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**The scale and nature of
urban change in the South**

David Satterthwaite
Human Settlements Programme

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The scale and nature of urban change in the South*

David Satterthwaite

ABSTRACT:

In analyzing recent census data on urban change, this paper finds a notable slow-down in the growth rate of many major cities and many nations' urban populations during the 1980s. The South is less urbanized and less dominated by large cities than had generally been assumed, before the most recent round of censuses. The paper also considers longer-term trends in urban change and finds little evidence of unprecedented rates of urban change in the South, when compared to historic or contemporary rates of urban change in Europe and North America. It also shows the high concentration of the world's largest cities in the world's largest economies and a perhaps surprising continuity in the location of most of the world's largest cities.

Background

Much of the general literature about urban growth in the South stresses that it is "very rapid" or "unprecedented" or even "explosive". For instance, "...it is in the Third World that the urban explosion is taking place" (Davidson, Myers and Chakraborty 1992) and the "...health and well-being of literally hundreds of millions of men, and especially women and children, are threatened by an urban population explosion in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America" (WHO 1989) are typical of the kinds of general comments made about urban change in the South. It is also generally assumed that rapid urbanization is taking place all over the South and that it will continue to do so. For instance "Unrestrained rural-to-urban migration has caused rapid urban growth in all countries in the developing world and is expected to continue" (Linares 1994, p. 1). Many reports cite the proportion of the world's population that will be living in cities or the number of very large cities in the year 2015 or 2025 as if these projections are certain to come about. It is also often stated that new cities are 'mushrooming.' A few authors have questioned the validity of these general statements, backed by analyzes of census data (Preston 1979, Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1986, 1989) - but the findings presented in such papers that have contradicted the above statements have generally gone unheeded.

The issue of how fast national populations are urbanizing (in the sense of the increase in the

* This is developed from an unpublished background paper prepared by the author for the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) as part of the preparations for the Global Report that the author also prepared for this agency. This was published under the title of *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 1996* by Oxford University Press in June 1996. The author is grateful to UNCHS for permission to publish this background paper. The "South" is taken to include all nations in Africa and Latin America and in Asia, except Japan.

proportion of the national population in urban areas) and how fast city populations are growing might be considered of only limited relevance to urban problems. But it acquires particular importance because of the association so often given or implied between urban problems and rapid urbanization (or rapid growth rates for city populations). If rapid urbanization creates serious urban problems (for instance a rapid growth in urban poverty), this might be taken to imply the need for governments to slow urbanization. Rapid urbanization may also be used as an excuse by governments and aid agencies as to why urban problems have mounted so rapidly. Rapid urbanization or rapid city growth were highlighted as "major problems" or contributors to "major problems" at Habitat II (the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements held in Istanbul in June 1996).

However, the nature of the debate changes, if urbanization is found to be less rapid than is generally assumed and if city populations are growing slower than expected. It changes even more if a growth in urban poverty is associated not with rapid urbanization but a slowdown in urbanization.

This paper aims to review the rate of urban change in Africa, Asia and Latin America during the 1980s and compare it with earlier decades - and with the rate of urban change experienced in the now highly urbanized nations in the North in earlier decades. In so doing, it must acknowledge the paper written by Samuel Preston in the late 1970s that first pointed out that the rate of change in the proportion of people living in urban areas in the South was not exceptionally rapid by historical standards and that many of the views expressed in the late 1970s in regard to population distribution, especially urban growth, "appear to be seriously misleading and unnecessarily alarmist" (Preston 1979, page 1).

The paper will look first at the growth rates of the world's largest cities during the 1980s and consider whether these were unusually rapid or historically unprecedented. It will consider whether cities have been "mushrooming" by considering how many of the world's current "million-cities" are of relatively recent origin. It will also consider the extent to which the world's population is concentrated in "mega-cities" and the extent to which the South now has most of the world's largest cities.

The paper then looks at the scale and nature of change in the level of urbanization in countries - and whether the rate of increase in the urban population and in the level of urbanization of countries in the South was particularly rapid during the 1980s or historically unprecedented. It also considers the association between the world's largest economies and the world's largest cities. Finally, it questions the validity of projections for city populations made 20 or more years into the future.

The basis for the analyses presented here are two computer databases. The first contains population data for all the world's largest cities for all available dates between 1800 AD and the present; the

second contains data on nations' total, urban and rural populations for 1950 to 1990. For statistics from 1950 to 1990, these draw primarily on the United Nations Population Division's latest compendium of urban statistics (United Nations 1995) but with figures for city populations adjusted and new cities added, as new census data not included in this compendium has become available. For statistics from 1800 to 1950, it draws primarily on Chandler and Fox 1974 although these figures have also been adjusted and added to, where original census data not included in this volume has been found. For Latin America, the statistics draw on a compendium of urban statistics prepared by IIED and IIED-America Latina in Buenos Aires which drew data from 208 censuses held in Latin America between 1850 and 1985.

The growth and growth rates of cities

Most of the world's largest cities, including those in the South, had relatively slow population growth rates, during the 1980s. Many had more people moving out than moving in (so their population growth rate was lower than their rate of natural increase) - including Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Calcutta, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. This can be seen within the world's 30 largest cities in 1990, shown in Table 1. Among these 30 cities, only one had a population growth rate that exceeded 5 percent a year during the 1980s - Dhaka - and half had population growth rates below 2.0 percent a year.

However, Table 1 also illustrates some of the problems of comparing population growth rates among cities. The first is the difficulty of stating when a city's population is growing "rapidly". The largest cities can never be among the world's most rapidly growing cities when considering their rate of growth since the larger a city's population at the beginning of the period under consideration, the larger the denominator used to divide the increment in the city's population to calculate its growth rate. Although cities such as Lagos, Karachi and Dhaka are often said to be among the world's fastest growing cities, there are hundreds of smaller cities with higher population growth rates in recent decades because they started from a much smaller base and thus a more modest increment in their population produced a higher growth rate. For instance, any analysis of population growth rates for urban centres in most countries in the South in any recent inter-census period will show some relatively small urban centres with population growth rates of 10 or more percent per year - far above even the fastest growing city in Table 1. The same is true for the wealthier and now predominantly urbanized countries - especially for North America and Australia. For instance, in the United States, cities such as Fort Lauderdale, Miami, Orlando, and Las Vegas have all had *periods when their population growth rates exceeded 10 percent a year.*

This point about the size of a city at the beginning of a period having a major influence on its population growth rate is easily seen by comparing the annual average increment in city populations, rather than their population growth rates. In Table 1, four cities have populations with annual

Table 1: The World's Largest Urban Agglomerations in 1990

URBAN AGGLOMERATION	Population (thousands 1990)		A.A. increment in population 1980-1990 (thousand)	A.A. growth rate 1980-1990 (%)
Tokyo	25,013	The population would be c. 31.6 million if Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area was taken - see Table 3 ^a	316	1.4
New York	16,056	19.3 million in the CMSA in 1990 ^b	46	0.3
Mexico City	15,085	Would be several million larger if considered as a polynucleated metropolitan region ^c	120	0.8
Sao Paulo	14,847	The population is for a large metropolitan region	275	2.1
Shanghai	13,452	This is the population within a large metropolitan region ^d	171	1.4
Bombay	12,223	One reason for its relatively rapid growth 1980-90 was a considerable expansion of its boundaries	416	4.2
Los Angeles	11,456	14.53 million in the CMSA in 1990 ^e	193	1.9
Beijing (Peking)	10,872	Population for a large metropolitan region; the core city has a much smaller population	184	1.9
Calcutta	10,741	Urban agglomeration	171	1.8
Buenos Aires	10,623	Urban agglomeration	72	0.7
Seoul	10,558		228	2.5
Osaka	10,482	The population would be larger if measured as a Standard Metropolitan Economic Area. ^f	49	0.5
Rio de Janeiro	9,515	Metropolitan area	73	0.8
Paris	9,334	Urban agglomeration	40	0.4
Tianjin	9,253	This is the population for a large metropolitan region; the core city has about half this population. ^g	199	2.4
Jakarta	9,250	The population of the wider metropolitan region is almost twice this ^h	327	4.4
Moscow	9,048	Urban agglomeration	91	1.1
Cairo	8,633	The population in the "Greater Cairo Region" is several million larger than this. ⁱ	178	2.3
Delhi	8,171	Urban agglomeration	261	3.9
Manila	7,968	Urban agglomeration	201	3.0
Karachi	7,965	Some local estimates suggest this is rather low	294	4.7
London	7,335	The population could be 12.5 million within a metropolitan region boundary ^j	- 41	- 0.5
Chicago	6,792	8,240,000 in the wider CMSA ^k	1	0.0
Istanbul	6,507	Urban agglomeration	211	4.0
Lima	6,475	Lima-Callao metropolitan area	204	3.9
Essen	6,353	Urban agglomeration ^l	2	0.0
Teheran	6,351	Urban agglomeration	128	2.3
Lagos	c. 5,900	This is an estimate drawing from the 1991 census ^m	152	3.0
Bangkok	5,894	This is for Bangkok Metropolitan Area; Greater Bangkok Area or the metropolitan region have several million more ⁿ	117	2.2
Dhaka	5,877	Statistical metropolitan area	267	6.2

SOURCE: United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 1995, with changes introduced for Lagos, because of more recent census data.

NOTES FOR TABLE 1

- a. The figure for 25.0 million is for the contiguous densely inhabited districts of Tokyo-to (ku-bu) and 87 surrounding cities and towns including Yokohama, Kawasaki and Chiba, spreading through Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba prefectures
- b. This figure of 16.1 million is for the urban agglomeration that includes Jersey City, Newark and part of northeast New Jersey; the CMSA has a larger area and is the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area which includes two more more primary metropolitan statistical areas - see Bourne, L.S. (1995), *Urban Growth and Population Redistribution in North America: A Diverse and Unequal Landscape*, Major Report 32, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, 41 pages.
- c. This figure is based on the metropolitan area. A larger area could be considered as an emerging polycentric metropolitan region as different metropolitan areas fuse or overlap - for instance linking the metropolitan areas of Mexico City, Toluca, Puebla and Cuernavaca. See Garza, Gustavo (1995) "Dynamics of Mexican Urbanization", unpublished background paper for UNCHS (Habitat), *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 1996*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- d. The population in the core city or the built up area is substantially smaller; in 1992, the urban core districts contained less than 8 million inhabitants; Kirkby, Richard (1995), unpublished background paper for UNCHS (Habitat), *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 1996*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- e. This population of 11.5 million is for the urban agglomeration that includes Long Beach; the CMSA is much larger and more populous - see Bourne 1995, *op. cit.*
- f. The figure of 10.5 million includes Osaka densely inhabited districts and 36 cities surrounding Osaka. See Yamada, Hiroyuki and Kazuyuki Tokuoka, "The trends of the population and urbanization in Post-war Japan, unpublished background paper for UNCHS (Habitat), *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 1996*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- g. See Kirkby, Richard 1995, *op. cit.*
- h. Jakarta metropolitan area (also called Jabotabek) is estimated to have had nearly 17 million inhabitants in 1990 within an area of around 5,500 square kilometres; about half of this was in the central city (DKI Jakarta); see Hadiwinoto, Suhadi and Josef Leitmann (1994) "Jakarta: urban environmental profile", *Cities*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 153-157.
- i. UNCHS (Habitat) (1993), *Metropolitan Planning and Management in the Developing World: Spatial Decentralization Policy in Bombay and Cairo*, Nairobi, 155 pages.
- j. A.G. Champion, unpublished tabulation using 1991 census data. "Main built up area (core)", "Urban region" and "Metropolitan region" are definitions based on the CURDS Functional Regions framework.
- k. The figure for 6.8 million is for the urban agglomeration that includes part of Illinois and parts of north-western Indiana
- l. Includes Duisburg, Essen, Krefeld, Mülheim an der Ruhr, Oberhausen, Bottrop, Gelsenkirchen, Bochum, Dortmund, Hagen, Hamm and Herne
- m. United Nations (1995) suggested that Lagos's population was 7.742 million in 1990 but the 1991 census figure for Lagos was around 5 million inhabitants. Aina 1995 suggested that this was an undercount but that Lagos still had less than 6 million inhabitants in 1991. See Aina, Tade Akin (1995), "Metropolitan Lagos: population growth and spatial expansion; city study", unpublished background paper for UNCHS (Habitat), *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements 1996*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.
- n. Various populations can be given for Bangkok, depending on which boundaries are chosen - up to 12 million inhabitants

average increments in their populations of more than 300,000 persons - although for the largest (Tokyo) this implied only a very modest population growth rate (1.4 percent a year). A city of 200,000 could grow at 20 percent a year, a rate that is more than three times that of the highest rate among these four cities and yet its annual average increment in population over a ten year period would only be 104,000 and the city would still have only 1.24 million inhabitants after ten years.

