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AN OVERVIEW  
URBANIZATION ISSUES IN AFRICA

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## I. The Urbanization of Africa

The last twenty years have imprinted a striking new urban pattern on the fabric of the African continent. By screening out the pattern and focussing only on the background, one may continue to see Africa in its old rural image. To make national policy on the basis of so limited a vision, however, would be a grave error. For the imprints of the cities and towns are indelible. Moreover, they are growing larger and more numerous.

Urban areas represent problems and promise greater in proportion, by far, than the 28 per cent of the continent's population that live in them today. Actually, this over all population statistic is misleading because it obscures important features of the urban pattern and significant differences among the individual nations.

Let us consider the following:

In 1960 there were 22 African countries (of the 53 for which we have data) where 90 per cent or more of the population lived in rural areas. Twenty countries had between 11 and 25 per cent of their population in urban areas. In 11 countries urban population was 25 to 49 per cent of the total. Nowhere in Africa did urban population exceed, or even reach, 50 per cent of the total. (Table 1 and Figure 1)

By 1980 only seven countries were 90 per cent or more rural. An equal number were predominantly urban, having passed the 50 per cent mark. (Table 1 and Figure 2)

By the year 2000 the group of predominantly urban countries will number 22 -- as many as there were in the least urbanized group in 1960. Only three countries are projected to be less than 10 per cent urbanized and only a dozen altogether will have less than a quarter of their population living in urban areas. (Table 1)

In terms of scale this means that today's urban population of 138 million will increase two and a half times by the turn of the century. Africa's cities will be home for 346 million people. That number almost equals (i.e. amounts to 97 per cent of) Africa's rural population today.

The effect of such growth on the pattern of urban settlements is also very dramatic.

In 1960 Africa had only 12 large cities of a half million or more population.<sup>1</sup> Most were national capitals and most were port cities on the perimeter of the continent. (Figure 3) By 1980 there were almost four times as many cities of over 500,000 population, and a growing

number were in noncoastal, interior locations.<sup>2</sup> In addition, 43 cities had populations of 250,000 to 500,000. (Figure 4)

Given current growth trends, projections for the year 2000 indicate more than doubling of the number of very large cities and a spatial pattern of major cities that is increasingly filling in the interior -- of both individual countries and the continent. (Figure 5)

Thus many more African countries are having to cope with the problems of big-city or metropolitan development. Seven countries had cities of half million inhabitants or more in 1960. Seventeen more countries joined that "club" by 1980 and another 12 countries will join these before the end of the century. Indeed, by the year 2000 fewer than a dozen African countries will not have at least one city of 250,000 population or more. Many of these future large cities are the rapidly growing "secondary" centers or market towns of today.

Certainly one implication of this continental proliferation of large urban areas is an increasing potential for economic interchange among them, both within countries and among major cities of different nations (as has occurred on other, earlier-urbanized continents). The prospect for trade and barter of specialized products represents an opportunity to be promoted and enhanced.

In the normal course of economic activity, as the urban network and its inter-relationships grow stronger, there will be, moreover, additional opportunities for development in the intervening areas as well. Rural market towns, for example -- especially those on major inter-city transportation routes -- may find their prospects greatly improved as the larger cities expand in size and in number and traffic between them increases.

Twenty years of research documents, articles and speeches have amply explained the post-Independence phenomena that lie behind the demographic trends: High birth rates and declining mortality have combined to create extraordinarily high rates of population growth. Some countries have averaged population growth over the past decade as high

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1. These ranged in size from Kinshasa, Zaire and Ibadan, Nigeria (just above 500,000) to Casablanca, Morocco; Alexandria, Egypt and Johannesburg, South Africa (in the 1 to 1.5 million size class) and Cairo, Egypt, which at 3.7 million was the largest.
  2. By 1980, the lower end of the range included three additional Moroccan cities, three additional Nigerian cities and one additional city in South Africa. Thirteen cities were in the 1 to 2 million population size class. Kinshasa, Alexandria and Lagos were in the 2 to 3 million category and Metropolitan Cairo, with between 7 and 8 million people, was at the top.

as 4 and 5 per cent a year. Most African countries' growth rates have reached levels that will double their total population in 20 to 25 years. Nowhere in Africa has the rural-agricultural sector been able to expand enough to absorb such numbers -- even where productivity gains have been achieved. Thus the rural areas have been, and continue to be, a seemingly endless source for the steady streams of migrants that flow to the cities and towns.

"Millions of Africans . . . from Kenya to the Ivory Coast, from Niger to Botswana, are following the same path . . . lured off the farms and into the cities by the dream of a better life . . . for it is there that (they) can, with good luck, hard work or a combination of both, escape the bondage of poverty and ignorance that have enslaved an entire continent."<sup>3</sup>

In several countries with urban growth rates among the Continent's highest the numbers of migrants following their dreams are swollen by refugees fleeing their nightmares -- drought and famine, other natural disasters, political persecution and the disruption of war. And now, in addition, the earlier migrants are producing a new generation of urban residents. A substantial component of the African population, urban born and bred and growing to maturity in the cities, will be for many countries a significant new phenomenon.

There is no question but that Africa's urbanization commands recognition that it is here to stay. There is no undoing it. There is no point in questioning whether it is "good" or "bad" or whether to have it or not. Urbanization will continue, inevitably.

The real issues are how to respond wisely and appropriately to this fact, how to provide for the urbanization, manage it, take advantage of the opportunities it presents and mitigate the problems it creates. We turn now to these issues and to the serious constraints under which such efforts will have to proceed at this juncture of history.

## II. Economic Imperatives and the Role of Urban Areas

Anyone reviewing the demographic situation of Africa over the past two decades must conclude that stepping up the pace of economic growth is imperative for virtually every country. Prospects are such, however, that many of the nations will have to expend full effort simply to keep from falling back. Population -- especially urban population -- has grown at rates faster than any the world has ever seen and in a dismaying number of countries, faster than their rates of economic expansion. Africa has already produced a labor force far larger than the majority of its national economies are able to absorb, and more is yet

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3. David Lamb, The Africans, Random House: New York. 1982, 28ff.

to come. There is an enormous reservoir of additional labor in the numbers of children already born, who will enter the workforce before the end of the century.

The wherewithal to support Africa's next generation even at the basic levels necessary to social stability and the resources to build for future growth, as well as to improve conditions of life, absolutely depend on increased economic development.

Urbanization and the condition of Africa's cities and towns have a crucial role to play in achieving that development, or in impeding it. Indeed, it is precisely because the situation is so critical that urbanization is the central theme of this 9th Conference on Housing and Urban Development in Africa.

#### A. Economic Imperatives

Continent-wide, with very few exceptions<sup>4</sup>, the statistical indicators show urbanization outpacing the rate of economic growth. (Table 2) The biggest gaps occurred in several of the small island nations (Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe), the Sahelian countries, Southern and Western Africa. Northern Africa, on the whole, experienced rates of urban growth more in line with increases in per capita gross national product (GNP).

The over all picture presents serious issues of decline or stagnation in the per capita GNP for almost four-fifths of the countries, including some of the more populous (Mozambique, Zaire, Sudan, Uganda, Ghana). Agricultural output per capita is almost universally down or -- at best -- barely improving. According to a 1983 report of the FAO, agricultural output has decreased in absolute value in four of Africa's largest producers south of the Sahara, five of the main producers of sorghum, four of the biggest rice growing nations and six of the corn-producing countries.

For Eastern and Southern Africa, particularly, decline in imports, heavy borrowing and deteriorating terms of trade have meant large deficits as countries struggle to maintain their capital investment programs. Forecasts seem to offer little hope for improved terms of trade. Prospects for large infusions of concessionary loans also appear dim. Thus, capital resources for new investment will continue to be severely constrained.

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4. Tunisia, Egypt, Lesotho, Cape Verde, Gabon, Burundi and Seychelles.

There will be a premium on making the best use of existing capacity and on projects that can yield benefits quickly. Emphasis will have to be on investments that place little or no demand on scarce foreign exchange resources, that produce substitutes for imported items, and that make the most efficient use of capital inputs to generate income-earning opportunities for the largest numbers of people.

Given these specifications for development strategies in the 1980's, it seems compelling to take a closer look at the system of urban areas. These urban areas have an important role to play in stimulating and supporting development. They represent substantial prior investments and they carry responsibilities for managing and maintaining the existing infrastructure. The cities and towns make major claims on both capital and recurrent budget resources. There is a critical need to make them more nearly self-sustaining and to improve the efficiency with which they use the substantial resources they currently command.

#### B. Urbanization-Economic Growth Linkages

Urbanization is both prerequisite for, and result of, economic development. This is true whether the primary thrust of a country's development strategy is toward building up the industrial base, or increasing productivity of the agricultural sector, or stimulating expanded employment in small scale enterprise and the informal sector.

Cities, with their concentration of commercial establishments and services, entrepreneurs, trainable workforce, markets, power supplies, transportation access, communications and other utilities are "essential seedbeds in which the processes of industrialization and modernization take root and grow."<sup>5</sup>

It takes urban centers to support the complex of agricultural marketing, processing, storage, tool and machinery sales and service, education and rural extension facilities on which agricultural development efforts depend. Experience has shown even the most intensive agricultural development programs to falter because of inadequate access to such facilities in nearby locations.

Moreover, cities are the natural environment for operations of the informal sector and small scale independent enterprise -- the sources of income for a large and growing proportion of virtually every nation's labor force. This is where effort to generate expanding employment opportunities will have to focus, given constraints on more capital-intensive industrial development strategies.

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5. Rivkin, M. D., "Urbanization and National Development: Some Approaches to the Dilemma", Socio-Economic Planning Sciences, Vol. 1, Pergamon Press, 1967, p. 117.

The manner in which urbanization has occurred in Africa has left its mark on the type of urban problems its nations experience. Africa's urbanization has been proceeding, for the most part, without the stimulus and support of parallel growth in industry and other basic employment. African cities have grown more on the aspirations of her rural migrants, on investments in a limited group of sectors -- principally public administration and construction -- and on the informal sector. Unemployment and underemployment are endemic.

