



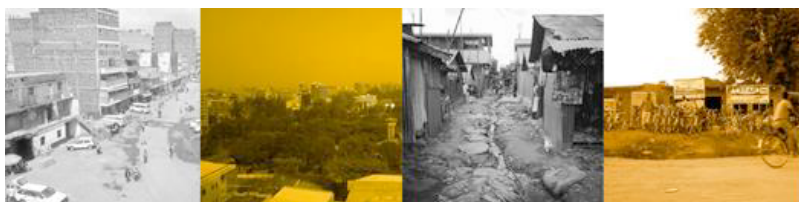
Background Paper: The current and potential development impact of sub-Saharan Africa's cities

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Images: James Millington, landscapemodelling.net

## The current and potential development impact of sub-Saharan Africa's cities

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## Introduction

The main urban issue that sub-Saharan Africa is facing is a rapid growth in its urban population (or in the population of particular cities) without the urban governance structures in place that can manage this. Without competent, effective and accountable urban governments, it is not possible to tap the great potential that cities have for supporting good living conditions and good health. So the issue is not accelerating population growth in the major cities (or among the urban population) because available data suggests that almost all countries and large cities actually have decelerating growth rates. It is not that urbanization is happening without economic growth; the evidence for this is weak. In addition, there is a strong association between countries' per capita GDP and level of urbanization. Most of the region's largest cities are in its largest economies. Growth in levels of urbanization track growth in the proportion of the GDP generated by industry and services (almost all of which are in urban areas) and growth in the proportion of the economically active population working in industry and services.<sup>2</sup> However, as described in more detail later, the lack of data (especially censuses) and the doubts about the accuracy of some censuses hinder any precise consideration of urbanization and large cities. This report uses the latest (2014) United Nations dataset on urbanization and on large city populations<sup>3</sup> and many of the tables (including those at the end of this report) are drawn from or based on this source. But this reports that the most recent census data it has are for 1970 for Angola, 1975 for Somalia, 1984 for Congo DR and Eritrea, 1988 for Mauritania, 1991 for Guinea Bissau, 1993 for Gabon and Madagascar, 1996 for Congo and Guinea and 1998 for Cote D'Ivoire. Many other nations have their most recent censuses in the years 2001-2003. So for at least 18 countries including many of the largest population countries, there is no census data for more than a decade for many and no census data for two or more decades for some. For the most populous nation, Nigeria, census data are considered unreliable.

But what is evident is the very large annual increment in the urban population (and in the population of most major cities) that comes mainly from natural increase. This should not be a problem – but it is where metropolitan, city and municipal governments lack the legitimacy and capacities to fulfil their responsibilities – for infrastructure, services, land-use management and accountability to their citizens (including decisions about funding priorities). Most cities in sub-Saharan Africa have very limited revenue bases – and so depend on national government and international agencies for needed funding. But most national governments have been reluctant to fund urban initiatives or urban governments, sometimes for political reasons (e.g. most members of parliament with rural constituencies) and sometimes for spurious reasons (for instance the belief that cities are parasitic or that very little poverty is in urban areas). International funding agencies have also given a low priority to addressing urban problems and the lack of capacity among urban governments in the region.

This helps explain why large sections of Sub-Saharan Africa's urban population face very large health burdens associated with urban poverty, including very high infant and child mortality rates and large and easily prevented health burdens for children, adolescents and adults. The causes include very poor quality and over-crowded living conditions and the lack of provision for safe water, good quality sanitation, health care, schools and emergency services. These in turn are linked to the inadequacies in local governments who often refuse to work with those living in informal settlements, even as these house half or more of the population of many African cities.

In some aspects, sub-Saharan Africa's urbanization bears comparison with Latin America in the 1960s – rapid urban growth from both high rates of natural increase and net rural to urban migration, massive deficits in infrastructure and increasing proportions of their city populations in informal settlements. What changed this in Latin America was political pressure from citizens and

civil society groups to return to democracy and to have elected city governments including mayors with strong commitments to local development. This was supported by changes in resource allocations that increased local government investment capacity and professional competence. The extent of progress in this still varies and there are new challenges to face – but deficits in basic infrastructure (piped water, sanitation, drainage) and services (health care and schools) have come down. Many city governments have invested heavily in upgrading informal settlements. Many have also taken steps to increase local revenue generation. This points to some issues relevant to sub-Saharan Africa, especially the importance of changes driven in city governments by citizen and civil society. It is beyond the scope of this paper to venture more into this – but there are promising initiatives in many sub-Saharan African nations where national and city federations of slum/shack dwellers are working with local governments in upgrading, house construction and improved services. These are showing new ways to address development issues that are rooted in each local context and work within existing resource availabilities.<sup>4</sup>

## Background

Sub-Saharan Africa's urban population is estimated at 294 million inhabitants in 2010;<sup>5</sup> it was just 19 million in 1950. In 2010, it had one mega-city (Lagos with 10.8 million inhabitants) two very large cities (Kinshasa with 9.4 million and Johannesburg with 8.0 million), 15 large cities with 2-4.9 million and 123 cities with 250,000-1.99 million. 140.7 million urban dwellers in the region lived in urban centres with less than 250,000 inhabitants including a substantial proportion in urban centres of less than 20,000 inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 1: Distribution of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population in different size categories of urban centres in 2010**

	Proportion of the population living in urban centres with:							
	Under 20,000	20,000-49,999	50,000-249,999	250,000-499,999	0.5-1.99 million	2-4.99 million	5 -9.99 million	10 million +
Number of urban centres				60	63	15	2	1
Population	140.7 million			21.0 m	59.7 m	44.5 m	17.4 m	10.8 m

The countries with the largest number of cities of 250,000+ inhabitants in 2010 were:

- Nigeria: 42
- Democratic Republic of the Congo: 15
- South Africa: 12
- Cameroon: 6
- Somalia, United Republic of Tanzania: 5
- Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique: 4
- Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia, Zimbabwe: 3

However, not surprisingly, the nations with the most large cities are generally those with the largest economies. Using World Bank figures for GDP (constant 2005 US\$) for 2010, almost all the nations mentioned above are in the top ten largest economies in sub-Saharan Africa (Ethiopia is the exception – being within the top ten economies but with less than 3 cities). South Africa and Nigeria are much the largest economies – and have nearly two fifths of all the large cities. For countries that are not within the top ten largest economies but have 3 or more cities with 250,000+ inhabitants in 2010: Ghana is 12<sup>th</sup>, Zambia 14<sup>th</sup> and Mozambique 19<sup>th</sup>. Zimbabwe is an outlier with three large

cities but with the 28<sup>th</sup> largest economy but this reflects its economic decline and political instability. For Somalia, there were no figures for the size of its economy. The key point here is that there is an economic logic to where large cities grow and develop. There may be particular circumstances that are not underpinned by an economic logic – for instance the many migrants to a city coming there fleeing persecution or conflict and the immigrants (legal and illegal) that flow across borders during crises and add to city populations. But these too generally head for the more economically successful cities. The correspondence between nations' per capita incomes and levels of urbanization is discussed later in the paper.

Table 9 lists all the urban centres in sub-Saharan Africa that were thought to have 300,000 plus inhabitants in 2015 with Table 10 listing their population growth rates by decade and Table 12 listing the annual average increment in their populations by decade. It is worth noting how many of these cities had their fastest population growth rates during the 1950s to the 1970s. But one reason for this is that as a city's population becomes very large, the population growth rate slows because the city's population at the beginning of the period (the denominator in the calculation of the growth rate) is so large. This is why Table 12 has been included as this gives the increment in that city's population per year by decade. However, even if population growth rates were generally lower than in previous decades, what is also notable is how rapid population growth is for more than half of the cities in the decade 2000-2010. 32 had population growth rates of 6.0% a year during this decade and another 50 had population growth rates of between 4 and 5.9 % per year.

Tables 2 and 3 below show the contrasts in the fastest growing cities 2000-2010 by their population growth rate and the increment in their populations. This highlights how a very large city can have a relatively low population growth rate yet also a very large increment in its population. Very few of the 25 cities with the largest annual increment in their population 2000-2010 are in the 25 cities with the highest population growth rates (only Abuja, Ouagadougou, Luanda and Yaoundé).

In most nations, most of the fastest growing cities in recent inter-census periods are relatively small. This is evident from Table 3 but it would be even more so if there were population statistics for smaller urban centres. Analyses of the inter-census population growth rates of all urban centres in a country usually shows a number of urban centres with very rapid growth rates – some even exceeding 10 percent a year. These typically coincide with some particular investment there – for instance a mine or natural gas exploitation. Some of the most rapidly growing small cities are service centres in regions with high value crops.

If we look at these 144 cities – the largest cities in sub-Saharan Africa in 2010, there are some obvious points

- How small most of them were in 1950; only one (Johannesburg) had more than a million and only six others had more than 250,000; over 50 of them had 20,000 or less inhabitants
- The scale of the transformation in size; cities with populations growing more than 100-fold since 1950: Nouakchott, Uvira, Lilongwe, Nnewi, Matola and Uyo. Most of the cities listed in Table 10 had populations growing between 20fold and 100fold in this sixty years
- If we take an annual average growth rate for a city of 10 percent a year to signify very rapid population growth, there are many instances of this (see Table 10) but most are in the period 1950-60, 60-70 and 70-80; none of the 144 cities had a growth rate exceeding this for 2000-2010.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 2: The cities of over 300,000 inhabitants with the fastest population growth rates 2000-2010**

NB These are the 25 fastest growing cities for the period 2000-2010 drawn from the United Nations 2014 dataset that includes all cities with 300,000+ inhabitants in 2010. But because all population statistics for 2015 are based on projections, the period 2010-2015 was not included.

Country or area	Urban Agglomeration	Population (thousands) in 2010	Population growth rate 2000-2010
Cameroon	Mbouda	226	9.2%
Nigeria	Abuja	1,814	9.0%
Nigeria	Lokoja	322	8.9%
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	1,914	8.5%
Benin	Abomey-Calavi	541	8.2%
South Africa	Rustenburg	290	7.9%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Bunia	346	7.8%
Cameroon	Loum	262	7.7%
Guinea	Nzérékoré	253	7.3%
Nigeria	Nnewi	562	7.2%
United Republic of Tanzania	Mwanza	621	6.8%
Ghana	Sekondi Takoradi	532	6.8%
Rwanda	Kigali	1,044	6.8%
Nigeria	Uyo	631	6.8%
Côte d'Ivoire	San Pedro	260	6.7%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Goma	355	6.7%
Ethiopia	Mekele	249	6.7%
Nigeria	Umuahia	434	6.7%
Ghana	Tamale	366	6.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Uvira	332	6.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Tshikapa	518	6.6%
Nigeria	Ikorodu	531	6.5%
Angola	Luanda	4,508	6.3%
Cameroon	Yaoundé	2,349	6.3%
Angola	Lubango	281	6.3%

Thus, while Lagos is reported to have a population growth rate of 4.5% per year during the period 2000 to 2010, its population grew by 350,000 persons per year during this decade. Johannesburg's population grew by 4% a year for this same decade but this meant 239,000 people a year. For city governments struggling to ensure basic infrastructure and services, it is the size of the increment in population rather than the population growth rate that is the biggest challenge. The smaller cities with high population growth rates still have relatively small increments in their populations.

**Table 3: The cities with over 300,000 inhabitants with the largest increment in their populations, 2000-2010**

Country or area	Urban Agglomeration	Population (thousands) 2010	Annual increment in population (thousands) 2000-2010
Nigeria	Lagos	10,781	350
Democratic Rep. of the Congo	Kinshasa	9,382	324
South Africa	Johannesburg	7,992	239
Angola	Luanda	4,508	192

United Republic of Tanzania	Dar es Salaam	3,870	160
Côte d'Ivoire	Abidjan	4,150	112
Kenya	Nairobi	3,237	102
Cameroon	Yaoundé	2,349	100
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	1,914	99
Nigeria	Abuja	1,814	98
Senegal	Dakar	2,929	90
Cameroon	Douala	2,361	87
Ghana	Kumasi	2,010	82
Mali	Bamako	1,933	79
Nigeria	Port Harcourt	1,816	73
Madagascar	Antananarivo	2,021	66
Zambia	Lusaka	1,719	65
South Africa	Cape Town	3,345	63
Nigeria	Kano	3,221	62
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mbuji-Mayi	1,598	59
South Africa	Pretoria	1,666	58
Nigeria	Ibadan	2,814	58
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Lubumbashi	1,642	55
Congo	Brazzaville	1,574	55
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	2,919	54

Very few cities have accelerated growth (i.e. an increase in the rate of growth of their level of urbanization). Table 10 shows the annual average population growth rates for each decade between 1950 and 2010. Accelerated growth would mean that population growth rates would be increasing by decade but as this table shows, most had among their slowest population growth rates in the decade 2000 to 2010, compared to the other decades.

## Assessing the urbanisation process and its social, political and economic benefits

Sub-Saharan Africa is often singled out as an example of a region where particularly rapid urban growth (or urbanization) is taking place without economic growth. Certainly, this region has some of the world's fastest growing cities over the last fifty years and many African nations have had little economic growth in recent decades. But one of the main reasons why urban change has been so rapid in recent decades is that it began from such a small base. This is especially the case for the many nations in which the European colonial powers kept down urban populations by imposing restrictions on the rights of their national populations to live and work in urban centres. The removal or weakening of the colonial apartheid-like controls on population movements was one of the reasons why urban populations grew so rapidly just before or after the ending of colonial rule.<sup>8</sup> For instance, urban growth dynamics over the last 50 years in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) cannot be understood without taking into account the profound impact of controls on people's movement imposed by white minority regimes on the composition and growth of cities.<sup>9</sup> See in Table 14 the very low rate of change for the level of urbanization in South Africa from 1950 to 1980-85 and how it increased sharply after that, with the lifting of long-applied restrictions on African urbanisation in 1986 and then the ending of the apartheid government. The

fact that the country became an increasingly popular destination for refugees and migrants from other African nations also boosted the level of urbanization.<sup>10</sup> The period when Tanzania urbanized most rapidly was when apartheid like controls were removed. In some countries, a considerable part of the migrant flows to cities in the transition between colonial rule and independence or after independence was women and children joining their husbands/partners who were living and working in urban areas – because this had not been permitted under colonial rule.<sup>11</sup>

Another reason for rapid urbanization was the achievement of political independence. Newly independent governments had to build the institutions of governance that nation-states need and also to expand the higher education system that had been so undeveloped under colonial rule. This obviously boosted growth in the urban centres that were the main political and administrative centres. Many commentators view the rapid growth of sub-Saharan African cities over the last 60 years as a serious problem. But if a large part of this rapid change is related to political independence and the removal of highly discriminatory controls on the right of the population to move freely, it also has positive aspects.