This point may seem unnecessarily obscure but it has great importance in explaining why many cities in sub-Saharan Africa had very rapid population growth rates in recent decades. The population growth rates of the largest cities in sub-Saharan Africa in recent decades only appear so high in comparison to the largest cities in other regions because they began from a much smaller base. Among the 18 cities in sub-Saharan Africa that had more than a million inhabitants in 1990, half had less than 200,000 in 1950 while a quarter (Abidjan, Maputo, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Conakry) had less than 100,000. Because they began from such a small base, their population growth rates from the 1950s onwards are much higher than for the major cities in most other regions of the world where the major cities were already much larger in the 1950s or 1960s.

One of the main reasons why these cities grew from such a small base was that the European colonial powers had deliberately kept down their populations by imposing restrictions on the rights of their national populations to live and work in urban centres. Thus, one of the reasons why their populations grew so rapidly just before or after the ending of colonial rule was the removal or weakening of the colonial *apartheid* like controls on population movements - and this allowed women and children to join their partners who were working in the city, whereas previously they had been forced to live separated, with the women and children in rural areas (see for instance Bryceson 1983, Potts 1995). Another reason why the population of many sub-Saharan African cities grew so rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s was the achievement of political independence for the nations in which they were located and the development in these cities of the institutions associated with an independent state and the development of a higher education system that had been so undeveloped under colonial rule. A third was the division of what under colonial rule had been one 'country' into two or more - with each new country needing a capital (Bairoch 1988). If much of the in-migration into sub-Saharan Africa's largest cities can be explained by the movement of women and children to join their partners, by the expansion of higher education and the institutions associated with independent nation-states, it cannot be said that this was "urbanization out of control". And no sub-Saharan African city appears in the world's 20 "fastest growing cities" during the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s, if measured in terms of the city's annual average increment in population over each decade.¹

Many Latin American cities appear in the list of the world's cities with the largest annual average increment in their populations during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, but not with among the most rapid rates of population growth. Most of the largest Latin American cities had their most rapid

population growth rates in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the twentieth century. Many of what today are among Asia's largest cities also had their most rapid rates of population growth prior to 1950, as their economic and/or political importance suddenly increased considerably or as what had been a small town (or occasionally even no settlement at all) proved an appropriate location for a major port, railway junction, oilfield or coalmine or some other economic activity that underpinned rapid economic growth and population growth.

Because the possibility of a city having a very high population growth rate is much improved by having a small population at the beginning of the period, it is small towns (or villages or 'green sites') which suddenly acquire a major role and become important cities for some economic or political reason that always feature as the cities with the highest population growth rates. This is one reason why the great historic cities or cities which have long been large cities have not featured among the world's most rapidly growing cities in recent decades. To go back to Table 1, Tokyo is among the fastest growing cities in this table in terms of annual average increment in population but with a very low population growth rate. The same is true for Los Angeles, Shanghai, Beijing and Calcutta, all with population growth rates below 2.0 percent a year during the 1980s and all with among the world's largest annual average increments in their population during this same decade.

Thus, perhaps it is only valid to compare population growth rates between cities which begin a period with a population of roughly the same size. Alternatively, a second indicator, the annual average increment in a city's population should also be used, when considering population growth rates, as this will highlight cities with large increases in their population but without necessarily having high population growth rates. There is also the need to consider separately cities which grow from a small base from cities that already have large populations. In this first category, there are many examples of cities with very rapid population growth in the South - but also in the North.

Table 2 shows how several cities in the North feature as among the most rapidly growing cities in the world during this century. For instance, Nairobi is often held up as one of the world's most rapidly growing cities - but both Miami and Phoenix in the United States had larger populations than Nairobi in 1990, although all were small settlements in 1900. The population of Los Angeles was around one tenth that of Calcutta in 1900 yet in 1990, it had about the same number of people in its metropolitan area. The growth of Tampa (USA) from a small town in 1900 to a metropolitan area of over 2 million by 1990 or Las Vegas from a small town in 1950 to a metropolis of more than a million inhabitants by 1995 also place them among the world's most rapidly growing cities during this century. These comparisons between population growth rates in certain cities in the United States and in Africa, Asia and Latin America are presented here to highlight the fact that some of the world's fastest growing cities are in the North. This should not be taken to imply that the social, economic, demographic or political underpinnings are comparable. In addition, these and other

examples of rapidly growing cities in the North do not alter the fact that most of the large cities in the world with the fastest population growth rates in recent decades are in the South.

Table 2: Some comparisons between cities in the USA and in the South for population growth, 1900-1950-1990

City	Population (thousands of inhabitants)		
	1900	1950	1990 or closest year
Los Angeles	102	4,046	8,863
Calcutta	949	4,446	9,030
Sao Paulo	240	2,423	14,847
Tokyo	1,440	6,920	25,013
Mexico City	415	3,147	15,085
Dallas	43	861	4,037
Lagos	42	288	5,000 (1991 census)
Nairobi	1	87	1,346 (1989 census)
Phoenix	6	221	2,238
Miami	2	466	3,193

NB The purpose of this table is simply to demonstrate that very rapid population growth is not confined to cities in the South. However, note should be made that most of the most rapidly growing cities in the world 1950-1990 were in the South. The figure for 1990 for Dallas is for the Dallas-Forth Worth consolidated metropolitan statistical area; the figure for Miami is also for the Miami consolidated metropolitan statistical area.

SOURCES: See note ².

There are many examples of cities in the North that had population growth rates for several decades during the 19th or early 20th centuries that were comparable to those of the most rapidly growing cities in the South over the last few decades. For instance, Chicago had a very rapid population growth rate during the late 19th century - and it should be recalled that Chicago was only incorporated as a city in 1837 (when it had around 4,000 inhabitants) yet little more than 60 years later (in 1900) it had 1.7 million inhabitants. Several of the largest and most successful cities in the South of the USA had population growth rates that averaged 8 or more percent a year for at least two decades between 1900 and 1960 including Fort Lauderdale, Miami, Orlando and Phoenix. Many cities in Europe that became the great centres of industry during the industrial revolution multiplied their populations many fold in a few decades - although for the earliest industrial centres, this rapid increase could be within the late 18th century.³

The problem for city comparisons of boundary definitions

The current population of most of the world's largest urban areas including London, Los Angeles, Shanghai, Beijing, Jakarta, Dhaka and Bombay can vary by many million inhabitants in any year, depending on which boundaries are used to define the area within which their population is counted. Different boundaries also mean different population growth rates - so London, Los Angeles, Tokyo, Buenos Aires or Mexico City can be correctly stated as having populations that are declining and expanding in recent decades, depending on which boundaries are chosen for defining their populations.

The problems that different boundaries pose for any comparisons made between city populations can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. In Table 1, comments are given beside many of the cities, showing how their population could be larger or smaller, depending on which boundaries were chosen. Bombay's population growth during the 1980s seems unusually rapid for such a large city and in comparison to the growth rates of most other cities of a comparable population size - but a considerable part of this was the result of widening Bombay's boundaries and including within "Bombay" in 1990 a large number of settlements that were not part of Bombay's population in the previous census.

Similarly, in Table 2, Los Angeles could be given a population of 14.5 million on this same date - as this is the population in its consolidated metropolitan area - although this would not be a valid comparison with Calcutta, as this consolidated metropolitan area has 87,650 square kilometres which is almost the same size as the state in which Calcutta is located (West Bengal) and West Bengal has more than 50 million inhabitants. Thus, care must be taken in comparing the populations of large cities. This is further illustrated in Table 3 where Los Angeles's population in 1990 can be 3.4 million (for the City), 8.9 million (for the primary metropolitan statistical area) or 14.5 million (for the consolidated metropolitan area).

Table 3: Examples of how the populations of urban centres change with different boundaries

City or metropolitan area	Date	Population	Area (square km)	Notes
Beijing ⁴ (China)	1990	2,336,544	87	4 inner city districts including the historic old city "Core city" Inner city and inner suburban districts Inner city, inner and outer suburban districts and 8 counties
		c. 5,400,000	158	
		6,325,722	1,369	
		10,819,407	16,808	
Dhaka (Bangladesh)	1991	c.4,000,000	6 363	Historic city Dhaka Metropolitan Area (Dhaka City Corporation and Dhaka Cantonment) Dhaka Statistical Metropolitan Area Rajdhani Unnayan Karttripakhya (RAJUK) - the jurisdiction of Dhaka's planning authority
		6,400,000	780	
		<8,000,000	1,530	

Katowice (Poland)	1991	367,000 2,250,000 c. 4,000,000		The city The metropolitan area (Upper Silesian Industrial Region) Katowice governorate
Mexico City (Mexico)	1990	1,935,708 8,261,951 14,991,281 c. 18,000,000	139 1,489 4,636 8,163	The central city The Federal District Mexico City Metropolitan Area Mexico City megalopolis ⁵
Tokyo (Japan)	1990	8,164,000 11,856,000 31,559,000 39,158,000	598 2,162 13,508 36,834	The central city (23 wards) Tokyo prefecture (Tokyo-to) Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area (including Yokohama) ⁶ National Capital Region. ⁷
Toronto (Canada)	1991	620,000 2,200,000 3,893,000 4,100,000 4,840,000	97 630 5,583 7,061 7,550	City of Toronto Metropolitan Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Greater Toronto Area Toronto CMSA equivalent ⁸
London (UK)	1991	4,230 2,343,133 6,393,568 12,530,000	3 321 1,579	The original 'city' of London Inner London Greater London (32 boroughs and the 'city') ⁹ London "metropolitan region" ¹⁰
Los Angeles (USA)	1990	3,485,398 9,053,645 8,863,000 14,532,000	1,211 10,480 2,038 87,652	Los Angeles City Los Angeles County Los Angeles Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area Los Angeles Consolidated Metropolitan Area

Most tables which compare the populations of the world's largest cities are misleading as some city populations are for relatively small areas (for instance just encompassing the built up area around the city centre) while others are for populations within large city regions that include millions of people living in rural areas, small towns and nearby cities. Boundaries set for "extended metropolitan regions" may provide a useful regional planning framework for public authorities but if they encompass significant numbers of rural inhabitants and have a significant proportion of their labour force working in agriculture, they should not be considered as "city populations". Comparing the size, population growth rate or density of the central city population of one city with the size, population growth rate or density of another city but for its metropolitan area or "extended metropolitan region" will produce dramatic contrasts but this is not comparing like with like. Even comparisons between two cities in terms of their "central cities" can be invalid as in one city the central city refers to a small central "historic city" while in the other, it refers to a much larger area.¹¹

This is why any international list of "the world's largest cities" and their population growth rates risks considerable inaccuracy as some city populations are for large urbanized regions with thousands of square kilometres while others are for older "city boundaries" with a few hundred square kilometres. It only needs a few cities to change the basis by which their boundaries are defined for the list of the world's largest cities such as that presented in Table 1 to be significantly altered. For instance, London has long dropped off the list of the world's ten largest cities since it had less than 7 million

people in its metropolitan area in 1991 - but it can have a population of 12.53 million if considered as a metropolitan region.¹² One of main reasons that Shanghai's population appears so large - at over 13 million - is that this figure is the population in an area of over 6,000 square kilometres which includes large areas of highly productive agriculture and many villages and agricultural workers (Hawkins 1982). The same is true for Beijing and Dhaka. "Metropolitan Toronto" in 1991 can have between 2.2 million and 4.8 million inhabitants, depending on the boundaries used. Figures for the population of Katowice in 1991 can vary from 367,000 to nearly 4 million for similar reasons - and Tokyo can have anywhere between 8 and 40 million inhabitants.