Most observers writing about Africa's urban growth have tended to cast it in a negative light. The urban legacy of colonial days has been depicted as altogether a bad thing. Growth and changes that have followed independence seem to be regarded no more favorably. Rural-urban migration -- a theme that dominates the writing -- has been viewed as a trend to be stopped, or at least retarded, if not reversed. Concern about very poor living conditions in the migrants' settlements has focussed on the biggest cities where spontaneous growth has been most rapid and needs for improvement most acute. Because investment in these cities has come largely from national budgets with only very limited, if any, contributions from the urban economic base to support public services and expand infrastructure, the urban areas have been perceived by many as parasites.

But the clock cannot be turned back. The time has come to recognize urbanization as an immutable fact of African life and to take stock of the development resource that the cities and towns actually represent. Today, these urban areas are prime prospects for investments to induce economic growth.

#### C. Fundamental Advantages and Fundamental Conditions for Development

Productive economic enterprise (industry and services, private sector and public) cluster and operate in cities because of fundamental advantages such as:

- concentrated markets for goods and services
- ready labor pool
- access to financial institutions
- governmental licensing and promotional authorities
- suppliers of goods and special services
- opportunities for face-to-face communication, exchange of information and coordination with business colleagues and others

- stimulating variety and number of personal contacts
- view of the competition (in the case of private enterprise).

Taken as a whole, these factors are termed the "external economies" of urbanization. They are the conditions which, the world over, have enabled cities to be the nurturing ground for economic growth. This growth process, once begun, becomes more than the sum of its component parts and leads on to still further generation of new enterprises and jobs.

More than external economies are necessary, however, if business activity -- especially that of risk-conscious private entrepreneurs -- is to become established, flourish and become competitive. The additional requirements include:

- adequate supporting infrastructure (water, power, telephone, sanitation etc.)
- a level of operations and maintenance of this infrastructure than ensures sustained reliability
- availability of suitable land when needed, at appropriate locations and reasonable cost
- living conditions (shelter, amenities, access to jobs, public services, commercial facilities) for workers and managers that within the standards of any given society, are at least minimally adequate to sustain productivity.

Significance of this last point was underscored in an interview with Tunisia's Director of Industrial Development, the man who heads the program for assembling industrial plant sites in secondary cities. He noted that land and utilities for factories notwithstanding, entrepreneurs could not be attracted unless the community offered a complement of amenities, communications and commercial services including health centers and good schools, shops with merchandise of a certain quality and entertainment-recreation facilities such as a cinema.

#### D. Economy-building and the Role of Municipal Government

External economies and supporting services must be present if a city's economic base is to expand and grow stronger. The role of creating and sustaining these conditions is a most crucial one for municipal government. Even where large industries have built and now manage company towns (e.g. the mining towns of Botswana or the pulp mill complex in Swaziland) rising issues of how to integrate peri-urban development with existing settlements and how to accomplish future expansion of the basic infrastructure systems call for governmental responsibility of some sort.

Municipal governments today are subjected to demands of an unprecedented magnitude by population growth alone, even without substantial new economic activity. A new agenda headed by the goal of building up the local economic base imposes yet more responsibilities and complexities. The risks of nonperformance by municipal management are greater than ever before. Penalties are also greater, and quantifiably so. Furthermore, absence of effective authority for municipal development and management can undermine the best efforts made in every other quarter.

To illustrate: When local government fails to provide for settlement areas with proper sanitation, the resulting pollution is a health hazard to the families that live in those areas to be sure; but it may also threaten the quality of the water supply on which a city's agro-processing industry depends. Accumulations of uncollected trash and garbage are dangerous to the public health. They also constitute serious fire hazards, and when fires do occur, the potential for damage to people and property is enormous. Such losses are not easily sustained in a developing country, especially by struggling, young enterprises.

Traffic congestion that may have been tolerable on a once-a-week market day, can become severe when more regular, permanent commercial activity is established. Indeed, congestion may so severely impair circulation as to negate a city's potential advantages of internal access.

Deterioration of roads due to deficient maintenance creates problems that go beyond merely discomfort and inconvenience. The wear and tear of travelling over potholes and debris-strewn roads shortens the useful life of truck axles and tires -- items that are at a premium because they must be bought with scarce foreign exchange. Thus insufficient road repair entails a measureable, high cost. But this is not the end of it either. When trucks are put out of commission for want of replacement parts and flows of supply are interrupted, additional repercussions show up on the balance sheets of individual industrial and commercial enterprises whose operations are affected.

Halts in production due to interrupted power supply, water or bottlenecks in the flow of administrative paperwork for various approvals and licenses can also add up to very expensive "down time" for industries. A municipality may not, itself, have primary responsibility for all these functions, but local government is a focal point -- a place to look for those concerned with how things work -- or are not working -- in the urban setting.

All of this implies new and unaccustomed roles for many local government officials. For these roles they need not only new skills, but new attitudes as well. They need to see themselves as promoters and expeditors of development. Initiative and entrepreneurial spirit,

qualities that may once have been discouraged in local officials, are now essential.

In context of urban economic development efforts, officials in charge of providing services have to meet tests of local performance and accountability, somewhat different and more demanding than those who are expected simply to manage the resources dealt out to them by central authority. Although central authority has been a primary source of local finance in the past, success of local development efforts will bear very heavily on the level of revenues available for future community improvement. This too requires revised attitudes:

- assertiveness in claiming resources on behalf of local needs
- concern for "productivity", or cost-effectiveness in using resources that become available
- and commitment to the future that ensures the stability and confidence required for successful business investment.

Are Africa's urban areas actually in a position to perform the critical development role described here? How do they measure up to these development tasks? Let us turn now to take a closer look at the conditions that characteristically prevail.

### III. Conditions in Africa's Urban Areas Today

#### A. Urban Scale, Function, Promise and Problems

Although the urban pattern differs considerably from one African country to another, emergent issues of urbanization seem to group themselves around three distinguishable types of setting: the "primate" city or metropolis, intermediate or secondary cities and market towns.

The dominant, large "primate" center is where most modern infrastructure has been created in virtually every African country. Primate cities have been the main destinations for internal migration. Here are the countries' major concentrations of private business, entrepreneurial and managerial talent and public services. These cities have received the largest shares of urban investment and still they pose the most pressing problems of inadequate services, deficient shelter and scarcity of reasonably-priced, well-located land to accommodate further growth.

The degree of dominance, as measured by the percentage of urban population living in a nation's largest city, varies a great deal<sup>6</sup> as do

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6. Among the 38 countries for which fairly comparable data are cont'd

the sizes of the primary cities. Nevertheless the litany of "big-city", rapid-growth problems is fairly consistent from one country to another.

At the second characteristic level or scale are the growing secondary or intermediate size cities. They make some contributions to national economic development and, as their employment opportunities expand, they become increasingly attractive as alternate targets for migration.

In several countries these secondary cities have become substantial communities and major producers of goods and services, as the result of historical development patterns (Nigeria, Morocco). In others, it is the result of deliberate urban development/industrialization policy (Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria).

Within the past decade intermediate size cities and towns have been the object of increasing interest. Policy-makers have become more and more concerned with decentralizing administration and with pressures to spread the benefits of development investments more broadly. The idea has gained acceptance that existing secondary cities with their established activity and some installed infrastructure could and should support substantial new development. They could thus divert new growth that would otherwise go to the largest cities. Eventually the secondary cities could grow in scale to become new metropolitan centers, attracting on their own even more new commercial and industrial investment. They could also provide their respective rural hinterlands with access to a richer variety of social, educational, personal and economic services as well as new employment opportunities. Moreover, by anticipating growth and providing for building sites and public services in advance, it would be possible to avoid the most critical problems and the social costs of accommodating new growth in the primate cities.

Tunisia's success in stimulating the secondary centers of Sousse and Sfax to the stage where they are generating economic growth is one example of this approach applied in African circumstances. More recent efforts in the Ivory Coast, Kenya and Egypt are directed toward similar objectives. Senegal, host country for the 9th Africa Conference, is in the process of a policy review to determine how support for secondary cities can best be programmed as an alternative to continued concentration of investment in Dakar.

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available, the median is between one-third and one-half of the urban population in the largest city. The five countries evidencing the lowest degrees of "primacy" (less than 25%) include tiny Sao Tome and Principe, Malawi, Algeria, Republic of South Africa and Nigeria. The countries where primacy is greatest (over 50%) are Angola, Benin, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, The Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Mozambique, Senegal, Togo and Uganda.

Market towns, too, have been the focus of rising interest -- especially among those centrally concerned with rural development. Experience has shown rural development efforts faltering for lack of attention to the roles and functions of market-and-service centers. Very clearly, the business of rural development has turned out to be more than a matter for agricultural programs alone. Increased productivity is dependent on town-based inputs -- storage and marketing facilities, supplies and repair services and the exchange of ideas among farmers, for example -- as well as on improved farming practices and essential inputs of seed and livestock.

Meeting the critical needs of rural population for essential town-based inputs is frequently a matter of accessibility. Given the difficulties and costs of travel, it is certainly more efficient for the farmer when the full complement of such services is available in a single center rather than widely dispersed. For the service enterprises, mutual support and the stimulus of competition are possible only when they are fairly close to one another, and the economic survival of such a complex may require levels of business that only a broad-based agricultural territory can generate.

Sometimes the accessibility issue is a matter primarily of transport -- the roads and vehicles which are the means of access. Other times, when distance from the farming areas to towns with market and service facilities is too great, need for additional centers is identified, or need for filling in services that are missing from nearer market centers that are smaller. In yet other cases greater emphasis is placed on the need to strengthen functional linkages between the market-and-service towns and the nation's primary marketing centers.

Analyzing and promoting approaches to strengthening market towns has been an objective of USAID's "urban functions in rural development" research in Cameroon. In Rwanda, a French-Belgian technical assistance team worked for more than five years with the Government to elaborate a strategy for developing scattered village settlements into a working system of market towns.

The rural market-and-service towns, as well as the primate and intermediate cities can function so as to stimulate economic growth. At any scale, however, the urban setting can also present obstacles to economic growth. In view of the critical need to expand the local economies -- and thereby, employment opportunities -- removal of such obstacles merits most serious effort.

#### B. Physical Aspects of the Urban Setting

At present very few of Africa's cities and towns are in condition to make their best possible contributions to economic development.

The major cities of Africa are characterized by some of the most dramatic physical contrasts anywhere. Modern glass, steel and concrete high-rise office buildings and hotels in the commercial cores and enclaves of well-manicured suburban villas for the elite and expatriate communities are a world apart from the dense squatter settlements that sprawl over thousands of hectares on the urban fringe.

