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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

1. Introduction

Urbanization is the process of increasing the proportion of urban population in the total population of a country. This increase of the urban population may be due to the following three factors:

- (a) migration from rural to urban areas,
- (b) natural increase of population,
- (c) the changes of administrative boundaries of urban localities.

The role of migration in this process is usually the most important since the natural increase of population in urban areas has generally a smaller role. While changes of administrative boundaries of urban localities have not had up to now a significant influence on urbanization in Africa. One can expect this factor to become more important. It is necessary to undertake special estimates of the population growth in urban areas due to administrative changes in the boundaries only.

But in some countries the changes in the boundaries of urban areas have already had important influence on the growth of urban population. Unfortunately there are no proper data to make detailed estimates.

In Uganda for example according to 1959 census returns, 2.6 per cent of the population were found to be living in urban areas, whereas the comparable figure from the 1969 census was 7.7 per cent. The authors of country statement of Uganda ^{1/} had written in this connection: "This very rapid growth is partly accounted for by substantial changes in the boundaries of urban areas between the two censuses". ^{1/}

Mr. S.H. Ominde ^{2/} has emphasized the role of the administrative changes in the boundaries of urban areas. He said: "One of the factors in the changing balance of population has been the changing administrative boundaries. This has increased the area available for urban development. But it has also, through the inclusion of parts of neighbouring former African land units, contributed to the changes in the demographic characteristics of the population. In 1948 the colonial city (Nairobi) of 83.92 square kilometres had a total population of 118,976 of which just over a half were Africans. At the time of the 1962 census, the old city boundary which excluded the areas added by the 1963 Regional boundary, had an area of 90.65 square

^{1/} Country statement of Uganda, African Population Conference, Accra, December 1971, paper No. POP/INF/66, p.2.

^{2/} S.H. Ominde, Migration and the Structure of Population in Nairobi, African Population Conference, Accra, December 1971, POP.Conf.3/11.

kilometres and included a total population of 266,794 of which just under 60 per cent were Africans."

There are two basis criteria for urban population : statistical and administrative one.

The first one is based on a given number of inhabitants which forejudge formally the character of a locality.

The administrative criterion is based on the legally granted urban laws to the locality. The following elements are usually jointly taken into consideration to grant urban laws to the locality:

- total population,
- surplus of population which earns its main income from non-agricultural sources over the rest of population,
- character of the buildings.

Close comparisons between the sub-regions and between individual countries are made difficult by the lack of standard definitions, firstly of what constitutes a locality, and secondly as to where to draw the line between "urban" and "rural". An attempt has been made to minimize the latter problem by formally defining localities by size-class in the following way, in keeping with most recent United Nations publications:

- locality with 500,000 or more inhabitants = big city,
- locality with 100,000 or more inhabitants = city,
- locality with 20,000 or more inhabitants = urban locality,
- locality with less than 20,000 inhabitants = rural locality.

This is not, of course a complete solution; Nigeria, for example, has villages completely rural in character, but with more than 20,000 inhabitants; but it does go a long way towards eliminating inconsistencies.

One of the most pressing problems currently facing many African countries is the population drift from the rural areas to the towns and cities, with its attendant economic and sociological implications. The extent to which urbanization has occurred in the countries of the region is shown in Table 1.

It is worth emphasizing that all the African countries bordering on the Mediterranean have between 20 and 40 per cent of their populations in towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants. This is of course, not surprising when we consider that many North African cities had been centres of trade and civilization centres before the exploration of sub-saharan Africa. The majority of Central and West African countries lie in the

TABLE 1

Percentage of population (a) in towns of 20,000 and more inhabitants,
and (b) in cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants

Sub-region and country	Year	(A)	(B)	
			(C)	(D)
<u>North Africa</u>				
Algeria	1948	14.1	6.6	46.8
	1960	21.6	16.4	68.6
	1966	26.5	13.4	50.6
Libya	1954	18.3	11.9	65.0
	1964	...	22.5	...
Morocco	1960	23.7	18.9	79.7
Sudan	1956	5.2	2.5	47.2
	1962	3.9	1.7	44.6
Tunisia	1956	20.7	10.8	52.4
	1966	22.9	10.4	45.4
Arab Republic of Egypt	1947	28.9	20.0	69.2
	1960	36.6	27.1	74.0
	1966	38.2	29.6	77.2
<u>Total North Africa</u>	1960	24	18	72
<u>West Africa</u>				
Dahomey	1955	5.5	-	-
	1961	8.3	-	-
Gambia	1951	-	-	-
	1964	8.9	-	-
Ghana	1948	5.0	3.3	66.0
	1960	12.3	9.5	77.7
Guinea	1955	5.1	-	-
	1960	6.6	5.7	86.6
Ivory Coast	1956	6.8	5.1	75.0
	1960	7.0	5.6	79.3
Liberia	1962	7.9	-	-
Mali	1956	1.8	-	-
	1962	4.7	2.3	70.5
Niger	1956	-	-	-
	1963	1.3	-	-