Colombo (Sri Lanka) is often quoted as having a population of around 600,000 inhabitants - for instance, its population was stated as being 616,000 in 1990 in the latest United Nations compendium of urban statistics (United Nations 1995). This appears very small in relation to the national population and Sri Lanka is often held up as an example of a country with a low level of "primacy" as its capital and largest city have a relatively small proportion of the nation's urban population. But these 616,000 inhabitants live in an area of 37 square kilometres (the old city boundaries). Colombo can also be said to have over 1.3 million inhabitants (using a boundary defining the urban core with 235 square kilometres) or 4 million inhabitants (for a city region with some 1,800 square kilometres)

The entry of new cities into the list of the world's largest cities

Despite the enormous changes in the scale and spatial distribution of the world's urban population over the last two centuries, an urban historian would find that they knew most of the cities that are in the current list of the world's largest cities. This appears at odds with the assertion that new cities are mushrooming everywhere in the South. To test this, an analysis was done on the 281 cities worldwide that had one million or more inhabitants by 1990 to see how many had been important cities in earlier decades or centuries.

In most of the world's regions, there is a perhaps surprising continuity in the list of the largest cities over time. And worldwide, more than two thirds of the world's "million-cities" in 1990 were already important cities 200 years ago while around a quarter have been important cities for at least 500 years.¹³ It is also interesting to note the differences by region, as this gives what is perhaps the most surprising comparison in that it is North America and sub-Saharan Africa that stand out as having most "new cities" among their largest cities i.e. 'million-cities' in 1990 that had not been founded by 1800.

In Latin America, most of the region's largest cities today, including virtually all national and most provincial capitals had been founded by the 18th century with most of the largest cities founded by the year 1580 AD and several of these having important pre-Columbian precursors (Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1989).

In Asia, close to 90 percent of its 'million cities' in 1990 had been founded by the year 1800 AD - and at least three fifths were already important cities by that date with around a third already having 100,000 or more inhabitants. Two thirds had been founded by 1500 AD - and more than half had been founded one millennium ago.

In Europe, more than four fifths of its 'million cities' in 1990 were already urban centres by the year 1800 (including more than a quarter with 100,000 or more inhabitants by that date) while more than half were urban centres in 1500 AD.

In countries or regions with long urban histories, there is often a comparable continuity, even for small market towns. For instance, studies of various regions of India have also found that most of the urban centres, even down to small administrative centres and market towns, have long histories (Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1986).

The regional distribution of the world's urban population and its largest cities

One of the most common comments made about global urban change which is presented as evidence of 'explosive urban growth' in the South is the fact that the South now has most of the world's largest cities. But as Bairoch (1988) points out, historically, this has been the usual pattern. What was unusual was the extent to which, for a brief period, most of the world's largest cities were in Europe and North America - reflecting the dominance of the North in the world's economy for that same period.

Tables 4 and 5 show different aspects of the changes over time in the distribution of the world's urban population between different regions. Table 4 shows the change in the distribution of the world's urban population and the world's population in 'million cities' between the different regions between 1950 and 1990 while Table 5 shows the regional distribution of the world's 100 largest cities in 1800, 1900, 1950 and 1990.

To consider the figures in both Tables together, they show that the Americas, as a region, had a decrease in its share of the world's urban population, and "million city" population but a small increase in its share of the world's largest cities between 1950 and 1990. But there was an important intra-regional shift. In 1950, Northern America had most of the urban and "million city" population; by 1990 this was no longer so. This is also not a new trend but a return to what existed prior to rapid industrialization in Northern America in both pre-Columbian and colonial times when most of the urban population and major cities in the Americas were in Central and South America. Table 5 shows how Northern America had none of the world's 100 largest cities in the year 1800 but by 1900 had 16 of them and by 1950, 18 of them. Its share of the world's hundred largest cities had fallen by 1990 - although in part, this reflects changes in the urban system of the USA with a large part of all new productive investment being outside what for many decades have been the US's largest cities (most of

them concentrated in the northeast) but which are also creating a new generation of large cities in the South and West (see for instance Bourne 1995). There is also a strong contrast within the Americas between the major industrial centres of Northern America that been among the world's largest cities in 1950 and were no longer so in 1990 - and the growing prominence of the major cities in Latin America's two largest economies - Mexico and Brazil - especially their largest industrial concentrations, Mexico City and Sao Paulo. This does not imply a lack of rapid urban change in Northern America; indeed as noted earlier, many of the relatively new cities in the South and West of the US have been among the world's most rapidly growing cities since 1950.

Table 4: The regional distribution of the world's urban population and population in "million cities", 1950 and 1990

	Proportion of the world's			
	urban popn		population in million cities	
	1950	1990	1950	1990
Africa	4.5	8.8	1.8	7.5
Eastern Africa	0.5	1.7	-	0.8
Middle Africa	0.5	1.0	-	0.8
Northern Africa	1.8	2.8	1.8	3.2
Southern Africa	0.8	0.9	-	0.8
Western Africa	0.9	2.6	-	2.0
Americas	23.7	23.0	30.1	27.8
Caribbean	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.8
Central America	2.0	3.3	1.6	2.7
Northern America	14.4	9.2	21.2	13.1
South America	6.5	9.7	6.7	11.1
Asia	32.0	44.5	28.6	45.6
Eastern Asia	15.2	19.7	17.6	22.2
South-eastern Asia	3.7	5.8	3.4	5.6
South-central Asia	11.2	14.8	7.0	14.6
Western Asia	1.8	4.1	0.6	3.3
Europe	38.8	22.8	38.0	17.9
Eastern Europe	11.8	9.3	7.7	6.3
Northern Europe	7.7	3.4	9.0	2.1
Southern Europe	6.5	4.0	6.7	3.2
Western Europe	12.8	6.2	14.6	6.2
Oceania	1.1	0.8	1.6	1.3

SOURCE: The statistics for 1950 and 1990 were largely derived from data in United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 1995, adjusted, when new census data is available. The calculations for 1800 were made, drawing on the IIED cities database that combines the data on city populations from 1950 to 1990 from United Nations 1995, *op. cit.* with recent and historic data drawn from around 250 censuses and from Chandler, Tertius and Gerald Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth*, Academic Press, New York and London, 1974.

Tables 4 and 5 highlight the rapid increase in the proportion of the world's urban population and

'million-city' population in Africa between 1950 and 1990, although the speed of change appears particularly high in all but Northern Africa because it had such a small base in 1950. The reasons for this have already been discussed. The Tables also show how low a proportion of the world's urban population and population in 'million cities' are in Africa and how Africa still has only a small proportion of the world's largest cities (with most such cities concentrated in Northern Africa).

The much increased role of Asia within the world economy since 1950 is reflected in the sharp increase in its concentration of the world's urban population, the population in "million cities" and the number of the world's largest cities between 1950 and 1990. But this is also not so much a new trend as a return to what had been the case in previous centuries. Historically, Asia has long had a high concentration of the world's urban population and has also had most of the world's largest cities for virtually all of the recorded history of cities (Bairoch 1988). Asia had more than three fifths of the world's largest 100 cities in 1800 AD. Many of Asia's largest cities in 1990 had long been among the world's largest cities - for instance Tokyo, Beijing (formerly Peking), Guangzhou (formerly Canton), Istanbul and Calcutta. Most of the other cities that grew to become among the largest cities in the region were also cities with long histories. Most were the major cities either in the most populous countries or in the most successful economies - for instance Kyoto in Japan, Seoul and Pusan in South Korea, Karachi and Lahore in Pakistan, Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore in India, Jakarta and Surabaya in Indonesia and many of China's major cities. What is unusual historically is not that Asia has come to have most of the world's largest cities but that Europe and North America had most of the world's largest cities - and did so for only a short, historic period.

This can be seen in Table 5. In 1800, Asia had 64 of the world's largest 100 cities - but this shrunk to 23 in 1900 - although by 1990 it had grown to 44. There are also important regional shifts shown in Table 5 which need a more detailed consideration than can be given here. But these considerations need to consider the changing economic and political structure of the region. For instance, the fact that Western Asia had six of the world's 100 largest cities in 1800 but only 1 in 1900 reflects the importance of the Ottoman Empire within the world's economic and political system in 1800 (although by that time in decline) and its much smaller size and lesser importance within the world by 1900. Similarly, South-central Asia in 1800 AD had nearly a quarter of the world's 100 largest cities, virtually all of them in what is today India - but by 1900 this region had only five. This is a reminder of the political and economic importance of India within the world in 1800 AD - and the list of India's largest cities at this time is largely a mixture of cities that had grown to prominence under Mughal rule and cities that were capitals of wealthy and influential kings or princes. The dramatic decline in this region's share of the world's largest cities by 1900 reflects among other factors the impact of colonial rule, a decline in living standards, a fall in the level of urbanization and the destruction of the indigenous manufacturing sector by cheap imports (Bairoch 1988).

Table 5: The distribution of the world's 100 largest cities between regions for 1800, 1900, 1950 and 1990

	Number of the world's 100 largest cities in			
	1800	1900	1950	1990
Africa	4	2	3	7
Eastern Africa	-	-	-	-
Middle Africa	0	0	0	1
Northern Africa	3	2	2	5
Southern Africa	0	0	1	0
Western Africa	1	0	0	1
Americas	3	21	26	27
Caribbean	1	0	1	0
Central America	1	1	1	3
Northern America	0	16	18	13
South America	1	4	6	11
Asia	64	23	33	44
Eastern Asia	29	16	18	21
South-eastern Asia	5	1	5	8
South-central Asia	24	5	9	13
Western Asia	6	1	1	2
Europe	29	51	36	20
Eastern Europe	2	9	7	4
Northern Europe	6	16	6	2
Southern Europe	12	8	8	6
Western Europe	9	18	15	8
Oceania	0	2	2	2

SOURCE: The statistics for 1950 and 1990 were largely derived from data in United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 1995, adjusted, when new census data is available. The calculations for 1800 were made, drawing on the IIED cities database that combines the data on city populations from 1950 to 1990 from United Nations 1995, *op. cit.* with recent and historic data drawn from around 250 censuses and from Chandler, Tertius and Gerald Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth*, Academic Press, New York and London, 1974.