Hundreds of migrant families have come to live in these areas without benefit of orderly, subdivided housing plots, secure tenure and extensions of basic urban services. Other families have crowded into older neighborhoods in city and town centers. These areas have become another type of slum, where once-substantial shelter and infrastructure are severely overloaded, deteriorating under the strains of serving lifestyles for which they were not designed and numbers beyond the capacity for which they were built.

In many of the large cities the majority of inhabitants lack water and electricity. A large proportion live under precarious structures and precarious tenure. These living conditions prevail -- not only for unemployed rural migrants, but also for factory workers, clerks and even skilled craftsmen. In some countries the social strata found in slums and shantytowns include proprietors of small businesses, middle level managers and civil servants as well. Witness the case of Kigali, Rwanda's capital, where 93 per cent of all dwellings are in unserviced squatter settlements or other informal neighborhoods.

Absent a system of enterprise to supply shelter in proportion to the needs, and the system of institutional supports on which such enterprise depends, the masses have provided for themselves remarkably well. Their spontaneous settlements represent investment of an enormous resource of initiative, energy and will to survive. Unfortunately, however,

"what the poor can do for themselves is illegal by definition. Standards (imposed by the national elite) that cannot be met by the majority of the urban population lead to construction that is totally uncontrolled. Houses on difficult terrain, preemption of alternative land uses, poor settlement layout and inadequate house design are the results; as are populous settlements that lack roads, water, sewerage and electricity. Rehabilitation is vastly more expensive than an initial investment in planning and a modicum of services would have been."<sup>7</sup>

Residents of the outlying squatter neighborhoods have problems not only of contaminated water, poor sanitation and insufficient services but also hardship -- and often additional costs -- of transport between their homes and work in central city locations.

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7. Gugler, Josef and Flanagan, William G., Urbanization and Social  
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Those responsible for providing and managing urban services find

"the extensive confused mass of housing" makes it difficult to locate people, to number houses, to deliver mail, organize the collection of data for purposes of administration, build an effective sewage disposal system or collect refuse."<sup>8</sup>

These conditions touch everyone, not only the poor. An observer describes how the physical consequences of uncontrolled, rapid urbanization are neither out of sight nor out of mind. They impinge on the sensibilities of the elite who travel from their elegant residential neighborhoods through horrendous traffic jams to work in the showcase modern office buildings of the capital cities. Even more seriously, they impinge with unfortunate effect on the everyday operations of business and government.

A journalist described his impressions as he looked from the windows of a modern office tower:

"isolated from the city of \_\_\_\_\_, which spread out eighteen floors below. . . an incubus of uncontrolled growth. Down there the open sewers ooze odors of the foulest sort, slums languish in the shadows of high-rise office buildings, filthy streets teem with traffic and people. . ."<sup>9</sup>

"Government offices . . . are so overstaffed and underequipped that hundred of civil servants work at desks lined up in stuffy, dimly lit corridors. Most telephones don't work so businessmen must make appointments in person, a Herculean feat in a city where it can take an hour to travel a few blocks by car. One U.S. bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, operated for more than a year . . . without a telephone or telex. . . Guests are lucky to have water two hours a day in their \$90 a day hotel rooms, and diners in downtown restaurants merely shrug and light candles when the electricity flickers, then gives way to darkness. What had happened was no mystery. . . population had exploded from 300,000 to 3 million in a decade and the city was sinking under its own weight."<sup>10</sup>

Contrast the author's description of a smaller town in the same country:

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- Change in West Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1978. p.45.
8. Mabogunje, A. L., "The morphology of Ibadan", Mabogunje, A. L. and Lloyd, P. C., The City of Ibadan: A symposium on its Structure and Development, Cambridge University Press: London. p. 55.
  9. Lamb, David, The Africans (Random House: New York) 1982. p. 306.
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"\_\_\_\_\_, like many towns a visitor sees after escaping from (the) cities, is a lovely place. The trees along the tidy main street provide welcome shade, the little houses are whitewashed and tidy, their grassy backyards clipped and ablaze with flowers. Life moves slower here than in the cities, and people are more at peace with their surroundings, less the victims of change."<sup>11</sup>

And yet the smaller cities have not been free of growth pains. An observer makes the following comment on their general situation:

"Management inefficiency is . . . behind some of the traffic flow problems in the city. Failure to plan ahead often leaves a city to contend, often on narrow roads, with a variety of transport modes: pedestrians, push-carts bicycles, motorcycles, cars and trucks; but these are hardly sufficient or frequent enough to meet the needs of the people. It is thus no wonder that some relatively small African cities have traffic congestion problems as serious as those of much larger cities in the industrialized world."<sup>12</sup>

What about the people on whom the effects of change have been greatest and those on whom any constructive change will depend?

### C. Social Features of the Urban Setting

"Some writers speak not of the urbanization of the . . . population but of the ruralization of the towns"<sup>13</sup> because the recent rural migrants — the new urbanites — make up the largest proportion of the cities' and towns' inhabitants.

They bring rural attitudes and lifestyles and rural means of coping with their acute problems of shelter and unemployment. In most cases, this means limited education and skills. However, it also means maintaining strong ties to rural origins through which they can turn for support during the period of difficult adjustments. In countries where social welfare systems are still rudimentary this supportive relationship is important in mitigating social disruption and easing the plight of urban newcomers. It is also a means for channeling urban earnings to

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10. Ibid. p. 304

11. Lamb, Op. Cit., p. 309

12. Mabogunje, A.L., "Urbanization Problems in Africa", in El-Shakhs, S. and Obudho, R., Urbanization, National Development, and Regional Planning in Africa, (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1975. p. 22.

13. Lawless, Richard I., "Algeria: Transformation of a Colonial Urban System under a Planned Economy", in Obudho, R.A. and El-Shakhs, Salah, Development of Urban Systems in Africa, (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1979. p. 87.

the family "back home". These cash remittances from urban workers to their villages of origin are a very clear contribution of cities to national development throughout the continent, for they provide a major -- and often only -- source of cash for consumption goods in subsistence economies.

Another consequence of strong identification with the rural base is that urban residents tend to lack a community-wide sense of belonging to the urban area where they now live and work.

Absence of civic consciousness, weak civic leadership, and a high degree of indifference to the progress of the city in which people are making their fortunes (whether large or small) are cited as major reasons that urban improvements are slow in materializing.<sup>14</sup> William and Judith Hanna point out people seem to expect (and accept) that an elite group "runs the show" as far as the cities and towns are concerned.

"Many urban and suburban residents in Black Africa think of themselves as strangers without civil rights or responsibilities in the town.

. . . In those areas where the members of one ethnic group predominate common culture and identity are locally integrative factors, but in many African towns, there are several distinct ethnic cultures that impart different perspectives and encourage different practices. . . and thus a key bond of community may be missing."<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the elite, more than other groups, feel they have a stake in the urban area and, therefore, more to gain from being involved. Yet their sights are limited and, so too, the scope of their efforts on behalf of their cities.

". . . in few African cities does one find a class of people concerned with the economic well-being of the city, with the need to attract industries to it or to encourage the development of local trade or craft organizations as a means of stimulating its economic growth. Although chambers of commerce exist in some cities, they have been largely dominated by foreign interest groups and generally ineffectual in terms of the total community."<sup>16</sup>

Though the cities may be experienced as places of "maximum frustration" in many African countries, Mabogunje sees hope in the fact that city residents include a disproportionate share of their respective

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14. Mabogunje, Op. Cit. (Praeger Publishers: New York), 1974, p. 13ff.

15. Hanna and Hanna, Urban Dynamics in Black Africa, Second Edition (Aldine: New York). 1981. pp. 195 and 202.

16. Mabogunje, Op. Cit.

nations' talent and expertise. He believes these people, leaders in their various fields, can resolve critical community problems if they turn their energies and their minds to that objective. In so doing he believes they will, moreover, gain experience necessary to deal successfully with other pressing national problems.

Another writer, in addressing the question of whether energies can be channeled toward common goals, found in Nigeria a similar source of hope:

". . .the most encouraging sign, I think, is the presence of a growing middle and upper class. It is the largest, most substantial one in black Africa, and it is certainly worth remembering that it was the birth of the English middle class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that enabled Britain to become stable and powerful."<sup>17</sup>

If drawing attention of each nation's leadership to the need for action in urban areas is a first major step, realistic goals and objectives must be articulated. The next big concern is how to organize solutions. Institutions are needed through which meaningful change can be accomplished.

#### D. Institutions for Urban Management

As for management of the urban areas and provision of basic services and infrastructure, evaluations reviewed for this paper conclude almost universally that local governments are:

- overloaded
- not designed to cope with the rapid change and developmental problems of today
- poorly staffed
- (where there is an elected council) headed by councillors ill-informed about what their proper duties are
- targets for rampant graft and corruption
- very dependent on central government for revenues,
- inadequately funded and
- inefficient in using such funds as are available.

These problems are endemic even though institutional arrangements for managing the cities and towns of Africa vary considerably from country to country.

Urban management in some countries is structured according to the French model with a high degree of centralization, formal hierarchical structure and chain of command, domination by an executive (appointed rather than elected mayors or supervisory committees) and a very subordinate legislative role for local government. One writer suggests this system is more accurately described as "local administration" than "local government". Others are modelled along the lines of the more decentralized British system, characterized by local legislative activity, voluntary citizen participation, co-optation of local interests through a committee system and local responsibility for multiple urban functions. In still other countries (e.g. Liberia) there has been little attempt to impose a unified system of urban administration at all. There, long-established ethnic communities follow their own urban traditions and their own forms of internal administration. At the very opposite end of the spectrum, are the centrally planned economies (Mozambique, Ethiopia) with a "commune" structure of local organization, totally controlled from the capital.

"Reports of ineffective local government abound. . . It is not simply a question of the distribution of functions between local government and central government. It is a question more of efficiency of administration."

