make the most contribution will often be those who are acquiring this experience in the field."^46

^46 Rodwin, Housing, Building, and Planning, No. 11, p. 81.
For the success of the internship or practical training program, close cooperation between the planning school and the planning authorities in the field would be necessary. "The important thing is that planning authorities should ensure that...young entrants have an opportunity to get experience in the whole range of work," not merely asking them to do land use surveys as the author has observed in local planning agencies. Leary adds:

We practitioners can aid this effort by making more jobs available and also by devising the assignments to contribute to the development of the student, not just as a way of getting some cheap coolie labor.

The M. A. program described under the special studies should be able to

...equip the students with enough understanding of and training in the principal tools, methods, and techniques of planning to enable them to perform effectively as... members of planning staffs from the start of their careers.

Fields of Specialization

We had admitted at the start of this chapter that some degree of specialization is necessary. As mentioned


48 Leary, Planning 1967, p. 130.

earlier in the chapter, the complexity of city planning, even in an East African situation, is such that a generalist in planning would not be able to handle all the phases required in planning. There are areas in which planning specialists will have to be consulted. Since we had suggested that the proposed planning school would act as a regional school for training planners for East Africa as a whole, the needs of these countries for specialists in urban and even regional planning will have to be met by this school.

In Kenya there were only 10 urban planners by 1964. These ten planners were employed by either the Ministry of Land and Settlement or by the two municipalities of Nairobi and Mombasa, which are the only local authorities in the country with their own planning staff. It was estimated that planners will be added to this number at the rate of one new planner per year until 1970, in which case we may assume that, if the projection is accurate, there are 13 planners in Kenya now.\(^5^0\) But there are at least five major towns with populations ranging from 20,000 to 300,000. These towns, if they are to develop in a desirable manner,\(^5^0\)

would need both general planners and planning specialists. Moreover, we have stated that it is the intention within the development plan to expand industrial development as rapidly as possible. This implies that there would be rapid expansion of urban areas, making it even more desirable to have more planning specialists to help the towns plan for these anticipated developments.

The developmental objectives for the whole of East Africa, already alluded to in the fourth chapter, are the same; hence the whole of East Africa will be needing both general planners and planning specialists to guide the development of its urban and supra-urban areas.

Based on the reason advanced above, the proposed urban planning department should have a curriculum strictly structured to train the specialists needed in different aspects of urban and supra-urban developments.

"The specialist education in planning should normally be provided by a post-graduate [curriculum] following"\textsuperscript{51} a basic educational discipline related to planning and also to the field in which specialization is to be taken. Perloff writes: "A planning specialization can most effectively be developed on the basis of a full program of

\textsuperscript{51} "Summary of Conclusions and Recommendation of the Schuster Report on Qualification of Planners," \textit{Housing, Building and Planning}, No. 11, p. 112."
training undergraduate as well as graduate."52

This means that students wishing to take specialized training must have had undergraduate majors in the fields in which they wish to specialize under this graduate curriculum.

The curriculum may offer specialization in urban housing, urban administration, urban sociology, regional planning, urban land economy, urban research, transportation planning and urban design.

We have discussed at length in the previous chapters the problems of urban housing, especially in Kenya. It would be proper, therefore, to suggest at this point that more urban housing specialists should be trained to help in finding proper solution to this chronic problem. Students admitted to this program would be those who had had architecture, engineering, or other courses dealing with design because most of the problems they would be dealing with would concern physical planning and design. The social and economic aspects of the housing problems will have to be dealt with by those who have specialized in these areas since planning should normally be a cooperative venture.

At present there is no school in East Africa to train

52Perloff, Education for Planning: City, State and Regional, p. 47.
urban administrators. Kenya and East Africa may need more specialists in this field to administer the activities of the municipal governments as the process of urbanization continues. In the United States the chief urban administrator is normally called a city manager and in Kenya or East Africa he is normally called the city clerk. The students admitted to this program would normally be those who come from the Faculty of Law or those who had had public administration or political science in their undergraduate curricula. Such training may enable East African towns to increase the efficiency of their administration because the positions of administrators would be occupied by those who had had training for them.