Certain other points should be noted from Table 5. The first is the rise and fall in the number of the world's largest cities concentrated in Northern America and Europe; in 1800, they had 29 of the world's 100 largest cities (with none of them in Northern America); by 1900, they had two thirds of the world's largest 100 cities but by 1990, only 33. In Europe, the rapid decline in the region's share of the world's urban population, 'million-cities' population and share of the world's 100 largest cities between 1950 and 1990 is particularly striking. Part of the reason is the dramatic decline in the relative importance of what were among the world's largest industrial centres in 1950 - such as Naples in Italy, Hamburg and Dusseldorf in Germany and Birmingham and Manchester in the United Kingdom. But another important reason is the much slower rate of natural increase. Europe was the first of the world's regions to begin a rapid and sustained increase in its population, as birth rates

came to regularly exceed death rates but also the first region to undergo a rapid decrease in birth rates to the point where the total population is hardly growing or even declining in many European countries.

One also returns to the problem for any comparisons between cities of urban boundaries. The number of million cities in Europe and their share of the region's population is considerably increased if urban populations are defined by functional urban regions rather than by conventional city boundaries. For instance, there are twice as many 'million-cities' in West Europe in 1991 as those registered in the United Nations dataset for 1990, if city populations are measured within their functional urban regions.¹⁴ Glasgow, Newcastle and Liverpool in the United Kingdom, The Hague in the Netherlands, Nantes and Bordeaux in France and Valencia and Seville in Spain are among the cities not included in the United Nations list of "million cities" in 1990 but which had more than a million in their functional urban region on that date.¹⁵ As the spatial form of most major cities in the North and many in the South have changed so they no longer have virtually all of their resident and working population within a built up area within the city boundaries, so too does the difficulty of making valid international comparisons between city populations.

The concentration of population in mega-cities

Although there is a large and growing literature on what are termed "mega-cities", what is perhaps more surprising is how small a proportion of the world's population live in them. There is no agreement as to when a city grows to a size to become a mega-city but if a city only becomes a mega-city when it has 10 million or more inhabitants, by 1990, there were only 12 mega-cities worldwide. Table 6 shows how small a proportion of the world's urban (and total) population live in such mega-cities. If a city becomes a mega-city when it has more than 8 million inhabitants, then less than 5 percent of the world's population lived in mega-cities in 1990. Even these figures are exaggerated as some mega-cities have less than 10 or 8 million inhabitants in the city itself. For instance, as noted earlier, while the populations of both Shanghai and Beijing are reported to be over 10 million in 1990, in both instances, this was the population in a large city-region that included many rural inhabitants and there were much less than 10 million people in each city's built-up area (Kirkby 1996). The proportion of the world's population living in mega-cities can be increased or decreased, as boundaries for metropolitan areas or regions are increased or decreased. But what is certain is that only a very small proportion of the world's population live in cities which concentrate 10 million or more inhabitants in a continuous built up area.

Table 6: The world's urban population in 1990 and its distribution between mega-cities, million cities and urban centres

	Population (millions)	Number of urban centres	Percent of urban population	Percent of total population
"The North"				
Cities with 10 million plus inhabitants	63.0	4	7.5	5.5
Cities with 1-9.99 million inhabitants	236.1	105	28.0	20.7
Urban centres with less than 1 million	542.9	c.10,000?	64.5	47.5
"The South"				
Cities with 10 million plus inhabitants	98.0	8	6.9	2.4
Cities with 1-9.99 million inhabitants	390.7	164	27.4	9.4
Urban centres with less than 1 million	946.7	c.30,000?	65.7	22.9

NOTES: "The North" is taken as all countries in Europe and North America, Japan and Australia-New Zealand. "The South" is taken to include all other nation. Calculated largely from data drawn from United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 1995, but adjusted, when new census data that was not included in this dataset became available. The figures for the number of urban agglomerations are guesstimates.

However, one notable change in recent decades is the scale of the world's largest cities - and this is unprecedented historically. While there are many examples of cities over the last two millennia which probably had populations of one million or more inhabitants, the city or metropolitan area with several million inhabitants is a relatively new phenomenon - London being the first in the second half of the 19th century. The number of very large cities is unprecedented. One interesting indicator of this is the average size of the world's 100 largest cities at different dates. In 1990, the average size of the world's 100 largest cities was around 5.1 million inhabitants. This compares to 2.1 million inhabitants in 1950, around 700,000 in 1900 and just under 200,000 in 1800.

Changes in urban populations and levels of urbanization

While previous sections concentrated on the size of city populations and their growth rates, this section considers growth rates for nations' urban populations and changes in their levels of urbanization. The rate of change for the South in its level of urbanization has not been unprecedented. Preston (1979) pointed out that the change in the level of urbanization in the South between 1950 and 1975 was comparable to the change in the level of urbanization in the North between 1875 and 1900. The level of urbanization in the South between 1950 and 1975 increased from 17.3 percent of the population to 26.7 percent of the population (United Nations 1995). This can be compared to the North which between 1875 and 1900 increased its level of urbanization from 17.2 percent of the population to 26.1 percent (Graumann 1977). The rates of net rural to urban migration required to achieve these increases may have been greater in the North in the late 19th century than in the South from 1950-1975 in view of the fact that the rates of natural increase in rural areas were

probably higher than the rates of natural increase in urban areas at that time (Davis 1973).

While the rate of change in the level of urbanization has not been unprecedented in the South, the growth-rate of the urban population probably has (Preston 1979). Between 1875 and 1900, the urban population in the North grew by 100 percent and rural populations by 18 percent (ibid.). Between 1950 and 1975, the urban population of the South grew by 174 percent with the rural population growing by 57 percent (United Nations 1995).

While certain countries in the South have experienced a rapid increase in their level of urbanization in recent decades, it is not only countries in the South that have done so. For the period 1960 to 1990, several countries in East and Central Europe had increases in their levels of urbanization that were larger than most countries in the South. For instance, Belarus went from 31 percent urban in 1959 to 66 percent urban in 1989 (Shaw 1994); very few countries in the South had an increase as large as this. Lithuania also had among the world's largest increase in its level of urbanization between 1959 and 1989 (from 39 percent to 68 percent) and the increase in the Russian Federation (from 52 percent to 74 percent) was also larger than the majority of countries in the South.

An analysis of the countries with the largest increase in their level of urbanization between 1960 and 1990 produces some surprises. First, many European countries are among the countries with the largest increase in their level of urbanization - including Finland and Norway as well as many countries in East Europe (see Table A1 in the Annex). Secondly, although sub-Saharan Africa is generally considered as a region experiencing very rapid urbanization, several African nations have among the smallest increases in their level of urbanization over this 30 year period (including Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Somalia). However, some caution is needed in making generalizations for regions from Table A1 since this Table only includes countries for which there was census data from 1985 or later. Given the changes in urban trends evident in the many countries for which there is recent census data, it was considered inappropriate to include in this table any nation for which there was no census data from 1985 onwards. There were 60 nations with 1 million or more inhabitants in 1990 that could not be included in this analysis as no recent census data was available. They include 21 countries in Africa. The United Nations estimates for their level of urbanization in 1990 suggest that many of these have among the largest increases in their level of urbanization between 1960 and 1990 and many African nations are among the nations with the largest increases. However, United Nations estimates have had a tendency to exaggerate the rate of growth of populations in cities and in national urban populations (as will be discussed in more detail later).

The figures in Table A1 can also be compared to historic data about the increase in the level of urbanization achieved by countries in the North in a 30 year period. Table A1 shows that very few countries in the South had an increase in their level of urbanization of more than 25 (i.e. with a level of urbanization of x in 1960 and $x+25$ in 1990). Many countries in the North underwent periods

when they had increases in their level of urbanization over a 30 year period that were larger than this. For instance, the level of urbanization in Japan increased from 24 percent in 1930 to 64 percent in 1960 (Bairoch 1988) while that in the UK went from 37.1 percent urban to 60.6 percent urban between 1850 and 1880 (Bairoch 1988). Very few countries in the South underwent such a rapid increase in their level of urbanization in any 30 year period in their history, including the period 1960-1990.

There are also instances of countries in the North where the overall growth rate of their urban populations was very rapid, even by contemporary standards - for instance in the United States, between 1820 and 1870, the estimated average annual growth rate for the urban population was 5.5 per cent (Preston 1979). The urban population in Japan grew at around 6 percent a year during the 1930s. This can be compared to growth rates for the urban population in Africa of less than 5 percent a year during the 1980s - and growth rates for the urban population of Asia of less than 4 percent and for the urban population of Latin America and the Caribbean of close to 3 percent (United Nations 1995).

This is not meant to imply that urban change has not been rapid for most countries in the South in recent decades. It is also true that the scale of change in urban populations worldwide is unprecedented. But there are relatively few examples of countries in the South that have had growth rates in their urban populations and rates of change in their level of urbanization that are unprecedented.

In addition, perhaps too much is made of the fact that the world is soon to become predominantly urban. There are two reasons for caution. The first is the extent to which this transition could be hastened or delayed by changes in definitions. The large differences in the ways that governments define "urban centres" or set criteria as to which settlements are considered urban has always limited the validity of international comparisons of urbanization levels - and also means that for most countries, their level of urbanization can be considerably increased or decreased by changing the criteria.¹⁶ It would only take China, India or a few of the other most populous nations to change their definition of urban centres for there to be a significant increase or decrease in the proportion of the world's population living in urban centres. The proportion of the world's population currently living in urban centres is best considered not as a precise percentage (ie 45.2 percent in 1995) but as being between 40 and 55 percent, depending on the criteria used to define what is an "urban centre". What is perhaps more significant than the fact that more than half of the world's population will soon be living in urban centres is the underlying economic and social changes it reveals - that a steadily declining proportion of the world's population make a living from agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing. The second reason for caution arises from the confusion between the terms "urban centre" and "city". Many people have commented that more than half the world's population will soon be living in cities - but this is incorrect since a significant proportion of the world's urban population live

in small market towns and administrative centres. Certainly, the proportion of the world's population living in "cities", however defined, is substantially smaller than the proportion living in urban centres of all sizes.

The association between size of economy and number of large cities

The association between the per capita GNP of a country and its level of urbanization is well known - i.e. that in general, the higher the per capita GNP, the higher the level of urbanization. What is perhaps less well known is the high concentration of the world's largest cities in the world's largest economies. In 1990, the five largest economies (United States of America, China, Japan, Germany and the Russian Federation) had half of the world's 10 million plus inhabitant cities, a third of the world's 5 million plus inhabitant cities and 37 percent of its "million-cities" - see Table 7.

Table 7: The association between the world's largest economies and largest cities in 1990

	10 million plus cities	The number of 5 million plus cities	"million cities"
Worldwide	12	33	281
In the world's five largest economies	6	11	103
In the next ten largest economies	5	11	67
In the next ten largest economies	0	4	34
In the rest of the world	1	7	77

SOURCES: The data on the world's "ten million plus" cities and "million cities" is drawn from United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 1995, but adjusted, when new census data that was not included in this dataset becomes available. The data on the world's largest economies is drawn from UNDP, *The Human Development Report, 1993*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and is based on real GDP (ppp \$); in this year, the USA, China, Japan, Germany and the Russian Federation were the five largest economies.