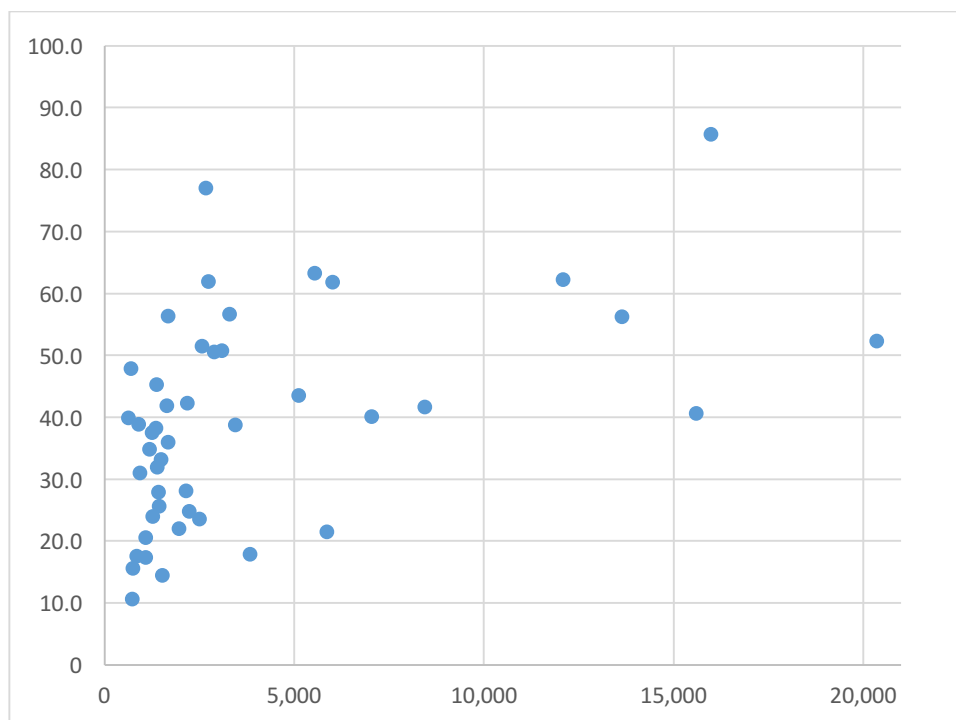
The World Bank and various other commentators have suggested that sub-Saharan Africa is unusual because it has been urbanising rapidly without economic growth.<sup>12</sup> “Unlike in developed countries where urbanization was accompanied by economic boom, the reverse has been the case in Africa”<sup>13</sup>

But for many nations in this region, the lack of any recent census or any other accurate information on the size of their urban populations makes it impossible to make such a claim. As noted in the introduction, many sub-Saharan African nations have had no census for 10-20 or more years.<sup>14</sup> These include some large populations such as Angola (most recent census data available is from 1970), Congo DR (1984) and Madagascar (1993). The most recent census in Nigeria is considered unreliable.<sup>15</sup> Different estimates for the current populations of the region’s two largest cities (Lagos and Kinshasa) vary by several million inhabitants.

Thus, there is uncertainty for several nations as to urbanization trends during the 1990s and for a larger set of nations for trends 2000-2010. So changes in urbanization levels in sub-Saharan Africa for the 1990s and for 2000-2010 have to rely on estimates and projections for urban populations in many nations

**Figure 1: Level of urbanization against per capita GDP, 2010**





Notes: Level of urbanization – United Nations 2014. GDP per capita, PPP in 2010 (constant 2011 international \$) <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.KD>

Figure 1 shows that there is an association between per capita GDP and level of urbanization although with quite a wide range of levels of urbanization for those with low per capita GDPs. However, one wonders how this would change if there were recent census data for all nations – and if allowance was made for the differences in how urban centres or urban populations are defined.

The studies that have claimed an association between rapid urbanization and stagnant economies do not have the data to support this. With no census data available, levels of urbanization for 2000 and 2010 are estimated by assuming that rates of change in levels of urbanization from the 1970s or 1980s continued during the 1990s. But the economic and political underpinnings of rapid urbanization in the 1970s were probably not present or much weaker during the 1990s. There are also indications that rates of increase in levels of urbanization have slowed down in much of sub-Saharan Africa and that, contrary to the World Bank's belief, the nations that have urbanised most are generally those with the best economic performance.<sup>16</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa also has very few of the world's largest cities.

Sub-Saharan Africa does have examples of cities growing rapidly without economic growth, because they become the destination of large numbers of people fleeing wars or civil unrest. For instance, millions of people fled to urban areas in Angola, Mozambique and the Sudan during civil wars during the 1980s and 1990s, just as they had done in Zimbabwe during the liberation struggle of the 1970s. Many African cities in nations without civil conflict have their populations boosted by immigrants fleeing civil strife. When peace is established, the links between economic change and urban change often return. For instance, in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe, there was significant out-migration from some cities when conflict ended.<sup>17</sup> If peace and economic stability is established in DR Congo (formerly Zaire), many cities or refugee camps in neighbouring countries will lose population.<sup>18</sup>

Turok and McGranahan (2013) review the various papers that have claimed that sub-Saharan Africa urbanized rapidly without economic growth and find them wanting – or without credible data.<sup>19</sup>

They also note the need to look more carefully at the nature and different forms of economic growth and the different ways that cities can support it. They also draw on a more recent World Bank source that gives a very different interpretation on urbanization. This confirmed a relationship between urbanization and economic growth in 15 of the 24 African countries examined over the period 1990–2003.<sup>20</sup> It also showed that national growth stemmed from urban industries, supporting the idea of cities as growth generators. In a fuller report, the author concluded that:

“Africa cannot simply be characterized as ‘urbanization without growth’, and the term does not even fit many of the countries. The economic growth that has taken place in the past decade derives mainly from urban-based sectors (industry and services), and this is especially true of the better-performing economies. But cities have clearly not lived up to their productive potential because of widespread neglect and bad management.”<sup>21</sup>

There is also the disagreement about the scale of the “middle class” in the region. This has obvious implications for urban populations in that most of the middle class live and work in urban areas and their demand for goods and services help underpin urban prosperity. The African Development Bank that claimed that Africa had a rapidly growing middle class used an absolute definition of per capita daily consumption of \$2-\$20 in 2005 PPP US dollars to define the middle class. But setting the lower boundary at \$2/person/day means this greatly overstates the size of the middle class as US\$2/person/day even adjusted for PPP is not sufficient for middle-class consumption. Indeed, in many urban locations, the costs of non-food needs are so high that large numbers of people with incomes of \$2-3 per person per day still live in poverty and face deprivation.

## Urban Poverty

Poverty lines are widely used in sub-Saharan Africa to establish the amount of money an individual or household requires to meet their needs. But the setting of poverty lines in the region tends to focus on food costs (or the income needed to achieve a certain level of food consumption) and to give little attention to non-food needs. This is problematic for urban populations in that they have to pay for a wide range of goods and services including housing, transport to and from work and access to water and toilets and these and other costs can be particularly high in larger or more prosperous cities. Some nations resort to using the World Bank dollar a day poverty line (in 2015, it was reset at \$1.90/day ppp; this had the same real value as the \$1.25 line set in 2005). But this too makes little allowance for non-food needs and so where the costs of non-food needs are high, this poverty line has no validity.

There has also been a reluctance among poverty specialists (most of whom focus on rural areas) to accept this and this has led to some amazing nonsense statistics including that there is almost no urban poverty in Kenya.<sup>22</sup> Some detailed studies in particular cities have highlighted how much official poverty lines or \$1.25/day poverty lines understate the cost of non-food needs because of the unrealistically low amounts assigned to non-food needs.<sup>23</sup>

Table 4 gives examples of the proportion of the urban population or of a particular city’s population with low poverty line incomes – but caution is needed in interpreting this in that there are large differences in how poverty is defined and measured,

**Table 4: Levels of urban poverty where some allowance is made for non-food needs**

Nation	Poverty line as a multiple of ‘minimum food basket’ costs	Percent of urban population below the poverty line
Burkina Faso (1998)	1.0	16.5

Cameroon (2001)	1.54	17.9 (10.9 for Douala; 13.3 for Yaoundé)
Democratic Rep. of Congo (2006)	1.24	61.5
Ethiopia (2005)	1.96	70.0
Gambia (1998)	1.66	13.4 (Greater Banjul), 32.5 (other urban)
Ghana (1998/99)	1.29	19.4 (3.8 in Accra)
Ivory Coast (1998)	1.7	
Kenya (2005/6)	1.98	34.4
Liberia (2007)	2.09	55.0
Madagascar (1999)	1.21	52.1
Malawi (2007)	1.61	25.4
Mozambique (2003)	1.43	51.6
Tanzania (2000/01)	1.37	17.6-25.8
Zambia (1998)	1.44	56.0
Zambia (2004)	1.43	53.0

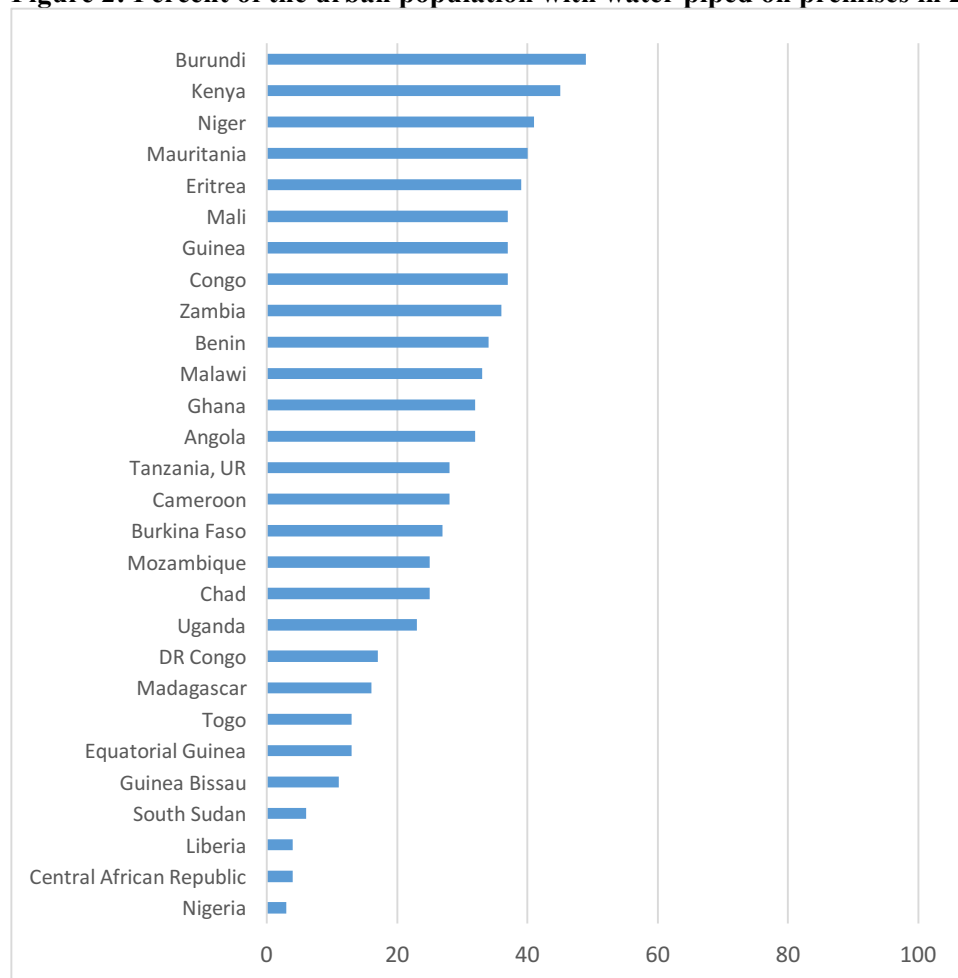
Source: Mitlin, Diana and David Satterthwaite (2013). *Urban Poverty in the Global South; Scale and Nature*, Routledge, London

## Provision for water and sanitation

The scale of the inadequacies in provision for water and sanitation in sub-Saharan Africa is staggering.<sup>24</sup> In many countries there has been no progress in expanding provision and in around half of all countries in the region, provision has declined. For the whole region, in 2015, only a third of the urban population has water piped on premises, down from 43 percent in 1990. South Africa is the most notable outlier with 92 percent of its urban population with water piped to premises and a high proportion with sewer connections. This is also a nation with functioning city governments that have increased the proportion of the population with good quality water and sanitation

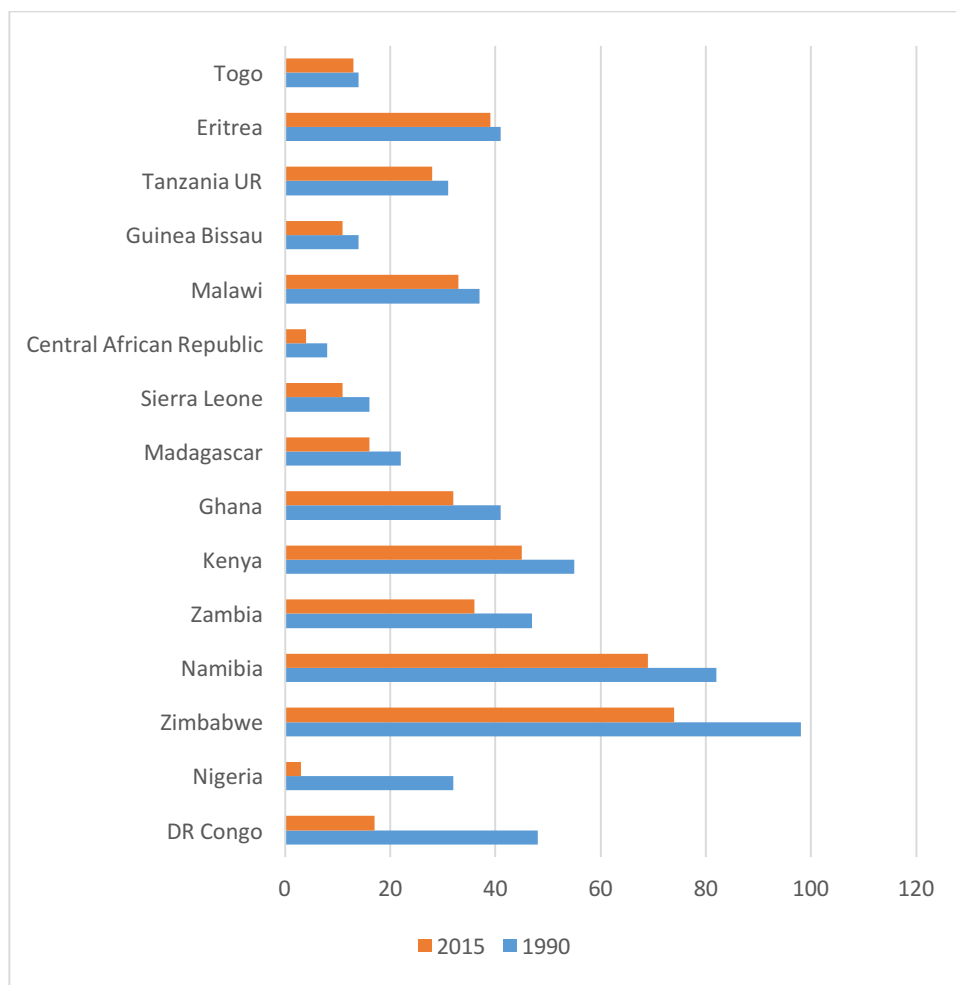
Worldwide, most of the countries with the lowest proportion of their urban population with water piped on premises are in sub-Saharan Africa (see figure 2), Note how in Nigeria only 3 percent of the urban population is reported to have water piped on premises.

**Figure 2: Percent of the urban population with water piped on premises in 2015**



Most of the countries with a lower proportion of their urban population with water piped on premises in 2015 compared to 1990 are in sub-Saharan Africa (see figure 3). For sanitation, most cities in the region have no sewers, including many cities with several million inhabitants. Or if they have sewers, these cover only a small proportion of their urban population. South Africa is the exception in this.

**Figure 3: Percent of the urban population with water piped on premises in 1990 and 2015**



The official UN statistics on provision for water and sanitation are known to under-state the problem. The only recent data on water and sanitation for most nations comes from a few questions asked to a nationally representative sample of households, within surveys whose main purpose is to collect demographic and health data. It is not possible to ascertain whether a household has adequate provision for water or sanitation from a few questions, especially when households rely on a range of water sources. Asking a household if it has access to piped supplies close by does not establish if the water is of adequate quality or if the supply is regular or if access is easy (there may be a tap close by but it is often shared with hundreds of other people so long queues are common). Asking a household if they have access to an 'improved' toilet is no indication of whether the toilet is adequate or available or used by all household members (for instance toilets may be on the premises but with some inhabitants – for instance tenants – having limited access). It is also likely that most household surveys under represent the population living in illegal settlements in cities – because those administering the surveys are frightened to undertake interviews there. This is why the official UN statistics are so careful to state that their statistics (which draw heavily on these household surveys) do not reveal who does and does not have 'adequate' provision or safe drinking water. There are no data for most nations in sub-Saharan Africa on who has piped water that is safe and regular.