"The extraordinary rate of urbanization has created a mass of suddenly perceived social needs. These needs are too great and too complex for most existing local governments to satisfy or control, and new governmental units tailored specifically for the urbanite have not yet been created. . . Institutional structures inherited from colonial regimes have been retained even though these (structures embody the articulation of the colonial regime's own requirements). . . Only recently has there been an attempt by some African leaders to reexamine the entire system of local government in their countries."<sup>18</sup>

Tunisia, for example, created a special form of metropolitan administration to improve and operate municipal services for the capital region. Kenya has, at least temporarily, replaced the Nairobi City Council with a Commission under central government control. Senegal, Tanzania, and Guinea are other countries that have made changes in their systems for local governance. The changes for the most part tend toward greater centralized administrative authority and control. Few of the changes thus far, however, have dealt successfully with the primary issue — making the cities work.

17. Lamb, Op. Cit., p. 312.

18. Hanna and Hanna, Op. Cit., p. 202.

#### IV. Achievements in Perspective

Many African nations have begun to address urban issues. While none has yet mastered the scale of the challenges, there have been notable achievements, most particularly in the area of shelter and basic services.

Faced with the utter impossibility of providing conventional housing to absorb the masses of urban migrants, some governments have moved decisively to support alternative, minimal standard forms of shelter. Squatter settlements and other informal neighborhoods have been upgraded with water, roads, and solid waste disposal as alternative to being torn down. Sites and services schemes have been laid out and units built by the beneficiaries themselves. The human costs of displacement are being avoided and the benefits of families' participation in providing their own shelter are being realized. In all parts of Africa -- Botswana, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Malawi, Tunisia and many other nations -- governments have tested and found workable approaches to providing for shelter needs. Over the past decade thousands of existing dwellings have been improved and thousands of new plots have been developed. Imaginative schemes for providing secure tenure have been adopted, and some measure of employment -- particularly in the construction industry and in small fabrication enterprises -- has materialized as well. USAID and other international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations have been active in the shelter field also, supporting these national efforts through technical and financial assistance.

There have been real achievements that demonstrate the ability of these nations to set policy objectives and shape institutions for dealing with some of the major societal problems that accompany urbanization. While these achievements are legitimate inspiration for some optimism, it must be tempered by realization that the population of African cities will double in less than two decades and that the nations of the continent have yet to put themselves into positions from which they can do what they must do: turn burgeoning urban growth into economic advantage. That is the fundamental challenge today.

#### V. Today's Urban Agenda

To some degree the prospects for economic development of African cities are out of decision-makers' hands. Although change in climatic conditions that have devastated the continent's agriculture is one of the most important factors in improving over all economic performance in many nations, drought is a phenomenon not easily influenced through policy. Dampening the universally high rates of population growth is, however. So long as population continues to increase faster than a nation's productive capacity, it will be difficult to maintain even today's level of living. Raising living standards will be nearly

impossible. Even if conditions worsen, so long as it is relatively worse in the rural areas than in the cities and towns, urban growth will continue at its current breathtaking pace.

In the short run, concerted family planning will have little impact on the cities of Africa which must absorb and find work for those already born. Early attention to the matter by national policy makers is nonetheless crucial to avert an urban demographic disaster after the turn of the century, beyond the dire projections of present trends.

Dealing with drought and population growth are the hard problems. What are the easy ones? Or, put in a slightly less facetious way, what are those core economic development issues bound up in urbanization that can be directly addressed by policy makers, with the prospective support of international agencies committed to improving productivity in Africa?

#### A. Needed: Urban Policy and Priorities

It is always a temptation, in view of political pressures to achieve an equitable distribution of resources, for governments to spread resources too thinly and too widely. The will may be admirable but the result can be that no place receives sufficient resources to effect a beneficial result. There really can be no avoidance of the difficult process of making strategic choices and setting priorities. Priority setting for urban investments has to be a central concern of an urban agenda.

In fantasy, it might be nice to identify some universal model that a country could select and follow with minimum adaptations. But life experience has shown that some costly, wasteful mistakes have been made in pursuit of models and fads in urban development.

New town development has been one such idea. Building new capitals may have been an appropriate means for redirecting growth away from over-developed existing centers at certain times and in certain places (Lilongwe in Malawi and Gaborone in Botswana, perhaps). A more recent attempt at creating a new national capital, Abuja in Nigeria, has been undertaken when costs of infrastructure for an entire new city have escalated beyond most nations' ability to finance. As investment resources become increasingly constrained throughout Africa, further creation of new communities as an alternative to improving capacity of existing urban centers seems highly undesirable.

Africa needs national urban policies based on understanding of the links between urban investment and agricultural productivity and between patterns of urban settlement and over all economic performance. Additional reasons for undertaking such policy efforts are:

- Cities and towns are the physical setting for the largest proportion of a nation's capital investment commitments.
- Under conditions of scarcity, capital investment should be very carefully placed for best advantage. Locations and timing of investment should follow well-grounded priorities.
- Capital investments produce maximum economic and social benefits when linked within specific communities and when supported by planning and actions to ensure these linkages work and potential benefits are not blocked.

National urban policy should squarely address the allocation issue, which is a major concern of the 9th Africa Conference and a subject highlighted in plenary session debate. What communities should receive what proportions of national investment allocations, and over what length of time? How much of what kind of investments should go to the primate center to improve its economic and social prospects? Conversely, what commitments should be made to which secondary centers and market towns? Should investment resources be dispersed throughout the country or concentrated in one, or a few, most promising communities? In the formulation of national urban policy, issues of efficiency, equity and political exigency need to be analyzed and debated.

Faced with realization that selective and coordinated community investment is critical, several countries are now beginning to formulate such urban policy. Early efforts in the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, and Senegal along with Tunisia's latest stage in decentralization planning are presented as case studies for discussion in the conference.

#### B. Making the Cities Work

Selective, coordinated investment in cities is one step toward building the basis for urban economic development. Making the individual cities work is a parallel imperative. Productive, job-generating business and industry are established in cities because of a wide array of advantages including markets, labor force, sites, and municipal services. If the services do not function reliably (including installed infrastructure for which the major capital outlays have already been made), new enterprise will not develop and existing operations will falter. By and large cities of Africa do not work. Both small market centers and large metropolises lack operational capability, although the paralysis of great cities is most devastating to nations' economic fortunes.

Making the cities of Africa work is a job of institution-building that can not long be deferred. Each country must evolve a municipal administrative structure that suits its own particular culture, geography, and developmental needs. Whatever the structure, emphasis should be on performance in the basics of urban governance: management

and budgeting of both revenues and expenditures, designation of responsibilities and accountability for results, record-keeping, analysis of information for sound decision-making, and developing personnel both dedicated to, and capable of, doing the job.

Improvements in the following areas require particular attention:

1. Urban services and infrastructure maintenance.

At the very heart of the urban services that need to be performed are the "life-support" tasks that permit a city to function. Such services as collecting garbage and disposing of it in sanitary manner, filling potholes and repairing other roadway damage, reconstruction of poorly designed rights of way, keeping the drainage ways clear, cleaning clogged standpipes and standpipe platforms, latrines and market areas as well eliminating disease-breeding pools of stagnant water are important not only for environmental health, for also for lengthening the useful life of precious existing capital investments.

2. Fiscal management.

Most local governments derive support for providing such services, in greater or lesser measure, from grants out of the central government budget. But cities and towns are not generating the substantial contributions to their own financing that they can, and should, make. There is great need to rationalize the systems of land registration, record-keeping and rate collections, the pricing of local public services and recapturing for the public coffers some of the values created by infrastructure investment. Tamale, Ghana has been successful in raising its due revenue by training students and compensating them for collecting local rates.

There are two sides to this coin, however. If citizens are to be expected to be responsible in paying rates and user fees levied for public services and facilities, municipal government will have to be responsible in rendering services. Residents of Gaborone's sites and services project withheld payment of their service levy when street lights and garbage collection were not provided as promised, and expected. It is very important that the community believe their assessments are fair and reasonably related to the value received in return.

3. Ability to anticipate and provide for future needs.

The ability to look ahead and prepare for anticipated needs (i.e. planning) is a critical municipal function -- largely absent -- at the local level in Africa today. Inability to forecast and control residential and other land-use development has played a big role in the shortages of water, the overloading and frequent breakdown of electrical systems and so on. There is great need also for much more widespread

understanding among local officials of the roles and relationships of their activities -- or inactivity -- with respect to their national development agenda.

Making the cities work is a task in which some of the countries represented at the 9th Conference have truly engaged themselves. Kenya has a secondary cities program which aims to institute new, simplified and straightforward capital budgeting procedures in every participating local government. Egypt has selected three secondary cities as pilots for major upgrading of municipal management combined with funding for expanded utilities. Technical advisers work along with municipal staff in reforming procedures. Supplementary support for the recurrent budget is allocated from Egyptian and overseas (USAID) sources. Tunisia has created a municipal development bank in an effort to induce communities to take greater responsibility for construction and operations of capital projects. It requires that communities expand their revenue sources in order to meet loan repayment schedules.

### C. Training and Compensation of Personnel

Meeting the challenge requires legislative and administrative changes. These changes must be carried out by people, however, -- African people. Only those who know their respective societies, have the technical and organizational skills to operate the municipal machinery, and are clearly accountable to residents of the cities will ensure that the cities work sufficiently well to become generators of economic development.

While primate cities could all stand to gain by institutional strengthening, capacity-building needs are most acute in the intermediate cities and towns and the market centers. For most of the trained administrators and professionals are concentrated in the national capitals.

Today, no nation on the continent has a trained cadre to plan and manage municipal affairs: architects, engineers, administrators, budget reviewers, mechanics, maintenance foremen, accountants, surveyors, community development workers and so on. To this list should also be added elected councillors and/or appointed officials who know procedures for sound budgeting and administration of urban services.

Skilled Africans who hold such positions are few, overworked, and frequently paid well below comparable jobs in the private sector or even central government. Because respect is very important in African cultures it will be difficult to attract good people, honestly and conscientiously dedicated to their jobs, until municipal management positions afford considerably more respect than current salary levels and status reflect. All too many key jobs, moreover, are held by expatriate advisers whose technical skill is welcome but should be available

only temporarily until local personnel are available to take their places.

Given the inevitability that cities will be home for a majority of Africa's population, it is inescapable that many times more people must be trained to manage municipal affairs.

International agencies can play a large role in developing municipal skills and disseminating ideas among individuals who will have opportunities and responsibilities to adapt and innovate within their own cultural contexts. Over time this will be more important than any short term supplemental capital resources. USAID and other international agencies (e.g. UN HABITAT and the World Bank) are already poised to identify municipal training needs and to ways of improving personnel resources.