Taking the fifteen largest economies in the world in this same year, these contained all but one of the ten million plus inhabitant cities, two thirds of the five million plus inhabitant cities and three fifths of the million-cities. Table A2 lists the 60 largest economies and shows the number of 10 million plus, 5 million plus and one million plus inhabitant city in each in 1990. It shows that only one country outside the fifteen largest economies had a city with 10 million plus inhabitants - Argentina which in this year was the 30th largest economy. Only one country had a 5 million plus inhabitant city in 1990 outside of the 40 largest economies - Peru, the 56th largest economy in this year. Considerable caution is needed in interpreting the figures in this table, since as Table 3 showed, each large urban agglomeration can have its population significantly raised or lowered, depending on which boundary is

chosen. However, this Table does indicate how few large cities are outside the world's largest economies. This might also be taken as a caution against assuming a rapid growth in the number of "mega-cities" in the future since mega-cities generally only develop in the largest economies. The table points to some exceptional cases that deserve detailed analysis. The case of Argentina having a ten million plus metropolitan area (Buenos Aires) despite not having one of the world's largest economies would certainly be linked to the fact that earlier in this century, it was one of the world's largest economies - although other factors would also need to be considered such as the concentration of power and government resources within the Federal Government located in Buenos Aires and the spatial legacy of the import-substitution policies from earlier decades.

There is also a strong correlation between the countries in the South with the fastest growing economies and with the largest increases in their level of urbanization (UNCHS 1996). During the 1980s, the countries with stagnant economies were not urbanizing rapidly. Rising levels of urbanization are strongly associated with growing and diversifying economies - and most of the nations in the South whose economic performance over the last 10-15 years is so envied by other nations are also the nations with the most rapid increase in their levels of urbanization (ibid).

There was also a strong correlation between economic growth rates and rates of increase in the level of urbanization for all countries in the South during the 1970s - with the exception of sub-Saharan Africa but the reasons for this have been described already. There is also evidence that the scale of urban poverty grew considerably in most countries during the 1980s when they experienced serious economic problems and were also facing a slowdown in the rate of growth of their urban populations and in the rate of increase in their level of urbanization (ibid., Satterthwaite 1995).

A predominantly urban future?

The United Nations Population Division has long predicted that the world (and the South) will continue to urbanize far into the future. In its most recent projections, which considerably reduce the scale of urban growth predicted up to 2025 compared to previous projections, the world still has 61.1 percent of its population coming to live in urban areas by the year 2025 (United Nations 1995). Even Africa will have some 54 percent of its population living in urban areas by 2025. It is difficult to accept that all the relatively unurbanized countries in the South will continue to urbanize up to the year 2025 and beyond. Given the association between the scale of economic growth and the scale of increase in the level of urbanization for most countries in the South over the last 30 years, this steady increase in the level of urbanization in all the relatively unurbanized countries in the South is only likely to take place if they also have steadily growing economies. While stronger and more buoyant economies for the world's lower-income nations should be a key goal of development agencies, the prospects for most such nations are hardly encouraging, within the current world economic system. Many of the lowest income nations have serious problems with political instability or civil war and most have no obvious "comparative advantage" on which to build an economy that prospers and thus

urbanizes. At present, there appears to be little prospect of a world economic system in which the most powerful economies agree to give more encouragement and support to the weakest economies.

The projections made for city populations by the United Nations (and widely used and quoted by other sources) are also open to question, for similar reasons. In general, they have tended to over-state the population of large cities, as can be seen in Table 8. For instance, Mexico City was meant to have 31 million inhabitants by the year 2000, according to UN projections made in the early 1980s - yet it is likely to have less than 18 million by that date. Other cities for which UN projections made in the 1970s and early 1980s are likely to be several million inhabitants too high include Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

Table 8: Examples of how U.N. projections for city populations by the Year 2000 have changed

Urban agglomerations	Projected population (millions of inhabitants) in the year 2000 with the U.N. projection made in								
	1973-5	1978	1980	1982	1984-5	1988	1990	1992	1994
Mexico City	31.6	31.0	27.6	26.3	25.8	24.4	25.6	16.2	16.4
Sao Paulo	26.0	25.8	21.5	24.0	24.0	23.6	22.1	22.6	17.8
Calcutta	19.7	16.4	15.9	16.6	16.5	15.9	15.7	12.7	12.7
Rio de Janeiro	19.4	19.0	14.2	13.3	13.3	13.0	12.5	12.2	10.6
Shanghai	19.2	23.7	25.9	13.5	14.3	14.7	17.0	17.4	17.2
Bombay	19.1	16.8	16.3	16.0	16.0	15.4	15.4	18.1	18.1
Peking /Beijing	19.1	20.9	22.8	10.8	11.2	11.5	14.0	14.4	14.2
Seoul	18.7	13.7	13.7	13.5	13.8	13.0	12.7	12.9	12.3
Jakarta	16.9	15.7	14.3	12.8		13.2	13.7	13.4	14.1
Cairo	16.4	12.9	12.8	13.2		11.8	11.8	10.8	10.7
Karachi	15.9	11.6	11.4	12.2		11.6	11.7	11.7	12.1
Buenos Aires	14.0	12.1	12.2	13.2		13.1	12.9	12.8	11.4

SOURCE: Updated version of Table 8.2 in Hardoy, Jorge E. and David Satterthwaite, *Squatter*

Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World, Earthscan Publications, London, 1989 - drawing on United Nations Population Division publications on "World urbanization prospects" or other United Nations compendia of urban statistics.

There are two reasons to question the validity of giving projections for city populations far into the future based on extrapolating past trends. The first is that a city's population growth is very sensitive to its economic performance and often to government policy - and also to changes in fertility. Few people would risk extrapolating economic trends for any city 20-30 years in the future. For instance, extrapolating trends in urban population growth in China from 1949 to 1960 to give a guide as to what would happen in the next 40 years would make China's population 100 percent urban before the year 2000 and could hardly provide a useful indicator of future trends after 1960 since the proportion of China's population in urban areas declined between 1961 and 1976, because of a deliberate and repressive government policy of restricting the right of people to live in cities. Extrapolating population growth in Sao Paulo from its growth from 48,000 inhabitants in 1886 to 484,000 in 1916 would have given it a population of some 48 million in 1976, more than four times its actual population by that date. During the 1970s, specialists projected that Calcutta would have 40-50 million inhabitants by the year 2000 (see for instance Brown 1974). The projection was based on extrapolating Calcutta's rapid population growth for the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s far into the future. But Calcutta's rapid rates of growth in the late 1940s was largely due to an influx of refugees from what was formerly East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) after the partition of India in 1947 (Roy 1983) and to population figures for 1941 being exaggerated for political reasons (United Nations 1985). Calcutta will probably have less than a third of this projection by the year 2000. The projections for a Calcutta of 40-50 million people by the year 2000 were made with no consideration as to the economic or political changes needed to make Calcutta grow to this size. Perhaps because the projections had a certain "shock appeal" for commentators, the work of those who 20 years ago pointed out why Calcutta would not continue to grow rapidly were ignored.¹⁷

We can assume that very large cities or 'mega-cities' cannot develop where there is no large economy to support them. This fits with the evidence presented in an earlier section showing the high concentration of the world's largest cities in the world's largest economies. It also fits with the obvious point that people will not live in or move to cities if they have no chance of a livelihood or other form of support. Any city with 10-30 million inhabitants needs a very large economy to generate livelihoods for so many inhabitants. But if this is so, this questions the validity of many of the projections for the populations of individual cities. For instance, one United Nations projection for Nairobi made in 1982 suggested that it would grow from under one million inhabitants to 18.9 million inhabitants between 1980 and 2025. This would mean that by 2025, Nairobi would have three times the population currently living in Greater London. It is almost impossible to envisage the kind of economic transformation in Kenya that would produce this. Perhaps it was in acknowledgement of this fact that the United Nations Population Division reduced the range of its projections for future

city populations from 2025 to 2015 in its most recent compendium of urban statistics (United Nations 1995). However, this compendium still has many projections which seem unlikely to be realized. For instance, it is hard to envisage how the city of Lagos in Nigeria can grow from around 6 million in 1990 to more than 24 million inhabitants by the year 2015. It is no longer Nigeria's federal capital and it is difficult to see how Lagos can develop the kind of economy (in competition with other Nigerian cities) that can support more than 24 million people. It is also difficult to imagine cities such as Kabul, Luanda, Addis Ababa and Maputo each with more than 5 million inhabitants by 2015, unless the economic prospects for the countries in which they are located greatly improve.

A second reason for questioning the validity of these long-range projections for city populations is the increasing evidence in both the North and the South of more decentralized urban systems. There are usually powerful forces encouraging a more decentralized urban system within the most successful economies - including improved transport and telecommunications systems and production structures that encourage more new investment outside major cities (UNCHS 1996). These help explain the slowed growth of cities such Sao Paulo and Mexico City during the 1980s - and also why Europe and North America have fewer very large cities than had been expected in the 1960s and 1970s. More decentralized urban systems are also being supported by more decentralized government structures and less public expenditure and investment concentrated in national capitals in many countries (ibid). Thus, even if a country sustains a high rate of economic growth over many years, it may be that urban development is less concentrated in one or two large cities or metropolitan areas than in the past.

These two factors suggest that there will be fewer 'mega-cities' by 2015 and beyond than that suggested by United Nations projections. However, there may also be certain smaller cities in the more successful economies that grow much more rapidly than has been projected to date. For instance, the growth rate in China's largest cities appears relatively slow, given the speed of China's economic growth in recent years. This may be partly explained by large numbers of 'temporary' or unregistered migrants that are not included in official statistics. But it is also partly explained by the very rapid growth in many of its smaller cities (UNCHS 1996).

Some Conclusions

This paper has shown how the rate of urban change in the South in recent decades has not been without precedent. It has shown how there are historic and contemporary precedents in Europe and North America for the rate of change in Southern nations' urban populations, levels of urbanization and city populations. It has also shown how the growth rate of most of the largest cities in the South slowed during the 1980s and in many, there were more people moving out than moving in. It has also shown the association between the location of the world's largest cities and its largest economies. It also suggested that the 1980s was not only characterized by smaller increases in the level of urbanization in most countries but also by more rapid increases in the scale and intensity of urban poverty:

This suggests a need for caution in linking the scale of urban problems to the speed of urban change in the South. In terms of economic performance, the link is probably most often the reverse of this as it is generally countries with the most successful economic performance that have had the most rapid urban changes. It is much more difficult to compare the social achievements of countries and consider these in the light of urban change. But if life expectancy at birth is taken as a general measure of societal achievement in improving housing and living conditions and basic services, many of the countries with the largest increases in their average life expectancy at birth between 1960 and 1992 were also countries with among the most rapid urban change. Similarly, many of the countries with the smallest increases in their life expectancy were also those with relatively slow urban change.