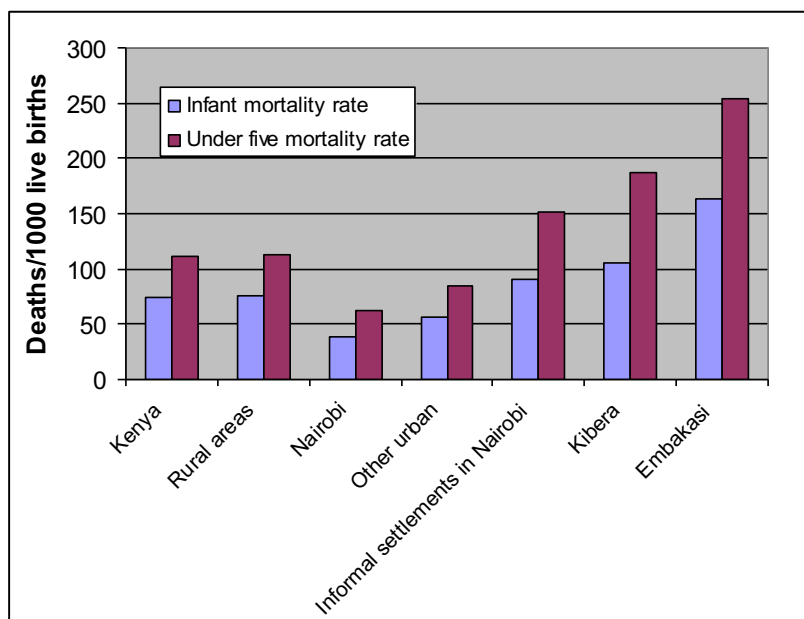
## Urban development and health

Well governed cities are generally places with high life expectancies and low levels of premature death (for instance among infants, children and mothers). But this depends on there being good

quality and universal provision for safe, sufficient water, good quality sanitation, regular solid waste collection, drainage, health care, and schools and policing. There are agglomeration economies for most of these i.e. it is cheaper to reach each household with these in most urban contexts. There is also often a greater willingness to pay in urban areas. But provision for most of these is very inadequate for much of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa. This is especially the case in informal settlements and it is common for half or more of city populations to be in such settlements. It is as high as 80 percent in Dar es Salaam. Although some informal settlements have managed to get some provision for infrastructure and services, for most of the population in informal settlements these are lacking or very inadequate.

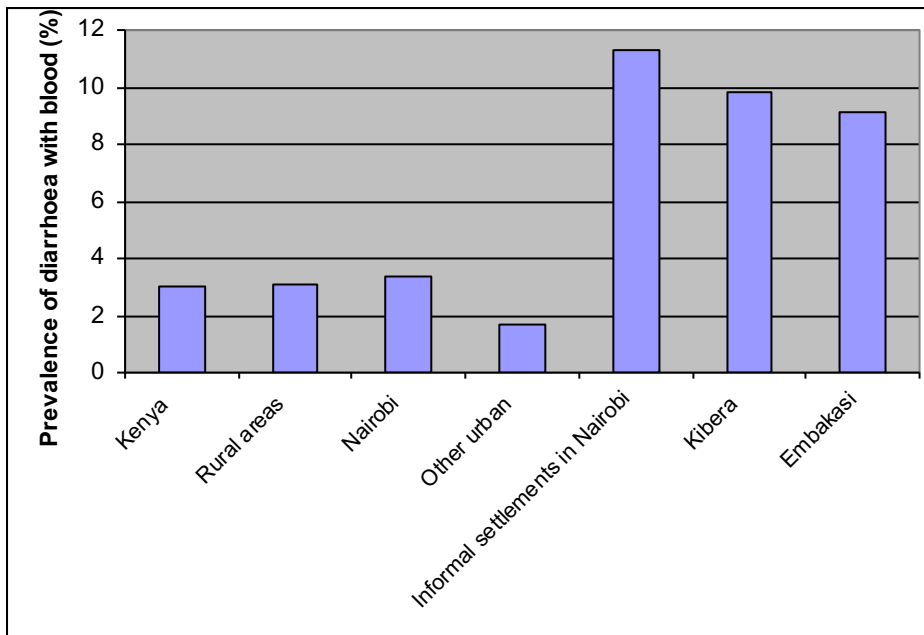
Low-income urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa generally have much worse health than middle and upper-income groups. A high proportion die at an early age, mostly from diseases or injuries that can and should be easily prevented. This can be seen in the large differences in, for instance, life expectancy at birth or in infant (0 to 1 years old), child (1 to 4), under-5 and maternal mortality rates between income groups. Many of those who have inadequate incomes also face much larger risks of debilitating injury or illness. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate this for Nairobi showing differentials in under-five mortality rates and the prevalence of serious cases of diarrhoea between informal settlements in Nairobi, and rural and urban areas.<sup>25</sup>

**Figure 4: Infant and under-five mortality rates comparing Nairobi, rural and urban areas in Kenya and informal settlements in Nairobi**



Source: Derived from statistics in APHRC 2002. The data for Kenya, rural areas, Nairobi and other urban are from the 1998 Demographic and Health Survey. The survey of informal settlements was done in 2000

**Figure 5: Prevalence of diarrhoea with blood in children under 3 in two weeks prior to interview in Nairobi, rural and urban areas in Kenya and informal settlements in Nairobi**



Source: Derived from statistics in APHRC 2002

The nations with the highest under-five mortality rates among their urban populations have 20 times the rates of the urban populations in nations with the lowest under-five mortality rates.

International comparisons between cities can also show a 20-fold difference in under-five mortality rates, although less data are available for cities. Of course, the differentials would be even larger if the comparison was between the districts in cities in high-income nations with the lowest under-five mortality rates and the districts in cities in low-income nations with the highest under-five mortality rates. Here, under-five mortality rates can be as low as 2 or 3 per 1000 live births in the best performing cities or city districts and 250 plus in the worst performing city districts.

Given how obvious the multiple threats to health in informal settlements are, there are surprisingly few studies of illness, injury and premature death in such settlements. Some of the reasons for this are the disinterest within national governments and international agencies in urban poverty (and more broadly in urban issues) and the difficulties of collecting data in settlements for which there are no maps and addresses (and where the population may be reluctant to be interviewed or even hostile to external interviewers).

One of the exceptions to this lack of studies comes from the work of the African Population and Health Research Centre – as shown by the data already presented in Figures 4 and 5. This Centre's work in Nairobi has included a study of two large informal settlements to quantify the burden of mortality<sup>26</sup> and to show how its causes change by age-group. Data were collected between January 2003 and December 2004 from Korogocho and Viwandani on core demographic events, including deaths and causes of death. Years of Life Lost due to premature mortality were calculated by multiplying deaths in each subcategory of sex, age group and cause of death, by the Global Burden of Disease standard life expectancy at that age. The overall mortality burden per capita was 205 years of life lost due to premature mortality per 1,000 person years. Among the leading causes of death were communicable, perinatal, maternal and nutritional causes, which accounted for 77 per cent of the mortality burden. Injuries accounted for another 13 per cent and non-communicable diseases accounted for 10 per cent. Children under the age of five years had more than four times the mortality burden of the rest of the population, mostly due to pneumonia and diarrhoeal diseases. Among the rest of the population (5+ years), AIDS and tuberculosis combined were the

leading contributors (about 50% of the mortality burden). Interpersonal violence (homicide) was the second most common contributor, followed by road traffic accidents. It is worth noting how almost all the contributors to mortality noted above would not be present in middle- or upper-income residential areas in Nairobi, except perhaps road traffic accidents.

In terms of life expectancy at birth, there is a 30 year difference between the reported life-expectancies at birth of the best performing and worst-performing cities in low- and middle-income nations.<sup>27</sup>

No recent reliable data were found on differentials within city populations on life expectancy at birth, but it would be expected that high-income groups in the cities in table 5 would have life expectancies at birth of 15 to 25 years above the city average and 20-30 years above the average for the low-income population. High under-five mortality rates are the primary reason for these very low life expectancies at birth, although far above average mortality rates for older age groups are also common-

**Table 5: Estimates for life expectancies at birth for cities in sub-Saharan Africa**

LIFE EXPECTANCIES	CITIES
Cities with life expectancy at birth below 50 years	Lilongwe, Conakry, Banjul, N'Djaména Kigali
Cities with life expectancy at birth between 50 and 55 years	Brazzaville, Libreville, Bujumbura Nouakchott, Monrovia, Maseru, Kinshasa
Cities with life expectancy at birth between 55 and 60 years	Nairobi, Abidjan, Porto-Novo, Lomé Bamako, Dakar

SOURCE: UN Habitat 2008

Table 6 gives examples of sub Saharan African nations with high average under-five mortality rates within their urban populations. These are all the more astonishing since in all these nations, most middle and upper income groups live in urban areas and will generally experience much lower under five mortality rates (often under 10 per 1,000 live births). So these averages for nations' urban populations can hide the extent of the problem faced by low-income urban dwellers. For many of the nations listed below, it is likely that under five mortality rates would be two to three times these averages in 'slums' and informal settlements – so in many of the nations listed, it would be common for one child in four living in such settlements to die before their fifth birthday. For Nairobi, Kenya, as reported already, in 2000, under-five mortality rates were 150 per 1,000 live births in its informal settlements (where over half the population live) and 61.5 for Nairobi as a whole.<sup>28</sup> For Kisumu, Kenya's third largest city, the under-five mortality rate average for the whole city was reported at 220 per 1000 live births in 2008<sup>29</sup> (which puts it at more than twice the average for Kenya's urban population (and its rural population).

**Table 6: Examples of high under five mortality rates among national urban populations**

Urban under five mortality rates (per 1,000 live births)	Nations and year of survey
Over 150	Chad 2004, Sierra Leone 2008, Burundi 1987, Mali 2006
100 to 150	Mozambique 2003, Niger 2006, Liberia 2009, Burkina Faso 2003, Guinea 2005, Zambia 2007, Central African Republic 1994-95, Cote D'Ivoire 1998/99, Congo Democratic Republic 2007, Nigeria 2008, Cameroon 2004, Benin 2006, Uganda 2006, Malawi 2010, Mauritania 2000/01, Congo/Brazzaville 2005, Swaziland 2006/7, Togo 1998



50 to 99	Ethiopia 2005, Tanzania 2010, Gabon 2000, Rwanda 2007/8 interim, Lesotho 2004, Eritrea 2002, Ghana 2008, Kenya 2008/09, Sao Tome and Principe 2008/09, Senegal 2008/09, Zimbabwe 2005/06, Madagascar 2008/09, Namibia 2006/07, Botswana 1988
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SOURCE: Drawn from data from the Demographic and Health Surveys, using Statcompiler (<http://www.statcompiler.com/>)

In most countries listed in Table 6 for which there are more than one survey, under five mortality rates have come down. However, there are many nations where under-five mortality rates for urban populations rose between surveys. Some of the largest include Kenya (75 in 1993, 94 in 2003), Namibia (50 in 2000, 60 in 2006/07), Nigeria (108 in 1999, 153 in 2003), Tanzania (120 in 1996, 142 in 1999) and Zimbabwe (53 in 1988, 69 in 1999 and 64 in 2005/06). Antai and Moradi (2010) show how the under-five mortality rate among the urban population in Nigeria was much higher in 2003 (at 142 per 1000 live births) than it had been in 1998, 1993, 1988 or 1983; indeed it was nearly three times what the rate had been 1984–1988.

The health risks noted above impacting on infants and young children also impact on children above five and beyond. For the period through adolescence to adulthood, to this are added the risks associated with sex and with work; in some cities, also risks associated with violence. In informal settlements, older children and adolescents often face many serious health risks that should not be there. Patton *et al.* notes how few studies have examined health risks for adolescents, in part because adolescence is considered “a healthy time of life.”<sup>30</sup> Much of the mortality among older children, adolescents and young adults is preventable – as shown by the dramatic differences in the mortality rates of such groups both within cities (when informal settlements are compared to other areas) and between cities. But this is often hidden as the very basic data needed on mortality by age group, by income and by district of a city (to inform a health policy) is absent.

The study mentioned earlier on the causes of premature mortality in young children in two informal settlements in Nairobi<sup>31</sup> also showed how health risks change over time as children get older with injuries and HIV becoming more important. Leading causes of mortality for residents over the age of five were HIV, tuberculosis, violent injuries and road traffic injuries which represented more than two-thirds of this age group’s years of life lost to premature mortality. The very low life expectancies at birth for many cities in sub-Saharan Africa reported above is known to relate in large part to high mortality rates for adolescents and adults from HIV/AIDS and from the lack of treatment available to those who are HIV-positive or other diseases to which populations with HIV are vulnerable (especially tuberculosis).

HIV/AIDS with its associated health problems is one of the leading causes of adult mortality in many cities, although this is due not so much to the infection as to the lack of access to the drugs and associated treatments that prolong life and limit the infection’s health impacts. Although there is a lack of consistent and reliable data on the geography of HIV/AIDS infection in sub-Saharan Africa, it is accepted that in most nations, levels of HIV infection are *usually* higher in urban areas than rural areas and with large urban areas having the highest HIV prevalence.<sup>32</sup> The HIV epidemic impacts most on the poorest, youngest and least powerful sections of the population who are unable to avoid, mitigate the effects of or leave unsafe relationships.<sup>33</sup>

It is likely that the differentials in maternal health (and maternal mortality) would be as dramatic as the differentials in infant and child health (and mortality) if data were available. The World Health Organization reports that 99 percent of all maternal deaths are in low- and middle-income countries; more than half occur in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>34</sup> The maternal mortality rates for the two Nairobi

informal settlements, for the period January 2003 to December 2005, was 706 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births.<sup>35</sup>

It is common for one-third of all urban children to be stunted in nations in sub-Saharan Africa – see Table 7. A study of ten nations in sub-Saharan Africa showed that the proportion of the urban population with energy deficiencies was above 40 per cent in all but one nation and above 60 per cent in three – Ethiopia, Malawi and Zambia.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 7: Percentage of urban children stunted**

Percentage of urban children stunted	Nations
Over 35 percent	Malawi 2010
30-34.9 percent	Zambia 2007, Benin 2006
25-29.9 percent	Sao Tome and Principe 2008-09, Nigeria 2008, Niger 2006, Tanzania 2010
20-24.9 percent	Congo Democratic Republic 2007, Sierra Leone 2008, Kenya 2008-09, Mali 2006, Liberia 2007, Uganda 2006, Namibia 2006-07
15-19.9 percent	Swaziland 2006-07, Ghana 2008

NB These are drawn from Demographic and Health Surveys or other survey data that is freely available and reported on <http://statcompiler.com/>. These are figures for the proportion of children borne in the previous three years whose height-for-age was below -2 SD. Stunting is associated with chronic malnutrition. On statcompiler, there is more detail available including data on the proportion of children who are under-weight (low weight-for-age) that reflects a combination of chronic and acute malnutrition and wasted (low weight-for-height; also known as acute malnutrition).