Governmental commitments still leave much to be desired, although there is some dawning recognition of need. Kenya is one example, where the secondary cities program heavily emphasizes training of municipal personnel and education of municipal councils.

#### D. A New Urban Ethic

If responsible decision-making and effective implementation are themes for this difficult period of straitened circumstances in Africa, another may well be local governmental reform. Civic consciousness is a timely and compatible sub-theme to emerge from the Continent's experience with urbanization.

A movement that focusses on developing local economies and issues of accountability in local government will mean some changes in local politics. A shift is in order -- away from the more typical competition among ethnic groups for a turn in positions of power and toward substantive issues of importance to urban development. Such a shift could also signal waning public tolerance of graft and corruption. There are signs this may be happening in Kenya, for example, where the Ministry of Local Government has suspended the Nairobi City Council, and in Nigeria where the recent revolution took as a major aim eliminating corruption at all levels of public life.

#### E. Concluding Note

This is a full plate, and there are no pre-cooked answers. Formulating urban development policy, overhauling urban governmental institutions so they can perform municipal services, upgrading and expanding the cadre of technical administrative personnel, and introducing a new municipal ethic into the workings of politics are

formidable undertakings, particularly when financial resources across the continent are so constrained.

Yet, resources are being expended now, often with disappointingly little result to show. Setting a clear direction for use of these resources and the energies of those who manage them is a reasonable, albeit modest, beginning. From such modest beginnings each country may find its own relationship to the new urban realities of Africa.

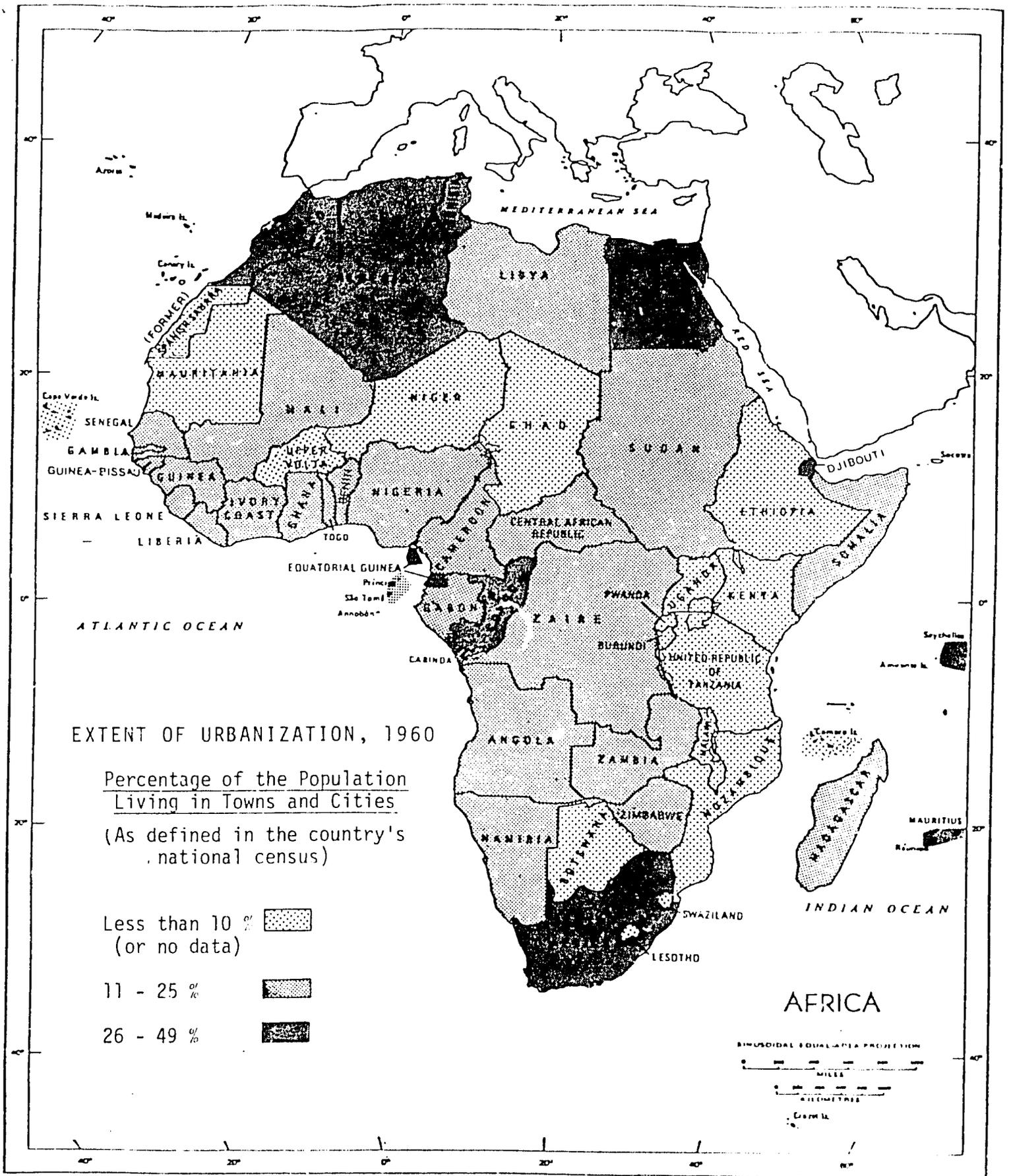
Table 1  
 CHANGES IN PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTRY  
 1960, 1980 and PROJECTIONS FOR 2000  
 (N= Northern, E= Eastern, S= Southern, W= Western, M= Middle, I= Island Nations)

Country and Subregion		% Urban 1960	Country and Subregion		% Urban 1980	Country and Subregion		% Urban Proj 2000
Botswana	S	2	Burundi	E	2	Burundi	E	4
Lesotho	S	2	Rwanda	E	4	Cape Verde	I	9
Rwanda	E	2	Cape Verde	I	7	Rwanda	E	9
Burundi	E	2	Swaziland	S	8			
Mauritania	W	3	Uganda	E	9			
Swaziland	S	4	Mozambique	S	9	Lesotho	S	11
Malawi	E	4	Malawi	E	10	Swaziland	S	16
Mozambique	S	4				Upper Volta	W	16
Comoros	I	5	Upper Volta	W	11	Benin	W	18
Uganda	E	5	Comoros	I	12	Mozambique	S	18
Tanzania	E	5	Lesotho	S	12	Comoros	I	23
Upper Volta	W	5	Tanzania	E	12	Botswana	S	24
Ethiopia	E	6	Niger	W	13	Uganda	E	24
Niger	W	6	Ethiopia	E	14	Niger	W	24
Cape Verde	I	7	Kenya	E	15			
Kenya	E	7	Benin	W	15	Tanzania	E	25
Chad	M	7	Botswana	S	16	Kenya	E	26
Angola	S	10	Gambia	W	18	Ethiopia	E	28
Togo	W	10	Madagascar	I	19	Togo	W	30
Sudan	M	10	Malj	W	19	Gambia	W	31
Guinea	W	10	Chad	M	19	Madagascar	I	32
Benin	W	10	Guinea	W	20	Nigeria	W	33
			Nigeria	W	21	Guinea	W	33
Madagascar	I	11	Togo	W	21	Chad	M	33
Mali	W	11	Angola	S	22	Mali	W	34
Gambia	W	12	Sierra Leone	W	22	Angola	S	36
Nigeria	W	13	Zimbabwe	S	23	Senegal	W	37
Zimbabwe	S	13	Guinea-Bissau	W	23	Seychelles	I	38
Sierra Leone	W	13	Mauritania	W	24	Zimbabwe	S	38
Cameroon	W	14				Guinea-Bissau	W	39
Guinea-Bissau	W	14	Sudan	M	26	Sierra Leone	W	40
Sao Tome, Principe	I	16	Seychelles	I	27	Sudan	M	42
Zaire	M	16	Cent Afr Rep	M	29	Somalia	E	46
Gabon	W	17	Somalia	E	31	Liberia	W	49
Somalia	E	17	Sao Tome, Principe	I	33			
Ivory Coast	W	19	Liberia	W	34	Sao Tome, Principe	I	50
Liberia	W	21	Senegal	W	34	Congo	M	50
Namibia	S	23	Gabon	W	36	Nauritania	W	50
Libya	N	23	Cameroon	W	36	Ghana	W	51
Zambia	M	23	Zaire	M	36	Gabon	W	54
Ghana	W	23	Ghana	W	37	Zambia	M	54
Senegal	W	23	Ivory Coast	W	41	Malawi	E	54
Cent Afr Rep	M	23	Morocco	N	41	Ivory Coast	W	55
			Zambia	M	44	Morocco	N	55
Seychelles	I	26	Algeria	N	44	Cameroon	W	56
Eq't'l Guinea	W	26	Egypt	N	44	Zaire	M	56
Morocco	N	29	Namibia	S	45	Egypt	N	57
Algeria	N	30	Congo	M	46	Cent Afr Rep	M	58
Congo	M	30				South Africa	S	60
Mauritius	I	33	South Africa	S	50	Namibia	S	63
Reunion	I	34	Mauritius	I	52	Tunisia	N	66
Tunisia	N	36	Tunisia	N	53	Mauritius	I	67
Egypt	N	38	Libya	N	54	Reunion	I	70
South Africa	S	47	Eq't'l Guinea	W	54	Eq't'l Guinea	W	71
Djibouti	E	49	Reunion	I	55	Libya	N	72
			Djibouti	E	74	Algeria	N	76
						Djibouti	E	84

Sources: The primary source for data on percentage of the population living in urban areas is the United Nations' Patterms of Urban and Rural Population Growth, 1980.