The fact that urban change in the South has not been at a rate that is unprecedented should not detract from the scale of urban problems there. As noted earlier, the scale and intensity of urban poverty has probably grown in most nations during the 1980s and a large proportion of the urban population in the South live in very poor quality housing with insecure tenure and with very inadequate provision for water, sanitation, drainage, garbage collection and other basic services. But it could be said that urban problems in the South are not so much a result of the rate of change in the urban populations but more the incapacity of the social and political structures and systems to adjust to such change (and to the economic and social changes that underlie urban change). The fact that most city populations have not been "exploding" demands that this is no longer given as the reason for urban problems. It means the need for those who study urban problems to consider the economic, social and political reasons why governments and international agencies have often been so ineffective in addressing urban problems. It also means confronting the issue as to why it is often in countries with relatively small cities and low levels of urbanization that urban problems such as provision for piped water and sanitation and overcrowding are so serious.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lagos would be included in this list for the 1960s and 1970s if the United Nations estimate for 1990 is used - but not if the figure of 5 million suggested by the 1991 census is accepted.
2. The idea for this table was stimulated by the paper by L.S. Bourne (Bourne 1995) which made the point that while the United States appears to have very slow urban growth as its total urban population is growing slowly and as the level of urbanization has changed little for two decades, in fact, there is a remarkably rapid urban change taking place as many of the older cities in the Northeast decline in importance and as a whole new series of cities grow greatly in importance in the South and West. The figures for the US cities for 1990 are drawn from this paper (although their original source is the US Bureau of Statistics). The figures for 1990 for the other cities are either drawn from censuses or from the United Nations 1995. The figures for 1950 for all cities are drawn from this source. The figures for 1900 are drawn mainly from census data collected by IED and incorporated into its cities database - or from Chandler and Fox 1974.
3. For instance, Manchester's population grew sixfold between 1774 and 1831 from 41,032 in 1774 to 270,901 in 1831; see Girouard 1985.
4. Information supplied by Richard Kirkby based on data from the 1990 Census, in *Zhongguo renkou tongji nianjian 1992* (Yearbook of Population Statistics, 1992), Beijing, Jingji guanli chubanshe (Economic Management Press), 1992, p.448 and (for area) Beijing Municipal Statistics Bureau, *Beijing Statistics in Brief*,

Beijing, China Statistical Publishing House, 1988, page 1. Apart from the educational quarter in the Haidian District (northwest) and the steel works and heavy industrial area of Shijingshan (west), prior to the 1980s economic boom the city proper could be broadly defined as that area within the *san huan lu* - the Third Ringroad. This encircles an area of just 158 km² in a total municipality spanning almost 17,000 km². Its population comprises all of the four inner city districts and parts of the 4 inner suburban districts. In total, this 'core city' comprises only around half of the 10.82 million official residents of the capital in 1990.

5. Garza 1995.

6. This ensures the inclusion within Tokyo of the vast suburban areas and includes Tokyo-to (including the islands) and Chiba, Kanagawa and Saitama Prefectures

7. Includes Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area plus Yamanashi, Gunma, Tochigi and Ibaraki Prefectures.

8. This is what Toronto's population might be if it was defined with the methodology used in the United States for defining Consolidated Metropolitan Areas. This would include Toronto Metropolitan Area, the adjacent Hamilton CMA (0.6 million), Oshawa CMA (0.24 million) and the rest of York County.

9. Note that these figures for the City of London, Inner London and Greater London are census figures; official estimates for 1991 for Inner London were 2,627,400 and for Greater London were 6,889,900.

10. A.G. Champion, personal communication.

11. For instance in Buenos Aires and Mexico City, the "Federal District" is often considered as the central city, but this is much larger than the historic city centre of both these cities

12. See A.G. Champion, note j in Table 1

13. This calculation is made from the Cities Database of the Human Settlements Programme of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and of IIED-América Latina. This combines the data on city populations from 1950 to 1990 from United Nations 1995, *op. cit.* with recent and historic data drawn from around 250 censuses and from Chandler and Fox 1974.

14. The list of cities with one million or more inhabitants in their functional urban region is drawn from the Functional Urban Region database at the London School of Economics, which was developed by Paul Cheshire.

15. *Ibid.*

16. See Hardy and Satterthwaite 1989 for more details on this

17. See for instance Row 1974.

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Table A1: The change in countries' level of urbanization, 1960 to 1990

COUNTRY	Level of urbanization		Change in the level of urbanization 1960-1990	Last census on which this table draws
	1960	1990		
Republic of Korea	27.7	73.8	46.1	90
Belarus	32.3	66.8	34.5	89
Turkey	29.7	60.9	31.2	90
Brazil	44.9	74.6	29.7	91
Croatia	30.2	59.8	29.6	91
Bulgaria	38.6	67.7	29.2	85
Iraq	42.9	71.8	28.9	87
Lithuania	39.9	68.8	28.8	89
Puerto Rico	44.5	71.3	26.8	90
Cameroon	13.9	40.3	26.4	87
Republic of Moldova	23.4	47.8	24.4	89
Venezuela	66.6	90.4	23.8	90
TFYR of Macedonia	34.1	57.8	23.7	91
Kuwait	72.3	95.8	23.5	85
Finland	38.1	61.4	23.4	90
Malaysia	26.6	49.8	23.2	91
Slovakia	33.5	56.5	23.0	91
Norway	49.9	72.3	22.4	90
Iran, Islamic Rep. of	34.1	56.3	22.1	91
Mexico	50.8	72.6	21.8	90
Colombia	48.2	70.0	21.8	85
Algeria	30.4	51.7	21.3	87
Cote D'Ivoire	19.3	40.4	21.1	88
Nigeria	14.4	35.2	20.8	91
Ukraine	46.8	67.5	20.7	89
Ecuador	34.4	54.8	20.4	90
Russian Federation	53.7	74.0	20.3	89
Benin	9.3	29.0	19.7	92
Hungary	42.6	62.1	19.5	90
Czech Republic	45.8	64.9	19.2	91
Romania	34.2	53.3	19.1	92
Spain	56.6	75.4	18.8	91
Philippines	30.3	48.8	18.5	90
Honduras	22.7	40.7	17.9	88
Jamaica	33.8	51.5	17.7	91
Namibia	15.0	31.9	16.9	91
Bolivia	39.3	55.8	16.5	92
Armenia	51.2	67.5	16.2	89
Indonesia	14.6	30.6	16.0	90
Lesotho	3.4	19.4	16.0	86
Chile	67.8	83.3	15.4	92
Central African Rep.	22.7	37.5	14.8	88
Japan	62.5	77.2	14.7	90
Poland	47.9	62.5	14.6	88
Latvia	56.9	71.2	14.4	89
Estonia	57.5	71.8	14.3	89
Chad	6.8	20.5	13.7	93
Paraguay	35.6	48.9	13.3	92
Burkina Faso	4.7	17.9	13.2	85
Georgia	43.0	56.0	13.0	89
Kazakhstan	44.6	57.6	13.0	89
Argentina	73.6	86.5	12.9	91
Mali	11.1	23.8	12.7	87
Papua New Guinea	2.7	15.0	12.3	90
Portugal	22.1	33.5	11.4	91

COUNTRY	Level of urbanization		Change in the level of urbanization 1960-1990	Last census on which this table draws
	1960	1990		
Ireland	45.8	56.9	11.1	91
Sweden	72.6	83.1	10.5	90
Panama	41.3	51.7	10.5	90
France	62.4	72.7	10.3	90
Niger	5.8	15.2	9.4	88
Hong Kong	85.0	94.1	9.1	86
New Zealand	76.0	84.8	8.8	91
Uruguay	80.1	88.9	8.8	85
Senegal	31.9	39.8	7.9	88
Canada	68.9	76.6	7.7	91
India	18.0	25.5	7.6	91
Oman	3.6	11.0	7.4	90
Malawi	4.4	11.8	7.4	87
Italy	59.4	66.7	7.4	91
Mauritius	33.2	40.5	7.3	90
China	19.0	26.2	7.2	90
Somalia	17.3	24.2	6.9	86
Uzbekistan	34.0	40.6	6.6	89
Azerbaijan	48.1	54.4	6.4	89
Thailand	12.5	18.7	6.2	90
Uganda	5.1	11.2	6.1	91
Egypt	37.9	43.9	6.1	86
El Salvador	38.3	43.9	5.5	92
Austria	49.9	55.4	5.4	91
United States of America	70.0	75.2	5.2	90
Viet Nam	14.7	19.9	5.2	89
Albania	30.6	35.7	5.1	89
Trinidad & Tobago	64.4	69.1	4.7	90
Australia	80.6	85.1	4.5	91
Burundi	2.0	6.3	4.2	90
Kyrgyzstan	34.2	38.2	4.0	89
Rwanda	2.4	5.6	3.2	91
South Africa	46.6	49.2	2.6	85
Singapore	100.0	100.0	0.0	90
Tajikistan	33.2	32.2	(1.0)	89
Turkmenistan	46.4	44.9	(1.6)	89

NB This Table only includes nations which had one million or more inhabitants in 1990 and for which there was census data available for 1985 or later.

SOURCE: Data drawn from United Nations (1995), *World Urbanization Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, Population Division, New York, 178 pages.

Table A2: Distribution of the world's largest cities among its largest economies, 1990

SORT	COUNTRY	POPn 1990 ('000s)	GDPpc 1990 (US\$ PPP)	GDP US\$ (billions)	NUMBER OF CITIES OF		
					10M+	5M+	1M+
1	United States of America	249,924	21,449	5,360.6	2	3	33
2	China	1,155,305	1,990	2,299.1	2	3	38
3	Japan	123,537	17,616	2,176.2	2	2	6
4	Germany	79,365	18,213	1,445.5		1	13
5	Russian Federation	147,913	7,968	1,178.6		2	13
6	France	56,718	17,405	987.2		1	3
7	India	850,638	1,072	911.9	2	4	23
8	United Kingdom	57,411	15,804	907.3		1	4
9	Italy	57,024	15,890	906.1			4
10	Brazil	148,477	4,718	700.5	1	2	12
11	Canada	27,791	19,232	534.5			3
12	Mexico	84,511	5,918	500.1	1	1	4
13	Spain	39,272	11,723	460.4			2
14	Indonesia	182,812	2,181	398.7		1	6
15	Republic of Korea	42,870	6,733	288.6	1	1	6
16	Ukraine	51,637	5,433	280.5			5
17	Australia	16,888	16,051	271.1			5
18	Turkey	56,098	4,652	261.0		1	3
19	Netherlands	14,952	15,695	234.7			2
20	Pakistan	121,934	1,862	227.0		1	7
21	Thailand	55,583	3,986	221.6		1	1
22	Iran, Islamic Rep. of	58,946	3,253	191.8		1	4
23	South Africa	37,066	4,865	180.3			4
24	Saudi Arabia	16,048	10,989	176.4			2
25	Belgium	9,951	16,381	163.0			1
26	Poland	38,118	4,237	161.5			3
27	Sweden	8,558	17,014	145.6			1
28	Switzerland	6,835	20,874	142.7			
29	Philippines	60,779	2,303	140.0		1	1
30	Argentina	32,546	4,295	139.8	1	1	3
31	Colombia	32,300	4,237	136.9			4
32	Austria	7,706	16,504	127.2			1
33	Venezuela	19,501	6,169	120.3			3
34	Nigeria	96,154	1,215	116.8		1	2
35	Czechoslovakia	15,662	7,300	114.3			1
36	Egypt	56,313	1,988	112.0		1	2
37	Malaysia	17,892	6,140	109.9			1
38	Bangladesh	108,118	872	94.3		1	2
39	Hong Kong	5,704	15,595	89.0		1	1
40	Portugal	9,868	8,770	86.5			1
41	Denmark	5,140	16,781	86.3			1
42	Finland	4,986	16,446	82.0			
43	Kazakhstan	16,670	4,716	78.6			1
44	Greece	10,238	7,366	75.4			1
45	Algeria	24,935	3,011	75.1			1
46	Viet Nam	66,689	1,100	73.4			2
47	Norway	4,241	16,028	68.0			
48	Chile	13,155	5,099	67.1			1
49	Romania	23,207	2,800	65.0			1
50	Uzbekistan	20,421	3,115	63.6			1