As with infant and child mortality rates, there are large differentials in most cities in the prevalence of severe malnutrition between wealthy and poorer areas. A household survey in two low-income settlements in Cape Town in 2002 found that more than 80 per cent of households had insufficient food, and more than 70 per cent reported hunger; the responses to questions about the types of food eaten, also showed diets lacking in meat, eggs, fruit and vegetables.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from studies on under-nutrition, studies of morbidity (illness and injury) among low-income groups or within the settlements where most residents have inadequate incomes are even rarer than those on mortality – although there are some studies on the physical hazards that contribute much to injuries for children.<sup>38</sup>

Some studies show how quickly nutrition suffers when one household member becomes ill. A study of urban areas in Cote d'Ivoire shows that the average decline in households' incomes when a household member becomes ill with AIDS is 52-67 per cent; 'Meanwhile household health expenditure quadruples and food consumption declines by 41 per cent'<sup>39</sup>. In Accra, focus groups identified significant livelihood shocks and the most frequent among these is the loss of income from a primary income earner through death, abandonment, illness or accident.<sup>40</sup>

Drawing on available studies, the following generalizations seem valid for urban population in the sub-Saharan Africa<sup>41</sup>

1: *It is common for between a third and two-thirds of an urban centre's population to live in housing of poor quality with high levels of overcrowding in terms of indoor space per person and number of persons per room.* Much of the housing in which lower-income groups live is made in part or totally

from non-permanent, often flammable materials. There are often high levels of overcrowding and very little indoor space per person.

2. *A perhaps surprisingly large proportion of urban dwellers still use dirty fuels* for cooking and, where needed, heating, which also means risks from high levels of indoor air pollution and their severe health impacts. In sub-Saharan Africa, over half the urban population cooks on open fires or inefficient stoves using fuel wood, charcoal or dung.<sup>42</sup> A high proportion of the urban population lack electricity in many countries – see Table 8.

**Table 8: Percent of the urban population without electricity**

(with year of survey)

Country and year of study	% of urban population without electricity
Benin 2006	43.4
Burkina Faso 2003	47.5
Chad 2004	83.3
Congo (Brazzaville) 2005	49.2
Congo Democratic Republic 2007	63.2
Ethiopia 2005	14.3
Ghana 2003	23.1
Guinea 2005	35.5
Kenya 2003	49.8
Lesotho 2004	73.6
Liberia 2007	92.9
Madagascar 2003/2004	47.3
Malawi 2004	69.6
Mali 2006	52.5
Mozambique 2003	74.9
Namibia 2006/2007	22.4
Niger 2006	52.7
Nigeria 2003	15
Rwanda 2005	74.7
Senegal 2005	19.6
Swaziland 2006	36.6
Tanzania 2004	61
Zambia 2007	52.2
Zimbabwe 2005/06	8.6

Source: Legros, Gwénaëlle, Ines Havet, Nigel Bruce and Sophie Bonjour (2009), *The Energy Access Situation in Developing Countries; A Review Focusing on the Least Developed Countries and Sub-Saharan Africa*, World Health Organization and United Nations Development Programme, New York, 130 pages.

The two most common implications of poverty for energy use among urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa are, first, use of the cheapest fuels and energy-using equipment (including stoves) that often cause high levels of indoor air pollution and fire risk and, second, no access to electricity. Low-incomes may also mean households keep down fuel use – for instance by cutting down on cooked food (in extreme circumstances to one meal a day) or switching to faster-cooking but less nutritious food or greater reliance on street foods.<sup>43</sup>

Having access to electricity at prices that low-income households can afford obviously brings multiple health and other advantages. These include reliable, cheap and safer lighting (compared to

candles and kerosene lamps) and use of appliances (including fridges and, where needed, fans). It also provides advantages for household enterprises (better lighting at night, use of equipment such as electric sewing machines or fridges for food preparation).

*3: Much of the urban population lacks safe, regular, convenient supplies of water and provision for sanitation* – far more so than the official statistics suggest; this is discussed in more detail above

*4: Much of the urban population lack regular (or even irregular) services to collect household waste.* Many live in settlements that lack the paved roads needed to allow conventional garbage collection trucks to provide a door-to-door service. It is common for large sections of middle- or even upper-income groups to have inadequate or no provision. Again, it is likely that the extent of the problem in smaller urban centres is under-estimated, as most existing documentation concentrates on larger urban centres.<sup>44</sup> The environmental health implications of a lack of garbage collection services in urban areas are obvious – most households dispose of their wastes on any available empty site, into nearby ditches or lakes, or simply along streets. The problems associated with this include the smells, the disease vectors and pests attracted by rubbish, and drainage channels blocked with waste. Where provision for sanitation is also inadequate (as it usually is), many households dispose of their toilet waste into drains or dispose of faecal matter within their garbage. Uncollected waste is obviously a serious hazard, especially for children playing in and around the home (and for many playing with items drawn from uncollected garbage), as well as for those who sort through rubbish looking for items that can be reused or recycled.<sup>45</sup>

*5: There are very large health burdens relating primarily to infectious and parasitic diseases and accidents.* This includes large health burdens arising from unsafe working conditions for low income urban dwellers with exposure to diseases, chemical pollutants and physical hazards in the workplace being a significant contributor to premature death, injury and illness (and the obvious economic consequences of these). A considerable part of this occurs within the residential environment, since this is where a significant proportion of low-income people work in most cities.

*6. In many urban locations, there are also large and often growing health burdens from non-communicable diseases.* For instance, cancer, diabetes and strokes are often creating ‘a double burden’ as low-income urban dwellers face large health burdens from communicable and non-communicable diseases.<sup>46</sup> Much more work is needed on understanding the health problems that impact on urban populations (and especially low-income urban populations) disaggregated by age, sex and occupation including the relative roles of non-communicable diseases – and as importantly which non-communicable diseases.<sup>47</sup>

*7. Physical hazards evident in the home and its surroundings are likely to be among the most common causes of serious injury and premature death in informal settlements and other housing types used by low-income urban dwellers<sup>48</sup>* – for example, burns, scalds and accidental fires, cuts and injuries from falls. The health burdens these cause are particularly large where housing is made of flammable materials and where there are high levels of overcrowding and open fires and stoves. Risks of accidental fires are obviously much higher where flammable materials are used for housing and there is a reliance on open fires or unstable stoves for cooking and where needed heating and candles or kerosene lamps for lighting. Large health burdens and high levels of accidental death from physical hazards are also related to the lack of provision for rapid and appropriate treatment, both from health care and from emergency services.

*8. Road traffic accidents are among the most serious physical hazards in urban areas* – although there are no data that separate rural from urban. The World Health Organization reports that about

1.3 million people die each year as a result of road traffic crashes and over 90% of these fatalities occur in low-income and middle-income countries, even though these have less than half of the world's vehicles. Nearly half (46%) of those dying are pedestrians, cyclists and motorcyclists – and these represent up to 80% of all deaths in some low- and middle-income countries. Between 20 to 50 million more people suffer non-fatal injuries, with many incurring a disability as a result of their injury. Children and young people under the age of 25 years account for over 30% of those killed and injured in road traffic crashes. Given that low-income groups will be disproportionately represented among those who walk or cycle, they are also likely to be more at risk from road traffic deaths or injuries. The WHO notes that “Even within high-income countries, people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to be involved in a road traffic crashes than their more affluent counterparts”<sup>49</sup>.

9: *There are also many cities and smaller urban centres, or particular settlements within cities, where levels of outdoor air pollution considerably exceed WHO guidelines – for example, certain centres of heavy industry, mining or quarrying, or cities with high concentrations of motor vehicles with elevated levels of polluting emissions. But there is little or no data for most cities in sub-Saharan Africa.*

10. *But there are also the urban centres where conditions are even worse than the generalizations noted above.* Hundreds of millions of people live in urban centres where at least in terms of public and environmental health there is no functioning government for them - there is no government provision or management for piped water, sewers (or other excreta disposal systems that meet health standards), drains, solid waste collection or the land-use management needed to encourage and support good quality housing. Nor is there pollution control. There is often no or limited public provision for schools and for health care for large sections of the urban population. In many ways they resemble the cities in Europe and North America in the mid nineteenth century before public and environmental health issues were addressed by government; life expectancies and infant and child mortality rates among these groups may today be comparable to those in the mid-nineteenth century cities. We know little about some of the most deficient urban centres as there is little or no documentation. There are examples of the major cities where there is, in effect, no government provision for public or environmental health for most of their population. This can be seen in a website by the International Water Association that has profiles on water and sanitation for many sub-Saharan African cities;<sup>50</sup> Among the cities covered, the following have no sewers or sewers that reach a very small proportion of the population – Addis Ababa, Bamako, Benin, Brazzaville, Dar es Salaam, Douala, Freetown, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kinshasa, Kumasi, Lagos; Lubumbashi, Maiduguri, Mbuji-Mayi, Port Harcourt, Yaounde and Zaria. These are all major cities; all have populations of more than a million and many are much larger than this. Several other cities have reports of sewers serving a small proportion of their population and these were often reported to be in poor repair or no longer functioning. Of course, it is possible to have good quality sanitation in some urban contexts without sewers – but most of the cities named above also have large proportions of their population living in dense informal settlements that do not have provision for (for instance) septic tanks or good quality, easily serviced and emptied pit latrines. A high proportion of households have no toilet in their home.

11: *In the absence of data available in each city or smaller urban centre on what are the most serious environmental health problems and who is most at risk, it is obviously difficult to set priorities – both for action and for research. When this is combined with research and action agendas strongly influenced by external funding and preferences and choices by external professionals, it can lead to*

inappropriate choices. In part, this is because of assumptions that what are important topics in urban areas in high-income nations are also important in urban centres in low-income nations.

12. It is important to consider the impact of disasters on urban populations in the region and who is most at risk and most impacted. There is also a need to consider how climate change is or will change the scale and range of extreme weather events and other changes that impact on city populations and city economies. The impact of both in the sense of hitting low-income groups hardest and in the sense of exacerbating poverty or creating poverty among those who before the disaster were not poor has been greatly under-estimated. In part, this is because most disasters go unrecorded in national and international disaster databases. In part, it is because the metrics used to assess disaster impact do not include many of the impacts that are most relevant to low-income groups – for instance damage to their housing, injury, disruption to their livelihoods and loss of assets.<sup>51</sup>

It is common for informal settlements to develop on dangerous sites such as land prone to flooding or tidal inundation or under water as in Monrovia (Liberia), Lagos and Port Harcourt (Nigeria), Nairobi and Mombasa (Kenya), Accra (Ghana) and many others.<sup>52</sup> Low-income settlements develop on such sites because the land is unsuited for residential or commercial development so those who settle there and build their homes have more chance of avoiding eviction – and these are often chosen because they are also good locations in regard to income-earning opportunities.

## Harnessing urbanisation to broader development goals

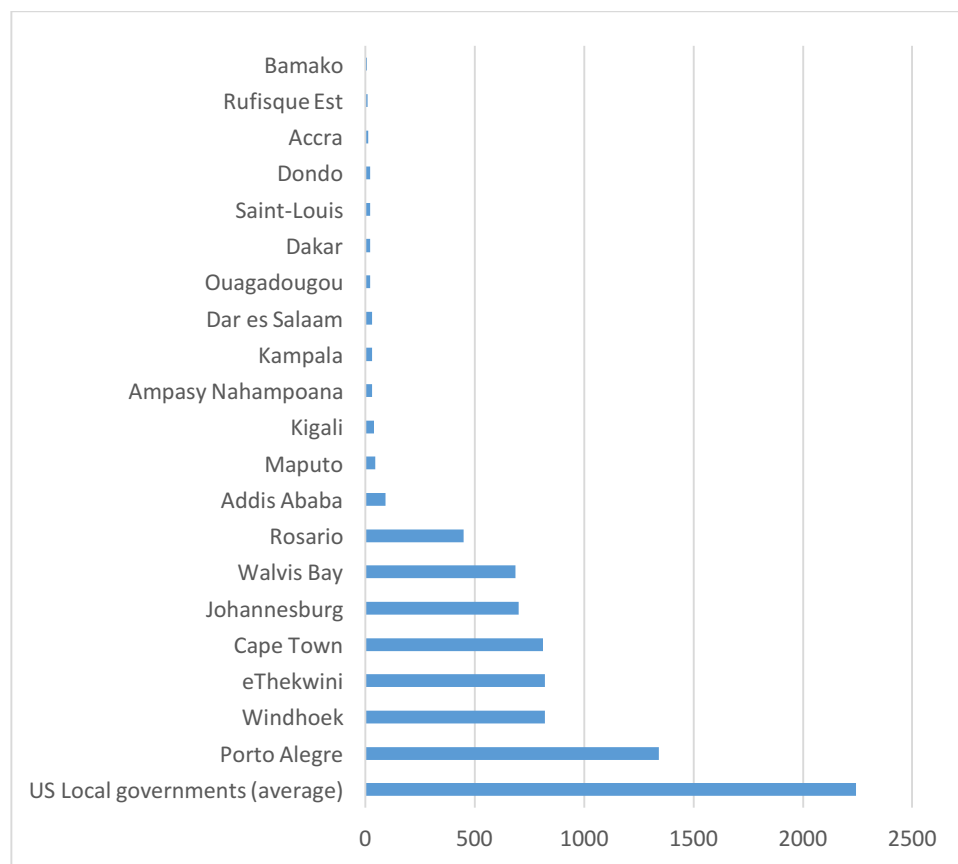
Urbanisation, the increasing proportion of the population of a nation or region living in urban areas, is driven mostly by economic change. As noted in the introduction, increased levels of urbanization track the increased role of industry and services within the economy and the increase in the proportion of the economically active population working in industry and services.<sup>53</sup> There is no wealthy country that is not heavily urbanized and does not have most of its GDP from industry and services. Most of the poorest countries are also the least urbanized countries.

As noted earlier, we do not have the data to assess the links between economic change and urbanization for 2000-2010 for many sub-Saharan African nations and for 1990-2010 for some because of a lack of census data. There are also examples of rural to urban migration or immigration flows to urban centres that have been underpinned by displacement from conflict or extreme weather. These can be significant for particular periods for particular countries – but likely to be the exceptions when considering what underlies all rural to urban migration.

There is now talk of a need for countries to have national urban strategies. But what is more urgent is for national governments and international agencies to consider how they can support more capable and accountable and better resourced city and municipal governments. This will support the potential agglomeration economies for city governments in provision for water, sanitation, drainage, solid waste collection, informal settlement upgrading, health care, schools, the rule of law and much else. (Exactly what innovative Latin American cities have done in the last two decades or more). Ensuring their provision (which may include some that is provided by civil society and public-private partnerships) also makes cities much more attractive to new investment. It also tends to decentralize the urban system as smaller well-governed cities come to compete successfully with the largest cities for new investments. If we look for city governments that are examples of innovation in development, there are dozens of examples in Latin America but very few in sub-Saharan Africa. What is more worrying is the growing number of African cities with hugely ambitious plans to

become the ‘Singapore’ or ‘Dubai’ of their region – and if implemented, this will draw attention away from all the current urgent needs of their populations.<sup>54</sup>

**Figure 6: Comparisons between cities in local government budgets per person**



Source: Drawn from Cabannes, Yves (2015), "The impact of participatory budgeting on basic services; municipal practices and evidence from the field" *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pages 257-284.

At present, there are few signs of national governments in sub-Saharan Africa that are prepared to devolve greater power and a stronger more reliable revenue base to cities. Most cities in the region have almost no investment capacity as most of their limited revenues go on recurrent expenditures. Figure 6 shows just how low city budgets are per person for cities in Africa. The cities of Rosario (Argentina) and Porto Alegre (Brazil) have been included to show the differences in scale for city budgets – these are also two of the most innovative cities in Latin America. The average figure for local governments in the USA is also included. Dondo, Accra, Rufisque Est and Bamako have local government budgets of \$20 or less per person; Kigali, Ampasy Nahampoana, Kampala, Dar es Salaam, Ouagadougou, Dakar and Saint-Louis have less than \$40 per person. Almost all of these meagre budgets are likely to go on recurrent expenditures. Among the cities listed in Figure 6, only in South Africa and Namibia are there African cities with substantial budgets.