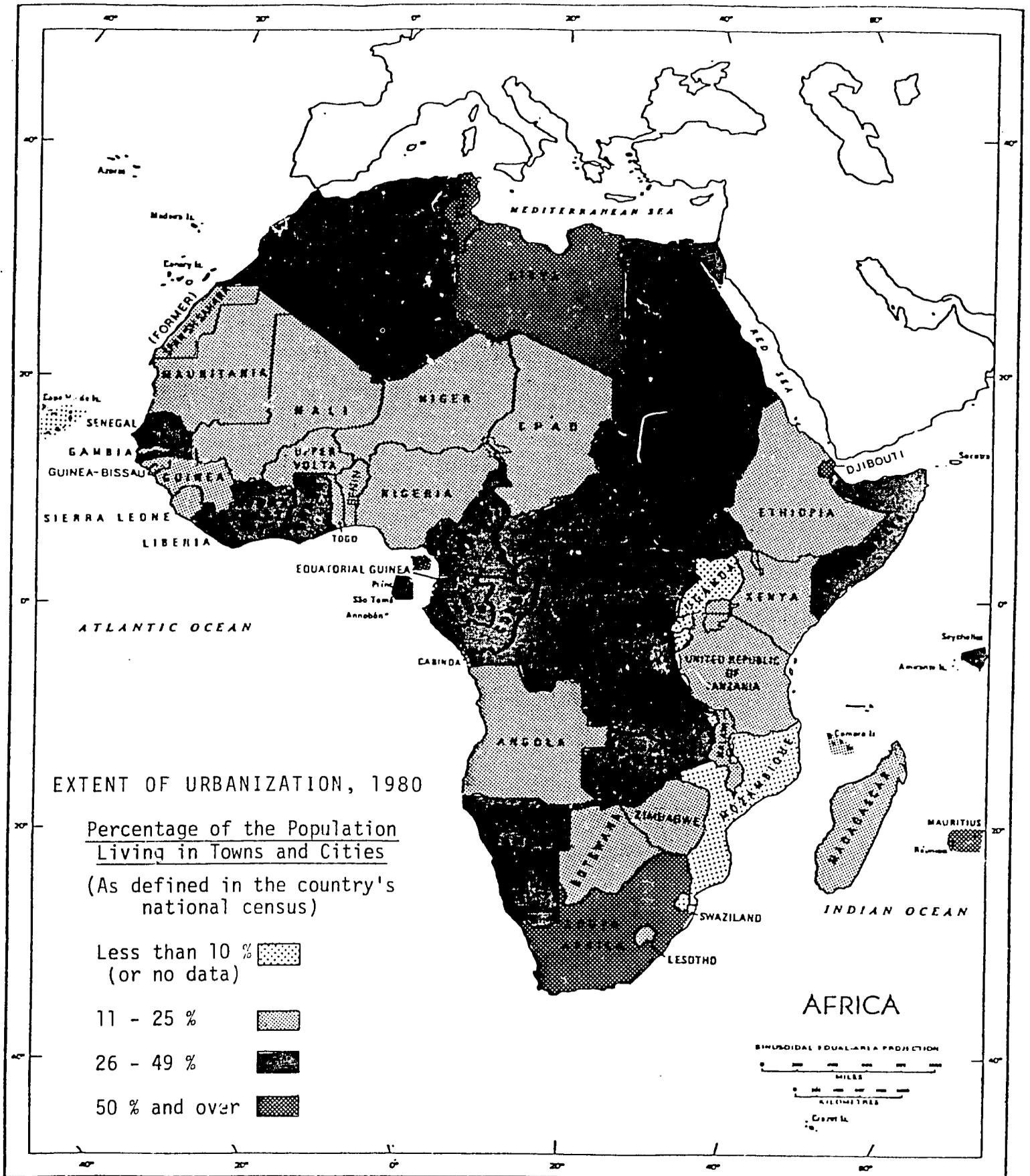
In a few cases more up-to-date information from the World Bank's World Development Reports, 1982 and 1983 is shown. In one or two other cases where data for individual countries was omitted from the United Nations documents, they are supplied here from sources of the USAID Office of Housing and Urban Programs.

Figure 1



The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, finally determined and their reproduction does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Figure 2



The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, legally determined and their reproduction does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Figure 3

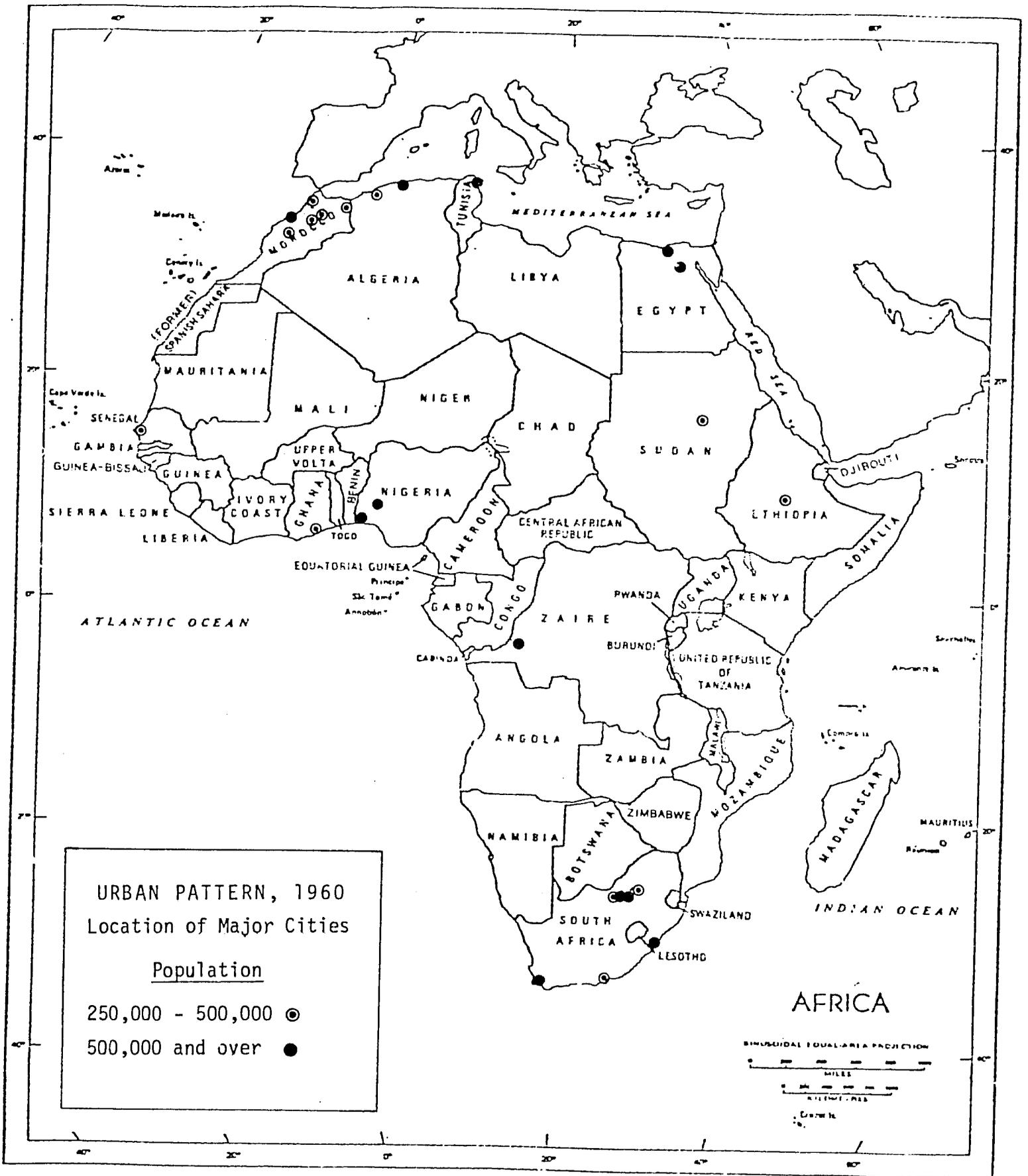
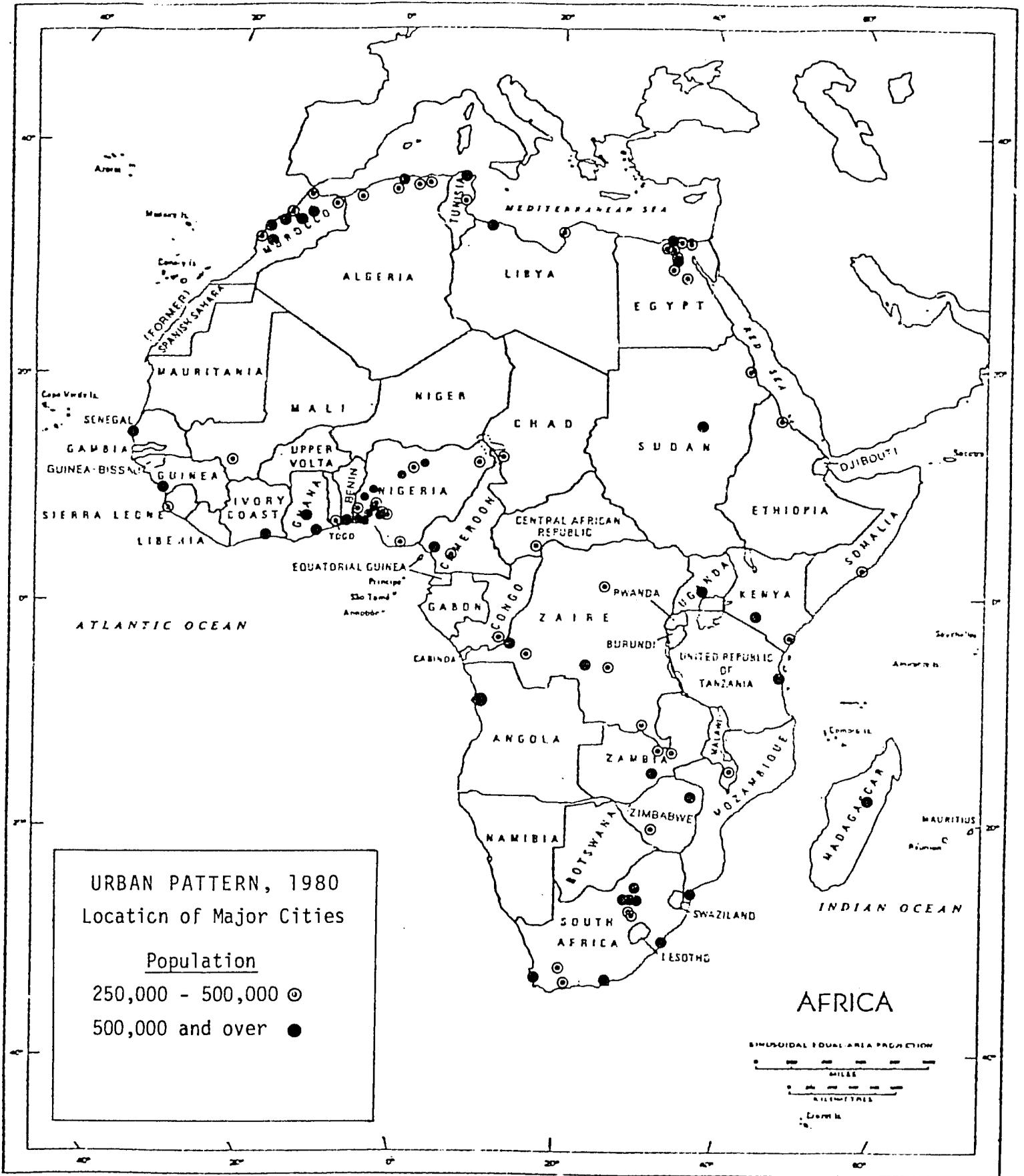
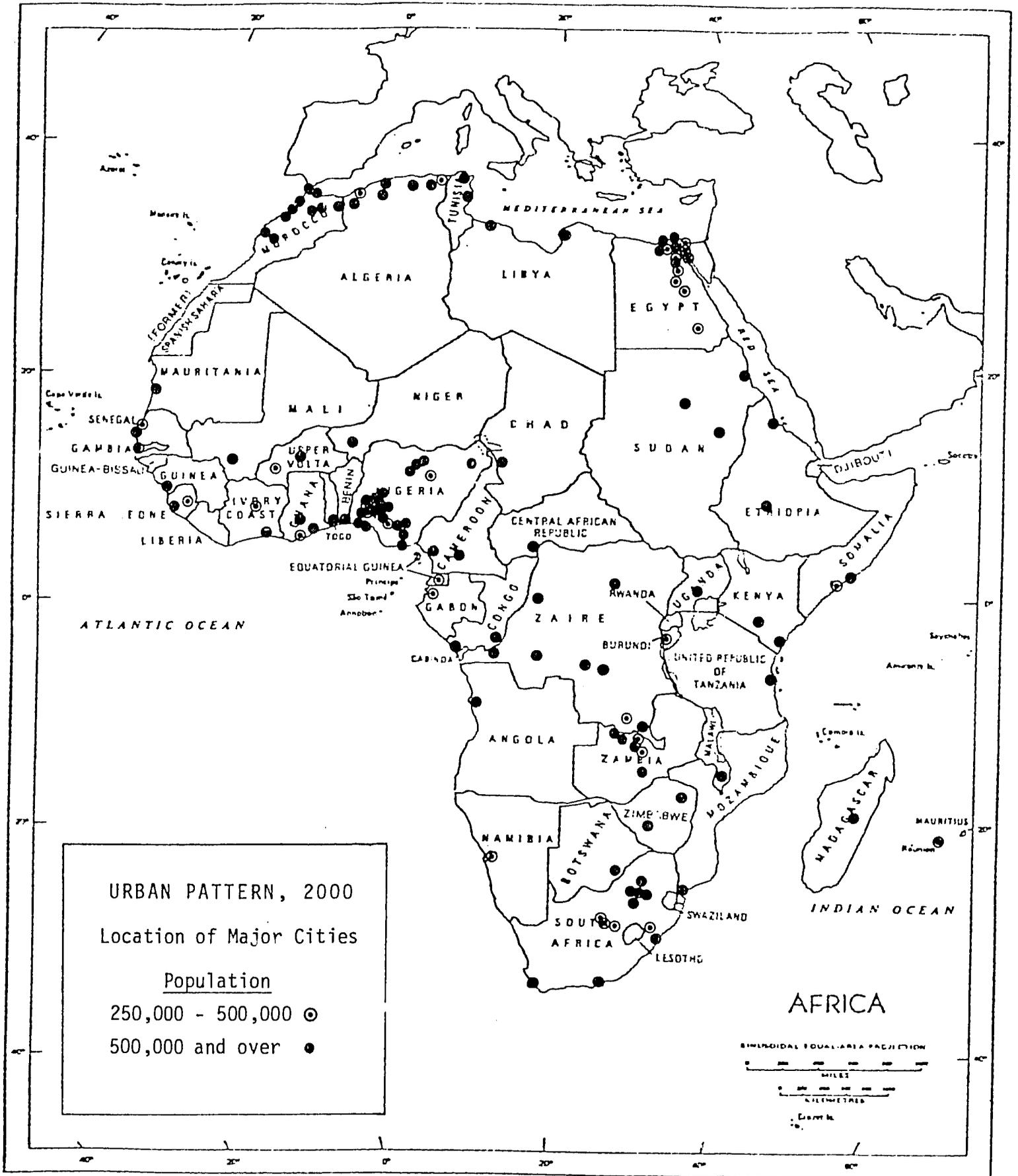