Urban sociology is also a field of training needed for Kenya or East Africa if the development of the towns in this area has to reflect the social wants and aspirations of their residents. A lot of social conditions in towns of East Africa is yet unknown because of the lack of specialists in this field who can conduct systematic research. We cannot depend forever on specialists from foreign countries to do this kind of research for Kenya or East African governments. Native specialists would have a deeper understanding of social situations than a foreigner who might spend a few months in research without actually coming to grips with the real social problems of the area.
The urban sociologist would act as a consultant with different urban research groups and also with planning organizations within a region of the country.

Another area in which the department could offer specialization is in regional planning. We have alluded in the previous chapter to the fact that

The city cannot be seen appropriately except as the focal point of a broad region (made up of satellite towns, villages, and rural hinterland), and also as a part of a hierarchical network of urban places. Countries like Kenya, Uganda, or Tanzania which have the desire to develop their resources quickly as indicated in the development plans discussed in Chapter IV could use a regional approach which seems to be the soundest approach for development of urban and supra-urban areas.

In many of the newly developing countries, interest in regional planning is even more articulate, with an emphasis on the problems of depressed regions, the development of new resource complexes, and the regionalization of national economic programs.

Training of specialists who can coordinate the development of the regions with urban areas as the focal points would, therefore, be desirable for East Africa. Perloff lists seven typical categories under which regional training

53 Ibid., Housing, Building and Planning, No. 11, p. 66.

and studies are done. For our purpose, the author feels that the East African countries may need only two of the categories listed, namely, specialists training in "physical elements and natural resources" and also in "population and human ecology."

We have already mentioned that the major area in which there is need is in the physical development of resources. The problem of population is also a well known fact for developing countries. Kenya alone has a yearly population increase of nearly three per cent per annum. The picture may not be too bright for Uganda either. Formulation of population policies and programs is needed not only at the national level but at the regional level also. The specialist in population and human ecology would help in seeking solutions. This is why the department should have a program to train regional planners with either of the two specialties mentioned.

Students admitted into the regional planning program would be those with mathematics, statistics, economics or transportation as an undergraduate program because these are the fields that may be related to the areas regional


planning would require.

Another area that may need specialists is urban research. We had recommended in the last chapter and earlier part of this chapter that research must be an essential part of any planning school. Students trained for this specialization would be given research positions in the school where a research unit similar to that cited for Ghana would be established or in its branch offices in the field.

The field of planning research is wide, and as yet partly unexplored.... Research center can have very valuable feed-back potential into the academic courses if it included as part of a larger educational organization.57 Ghana's Institute for Community Planning has within its Faculty "an active settlement Research Department which has an influence on the work of the school."58 This kind of establishment could be an example to be emulated in Kenya.

Students to be trained as urban research specialists would have to come from different disciplines of undergraduate curricula. Admission into the program would depend on what areas of urban research is to be carried by the proposed research center and its branch offices throughout East Africa.

57 Percy Johnson-Marshall, Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Vol. LXXII, No. 3, p. 120.

Lastly, specialization could be offered in urban design. General urban planners, although they may have been exposed to some degree of urban design, would not be able to carry out major physical designs in urban areas. This is a specialist field for which one has to be trained. "The recent acceleration of urban redevelopment activity and the increasing pressure for coherent city form have focused attention on the problem of educating the urban designer." All major urban planning contains some phase of physical aspect and for this reason, physical planners would be needed for urban planning for East African urban areas.

The students normally admitted to this program would be those with architectural and civil engineering backgrounds. The planning assistants and technicians who had had an adequate number of design courses in an undergraduate program could be admitted to the program too. General planners would be admitted to the program if they wished to specialize.