There is also the reluctance of national governments to allow external donors to work direct with city governments. This is especially the case where the party in power within the city is not from the same party that controls national (and often regional) government. There is also the importance of working with organizations and federations of the urban poor who are now active in at least 15 nations in sub-Saharan Africa. There are dozens of examples of city governments working successfully with these.

It is misleading to see development interventions as 'rural' or 'urban' that are also competing with each other for resources. A high proportion of the region's rural households get remittances from family members working in urban areas. Urban centres are centres of demand for food and rural resources and often centres for service provision for rural producers and consumers. Prosperous agriculture with high-value crops is often a powerful boost to local urban centres' economies and many of today's largest cities first became wealthy based on this.<sup>55</sup>

Among the most common factors underpinning rapid growth in cities in the region are being capital of a district, region or state within a region that is prospering from agricultural production, mining or mineral extraction or tourism. These are often centres for higher education and major transport centres, including lake, sea or river ports. They may be centres that have sprung up around the exploitation of oil and gas and these may cause conflict between the incoming foreigners and migrants and the local populations.<sup>56</sup> But it is difficult to guess how urbanization will be influenced by the resurgence of many African economies driven by extraction and exporting of primary commodities (especially oil, gas, metals and minerals diamonds and coal) and agricultural products.<sup>57</sup>

Two issues can be highlighted in relation to this. The first is how many adequately paid new employment opportunities are created by these in their locality and generated by producer and consumer demand (and the enterprises that develop to meet these). One example of this is how much the scale of multiplier links from agricultural production on local economies (and urban centres) vary. A high concentration of relatively small prosperous farms provide a strong stimulus to local urban centres whereas large scale farms can provide very little as their multiplier links are with larger more distant cities and city ports. The second issue is how much revenue this generates for national governments and the extent to which this is used to support rural and urban development. There are also the obvious political tensions if the population in the region from which resources are extracted feel that they get little or no benefit from this. Or if the resource extraction is producing environmental problems that might include depleting and contaminating local water resources.



**Table 9: The population of large cities in sub-Saharan Africa 1950-2010**

Country or area	Urban Agglomeration	Population of Urban Agglomerations (thousands)											
		1950	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Nigeria	Lagos	325	762	1,135	1,414	1,890	2,572	3,500	4,764	5,983	7,281	8,859	10,781
Democratic Rep. of the Congo	Kinshasa	202	443	717	1,070	1,482	2,053	2,812	3,683	4,825	6,140	7,589	9,382
South Africa	Johannesburg	1,653	2,137	2,432	2,764	2,975	3,202	3,446	3,709	4,529	5,605	6,726	7,992
Angola	Luanda	138	219	315	459	599	771	1,018	1,390	1,899	2,591	3,533	4,508
Côte d'Ivoire	Abidjan	65	192	310	548	966	1,384	1,716	2,102	2,535	3,028	3,545	4,150
United Republic of Tanzania	Dar es Salaam	84	162	233	357	572	855	1,137	1,474	1,830	2,272	2,927	3,870
South Africa	Cape Town	618	803	945	1,114	1,339	1,609	1,925	2,155	2,394	2,715	3,026	3,345
Kenya	Nairobi	137	293	404	531	677	862	1,090	1,380	1,755	2,214	2,677	3,237
Nigeria	Kano	123	229	343	542	855	1,350	1,861	2,095	2,339	2,602	2,895	3,221
Senegal	Dakar	214	359	473	610	782	957	1,162	1,405	1,688	2,029	2,438	2,929
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	392	519	597	729	926	1,175	1,476	1,791	2,144	2,377	2,634	2,919
Nigeria	Ibadan	450	570	668	809	980	1,186	1,436	1,739	1,993	2,236	2,509	2,814
South Africa	Durban	484	677	761	856	1,019	1,214	1,446	1,723	2,081	2,370	2,561	2,739
Cameroon	Douala	95	153	205	298	433	571	740	940	1,184	1,490	1,876	2,361
Cameroon	Yaoundé	32	75	112	183	292	415	578	777	1,025	1,351	1,781	2,349
Ghana	Accra	177	393	499	631	738	863	1,013	1,197	1,415	1,668	1,854	2,060
Madagascar	Antananarivo	177	252	298	363	454	580	742	948	1,169	1,361	1,561	2,021
Ghana	Kumasi	99	221	279	349	397	452	532	696	909	1,187	1,544	2,010
Mali	Bamako	89	130	158	222	363	489	608	746	910	1,142	1,486	1,933
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	33	59	82	115	167	265	424	537	667	921	1,328	1,914
Nigeria	Port Harcourt	60	135	198	266	358	482	604	680	845	1,091	1,407	1,816
Nigeria	Abuja	19	23	29	48	77	125	204	330	526	833	1,316	1,814
Zambia	Lusaka	31	91	160	278	385	533	636	757	902	1,073	1,356	1,719
South Africa	Pretoria	275	419	488	565	624	688	763	911	951	1,084	1,334	1,666
Guinea	Conakry	31	112	208	388	567	658	766	895	1,045	1,221	1,426	1,666
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Lubumbashi	96	194	251	325	396	482	588	722	887	1,089	1,337	1,642
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mbuji-Mayi	68	136	194	275	337	413	509	640	804	1,011	1,271	1,598
Uganda	Kampala	95	137	222	340	398	469	595	755	912	1,097	1,320	1,594
Congo	Brazzaville	83	124	172	238	329	446	596	704	830	1,022	1,269	1,574
Zimbabwe	Harare	143	248	319	417	532	616	778	1,047	1,255	1,379	1,450	1,475
Somalia (Mogadishu)	Muqdisho	55	94	144	256	445	551	747	1,035	1,147	1,201	1,415	1,426
Nigeria	Benin City	49	83	113	163	233	335	480	689	845	975	1,124	1,296
Mozambique	Maputo	92	181	259	371	456	550	653	776	921	1,019	1,072	1,127
South Africa	Port Elizabeth	192	289	372	477	531	590	662	828	911	958	1,024	1,104
South Africa	Vereeniging	117	187	239	306	372	451	551	743	800	897	989	1,074
Liberia	Monrovia	35	75	121	164	226	325	514	1,042	464	836	1,202	1,056
Rwanda	Kigali	20	34	45	59	90	128	168	219	320	578	857	1,044
Chad	N'Djaména	25	71	109	155	231	324	393	477	579	703	854	1,038
Nigeria	Kaduna	35	99	163	211	293	407	565	785	832	881	933	988
Angola	Huambo	15	37	48	61	95	153	232	326	444	578	751	976
Niger	Niamey	24	58	85	129	198	275	347	438	552	696	816	943
Kenya	Mombasa	94	160	205	254	298	350	407	476	572	683	802	940
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kananga	27	73	98	131	176	236	312	389	485	604	753	938
Sierra Leone	Freetown	92	119	148	206	284	364	466	535	608	690	784	891
Nigeria	Onitsha	74	129	171	195	224	257	294	337	418	533	681	869
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kisangani	38	134	178	235	262	291	330	400	484	586	709	859
Togo	Lomé	33	95	138	192	257	344	414	476	547	629	723	831
Nigeria	Aba	48	102	144	193	258	344	430	484	551	630	721	825
Congo	Pointe-Noire	16	64	89	116	154	217	300	363	439	539	663	815

Mauritania	Nouakchott	3	5	14	38	103	192	304	419	481	553	668	810
Nigeria	Ilorin	114	179	222	268	323	389	457	515	572	633	700	774
Mozambique	Matola	6	19	34	62	111	201	254	319	401	498	615	759
Nigeria	Jos	31	69	103	152	224	331	438	493	547	604	666	734
Malawi	Lilongwe	4	11	17	34	71	124	187	266	362	476	590	731
Central African Republic	Bangui	42	94	142	204	291	347	405	467	520	579	644	717
South Africa	Soshanguve	24	46	64	89	125	174	243	339	472	577	645	710
Malawi	Blantyre-Limbe	14	50	95	140	191	246	304	370	446	529	609	701
Nigeria	Zaria	50	117	182	241	320	423	525	592	625	643	662	682
Benin	Cotonou	20	73	111	163	240	337	412	504	577	642	669	675
Nigeria	Maiduguri	50	88	121	166	218	287	378	499	538	580	625	674
Eritrea	Asmara	67	123	167	201	225	252	289	358	374	449	558	670
Côte d'Ivoire	Bouake	31	49	85	123	177	235	311	382	427	486	572	661
Zimbabwe	Bulawayo	92	133	191	260	328	386	465	570	637	665	670	658
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Bukavu	16	48	81	139	149	159	177	229	296	384	497	643
Nigeria	Uyo	6	13	21	33	51	80	125	194	261	350	470	631
Gabon	Libreville	15	29	49	77	155	234	293	366	439	496	559	631
United Republic of Tanzania	Mwanza	13	24	31	47	79	120	150	192	256	342	460	621
Somalia	Hargeysa	32	52	66	84	107	136	174	224	287	368	473	607
Nigeria	Enugu	60	93	122	159	195	240	295	363	412	467	529	600
Nigeria	Oshogbo	114	178	219	248	281	318	359	407	450	493	540	592
Nigeria	Owerri	12	25	38	56	83	122	180	266	324	395	482	587
Burkina Faso	Bobo-Dioulasso	36	54	69	88	113	157	222	259	298	365	459	577
Nigeria	Nnewi	3	9	14	23	37	60	98	160	219	300	411	562
Burundi	Bujumbura	19	46	71	94	127	167	198	234	278	330	412	556
Benin	Abomey-Calavi	12	21	28	37	49	65	87	116	171	266	386	541
Ghana	Takoradi	57	87	121	165	181	197	216	239	264	294	396	532
Nigeria	Ikorodu	9	49	60	74	91	112	139	174	226	300	399	531
Mozambique	Nampula	83	104	114	125	135	146	182	228	287	354	434	531
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Tshikapa	8	18	26	39	57	85	123	164	218	291	388	518
Nigeria	Warri	16	33	48	69	88	113	144	184	238	307	397	513
Zambia	Kitwe	46	99	145	205	241	283	309	337	350	363	424	500
Djibouti	Djibouti	20	40	50	62	88	126	193	317	368	404	442	485
Nigeria	Sokoto	43	68	85	108	135	169	211	264	306	354	410	476
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kolwezi	31	48	62	82	146	261	418	428	438	448	459	469
South Africa	Pietermaritzburg	90	128	144	161	179	198	221	256	356	409	437	467
Nigeria	Akure	34	59	76	95	118	146	181	225	272	325	389	465
Nigeria	Abeokuta	79	146	194	218	244	273	305	342	371	399	428	460
United Republic of Tanzania	Zanzibar	54	70	77	87	101	118	141	173	223	288	365	456
Zambia	Ndola	31	73	112	167	216	280	306	334	353	373	411	453
South Africa	Bloemfontein	107	144	163	183	207	233	263	295	317	354	400	451
Gambia	Banjul	26	37	45	62	90	123	167	228	288	331	381	438
Mozambique	Beira	42	59	74	94	140	213	259	314	381	418	428	437
Nigeria	Umuahia	13	24	32	42	57	76	101	136	181	243	324	434
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Likasi	48	87	99	150	170	193	220	252	288	330	377	432
Nigeria	Bauchi	24	34	42	57	77	104	140	190	236	284	342	412
Somalia	Merca	31	48	58	68	80	94	116	149	192	247	317	408
Guinea-Bissau	Bissau	18	26	38	55	81	115	146	184	227	275	334	405
United Republic of Tanzania	Arusha	6	14	25	37	47	62	84	120	183	280	356	397
Nigeria	Calabar	44	63	76	93	106	121	138	158	196	244	303	376

Ghana	Tamale	20	41	59	85	101	120	140	159	180	205	274	366
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kikwit	5	27	57	121	130	141	154	183	217	257	304	361
Nigeria	Igbidu	91	114	128	143	160	180	202	226	253	284	319	358
Nigeria	Okene	32	36	38	40	42	45	48	51	118	275	313	357
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Goma	5	16	28	49	58	68	83	111	148	198	265	355
Nigeria	Ogbomosho	133	130	132	134	135	137	139	141	177	222	279	350
Zimbabwe	Chitungwiza	39	62	78	98	124	156	197	249	288	312	333	349
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Bunia	6	13	20	29	37	48	64	89	125	176	247	346
United Republic of Tanzania	Mbeya	4	8	11	20	46	85	110	141	174	213	269	346
Nigeria	Gombe	26	41	51	63	79	99	123	154	189	230	280	342
Nigeria	Ado-Ekiti	20	49	78	123	133	144	155	167	199	237	283	337
Cameroon	Bamenda	9	15	19	24	44	66	97	129	164	208	265	337
Nigeria	Abakaliki	9	28	36	45	57	72	91	115	151	197	257	336
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Uvira	2	5	9	16	28	48	79	105	140	187	249	332
Nigeria	Katsina	45	65	75	87	102	120	141	166	198	235	279	332
Nigeria	Minna	31	51	65	83	106	136	164	183	211	245	285	331
Nigeria	Ondo	31	56	76	102	119	140	164	192	220	251	287	329
Nigeria	Gboko	5	18	30	39	57	84	124	182	211	244	283	328
Nigeria	Lokoja	12	17	21	27	34	43	55	69	102	149	219	322
Nigeria	Oyo	69	86	97	110	125	142	161	183	211	243	280	322
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mbandaka	18	46	71	111	120	129	142	167	196	231	271	319
Namibia	Windhoek	19	36	47	62	75	92	113	139	177	227	268	314
Somalia	Berbera	10	19	26	35	48	65	87	112	144	185	238	306
Somalia	Kismaayo	3	9	15	25	39	59	90	114	145	184	233	296
Nigeria	Ife	107	113	114	115	129	144	161	180	203	230	260	293
Kenya	Nakuru	20	34	42	50	70	97	129	168	194	224	256	293
South Africa	Witbank	15	24	30	38	50	65	86	124	156	182	228	292
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Matadi	60	81	96	113	122	131	143	165	190	219	253	292
South Africa	Rustenburg	14	18	20	22	27	32	38	47	75	146	217	290
Cameroon	Bafoussam	10	24	36	55	61	78	103	129	157	193	236	289
Nigeria	Makurdi	33	48	57	69	83	100	120	144	172	204	242	288
South Africa	East London	89	116	120	125	145	169	194	199	204	227	255	287
United Republic of Tanzania	Morogoro	9	17	22	32	47	69	96	127	156	192	233	282
Nigeria	Effon Alaiye	45	61	71	82	96	112	131	152	178	207	241	282
Niger	Zinder	12	19	27	36	47	66	96	127	145	167	214	281
Angola	Lubango	7	14	21	31	41	54	71	93	123	162	213	281
Nigeria	Okpogho	13	22	28	36	46	59	76	98	126	162	208	267
Cameroon	Loum	5	9	13	18	25	35	49	69	96	134	188	262
Kenya	Eldoret	9	17	19	20	33	54	80	116	141	173	213	261
Côte d'Ivoire	San Pedro	7	13	17	23	32	44	60	81	108	145	194	260
South Sudan	Juba	6	16	27	43	62	76	91	106	127	160	202	255
Guinea	Nzérékoré	9	15	19	24	31	39	52	71	98	134	185	253
Ethiopia	Mekele	14	22	27	34	42	52	65	80	101	139	191	249
Madagascar	Toamasina	34	47	50	57	78	91	107	125	147	173	201	246
Cameroon	Mbouda	5	8	10	13	15	21	31	46	69	102	152	226