Figure 4



The locations shown on this map are not, in any instance, exactly determined and the population does not imply actual measurement or agreement by the United Nations.

Figure 5



The boundaries shown on this map are not, in some instances, exactly determined and their representation does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

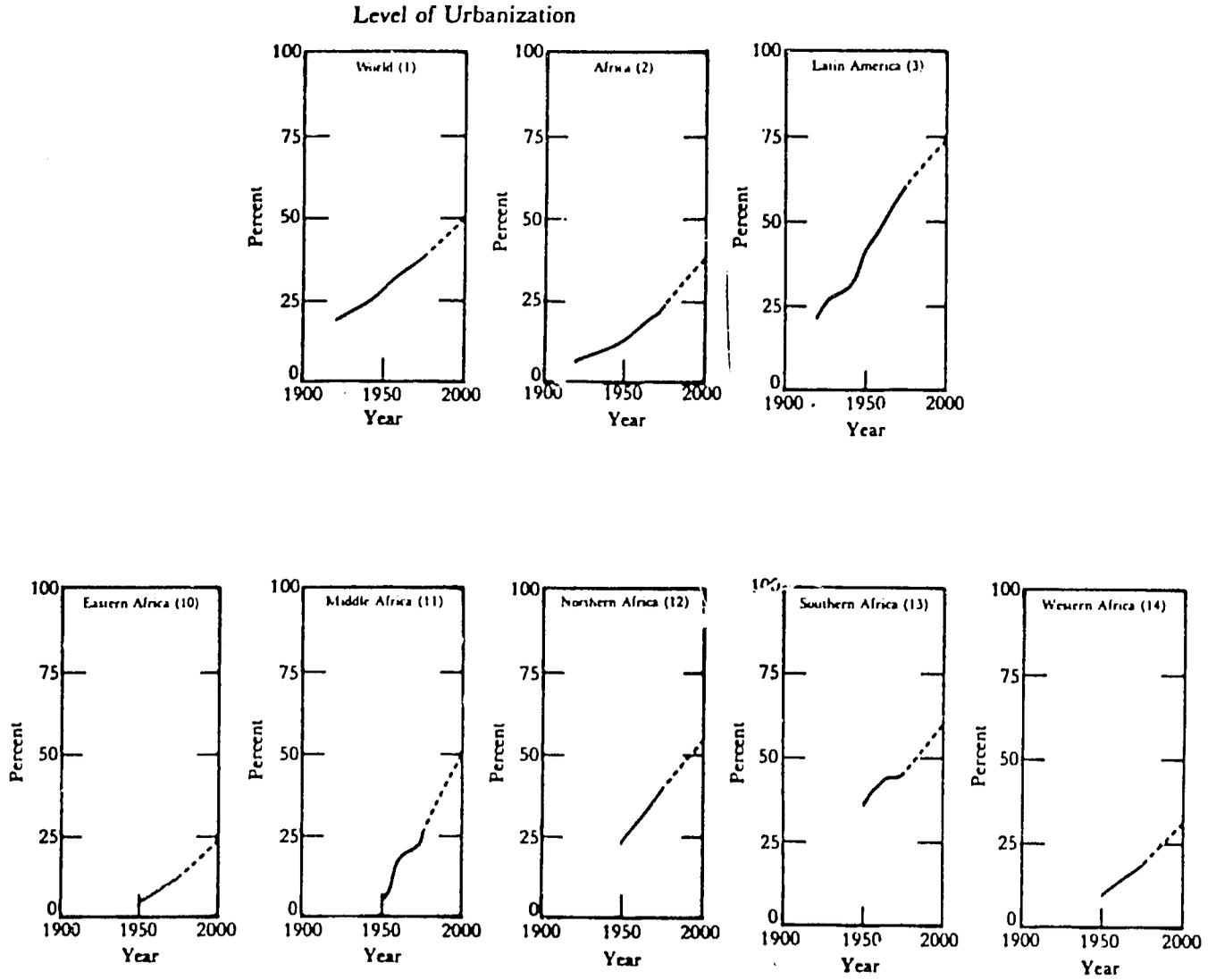
Table 2

AFRICAN COUNTRIES GROUPED BY ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE (% INCREASE IN PER CAPITA GNP, 1960-81  
(Subregions: N= Northern, S= Southern, W= Western, M= Middle, I= Island Nations)