SORT	COUNTRY	POPn 1990 ('000s)	GDPpc 1990 (US\$ ppp)	GDP US\$ (billions)	NUMBER OF CITIES OF		
					10M+	5M+	1M+
51	Iraq	18,078	3,508	63.4			1
52	Hungary	10,365	6,116	63.4			1
53	Syrian Arab Republic	12,348	4,756	58.7			2
54	Belarus	10,212	5,727	58.5			1
55	Morocco	24,334	2,348	57.1			2
56	Peru	21,588	2,622	56.6	1		1
57	Israel	4,660	10,840	50.5			1
58	New Zealand	3,361	13,481	45.3			
59	Dem. People's Rep of Kor	21,774	2,000	43.5			1
60	Singapore	2,705	15,880	43.0			1

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- **Reconstructing Social Capital in a Poor Urban Settlement: the Integrated Improvement Programme, Barrio San Jorge**
• Ricardo Schusterman and Ana Hardoy
• 1996. 25pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7041

- **The Orangi Pilot Project, Pakistan**
• OPP Research and Training Institute
• 1996. 14pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7037

- **The Urban Community Development Office, Thailand**
• Somsook Boonyabanha
• 1996. 9pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7045

- **From Community Development to Housing Finance: from Mutirões to Casa Melhor in Fortaleza, Brazil**
• Yves Cabannes
• 1996. 29pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7046

- **Decentralization and Urban Poverty Reduction in Nicaragua: the experience of the Local Development Programme (PRODEL)**
• Alfredo Stein
• 1996. 27pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7032

- **FONHAPO: the experience of the National Fund for Low Income Housing in Mexico**
• Enrique Ortiz
• 1998. 55pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7040

- **Our Money, Our Movement** (case study of the Women's Credit Union in Sri Lanka)
• Alana Albee and Nandasiri Gamage
• 1996. IT Publications, London. £3/US\$5 Order No.7038

- **Bottom-up Initiatives for Poverty Reduction: an NGO effort in Ga Mashie, Accra, Ghana**
• Anaba J. Annorbah-Sarpei
• 1997. 15pp. £3/US\$5 Order No.7048

**uTshani Buyakhuluma (The grass speaks):
People's Dialogue and the South African
Homeless People's Federation**

Joel Bolnick
1997. 22pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7049

B. OVERVIEWS AND GENERAL WORKS

**Urban Poverty: reconsidering its scale and
nature**

David Satterthwaite
1996. 22pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7033

**Reaching Low-income Groups with Housing
Finance**

Diana Mitlin
1997. 45pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7044

City-based Funds for Community Initiatives

Diana Mitlin and David Satterthwaite
1996. 14pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7039

Another IED working paper of relevance to this
topic is:

**NGO Capacity and Effectiveness: a review of
themes in NGO-related research recently
funded by ESCOR**

Anthony Bebbington and Diana Mitlin
1996. 37pp. £7.50

Order No.7050

More case studies of urban poverty reduction
initiatives will be published during 1999 and 2000.

Two issues of the journal *Environment and
Urbanization* published in 1995 concentrated on
urban poverty:

**Urban Poverty: characteristics, causes and
consequences Volume 7, No.1**

This includes papers on urban poverty in Harare,
Mexico, Dar es Salaam, San Carlos de Bariloche,
Bombay and the rural-urban interface in Tanzania
- and also four general papers, including one by
Robert Chambers considering the links between
poverty and livelihoods. Also two papers on
participatory tools and methods.

1995. ISSN: 0956-2478. 283pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7012

**Urban Poverty II: from understanding to
action Volume 7, No.2**

This includes papers on urban poverty in Abidjan,
Dhaka, Brazil, Nairobi, the Pacific and Khartoum
and also on how municipal interventions can
address poverty. Also papers on how the middle
classes were squeezed in Latin America during the
1980s, on housing markets in La Paz and on Chile's
housing policy. Also, two papers on participatory
tools and methods and a profile of the Orangi Pilot
Project in Pakistan.

1995. ISSN: 0956-2478. 266pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7028



FINANCE FOR HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES

Hi-Fi News

A twice yearly newsletter of the Habitat
International Coalition's Working Group on
Housing Finance and Resource Mobilization. This
provides information about housing finance
projects and programmes in the South and details
of recent publications.

Available at no charge; write to the Human
Settlements Programme at IED or e-mail us on
diana.mitlin@ied.org

Housing Finance and Resource Mobilization

Diana Mitlin (Editor)

This is the report of a second Habitat International
Coalition workshop on housing finance and
resource mobilization held in 1996. The workshop
brought together 20 professionals and
practitioners working within the field of loan
finance for housing and neighbourhood
developments in low-income settlements. Case
studies of housing finance programmes from
South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Philippines,
Thailand, India, Argentina, Colombia and Brazil
were presented and the experience of those taking
part allowed the discussions to draw on a much
wider range of projects and programmes.

1996. 97pp. £8 (free to Southern NGOs and Southern
teaching Institutions) Order No.7034

WORKING PAPERS ON HOUSING FINANCE

A new series of working papers was launched in
1998. The first two are:

**Micro-finance of Housing: A Key to Building
Emerging Country Cities?**

Bruce Ferguson
forthcoming 1998

Order No.7052

SPARC's work with HUDCO

Sheela Patel and Randi Davis
forthcoming 1998

Order No.7053

Two papers in the Urban Poverty Reduction series
are also on housing finance:

**FONHAPO: the experience of the National
Fund for Low Income Housing in Mexico**

Enrique Ortiz

1998. 55pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7040

**Reaching Low-income Groups with Housing
Finance**

Diana Mitlin

1997. 45pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7044

Other papers in the Urban Poverty Reduction
series, listed in the previous section, and the
publications in the next section on Funding
Community Initiatives also have material on micro-
finance for housing and basic services.

FUNDING COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

Funding Community Initiatives

Silvina Arrossi, Felix Bombarolo, Jorge E. Hardoy, Diana Mitlin, Luis P. Coscio and David Satterthwaite

Despite four decades of development planning, at least one third of the urban population of Africa, Asia and Latin America remain poor. Over 600 million live in "life and health threatening" homes and neighbourhoods because of poor housing and inadequate or no piped water, sanitation and health care. But as the shortcomings of governments and development programmes become more apparent, the untapped abilities of low-income groups and their community organisations to develop their own solutions are increasingly recognised. This book analyses the conditions necessary for successful community initiatives and includes 18 case studies of intermediary institutions (most of them Third World NGOs) who provide technical, legal and financial services to low-income households for constructing or improving housing. Many also work with community organisations in improving water, sanitation, drainage, health care and other community services.

1994. Earthscan, London. ISBN: 1-85383-204-9. 190pp. £14.95/US\$25 (half price for non-OECD orders).

Also available in Spanish

Order No.5072

Funding Community Level Initiatives

A special issue of the journal *Environment and Urbanization* Volume 5, No.1

This contains case studies of funding initiatives by local groups in Bombay, Karachi, Mexico City, San José and South Africa with overviews of funding systems for community development and for shelter improvements. Also, a description of the work of the Cooperative Housing Foundation in Central America and of the Settlements Information Network Africa, and a paper on environmental problems in the river Magdalena (Colombia) by Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

1993. ISSN: 0956-2478. 190pp. £10/US\$18 Order No.7008

One paper in the *Urban Poverty Reduction* series is also on funding community initiatives:

City-based Funds for Community Initiatives

Diana Mitlin and David Satterthwaite

1996. 14pp. £3/US\$5

Order No.7039



HEALTH AND HOUSING

Urban Health in Africa

Sarah J. Atkinson and Alfred Merkle

This discusses the main environmental and occupational health issues and the provision of health care services in urban areas in Africa. It includes case studies of initiatives to improve environmental health and health care. It draws on the experience of over 50 health professionals who took part in a workshop organised by GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) and the World Health Organization on "Urban Health in Africa" in November/December 1993.

1994. ISBN 0956-347-79X. 71pp. £6/US\$10.80 Order No.7018

The Poor Die Young; housing and health in Third World cities

Jorge E. Hardoy, Sandy Cairncross and David Satterthwaite (Editors)

This book describes the main health problems confronting low-income groups in cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the ways in which most such problems can be solved quickly and cheaply.

"The authors concentrate on detailed analyses of cities... they consider innovative schemes for dealing with the problems, the needs of the people and how they could be met. In a fascinating chapter, they peer into the future and see what might happen if no changes are made in governmental and aid agencies' approaches and what could be achieved if lessons are drawn from present failures." *The Guardian*

"This volume shows hundreds of examples of self-help, in cities as diverse as Allahabad, Rio de Janeiro and Khartoum. There, people are improving their health by upgrading their neighbourhoods, in ways that are far cheaper and more enduring than any of the large-scale projects advocated by planners and engineers trained in the western model." *New Statesman and Society*

"A well structured collection of essays concerning health, its relation to environmental conditions among the urban poor, and the kinds of innovative, low-cost improvements that can and have been adopted both by governments and deprived communities themselves."

Development in Practice

1990. Earthscan, London. ISBN: 1-85383-019-4. 309pp. £13.95/US\$23 (half price for non-OECD orders) Ord. No.5121

Health and Wellbeing in Cities

A special issue of the journal *Environment and Urbanization* Volume 5, No.2

This includes case studies from Accra, Jakarta and Lusaka, a study in Khulna (Bangladesh) on the impact of ill-health on household income and nutrition, and papers reviewing the impact on health of urban environments and women's needs and priorities for water and sanitation. Also, a description of a violence prevention programme and a paper on what makes "a healthy city". Also a guide to the literature on health in cities, a profile of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights and Feedback on the Community Assistance Service (Praja Sahayaka Sewaya) in Sri Lanka.

1993. ISSN:0956-2478. 219pp. £10/US\$18 Order No.7009

The April 1994 issue of *Environment and Urbanization* on **Service Provision in Cities** also contains case studies of innovative ways of addressing urban health problems. *Volume 6, No.2*

1994. ISSN: 0956-2478. 240pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7011

• HOUSING AND HOUSING RIGHTS

• Both 1997 issues of the journal *Environment and Urbanization* were on housing issues:

• **Tenants: addressing needs, increasing options**

• *Environment & Urbanization Volume 9, No.2*

• This includes papers on rental accommodation and tenants' organisations in Goiania (Brazil), Cape Town and Durban (South Africa), Howrah (India), Lima (Peru), Cochabamba (Bolivia), Nairobi (Kenya), San Salvador (El Salvador) and central areas in Latin American cities. Also a paper on provision for sanitation in tenant areas in Nairobi. Papers in the feedback section on: new models for aid agencies in the search for shelter; translating NGO successes into government policies; growing up in cities; urbanization and caregiving; evictions and relocations in Lagos; greening small recycling firms in Calcutta; and appraising a low-income housing programme in Kenya.