NB This table includes all urban centres with 300,000 plus inhabitants in 2015 drawn from United Nations 2014

**Table 10: Population growth rates for large cities, 1950-2010**

Country or area	Urban Agglomeration	Population (thousands) in 2010	Annual average population growth rates					
			1950-60	1960-70%	1970-80	1980-90	1990-2000	2000-2010
Nigeria	Lagos	10,781	9.9%	7.1%	6.9%	7.1%	4.8%	4.5%
Democratic Rep. of the Congo	Kinshasa	9,382	9.1%	10.3%	7.5%	6.7%	5.8%	4.8%
South Africa	Johannesburg	7,992	2.9%	2.9%	1.6%	1.6%	4.7%	4.0%
Angola	Luanda	4,508	5.3%	8.6%	5.9%	6.8%	7.2%	6.3%
Côte d'Ivoire	Abidjan	4,150	12.8%	12.4%	10.8%	4.8%	4.1%	3.6%
United Republic of Tanzania	Dar es Salaam	3,870	7.6%	9.2%	10.2%	6.2%	4.9%	6.1%
South Africa	Cape Town	3,345	3.0%	3.7%	4.2%	3.3%	2.6%	2.3%
Kenya	Nairobi	3,237	8.8%	6.8%	5.5%	5.4%	5.4%	4.3%
Nigeria	Kano	3,221	7.2%	10.0%	10.7%	5.0%	2.4%	2.4%
Senegal	Dakar	2,929	5.9%	6.1%	5.1%	4.4%	4.2%	4.2%
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	2,919	3.2%	3.8%	5.4%	4.8%	3.2%	2.3%
Nigeria	Ibadan	2,814	2.7%	4.0%	4.3%	4.3%	2.8%	2.6%
South Africa	Durban	2,739	3.8%	2.6%	4.0%	4.0%	3.6%	1.6%
Cameroon	Douala	2,361	5.4%	7.7%	7.5%	5.7%	5.2%	5.2%
Cameroon	Yaoundé	2,349	10.1%	10.4%	9.5%	7.2%	6.3%	6.3%
Ghana	Accra	2,060	9.2%	5.4%	3.5%	3.7%	3.8%	2.4%
Madagascar	Antananarivo	2,021	4.0%	4.1%	5.4%	5.6%	4.1%	4.5%
Ghana	Kumasi	2,010	9.3%	5.2%	2.9%	4.9%	6.1%	6.0%
Mali	Bamako	1,933	4.4%	6.1%	9.2%	4.8%	4.8%	6.0%
Burkina Faso	Ouagadougou	1,914	6.7%	7.7%	9.7%	8.2%	6.2%	8.5%
Nigeria	Port Harcourt	1,816	9.5%	7.8%	6.8%	3.9%	5.4%	5.8%
Nigeria	Abuja	1,814	2.3%	8.2%	11.4%	11.4%	10.8%	9.0%
Zambia	Lusaka	1,719	12.6%	13.2%	7.5%	4.0%	3.9%	5.4%
South Africa	Pretoria	1,666	4.8%	3.4%	2.2%	3.2%	1.9%	4.9%
Guinea	Conakry	1,666	15.2%	14.8%	6.1%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Lubumbashi	1,642	8.1%	5.9%	4.5%	4.6%	4.7%	4.7%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mbuji-Mayi	1,598	8.1%	8.1%	4.6%	5.0%	5.2%	5.2%
Uganda	Kampala	1,594	4.1%	10.6%	3.6%	5.4%	4.2%	4.2%
Congo	Brazzaville	1,574	4.5%	7.6%	7.2%	5.2%	4.2%	4.9%
Zimbabwe	Harare	1,475	6.3%	5.9%	4.4%	6.1%	3.1%	0.7%
Somalia	Muqdisho (Mogadishu)	1,426	6.2%	11.8%	8.9%	7.3%	1.7%	1.9%
Nigeria	Benin City	1,296	6.0%	7.8%	8.3%	8.3%	3.9%	3.2%
Mozambique	Maputo	1,127	7.8%	8.3%	4.5%	3.9%	3.1%	1.1%
South Africa	Port Elizabeth	1,104	4.6%	5.8%	2.4%	3.8%	1.6%	1.6%
South Africa	Vereeniging	1,074	5.4%	5.6%	4.4%	5.7%	2.1%	2.0%
Liberia	Monrovia	1,056	8.8%	9.1%	7.9%	13.8%	-2.4%	2.6%
Rwanda	Kigali	1,044	6.3%	6.3%	8.9%	6.1%	11.4%	6.8%
Chad	N'Djaména	1,038	12.5%	9.0%	8.5%	4.4%	4.4%	4.4%
Nigeria	Kaduna	988	12.3%	8.8%	7.6%	7.6%	1.3%	1.3%
Angola	Huambo	976	10.3%	5.6%	10.8%	8.8%	6.5%	6.0%
Niger	Niamey	943	10.0%	9.4%	8.7%	5.3%	5.3%	3.4%
Kenya	Mombasa	940	6.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.5%	4.1%	3.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kananga	938	11.7%	6.8%	6.8%	5.7%	5.0%	5.0%
Sierra Leone	Freetown	891	3.0%	6.3%	6.5%	4.4%	2.9%	2.9%
Nigeria	Onitsha	869	6.3%	4.7%	3.1%	3.1%	5.2%	5.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kisangani	859	14.9%	6.4%	2.4%	3.6%	4.3%	4.3%
Togo	Lomé	831	12.4%	8.1%	6.7%	3.7%	3.1%	3.1%
Nigeria	Aba	825	8.6%	7.4%	6.7%	3.9%	3.0%	3.0%
Congo	Pointe-Noire	815	16.5%	6.8%	7.2%	5.9%	4.5%	4.7%
Mauritania	Nouakchott	810	7.7%	24.5%	19.8%	9.1%	3.1%	4.3%
Nigeria	Ilorin	774	5.2%	4.6%	4.3%	3.1%	2.3%	2.3%
Mozambique	Matola	759	14.0%	14.0%	14.0%	5.3%	5.1%	4.8%
Nigeria	Jos	734	9.2%	9.1%	9.0%	4.6%	2.3%	2.2%

Malawi	Lilongwe	731	11.7%	14.0%	15.3%	8.8%	6.7%	4.9%
Central African Republic	Bangui	717	9.4%	8.9%	6.1%	3.4%	2.4%	2.4%
South Africa	Soshanguve	710	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	6.1%	2.3%
Malawi	Blantyre-Limbe	701	15.2%	12.0%	6.5%	4.6%	4.0%	3.2%
Nigeria	Zaria	682	9.9%	8.3%	6.4%	3.8%	0.9%	0.6%
Benin	Cotonou	675	15.4%	9.4%	8.4%	4.6%	2.7%	0.6%
Nigeria	Maiduguri	674	6.5%	7.3%	6.3%	6.3%	1.7%	1.7%
Eritrea	Asmara	670	7.0%	5.6%	2.5%	4.0%	2.5%	4.6%
Côte d'Ivoire	Bouake	661	5.0%	10.8%	7.5%	5.6%	2.7%	3.5%
Zimbabwe	Bulawayo	658	4.3%	7.7%	4.5%	4.4%	1.7%	-0.1%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Bukavu	643	12.7%	12.6%	1.5%	4.1%	5.9%	5.9%
Nigeria	Uyo	631	9.9%	10.4%	10.3%	10.3%	6.8%	6.8%
Gabon	Libreville	631	7.6%	11.3%	13.2%	5.1%	3.4%	2.7%
United Republic of Tanzania	Mwanza	621	7.1%	7.9%	11.0%	5.3%	6.6%	6.8%
Somalia	Hargeysa	607	5.5%	5.5%	5.5%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%
Nigeria	Enugu	600	5.1%	6.1%	4.7%	4.7%	2.8%	2.8%
Nigeria	Oshogbo	592	5.0%	3.8%	2.8%	2.8%	2.2%	2.1%
Nigeria	Owerri	587	9.2%	9.2%	9.0%	9.0%	4.5%	4.5%
Burkina Faso	Bobo-Dioulasso	577	4.6%	5.6%	6.6%	5.7%	3.9%	5.2%
Nigeria	Nnewi	562	11.6%	11.6%	11.2%	11.5%	7.2%	7.2%
Burundi	Bujumbura	556	10.3%	8.4%	6.6%	3.8%	3.9%	6.0%
Benin	Abomey-Calavi	541	6.5%	6.5%	6.5%	6.5%	9.7%	8.2%
Ghana	Takoradi	532	4.9%	7.4%	2.0%	2.1%	2.3%	6.8%
Nigeria	Ikorodu	531	21.2%	4.7%	4.7%	5.0%	6.3%	6.5%
Mozambique	Nampula	531	2.6%	2.0%	1.7%	5.1%	5.0%	4.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Tshikapa	518	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%	7.6%	6.6%	6.6%
Nigeria	Warri	513	8.4%	8.4%	5.6%	5.6%	5.9%	5.9%
Zambia	Kitwe	500	8.9%	8.4%	3.6%	2.0%	0.8%	3.6%
Djibouti	Djibouti	485	8.0%	5.0%	8.2%	10.8%	2.7%	2.1%
Nigeria	Sokoto	476	5.1%	5.4%	5.1%	5.1%	3.3%	3.3%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kolwezi	469	4.8%	6.1%	13.8%	5.6%	0.5%	0.5%
South Africa	Pietermaritzburg	467	4.0%	2.6%	2.3%	2.9%	5.3%	1.5%
Nigeria	Akure	465	6.4%	5.4%	4.9%	4.9%	4.2%	4.1%
Nigeria	Abeokuta	460	7.1%	4.5%	2.5%	2.5%	1.7%	1.6%
United Republic of Tanzania	Zanzibar	456	3.0%	2.6%	3.4%	4.4%	5.8%	5.2%
Zambia	Ndola	453	10.1%	9.7%	5.9%	2.0%	1.3%	2.2%
South Africa	Bloemfontein	451	3.4%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.0%	2.7%
Gambia	Banjul	438	4.0%	5.9%	7.8%	7.1%	4.2%	3.2%
Mozambique	Beira	437	3.8%	5.3%	9.6%	4.4%	3.2%	0.5%
Nigeria	Umuahia	434	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Likasi	432	6.7%	6.2%	2.9%	3.0%	3.0%	3.1%
Nigeria	Bauchi	412	4.0%	6.0%	7.0%	7.0%	4.6%	4.2%
Somalia	Merca	408	5.0%	4.1%	3.6%	5.3%	5.7%	5.7%
Guinea-Bissau	Bissau	405	3.8%	8.9%	8.5%	5.4%	4.5%	4.4%
United Republic of Tanzania	Arusha	397	10.0%	11.2%	5.8%	7.6%	9.9%	4.0%
Nigeria	Calabar	376	4.1%	4.5%	3.0%	3.0%	4.9%	4.9%
Ghana	Tamale	366	8.2%	8.3%	3.9%	3.2%	2.9%	6.6%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Kikwit	361	20.6%	18.1%	1.7%	3.0%	3.8%	3.8%
Nigeria	Igbidu	358	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%
Nigeria	Okene	357	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%	1.4%	20.6%	2.9%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Goma	355	13.3%	13.3%	3.8%	5.5%	6.7%	6.7%

Nigeria	Ogbomosho	350	-0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	5.2%	5.2%
Zimbabwe	Chitungwiza	349	5.3%	5.3%	5.3%	5.3%	2.6%	1.3%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Bunia	346	8.9%	8.9%	5.9%	7.1%	7.8%	7.8%
Tanzania	Mbeya	346	9.1%	10.3%	17.4%	5.9%	4.7%	5.5%
Nigeria	Gombe	342	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	4.6%	4.5%
Nigeria	Ado-Ekiti	337	10.8%	10.8%	1.8%	1.7%	4.0%	4.0%
Cameroon	Bamenda	337	5.3%	5.3%	11.9%	7.7%	5.5%	5.5%
Nigeria	Abakaliki	336	13.3%	5.3%	5.4%	5.3%	6.2%	6.1%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Uvira	332	13.0%	13.0%	13.0%	9.1%	6.6%	6.6%
Nigeria	Katsina	332	4.2%	3.2%	3.6%	3.7%	3.9%	3.9%
Nigeria	Minna	331	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%	3.4%	3.3%	3.4%
Nigeria	Ondo	329	6.8%	6.8%	3.6%	3.6%	3.0%	3.1%
Nigeria	Gboko	328	15.0%	8.9%	8.9%	9.0%	3.3%	3.3%
Nigeria	Lokoja	322	3.5%	5.6%	5.3%	5.4%	8.9%	8.9%
Nigeria	Oyo	322	2.6%	2.7%	2.9%	2.9%	3.2%	3.2%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mbandaka	319	11.0%	10.3%	1.7%	2.9%	3.7%	3.7%
Namibia	Windhoek	314	7.0%	6.4%	4.4%	4.7%	5.6%	3.7%
Somalia	Berbera	306	7.0%	7.0%	7.0%	6.2%	5.7%	5.7%
Somalia	Kismaayo	296	11.7%	11.7%	10.2%	7.6%	5.4%	5.4%
Nigeria	Ife	293	0.5%	0.2%	2.5%	2.5%	2.8%	2.7%
Kenya	Nakuru	293	6.3%	4.4%	7.7%	6.2%	3.3%	3.0%
South Africa	Witbank	292	5.1%	5.1%	6.3%	7.4%	4.3%	5.4%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Matadi	292	3.5%	3.8%	1.6%	2.6%	3.2%	3.2%
South Africa	Rustenburg	290	2.8%	2.8%	4.0%	4.3%	13.5%	7.9%
Cameroon	Bafoussam	289	9.9%	9.9%	4.0%	5.7%	4.6%	4.6%
Nigeria	Makurdi	288	4.2%	4.2%	4.2%	4.2%	3.9%	3.9%
South Africa	East London	287	2.9%	0.9%	3.4%	1.9%	1.4%	2.7%
United Republic of Tanzania	Morogoro	282	7.1%	7.0%	9.0%	7.1%	4.7%	4.4%
Nigeria	Effon Alaiye	282	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%
Niger	Zinder	281	5.1%	7.0%	7.0%	7.6%	3.1%	6.0%
Angola	Lubango	281	8.7%	8.7%	6.4%	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%
Nigeria	Okpogho	267	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%
Cameroon	Loum	262	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%
Kenya	Eldoret	261	7.2%	1.6%	11.8%	8.8%	4.6%	4.7%
Côte d'Ivoire	San Pedro	260	7.2%	7.2%	7.2%	7.1%	6.7%	6.7%
South Sudan	Juba	255	11.4%	11.4%	6.4%	3.7%	4.8%	5.3%
Guinea	Nzérékoré	253	5.7%	5.7%	5.7%	6.9%	7.3%	7.3%
Ethiopia	Mekele	249	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	6.3%	6.7%
Madagascar	Toamasina	246	3.7%	2.2%	5.3%	3.6%	3.7%	4.0%
Cameroon	Mbouda	226	6.0%	6.0%	5.5%	9.2%	9.2%	9.2%

**Source: United Nations, 2014. This list includes all cities with 300,000+ inhabitants in 2015. As noted earlier, 2010 was chosen as the most recent year to report on here because it is closer to when most of the most recent censuses were taken**

**Table 11: Urban population (thousands) for regions and countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 1950-2010 and projected for 2015-2030**