Country and Subregion		Total Population	Urban Population	Average Annual Urban Growth (%)		1981 GNP Per Capita (US \$)	Average Annual Change (%) in Per Capita	
		1981 (000)	1981 (000)	1960-70	1970-80		GNP 1960-81	Agricultural Production 1969-71 - 1977-79
Botswana	S	930	150	17.6	15.0	1,010	7.9	-1.1
Lesotho	S	1,400	165	7.5	7.0	540	7.0	-0.9
Swaziland	S	600	56	8.8	4.2	760	5.5	2.1
Cape Verde	I	300	20	2.1	1.2	340	5.5	
Gabon	W	700	240	4.3	4.5	3,810	4.9	-1.1
Tunisia	N	6,500	3,460	3.8	3.9	1,420	4.8	..
Libya	N	3,100	1,670	8.0	8.3	8,450	4.7	..
Nigeria	W	87,600	18,400	5.0	4.5	870	3.5	-0.8
Egypt	N	43,300	19,100	3.3	2.8	650	3.4	..
Algeria	N	19,600	8,630	3.5	5.7	2,140	3.2	..
Seychelles	I	63	17	2.7	2.9	1,800	2.9	
Kenya	E	17,400	2,600	6.4	6.8	420	2.9	0.6
Malawi	E	6,200	620	6.6	7.0	200	2.7	1.2
Cameroon	W	8,700	3,120	5.6	7.5	880	2.6	0.9
Gambia	W	600	100	5.1	5.0	370	2.6	-2.9
Morocco	N	20,900	8,560	4.2	4.6	860	2.5	..
Ivory Coast	W	8,500	3,490	7.3	8.6	1,150	2.5	-1.7
Togo	W	2,700	560	5.6	6.7	380	2.5	-2.8
Burundi	E	4,200	85	1.6	2.5	230	2.4	0.6
South Africa	S	29,500	14,760	2.8	3.1	2,770	2.3	..
Mauritius	I	970	510	4.6	3.6	1,270	2.1	0.6
Tanzania	E	19,100	2,290	6.3	8.7	280	1.9	-2.0
Rwanda	E	5,300	210	5.4	6.3	250	1.7	1.1
Mauritania	W	1,600	380	15.8	8.4	460	1.5	-4.0
Ethiopia	E	31,800	4,450	6.5	6.6	140	1.4	-1.7
Mali	W	6,900	1,310	5.4	5.6	190	1.3	-1.2
Liberia	W	1,900	660	5.6	5.7	520	1.2	-0.6
Upper Volta	W	6,300	690	5.7	5.9	240	1.1	0.5
Congo	M	1,700	760	5.0	4.5	1,100	1.0	-2.6
Zimbabwe	S	7,200	1,650	6.8	6.4	870	1.0	-0.4
Benin	W	3,600	540	5.3	3.7	320	0.6	-0.6
Cent Afr Rep	M	2,400	690	5.1	4.8	320	0.4	0.0
Sierra Leone	W	3,600	790	5.5	4.3	320	0.4	-0.8
Guinea	W	5,600	1,700	6.2	6.1	300	0.2	-2.7
Zambia	M	5,800	2,570	5.7	6.7	600	0.0	-0.2
Eq't'l Guinea	W	350	190	7.3	6.4	180	..	
Djibouti	E	380	290	4.7	4.9	480	..	
Namibia	S	1,015	460	9.4	8.0	1,960	..	
Guinea-Bissau	W	800	180	2.2	4.3	180	..	-0.2
Mozambique	S	12,500	1,125	6.5	8.3	230	-0.1	-3.5
Zaire	M	29,800	11,730	5.2	7.2	210	-0.1	-1.5
Somalia	E	4,400	1,370	5.3	5.0	280	-0.2	-1.7
S Tome, Princ	I	115	40	7.0	6.5	370	-0.2	
Senegal	W	5,900	1,990	3.7	3.5	430	-0.3	-1.5
Sudan	M	19,200	5,000	6.7	7.1	380	-0.3	-0.8
Madagascar	I	9,000	1,700	5.4	4.3	330	-0.5	-0.8
Uganda	E	13,000	1,180	7.1	3.4	220	-0.6	-3.5
Reunion	I	530	300	7.7	5.4	3,840	-0.7	
Ghana	W	11,800	4,380	4.6	5.1	400	-1.1	-3.1
Niger	W	5,700	740	7.0	6.8	330	-1.6	-1.5
Chad	M	4,500	860	6.7	6.5	110	-2.2	-0.9
Angola	S	7,800	1,710	5.1	5.7	470	-2.3	-5.6
Comoros	I	360	40	9.1	9.0	320	-2.4	

Sources: World Bank, World Development Report, 1983 and Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action, 1983. In some cases where the World Bank sources did not include population data United Nations figures are shown.

Figure 6



Source: Excerpt from Bertrand Renaud, National Urbanization Policy in Developing Countries, World Bank Research Publication, 1981, pp.23-26

Table 3  
STATISTICAL INDICATORS FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Country and Subregion	Total Population 1981 (000)	Urban Population 1981 (000)	Urban Population as % of Total Population			Average Annual Urban Growth (%)		1981 GNP Per Capita (US \$)	Average Annual Change (%) In Per Capita	
			1960	1980 Proj	2000	1960-70	1970-80		GNP 1960-81	Agricultural Production 1969-71 to 1977-79
<b>Eastern Africa</b>										
Burundi	4,200	85	2	2	4	1.6	2.5	236	2.4	0.6
Djibouti	380	290	49	74	84	4.7	5.9	480	..	..
Ethiopia	31,800	4,450	6	14	28	6.5	6.6	140	1.4	-1.7
Kenya	17,400	2,600	7	15	26	6.4	6.8	420	2.9	0.6
Malawi	6,200	620	4	10	54	6.6	7.0	200	2.7	1.2
Rwanda	5,300	210	2	4	9	5.4	6.3	250	1.7	1.1
Somalia	4,400	1,370	17	31	46	5.3	5.0	280	-0.2	-1.7
Tanzania	19,100	2,290	5	12	25	6.3	8.7	280	1.9	-2.0
Uganda	13,000	1,180	5	9	24	7.1	3.4	220	-0.6	-3.5
<b>Middle Africa</b>										
Cent Afr Rep	2,400	690	23	29	58	5.1	4.8	320	0.4	0.0
Chad	4,500	860	7	19	33	6.7	6.5	110	-2.2	-0.9
Congo	1,700	760	30	46	50	5.0	4.5	1,100	1.0	-2.6
Sudan	19,200	5,000	10	26	42	6.7	7.1	380	-0.3	-0.8
Zaire	29,800	11,730	16	36	56	5.2	7.2	210	-0.1	-1.5
Zambia	5,800	2,570	23	44	54	5.4	6.7	600	0.0	-0.2
<b>Northern Africa</b>										
Algeria	19,600	8,630	30	44	76	3.5	5.7	2,140	3.2	..
Egypt	43,300	19,100	38	44	57	3.3	2.8	650	3.4	..
Libya	3,100	1,670	23	54	72	8.0	8.3	8,450	4.7	..
Morocco	20,900	8,560	29	41	55	4.2	4.6	860	2.5	..
Tunisia	6,500	3,460	36	53	66	3.8	3.9	1,420	4.8	..
<b>Southern Africa</b>										
Angola	7,800	1,710	10	22	36	5.1	5.7	470	-2.3	-5.6
Botswana	930	150	2	16	24	17.6	15.0	1,000	7.9	-1.1
Lesotho	1,400	165	2	12	11	7.5	7.0	540	7.0	-0.9
Mozambique	12,500	1,125	4	9	18	6.5	8.3	230	-0.1	-3.5
Namibia	1,015	460	23	45	63	9.4	8.0	1,960	..	..
South Africa	29,500	14,760	47	50	60	2.8	3.1	2,770	2.3	..
Swaziland	600	56	4	8	16	8.8	4.2	760	5.5	2.1
Zimbabwe	7,200	1,650	13	23	38	6.8	6.4	870	1.0	-0.4
<b>Western Africa</b>										
Benin	3,600	540	10	15	18	5.3	3.7	320	0.6	-0.6
Cameroon	8,700	3,120	14	36	56	5.6	7.5	880	2.6	0.9
Eq'torial Guinea	350	190	26	54	71	7.3	6.4	180	..	..
Gabon	700	240	17	36	54	4.3	4.5	3,810	4.9	-1.1
Gambia	600	100	12	18	31	5.1	5.0	370	2.6	-2.9
Ghana	11,800	4,380	23	37	51	4.6	5.1	400	-1.1	-3.1
Guinea	5,600	1,700	10	20	33	6.2	6.1	300	0.2	-2.7
Guinea-Bissau	800	180	14	23	39	2.2	4.3	190	..	-0.2
Ivory Coast	8,500	3,490	19	41	55	7.3	8.6	1,150	2.5	-1.7
Liberia	1,900	660	21	34	49	5.6	5.7	520	1.2	-0.6
Mali	6,900	1,310	11	19	34	5.4	5.6	190	1.3	-1.2
Mauritania	1,600	380	3	24	50	15.8	8.4	460	1.5	-4.0
Niger	5,700	740	6	13	24	7.0	6.8	330	-1.6	-1.5
Nigeria	87,600	18,400	13	21	33	5.0	4.5	870	3.5	-0.8
Senegal	5,900	1,990	23	34	37	3.7	3.5	430	-0.3	-1.5
Sierra Leone	3,600	790	13	22	40	5.5	4.3	320	0.4	-0.8
Togo	2,700	560	10	21	30	5.6	6.7	380	2.5	-2.8
Upper Volta	6,300	690	5	11	16	5.7	5.9	240	1.1	0.5
<b>Island Nations</b>										
Cape Verde	300	20	7	7	9	2.1	1.2	340	5.5	..
Comoros	360	40	5	12	23	9.1	9.0	320	-2.4	..
Madagascar	9,000	1,700	11	19	32	5.4	4.3	330	-0.5	-0.8
Mauritius	970	510	33	52	67	4.6	3.6	1,270	2.1	0.6
Reunion	530	300	34	55	70	7.7	5.4	3,840	-0.7	..
Sao Tome, Principe	115	40	16	33	50	7.0	6.5	370	-0.2	..
Seychelles	63	17	26	27	38	2.7	2.9	1,800	2.5	..

Sources and Notes: Economic data and 1981 population estimates are from the World Bank Development Report, 1983. Estimates of per capita change in agricultural production come from the World Bank, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for ACTION, 1983. Figures on urban growth and percentage of population in urban areas are, with a few exceptions, from the United Nations, Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth, 1980. The exceptions include cases in which World Bank publications present more recent information and in which information missing from the UN documents could be filled in from sources of the USAID Office of Housing and Urban Programs. The United Nations definition of "urban" generally includes settlements of 20,000 population or over, but for certain years defers to individual countries' census definitions of urban places which may vary. In a few instances the World Bank presents data for a year other than the one indicated, and the United Nations' figures represent projections to the years indicated from the dates of respective national censuses and other surveys. Some African countries included in the United Nations list are omitted here because sufficient data are lacking: British Indian Ocean Territory, Western Sahara and St. Helena. For the Central African Republic, Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mauritania the more recent World Bank data indicate a slower rate of urbanization than the United Nations estimates. For Lesotho, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, the World Bank's estimates of the percentage of population living in urban areas are higher than the United Nations'.