Other fields of specialization like urban economy and transportation would be included as needed. Transportation planning, however, carries a regional connotation hence

59."Teaching Urban Design: Projects from the City Design Program at Miami University and the School of Architecture at Pratt Institute," Progressive Architecture, Vol. XL1, No. 12, p. 129.
could be included in the regional planning curriculum.

Conclusion

In summary

A really effective and expert team can be built to carry out the planning tasks by bringing together (1) planners with some specialized knowledge, (2) specialists with some training in planning, (3) technicians to handle the purely technical tasks, and (4) individuals who do not fall into any particular category but because of special attributes of talent and inclination can serve effectively on a planning team. (There must always be room in planning for the genuinely creative talent, whatever its background.)

The proposed curriculum is structured to fulfill these important requirements. The summarized requirement does not only apply to the United States or any other developed nation but also to Kenya, East Africa and other developing countries.

Several problems, however, will have to be surmounted before the program can succeed. First, the Kenya government and the other governments of East Africa must feel the need to establish such a program of education. They are the ones who would finance the establishment of the department. The present Faculty of Architecture and Development would have to take the initiative to convince

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60 Perloff, Education for Planning: City, State and Regional, p. 49.
the University authorities and the East Africa government that such needs exist.

If the East African governments feel the need for but would not be able to finance the establishment of planning education because of other pressing priorities, the only suggestion the author could make would be for the university and the government concerned to seek financial help from the U. N. under a technical assistance program as the Indonesian governments did when they established the Bandung School of Regional and City Planning in 1959. 61

Second, there would be a problem of recruiting suitably qualified faculty to train the planning students. A proposal was made in an earlier part of this chapter where would-be faculty members would be carefully selected and sent overseas for specialized graduate training. The suggested exchange program between faculty members of older, recognized, institutions in western countries and the faculty members of the new department would also be a possible solution.

The third problem would be the establishment of a large library suitable for the program. This is also a matter of finances and a U. N. technical aid program may also help in its solution. The United States government

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could also be approached for this form of technical aid. If all these suggested solutions are not available, then other private organizations within or without Kenya or East Africa could be solicited for aid.

If the proposed program would be found expensive and too ambitious, it could be started on a smaller scale and then expanded as the finances are available and the need for such a program increases.

The first five years of the program could be devoted to an undergraduate training of planning assistants and technicians. Five years is chosen because the undergraduate curriculum would take four years to complete and one extra year would be needed for the graduated student to practice in the field. This would allow enough time to evaluate the success of the curriculum.

During these five years a program should also be instituted to train core faculty members overseas from selected candidates of indigenous students. Their training would be tailored to suit the courses to be offered in the proposed program as mentioned early in this chapter.

At the conclusion of the fifth year of the program and after a careful evaluation, with enough faculty members recruited overseas as proposed, a graduate program could be instituted in the form of special studies as previously mentioned. The program would aim at training planning generalists.
Three more years may elapse before curricula for training planning specialists could be inaugurated. The eight years that would pass before the planning specialist training is started would allow sufficient time to determine whether the East African Economic Community is working. The planning specialists curricula would only be feasible if the East African Economic Community already mentioned becomes a strong and working reality. The need for training planning specialists would become sufficiently great and justified only if the proposed program would cater to a wider geographical area than that of Kenya alone. Otherwise, it would be cheaper for Kenya to continue sending her students overseas to receive specialized training. The demand may not be so great as to warrant the necessity of graduating planning specialists every year to be absorbed into the planning profession of Kenya.

The author strongly feels that this step by step development of the educational program for planning development would be fully justified and feasible in terms of need and of financing.

The author has deliberately omitted discussing the discipline in the University College of Nairobi which would act as the base for starting the planning education before the programs achieve autonomous status within the university. The author has been approached by the director of the
Faculty of Architecture in the mentioned university to accept a teaching fellowship in the Faculty because the University is contemplating the initiation of urban planning education under the Faculty of Architecture. It is therefore a fact that it would be started under the mentioned Faculty hence there is no need to discuss the point further in spite of the possibility that other disciplines would have formed a better base for starting the program.
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