Major area, region, country or area	Urban Population at Mid-Year, 1950-2050 (thousands)									
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015	2020	2030
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	19,227	32,705	51,356	83,085	132,971	196,869	294,164	359,534	435,433	621,375
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	3,728	6,362	11,587	21,468	35,564	53,484	80,636	101,034	125,611	188,967
<b>Middle Africa</b>	3,660	5,651	8,921	14,465	22,566	34,515	51,883	63,061	76,070	107,747
<b>Southern Africa</b>	5,873	8,278	11,119	14,756	20,539	27,666	34,780	37,813	40,609	45,911
<b>Western Africa</b>	5,966	12,415	19,729	32,396	54,302	81,203	126,864	157,625	193,142	278,751
Angola	314	518	887	1,510	2,644	4,514	7,839	10,052	12,654	18,909
Benin	112	226	485	1,016	1,725	2,664	3,980	4,782	5,709	7,950
Botswana	11	16	54	164	580	934	1,107	1,181	1,266	1,461
Burkina Faso	164	227	323	601	1,217	2,071	3,988	5,349	6,970	10,896
Burundi	40	58	98	179	352	550	982	1,304	1,715	2,829
Cabo Verde	25	35	54	71	155	236	302	333	364	421
Cameroon	417	747	1,375	2,851	4,787	7,254	10,625	12,721	15,078	20,492
Central African Republic	191	302	503	770	1,073	1,369	1,689	1,923	2,204	2,925
Chad	113	201	422	848	1,239	1,796	2,577	3,057	3,678	5,547
Comoros	10	24	45	73	115	148	191	218	249	333
Congo	201	320	522	860	1,295	1,835	2,600	3,054	3,552	4,804
Côte d'Ivoire	262	614	1,476	3,044	4,767	7,024	9,594	11,538	13,666	18,422
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2,327	3,400	4,924	7,136	10,694	16,490	24,838	30,275	36,659	52,251
Djibouti	25	42	99	259	448	553	642	696	751	852
Equatorial Guinea	35	64	78	61	130	201	273	319	372	501
Eritrea	81	137	226	347	517	692	1,181	1,525	1,931	2,953
Ethiopia	834	1,425	2,440	3,669	6,064	9,732	15,084	19,266	24,296	36,907
Gabon	54	87	189	397	655	981	1,334	1,526	1,719	2,122
Gambia	28	45	87	172	351	588	946	1,175	1,432	2,016
Ghana	769	1,547	2,490	3,366	5,331	8,270	12,304	14,583	17,000	22,064
Guinea	208	375	673	1,062	1,687	2,713	3,791	4,589	5,528	7,818
Guinea-Bissau	52	86	103	144	286	467	717	882	1,061	1,444
Kenya	340	597	1,158	2,535	3,927	6,223	9,643	11,978	14,738	21,767
Lesotho	13	30	89	150	223	363	497	579	668	861
Liberia	121	209	369	666	1,165	1,282	1,892	2,238	2,632	3,595
Madagascar	319	543	927	1,620	2,721	4,270	6,730	8,508	10,639	15,955
Malawi	101	155	274	564	1,092	1,654	2,333	2,816	3,443	5,305
Mali	393	564	819	1,245	1,857	2,910	5,034	6,490	8,322	13,089
Mauritania	20	59	167	420	836	1,334	2,046	2,442	2,866	3,774
Mauritius	145	219	347	409	464	506	499	497	499	516
Mayotte	1	4	9	17	33	71	100	110	120	149
Mozambique	224	365	660	1,594	3,392	5,318	7,419	8,737	10,335	14,825
Namibia	65	108	174	254	391	614	907	1,116	1,338	1,790
Niger	124	193	388	784	1,192	1,779	2,791	3,609	4,749	8,473
Nigeria	2,953	6,967	9,969	16,191	28,379	42,810	69,441	87,681	108,711	159,241
Réunion	58	110	192	272	496	662	794	850	900	981
Rwanda	46	76	120	243	391	1,253	2,596	3,581	4,736	7,383
Saint Helena	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sao Tome and Principe	8	10	22	32	51	74	110	132	154	197
Senegal	427	731	1,265	1,992	2,923	3,979	5,469	6,544	7,806	10,998
Seychelles	10	11	20	32	34	40	48	51	53	58
Sierra Leone	244	375	607	948	1,344	1,475	2,200	2,524	2,892	3,766
Somalia	288	477	781	1,630	1,875	2,455	3,590	4,399	5,386	7,977

South Africa	5,778	8,110	10,758	14,081	19,146	25,513	32,012	34,663	37,044	41,450
South Sudan	229	259	315	401	765	1,098	1,775	2,285	2,779	4,083
Swaziland	5	14	43	108	198	241	256	274	294	349
Togo	61	160	450	671	1,083	1,601	2,367	2,866	3,432	4,780
Uganda	145	300	629	945	1,942	2,933	4,925	6,463	8,423	13,952
United Republic of Tanzania	267	528	1,068	2,720	4,813	7,590	12,644	16,528	21,218	33,257
Zambia	273	559	1,272	2,328	3,091	3,515	5,118	6,351	7,895	12,035
Zimbabwe	292	473	904	1,631	3,033	4,221	4,341	4,871	5,504	6,851



**Table 12: Average annual increment in urban population by decade**

Major area, region, country or area						
	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-2000	2000-2010
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	1,348	1,865	3,173	4,989	6,390	9,730
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	263	523	988	1,410	1,792	2,715
<b>Middle Africa</b>	199	327	554	810	1,195	1,737
<b>Southern Africa</b>	240	284	364	578	713	711
<b>Western Africa</b>	645	731	1,267	2,191	2,690	4,566
Angola	20	37	62	113	187	332
Benin	11	26	53	71	94	132
Botswana	0	4	11	42	35	17
Burkina Faso	6	10	28	62	85	192
Burundi	2	4	8	17	20	43
Cabo Verde	1	2	2	8	8	7
Cameroon	33	63	148	194	247	337
Central African Republic	11	20	27	30	30	32
Chad	9	22	43	39	56	78
Comoros	1	2	3	4	3	4
Congo	12	20	34	43	54	76
Côte d'Ivoire	35	86	157	172	226	257
Democratic Republic of the Congo	107	152	221	356	580	835
Djibouti	2	6	16	19	11	9
Equatorial Guinea	3	1	-2	7	7	7
Eritrea	6	9	12	17	17	49
Ethiopia	59	102	123	239	367	535
Gabon	3	10	21	26	33	35
Gambia	2	4	8	18	24	36
Ghana	78	94	88	196	294	403
Guinea	17	30	39	63	103	108
Guinea-Bissau	3	2	4	14	18	25
Kenya	26	56	138	139	230	342
Lesotho	2	6	6	7	14	13
Liberia	9	16	30	50	12	61
Madagascar	22	38	69	110	155	246
Malawi	5	12	29	53	56	68
Mali	17	25	43	61	105	212
Mauritania	4	11	25	42	50	71
Mauritius	7	13	6	5	4	-1
Mayotte	0	1	1	2	4	3
Mozambique	14	30	93	180	193	210
Namibia	4	7	8	14	22	29
Niger	7	19	40	41	59	101
Nigeria	401	300	622	1,219	1,443	2,663
Réunion	5	8	8	22	17	13
Rwanda	3	4	12	15	86	134
Saint Helena	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sao Tome and Principe	0	1	1	2	2	4
Senegal	30	53	73	93	106	149
Seychelles	0	1	1	0	1	1
Sierra Leone	13	23	34	40	13	72
Somalia	19	30	85	25	58	113
South Africa	233	265	332	507	637	650

South Sudan	3	6	9	36	33	68
Swaziland	1	3	6	9	4	2
Togo	10	29	22	41	52	77
Uganda	15	33	32	100	99	199
United Republic of Tanzania	26	54	165	209	278	505
Zambia	29	71	106	76	42	160
Zimbabwe	18	43	73	140	119	12

Table 13: Urbanization level

Major area, region, country or area	Percentage of Population at Mid-Year Residing in Urban Areas, 1950-2030										
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010		2015	2020	2030
<b>Sub-Saharan A.</b>	10.7	14.8	18.2	22.4	27.1	30.8	35.4		37.9	40.4	45.4
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	5.6	7.5	10.5	14.5	17.9	20.6	23.5		25.6	27.9	32.8
<b>Middle Africa</b>	14.0	17.7	22.0	27.5	32.2	36.8	41.5		44.0	46.5	51.5
<b>Southern Africa</b>	37.7	42.0	43.7	44.7	48.8	53.8	59.1		61.6	64.0	68.1
<b>Western Africa</b>	8.4	14.7	18.7	23.6	30.2	34.7	41.6		45.1	48.3	54.1
Angola	7.6	10.4	15.0	19.8	25.6	32.4	40.1		44.1	47.8	54.4
Benin	5.0	9.3	16.7	27.3	34.5	38.3	41.9		44.0	46.3	51.3
Botswana	2.7	3.1	7.8	16.5	41.9	53.2	56.2		57.4	58.9	62.2
Burkina Faso	3.8	4.7	5.7	8.8	13.8	17.8	25.7		29.9	33.9	41.0
Burundi	1.7	2.1	2.8	4.3	6.3	8.2	10.6		12.1	13.6	17.3
Cabo Verde	14.2	16.7	19.6	23.5	44.1	53.4	61.8		65.5	68.6	73.0
Cameroon	9.3	13.9	20.3	31.9	39.7	45.5	51.5		54.4	57.1	62.0
Central African Republic	14.4	20.1	27.5	33.9	36.8	37.6	38.8		40.0	41.7	46.3
Chad	4.5	6.7	11.6	18.8	20.8	21.6	22.0		22.5	23.4	26.6
Comoros	6.6	12.6	19.4	23.2	27.9	28.1	27.9		28.3	29.0	31.5
Congo	24.9	31.6	39.1	47.9	54.3	58.7	63.2		65.4	67.4	71.1
Côte d'Ivoire	10.0	17.7	28.2	36.8	39.3	43.5	50.6		54.2	57.5	63.0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	19.1	22.3	24.6	27.1	30.6	35.1	39.9		42.5	45.1	50.4
Djibouti	39.8	50.3	61.8	72.1	76.0	76.5	77.0		77.3	77.8	79.2
Equatorial Guinea	15.5	25.5	27.0	27.9	34.7	38.8	39.2		39.9	41.0	44.0
Eritrea	7.1	9.8	12.6	14.4	15.8	17.6	20.6		22.6	25.0	30.2
Ethiopia	4.6	6.4	8.6	10.4	12.6	14.7	17.3		19.5	21.8	26.8
Gabon	11.4	17.4	32.0	54.7	69.1	80.1	85.7		87.2	88.0	89.1
Gambia	10.3	12.1	19.5	28.4	38.3	47.9	56.3		59.6	62.3	66.0
Ghana	15.4	23.3	29.0	31.2	36.4	43.9	50.7		54.0	57.2	62.6
Guinea	6.7	10.5	16.0	23.6	28.0	31.0	34.9		37.2	39.7	45.1
Guinea-Bissau	10.0	13.6	15.1	17.6	28.1	36.7	45.2		49.3	52.9	58.4
Kenya	5.6	7.4	10.3	15.6	16.7	19.9	23.6		25.6	27.9	32.8
Lesotho	1.8	3.5	8.6	11.5	14.0	19.5	24.8		27.3	30.0	35.6
Liberia	13.0	18.6	26.0	35.2	55.4	44.3	47.8		49.7	51.8	56.2
Madagascar	7.8	10.6	14.1	18.5	23.6	27.1	31.9		35.1	38.3	44.3
Malawi	3.5	4.4	6.1	9.1	11.6	14.6	15.5		16.3	17.3	20.4
Mali	8.5	11.1	14.3	18.5	23.3	28.4	36.0		39.9	43.7	50.3
Mauritania	3.1	6.9	14.6	27.4	41.3	49.2	56.7		59.9	62.6	66.9
Mauritius	29.3	33.2	42.0	42.4	43.9	42.7	40.6		39.7	39.3	40.0
Mayotte	8.5	16.3	25.1	30.1	36.1	47.7	49.0		47.0	45.6	45.1
Mozambique	3.5	4.8	7.0	13.1	25.0	29.1	31.0		32.2	33.8	38.1
Namibia	13.4	17.9	22.3	25.1	27.7	32.4	41.6		46.7	51.3	58.8
Niger	4.9	5.8	8.8	13.4	15.4	16.2	17.6		18.7	20.3	24.6
Nigeria	7.8	15.4	17.8	22.0	29.7	34.8	43.5		47.8	51.7	58.3
Réunion	23.5	32.8	41.7	53.5	81.2	89.9	94.0		95.0	95.6	96.1
Rwanda	2.1	2.6	3.2	4.7	5.4	14.9	24.0		28.8	33.5	41.5
Saint Helena	51.4	49.2	46.4	43.8	42.6	40.4	39.5		39.4	39.8	41.8
Sao Tome and Principe	13.5	16.1	29.5	33.5	43.6	53.4	61.9		65.1	67.6	70.8
Senegal	17.2	23.0	30.0	35.8	38.9	40.3	42.2		43.7	45.6	50.3
Seychelles	27.4	27.7	39.1	49.4	49.3	50.1	52.3		53.9	55.5	58.8
Sierra Leone	12.6	17.4	24.0	29.8	33.3	35.6	38.2		39.9	41.9	46.7
Somalia	12.7	17.3	22.7	26.8	29.7	33.2	37.3		39.6	42.0	47.3
South Africa	42.2	46.6	47.8	48.4	52.0	56.9	62.2		64.8	67.2	71.3
South Sudan	8.9	8.7	8.6	8.5	13.3	16.5	17.9		18.8	20.1	23.6
Swaziland	2.0	3.9	9.7	17.8	22.9	22.7	21.5		21.3	21.5	23.0
Togo	4.4	10.1	21.3	24.7	28.6	32.9	37.5		40.0	42.5	47.7
Uganda	2.8	4.4	6.7	7.5	11.1	12.1	14.5		16.1	17.9	22.0
United Republic of Tanzania	3.5	5.2	7.9	14.6	18.9	22.3	28.1		31.6	35.1	41.9

Zambia	11.5	18.1	30.4	39.8	39.4	34.8	38.7	40.9	43.3	48.2
Zimbabwe	10.6	12.6	17.4	22.4	29.0	33.8	33.2	32.4	32.2	33.8