• 1997. ISSN: 0956-2478. 360pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7047

• **The Struggle for Shelter**

• *Environment & Urbanization Volume 9, No.1*

• This includes papers on the struggle for shelter in Dakar, Fortaleza, Lima, Hyderabad (Pakistan), Buenos Aires, the United States and South Africa and a photo-essay on Mexico. Also, papers on: *The Big Issue* and other street papers for the homeless; what determines vulnerability to floods in Georgetown; the use of existing data to understand inequalities in health; experiences with participatory action research for children of the urban poor; and the experience of Sharan in developing financial services for the urban poor in India.

• 1997. ISSN: 0956-2478. 293pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7043

• **Squatter Citizen: life in the urban Third World**

• *Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite*

• This describes the vast and complex process of urban change and considers its impact on the lives of its poorer citizens. Boxes intersperse the text to illustrate points made and also tell stories of how a squatter invasion was organised or how communities in illegal settlements organised their own defence or worked together to improve conditions.

• "... a book which should enjoy wide appeal: as a plea for adoption of the 'popular approach'; as a text for student use; and as an accessible and stimulating guide to the urban problems of developing countries..." *Progress in Human Geography*

• "... one of the best contemporary statements of what is occurring in the growth of urban places in the Third World." *Environment and Planning A*

• "... a very readable book, containing a lot of well documented information. The book is especially relevant for interested lay people but many a professional can also benefit by having it on the bookshelf..." *Third World Planning Review*

• 1989. Earthscan, London. ISBN: 1-853830929-8. 374pp.

• £13.95/US\$23 (half price for non-OECD orders)

• Order No.5148



• **From Housing Needs to Housing Rights: an analysis of the right to adequate housing under international human rights law**

• *Scott Leckie*

• The right of all people to affordable, secure and healthy housing has been legally recognised since the adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This report documents how governments in both the North and the South have failed to adopt the policies and legislation necessary to ensure their citizens' housing rights are respected. It describes the growing movement worldwide to press governments to respect the right to housing and advises on how to combat housing rights violations (eg. opposing forced evictions and demanding action for the homeless) by showing where housing rights exist, which governments are bound by law to respect them and how such rights can be enforced and protected.

• 1992. ISBN: 0-905347-78-1. 109pp. £9.95/US\$17.50 (half price for non-OECD orders) Order No.7014

• **Evictions**

• *A special issue of the journal Environment and Urbanization, Volume 6 No.1*

• This includes an overview of evictions worldwide and case studies on evictions in Bangkok, Manila, Karachi, Durban, Rio de Janeiro, Lhasa and Israel. Also papers on health in Nairobi's illegal settlements, urban agriculture in Harare, and sustainable cities and China. There are also profiles of the Urban Resource Centre in Karachi and the Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions.

• 1994. ISSN: 0956-2478. 222pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7010

• **Service Provision in Cities**

• *A special issue of the journal Environment and Urbanization, Volume 6 No.2*

• This includes papers on a community-directed basic service programme in Guatemala City; a programme to stop violence against women and children in Cebu; the promotion of community-based approaches to urban infrastructure in Nigeria; community mobilization for obtaining land tenure and services in Ouagadougou; and a sanitation programme in Dhaka. Also papers on setting a new agenda for sexual and reproductive health and rights; household-level environmental problems in São Paulo; and waste-picking in Bangalore. Also a profile of the Carvajal Foundation and Feedback articles on action plans for sustainable communities and on the decline of the urban management system in South Africa.

• 1994. ISSN: 0956-2478. 240pp. £12/US\$21 Order No.7011

URBAN CHANGE AND RURAL-URBAN INTERACTIONS

Beyond the Rural-Urban Divide

A special issue of the journal *Environment and Urbanization*, Volume 10 No.1

This includes papers that document how recent and current economic changes affect migration patterns and rural-urban resource transfers in Botswana, Mexico, Senegal, South Africa and Zimbabwe and how gender and household organisation influences migration patterns. There is also a guide to the literature and papers on: the inter-dependence between small towns and their surrounding areas in Zimbabwe; who gains and who loses in the intense competition for land on the edge of Manila; and health risks associated with natural resource production in peri-urban areas. The Feedback section has papers on street and abused children in Egypt; women-vendors in Port-au-Prince (Haiti); housing policies in Egypt and poverty reduction in urban areas.

1998. ISSN:0956-2478. 298pp. £12/US\$21. Order No.7051

The Scale and Nature of Urban Change in the South

David Satterthwaite

This paper draws on the most recent census data and on other national studies to show how the growth rates for many cities and most urban populations slowed down considerably during the 1980s. During this decade, many of the South's largest cities had more people moving out than in. The paper shows how population growth rates among cities in the South are not unprecedented and how several cities in the North are among the world's fastest growing cities. The paper also shows how most of the world's largest cities are heavily concentrated in the largest economies and how only a very small proportion of the world's population lives in "mega-cities".

1996. 30pp. £2/US\$3

Order No.7030



Small and Intermediate Urban Centres: their role in regional and national development within the Third World

Jorge E. Hardoy and D. Satterthwaite (Editors)

Most of the Third World's urban population either lives in or depends on small and intermediate sized urban centres for access to goods, services and markets. Yet most urban research has concentrated on large cities. In response to the increasing interest shown by governments in special programmes for intermediate size cities, this book seeks to provide a better understanding of how economic, social and political forces shape urban systems and thus affect the development prospects of small and intermediate size urban centres. Five chapters report on the findings of empirical studies on the role of small and intermediate size urban centres in regions in Argentina, the Sudan, Nigeria and North and South India. There are also chapters reviewing the literature on this subject and reviewing the scale and nature of government policies towards smaller urban centres.

"...until now, there has not been a comprehensive review of the factors behind the growth and stagnation or decline of smaller urban centres and the policy implications that follow. Hardoy and Satterthwaite's book will fill that void" *Cities* 1986. Hodder and Stoughton (London, UK) and Westview (USA). ISBN: 0-340-38075-6. 421pp. £15/US\$27 (this book is close to selling out and when it does, a high quality xeroxed copy with ring binding will be available for the same price) Order No.7019

Outside the Large Cities: annotated bibliography and guide to the literature on small and intermediate urban centres in the Third World

Silvia Blitzer, Julio Davilla, Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite

Detailed annotations of 170 published works on small and intermediate urban centres, drawn mainly from a review of 53 journals. Each annotation aims to give the reader a clear idea of the scope and key conclusions of the original work. The annotations are divided into those dealing with urban case studies and those dealing with broader aspects such as migration, settlement patterns and trends, productive organisation and government strategies and plans. The bibliography also has four indexes: by author, nation, city and source.

1988. 168pp. £11.50/US\$20.70 (half-price for non-OECD orders) Order No.7013

ENVIRONMENT AND URBANIZATION

A journal that concentrates on urban and environmental issues in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Its coverage includes housing, infrastructure and services, health, poverty reduction, community action and sustainable development. One of the most widely read (and cheapest) journals in its field, *Environment and Urbanization* is written for both a specialist and a general audience.

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Most articles are written by researchers, NGO staff and other professionals from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Its subscribers include over 700 universities or training institutes and over 650 NGOs in the South, as well as most major universities and development agencies in Europe and North America.

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ENVIRONMENT AND URBANIZATION – BACK ISSUES

Sustainable Cities Revisited

Vol. 10, No.2, (to be published in October 1998)

Beyond the Rural-Urban Divide

Vol. 10, No.1, 1998, 298pp. £12 Order No.7051

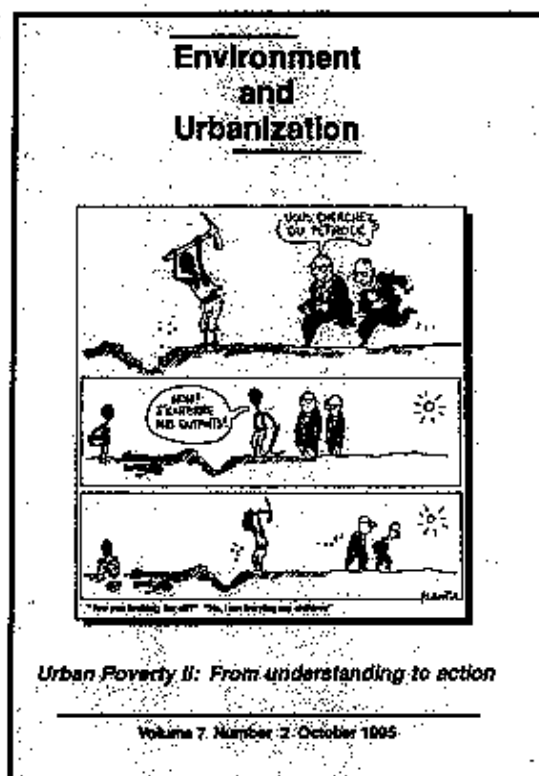
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Vol. 9, No. 2, 1997, 360pp. £12 Order No.7047

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Vol. 9, No. 1, 1997, 293pp. £12 Order No.7043

* Available as a high quality, ring-bound photocopy of the original, since the original print run has sold out



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Vol. 8, No. 2, 1996, 241pp. £12 Order No.7035

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Vol. 8, No. 1, 1996, 288pp. £12 Order No.7037

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Vol. 7, No. 2, 1995, 266pp. £12 Order No.7028

Urban Poverty: characteristics, causes and consequences

Vol. 7, No. 1, 1995, 283pp*. £12 Order No.7012

Service Provision in Cities

Vol. 6, No. 2, 1994, 240pp*. £12 Order No.7011

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Vol. 6, No. 1, 1994, 222pp. £12 Order No.7010

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Vol. 5, No. 2, 1993, 219pp. £10 Order No.7009

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Vol. 5, No. 1, 1993, 190pp*. £10 Order No.7008

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Vol. 4, No. 2, 1992, 238pp. £10 Order No.7007

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Beyond the Stereotype of Slums; how poor people find accommodation in Third World cities

Vol. 1, No. 2, 1989, 128pp. £10 Order No.7001

Environmental Problems in Third World Cities

Vol. 1, No. 1, 1989, 101pp. £10 Order No.7000

PARTICIPATORY TOOLS AND METHODS

RRA Notes 21: special issue on participatory tools and methods in urban areas

Although *RRA Notes* is a publication series on participatory tools and methods that concentrates on rural and agricultural development, this special issue looked at the use of such tools and methods in urban areas. It included case studies from Sri Lanka, Mexico, Ghana, Zambia, Ethiopia, Lusaka and Argentina as well as general papers.

Published as part of the series *Notes on Participatory Learning and Action (PLA Notes - formerly RRA Notes)* by the Sustainable Agriculture Programme, IIED.

1995: ISSN 1357-938X. 110pp. £8/US\$13 Order No.6090

Since April 1995, each issue of the journal *Environment and Urbanization* has also had two papers on participatory tools and methods and their use in urban areas

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- Developing housing finance schemes that reach and benefit low income households
- A review of initiatives to improve conditions for tenants

The Programme edits and publishes the twice-yearly journal *Environment and Urbanization* and coordinates the Housing Finance Network for Habitat International Coalition which includes publishing its twice-yearly newsletter. It also works closely with IIED-América Latina in Buenos Aires.

**International Institute for
Environment and Development
3 Endsleigh Street
London
WC1H 0DD, UK**

**Tel: (+44 171) 388 2117
Fax: (+44 171) 388 2826
E-mail: humansiied@gn.apc.org
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