**Table 14: The urbanization rate (rate of change in the level of urbanization)**

Major area, region, country or area	1950-	1955-	1960-	1965-	1970-	1975-	1980-	1985-	1990-	1995-	2000-	2005-
	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	3.20	3.28	2.07	2.05	2.17	2.01	1.89	1.91	1.40	1.14	1.36	1.41
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	3.07	3.01	3.25	3.34	3.29	3.25	2.09	2.11	1.65	1.10	1.20	1.50
<b>Middle Africa</b>	2.36	2.37	2.13	2.25	2.55	1.89	1.60	1.56	1.36	1.30	1.20	1.20
<b>Southern Africa</b>	1.08	1.08	0.42	0.38	0.26	0.21	0.55	1.22	1.03	0.91	0.97	0.92
<b>Western Africa</b>	5.53	5.50	2.51	2.33	2.45	2.27	2.55	2.36	1.36	1.42	1.83	1.77
Angola	3.23	3.18	3.62	3.58	2.86	2.72	2.63	2.53	2.43	2.31	2.19	2.06
Benin	6.33	6.20	6.00	5.75	5.44	4.43	2.38	2.26	1.28	0.84	0.84	0.92
Botswana	1.19	1.19	4.54	14.27	8.33	6.54	9.67	9.01	3.11	1.66	0.68	0.42
Burkina Faso	2.03	2.03	2.01	2.00	1.99	6.55	6.74	2.27	1.82	3.30	3.76	3.51
Burundi	1.82	1.82	1.99	4.31	4.29	4.16	3.70	3.66	2.79	2.68	2.57	2.53
Cabo Verde	1.62	1.60	1.61	1.58	1.82	1.87	5.84	6.74	2.00	1.83	1.53	1.39
Cameroon	4.06	3.96	3.83	3.69	5.92	3.13	2.53	1.81	1.42	1.35	1.28	1.19
Central African Republic	3.38	3.27	3.14	3.12	3.02	1.16	0.96	0.71	0.22	0.22	0.23	0.40
Chad	4.00	3.95	4.55	6.39	5.94	3.76	1.03	1.02	0.63	0.15	0.15	0.17
Comoros	6.53	6.32	6.04	2.66	1.82	1.78	1.85	1.80	0.31	-0.16	-0.15	0.03
Congo	2.43	2.32	2.20	2.07	2.01	2.02	1.75	0.79	0.75	0.79	0.77	0.72
Côte d'Ivoire	5.51	5.96	6.53	2.79	2.70	2.67	0.58	0.74	0.93	1.10	1.46	1.53
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1.56	1.53	0.99	0.98	0.96	0.95	1.04	1.43	1.39	1.34	1.30	1.27
Djibouti	2.46	2.23	2.18	1.92	1.67	1.42	0.77	0.27	0.09	0.06	0.06	0.06
Equatorial Guinea	5.50	4.54	0.74	0.34	0.34	0.33	1.43	2.98	2.23	-0.01	0.03	0.19
Eritrea	3.20	3.15	3.10	2.02	1.32	1.31	1.17	0.74	0.91	1.20	1.46	1.71
Ethiopia	3.37	3.34	3.30	2.48	1.93	1.91	1.91	1.94	1.83	1.28	1.26	1.96
Gabon	4.30	4.15	6.25	5.94	5.90	4.82	2.64	2.05	1.72	1.22	0.82	0.54
Gambia	1.68	1.66	3.62	5.88	4.51	3.02	3.00	2.97	2.48	1.98	1.79	1.46
Ghana	4.24	3.95	2.29	2.10	0.74	0.73	1.08	2.05	1.93	1.80	1.48	1.39
Guinea	4.49	4.40	4.29	4.16	4.00	3.82	2.39	1.03	1.01	1.02	1.12	1.21
Guinea-Bissau	3.09	3.03	1.07	1.06	1.05	1.97	4.85	4.53	2.97	2.32	2.18	2.02
Kenya	2.77	2.74	3.12	3.59	4.53	3.76	0.63	0.82	1.73	1.71	1.72	1.68
Lesotho	3.15	10.78	11.90	6.03	4.58	1.13	0.52	3.45	3.88	2.85	2.59	2.13
Liberia	3.68	3.56	3.42	3.26	3.10	2.93	3.73	5.37	-3.74	-0.72	0.76	0.75
Madagascar	3.13	3.08	3.02	2.60	2.94	2.52	2.45	2.37	1.81	1.00	1.21	2.05
Malawi	2.25	2.24	2.23	4.19	4.69	3.36	2.32	2.58	2.75	1.93	0.60	0.64
Mali	2.69	2.65	2.61	2.56	2.51	2.58	2.56	2.09	1.80	2.11	2.46	2.32
Mauritania	8.04	7.89	7.66	7.34	6.90	5.71	4.91	3.33	1.82	1.69	1.52	1.30
Mauritius	1.06	1.41	2.18	2.55	0.66	-0.51	-0.01	0.73	-0.28	-0.29	-0.50	-0.51
Mayotte	6.65	6.36	5.99	2.64	1.82	1.76	1.85	1.77	2.79	2.82	1.02	-0.52
Mozambique	3.18	3.16	3.81	3.80	6.30	6.34	6.67	6.21	1.90	1.13	0.61	0.63
Namibia	2.93	2.86	2.24	2.13	1.18	1.16	1.01	0.96	1.50	1.65	2.47	2.55
Niger	1.77	1.76	3.23	5.12	5.22	3.26	1.56	1.11	0.52	0.52	0.65	0.98
Nigeria	6.95	6.66	1.43	1.41	2.15	2.10	3.09	2.93	1.63	1.57	2.29	2.14
Réunion	3.46	3.24	3.00	1.76	1.30	3.69	4.78	3.58	1.17	0.85	0.55	0.34
Rwanda	2.07	2.06	2.06	2.06	4.49	3.32	1.38	1.37	11.94	8.34	5.12	4.34
Saint Helena	-0.42	-0.43	-0.44	-0.74	-0.84	-0.31	-0.12	-0.45	-0.62	-0.44	-0.23	-0.21
Sao Tome and Principe	1.77	1.74	6.13	6.03	1.39	1.13	2.56	2.75	2.16	1.88	1.65	1.30
Senegal	2.94	2.84	2.72	2.59	2.32	1.20	0.97	0.71	0.37	0.36	0.38	0.53
Seychelles	0.04	0.16	3.60	3.30	3.38	1.30	-0.03	-0.01	0.11	0.24	0.37	0.49
Sierra Leone	3.28	3.19	3.22	3.25	2.91	1.45	1.41	0.77	0.70	0.68	0.67	0.75
Somalia	3.12	3.04	2.85	2.55	2.34	0.97	0.95	1.10	1.16	1.13	1.12	1.16
South Africa	1.01	0.97	0.27	0.24	0.13	0.13	0.39	1.05	0.92	0.86	0.91	0.88

South Sudan	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	-0.13	2.89	5.98	3.57	0.78	0.77	0.80
Swaziland	4.34	9.08	10.13	8.04	7.33	4.85	4.01	0.99	0.12	-0.32	-0.58	-0.50
Togo	8.47	8.22	7.85	7.06	1.49	1.46	1.48	1.47	1.43	1.39	1.34	1.29
Uganda	4.50	4.47	4.42	3.81	1.10	1.36	3.89	3.82	1.03	0.71	1.51	2.13
United Republic of Tanzania	4.67	3.48	2.79	5.28	7.01	5.34	2.83	2.38	1.68	1.65	2.15	2.47
Zambia	4.65	4.47	<b>5.06</b>	<b>5.23</b>	2.81	2.62	-0.08	-0.13	-1.20	-1.28	1.01	1.12
Zimbabwe	1.70	1.68	2.96	3.44	2.70	2.37	2.55	2.63	1.81	1.24	0.21	-0.54

<sup>1</sup> David Satterthwaite is a Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and a visiting Professor at University College London. This was prepared as a background paper for Urban Ark.

<sup>2</sup> This is documented in some detail in Satterthwaite, David (2007), *The Transition to a Predominantly Urban World and its Underpinnings*, Human Settlements Discussion Paper, IIED, London, 86 pages

<sup>3</sup> United Nations (2014), *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision*, POP/DB/WUP/Rev.2014/1/F09, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of their work, see Satterthwaite, David and Diana Mitlin (2014), *Reducing Urban Poverty in the Global South*, Routledge, London; see also [www.sdinet.org](http://www.sdinet.org)

<sup>5</sup> In this paper, most of the discussion and analysis is using population figures up to 2010 drawn from United Nations 2014, op. cit. The United Nations Population Division presents figures for 2015 (and projections up to 2050) but the figures for 2015 are mostly based on projections. 2010 is the most recent year for which most statistics are based on a census, but as noted earlier, for 20 sub-Saharan African nations there are no recent censuses – or in the case of Nigeria no recent census considered accurate

<sup>6</sup> Satterthwaite, David (2006), *Outside the Large Cities; the demographic importance of small urban centres and large villages in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Human Settlements Discussion Paper; Urban Change-3, IIED, London, 30 pages. See also Satterthwaite, David (2016), *Small and Intermediate Urban Centres in sub-Saharan Africa*, Urban ARK Working Paper.

<sup>7</sup> However, there may be smaller cities and towns that did exceed this population growth rate in 2000-2010

<sup>8</sup> Potts, Deborah (1995), "Shall we go home? Increasing urban poverty in African cities and migration processes", *The Geographic Journal*, Vol.161, Part 3, November, pp. 245-264.

<sup>9</sup> Potts 1995, op. cit; Crankshaw, Owen and Susan Parnell (2002), *Urban Change in South Africa*, Urban Change Working Paper 4, IIED, London.

<sup>10</sup> Crankshaw and Parnell 2002, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Bryceson, Deborah (1983), *Urbanisation and Agrarian Development in Tanzania with special reference to Secondary Cities*, IIED, London.

<sup>12</sup> See Box 6.4, page 130 of World Bank (1999), *Entering the 21st Century: World Development Report 1999/2000*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 300 pages.

<sup>13</sup> Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Mary and Negussie Taffa (2004), "The triad of poverty, environment and child health in Nairobi informal settlements", *Journal of Health and Population in Developing Countries*, page 2 (this journal was later incorporated into *World Health and Population* and this paper is available on its website at

<http://www.longwoods.com/content/17632>

<sup>14</sup> In the most recent dataset on nations' level of urbanization (United Nations 2014, op. cit.), the most recent census used was 1970 for Angola, 1996 for Congo, 1984 for Congo DR, 2002 for Benin, 2001 for Equatorial Guinea, 1984 for Eritrea, 1993 for Gabon, 2003 for Gambia, 2010 for Ghana, 1996 for Guinea, 1991 for Guinea Bissau, 1998 for Cote D'Ivoire, 1993 for Madagascar, 1988 for Mauritania, 2001 for Niger, 2002 for Rwanda, 2002 for Senegal, 1975 for Somalia, and 2002 for Uganda. For Nigeria, it reports that it draws on "Estimates for 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010" probably because data from censuses were considered unreliable.

<sup>15</sup> Potts, Deborah (2012), "Challenging the myths of urban dynamics in Sub-Saharan Africa: The evidence from Nigeria", *World Development* Vol. 40, No. 7, pages 1382-1393.

<sup>16</sup> See Potts, Deborah (2006), "Urban growth and urban economies in Eastern and Southern Africa: Trends and Prospects", in Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Deborah Potts (editors) *African Urban Economies: Viability, Vitality or Vitiating?* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pages 67-98; Potts, Deborah (2009), "The slowing of sub-Saharan Africa's urbanization: evidence and implications for urban livelihoods", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pages 253-259.

<sup>17</sup> Potts 2006, op. cit

<sup>18</sup> Mann, Gillian (2002), "'Wakimbizi, wakimbizi': Congolese refugee boys' and girls' perspectives on life in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 14, No. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Turok, Ivan and Gordon McGranahan (2013), "Urbanization and Economic Growth: The Arguments and Evidence for Africa and Asia", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 25, No. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Kessides, Christine (2007), "The urban transition in sub-Saharan Africa: challenges and opportunities", *Environment and Planning C - Government and Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pages 466-485.

<sup>21</sup> Kessides, Christine (2005), "The urban transition in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for economic growth and poverty reduction", African Region Working Paper Series, World Bank, Washington DC, page xxii.

<sup>22</sup> See Sahn, David E. and David C. Stifel (2003), "Progress Toward the Millennium Development Goals in Africa", *World Development*, Vol. 31, pages 23-52.

<sup>23</sup> Chibuye, Miniva (2011), *Interrogating Urban Poverty Lines – the Case of Zambia*, Human Settlements Working Paper 30, IIED, London

<sup>24</sup> This section draws statistics from UNICEF and WHO (2015), *25 Years Progress on Sanitation and Drinking Water; 2015 Update and MDG Assessment*, 80 pages.

<sup>25</sup> APHRC (2002), *Population and Health Dynamics in Nairobi's Informal Settlements*, Nairobi: African Population and Health Research Center

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- <sup>28</sup> APHRC 2002 op. cit.
- <sup>29</sup> Maoulidi, Moumié (2011), *Heath Needs Assessment For Kisumu*, Kenya, MCI Social Sector Working Paper Series, N° 19/2011, 33
- <sup>30</sup> Patton, G, C Coffey, S Sawyer, R Viner, D Haller, K Bose, T Vos, J Ferguson and C Mathers (2009), 'Global patterns of mortality in young people: a systematic analysis of population health data', *Lancet* Vol 374, No 9693, page 881.
- <sup>31</sup> Kyobutungi et al. 2008, op. cit.
- <sup>32</sup> van Donk, M. (2006) 'Positive' urban futures in sub-Saharan Africa: HIV/AIDs and the need for ABC (a broader conceptualisation)', *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 18, No 1, 155-176; Dyson, T. (2003), 'HIV/AIDS and Urbanization', *Population and Development Review* 29, No. 3, 427-442
- <sup>33</sup> Bruce, Judith and Amy Joyce (2006), *The Girls Left Behind*, synthesis paper, Population Council, New York.
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs348/en/index.html>
- <sup>35</sup> Ziraba, Abdhalah Kasiira, Nyovani Madise, Samuel Mills, Catherine Kyobutungi and Alex Ezeh (2009), "Maternal mortality in the informal settlements of Nairobi city: what do we know?" *Reproductive Health*, Vol. 6, 8 pages.
- <sup>36</sup> Ruel, Marie T. and James L. Garrett (2004), 'Features of Urban Food and Nutrition Security and Considerations for Successful Urban Programming', electronic Journal of *Agricultural and Development Economics*, 1, No. 2, 242-271.
- <sup>37</sup> De Swardt, C T Puoane, M Chopra and Andries du Toit (2005), 'Urban poverty in Cape Town', *Environment and Urbanization* 17:2, pages 101-111,
- <sup>38</sup> Bartlett, Sheridan, Roger Hart, David Satterthwaite, Ximena de la Barra and Alfredo Missair (1999) *Cities for Children: Children's Rights, Poverty and Urban Management*, Earthscan, London; Bartlett, Sheridan N. (2002), "The problem of children's injuries in low-income countries: a review", *Health Policy and Planning*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pages 1-13.
- <sup>39</sup> Aliber, Michael (2003) 'Chronic poverty in South Africa: Incidence, causes and policies' *World Development* 31:3, 473-490.
- <sup>40</sup> Maxwell, David, Carol Levin, Margaret Armar-Klimesu, Marie Ruel, Saul Morris and Clement Ahiadeke (2000) 'Urban livelihoods and food and nutrition security in Greater Accra, Ghana' in collaboration with Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research and the World Health Organization, Research Report No. 112. Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute
- <sup>41</sup> This is a list that has been developed over the years; the most detailed version is in Mitlin, Diana and David Satterthwaite (2013). *Urban Poverty in the Global South; Scale and Nature*, Routledge, London.
- <sup>42</sup> Satterthwaite, David and Alice Sverdlik (2012), 'Energy Access and Housing for Low-income Groups in Urban Areas', Chapter 6 in Arnulf Grubler and David Fisk (editors), *Energizing Cities*, Earthscan Publications, London
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- <sup>44</sup> Satterthwaite 2016, op. cit.
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- <sup>46</sup> see Sverdlik, Alice (2011), 'Ill-health and poverty: a literature review on health in informal settlements', *Environment and Urbanization*, 23, No. 1, 123-156 for a review of this; see also Montgomery, Mark R, Richard Stren, Barney Cohen and Holly E Reed (editors) (2003), *Cities Transformed; Demographic Change and its Implications in the Developing World*, the National Academy Press, Washington DC, 518
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- <sup>49</sup> <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs358/en/>
- <sup>50</sup> <http://www.iwawaterwiki.org/xwiki/bin/view/Main/WebHome>
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- <sup>52</sup> See also Douglas, Ian, Kurshid Alam, MaryAnne Maghenda, Yasmin McDonnell, Louise McLean and Jack Campbell (2008), "Unjust waters: climate change, flooding and the urban poor in Africa", *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 20, No. 1.
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- <sup>56</sup> See the article in *The Economist* for July 11<sup>th</sup> 2015 on the very rapid development of towns around oil wells and the advantages and conflicts that these have produced,
- <sup>57</sup> Turok and McGranahan 2013, op. cit.



The contents of this Working Paper reflect the views of the author only and not those of the UK Department for International Development or the Economic and Social Research Council.