TABLE 1 Continued

Sub-region and country	Year	(A)	(B)	
			(C)	(D)
<u>West Africa (Cont'd)</u>				
Nigeria	1952-53	11.4	4.1	36.0
	1963	14.0	8.7	61.8
Senegal	1956	19.0	9.9	52.1
	1960-61	22.5	12.6	55.9
Sierra Leone	1962	7.1	5.9	82.8
Togo	1958	4.5	-	-
	1961	5.9	-	-
Upper Volta	1956	2.3	-	-
	1960	3.1	-	-
Total West Africa	1960	12	8	61
<u>Central Africa</u>				
Burundi	1965	2.6	-	-
Cameroon	1962-64	6.6	4.4	66.7
Central African Republic	1956	10.0	10.0	100.0
Chad	1963	2.8	-	-
Republic of Congo	1955-56	26.4	...	...
	1961-62	...	16.0	...
Zaire	1957	7.1	3.5	49.3
	1959	9.1	5.9	65.1
Equatorial Guinea	1960	26.3	-	-
Gabon	1963	10.1	-	-
Total Central Africa	1960	8	4	50
<u>East Africa</u>				
Ethiopia	1965	4.7	3.4	73.5
French Somaliland	1963	58.0	-	-
Kenya	1948	3.8	2.2	58.4
Madagascar	1959	7.9	4.7	59.0
Malawi	1962	2.6 ^{b/}	-	-
	1966	2.7	2.7	100.0

TABLE 1 Continued

Sub-region and country	Year	(A)	(B)	
			(C)	(D)
<u>East Africa (Cont'd)</u>				
Mauritius (exc. dependencies)	1952	-	-	-
	1962	30.1	-	-
Reunion	1954	45.0	-	-
Somalia	1962-63	7.7 ^{c/}	5.7 ^{c/}	75.0
Tanzania	1957-58	2.5	1.4 ^{b/}	57.0 ^{b/}
	1967	5.1	2.2	43.3
Tanganyika	1957	1.9	1.5	77.2
	1967	4.7	2.3	48.6
Zanzibar & Pemba	1958	19.4	-	-
	1967	19.3	-	-
Uganda	1948	0.4	-	-
	1959	1.2	-	-
	1969	5.1	4.0	78.3
Zambia	1963	16.5 ^{b/}	5.9 ^{b/}	35.9 ^{b/}
Total East Africa	1960	5	3	60
<u>Other African countries</u>				
Angola	1950	4.1	3.4	82.9
	1955	5.8	4.25	73.3
Botswana	1964	18.0	-	-
Mozambiaue	1960	...	2.7	...
Southern Rhodesia	1969	15.6	12.4	79.2
Republic of South Africa	1951	30.8	23.1	75.1
	1960	35.1	26.5	75.5
Namibia	1951	4.7	-	-
	1960	6.8	-	-
Total other African countries	1960	26 ^{a/}	15	59
Total Africa	1960	13	9	69

Sources: United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1969; National sources.

Footnote to Table 1.

- (A) Percentage of total population in towns of 20,000 and more inhabitants a/
- (B) Population in cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants as a percentage of:
- (C) (i) total population
- (D) (ii) Population in towns of 20,000 and more inhabitants

a/ Including cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants.

b/ African population only.

c/ Unofficial estimate.

d/ ~~Excluding~~ Mozambique for which data are not available.

medium range, with proportions of between 5 per cent and 20 per cent of their populations inhabiting the urban areas. At present the least urbanized sub-region is the East; with the exception of Zambia, no sizable East African country has more than 10 per cent of its population in the towns, and even in Zambia, the proportion is only about 16 per cent. The remaining African countries do not form a homogeneous group, where excluding the highly urbanized South Africa, the level is generally low.

In the majority of African countries having people in localities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, the population is concentrated in one or two cities. The only real exceptions to this are Nigeria, South Africa and the North African countries - each of the latter except the Sudan has several such cities, and they hold in each case at least 10 per cent of the country's population.

The degree of urban concentration is another aspect of the urbanization in Africa. Reference has already been made above to the existence of primate cities, which sometimes exist alone, with no others of comparable size or importance in the country. Basically about 68 per cent of the people living in towns of Africa are in the cities, and so there are few towns of intermediate size in the region.

2. Growth of the Urban Population

Of greater significance than the actual levels of urbanization in the African countries is the rate at which these levels are rising. At present the least urbanized world region, Africa, has the highest urban growth rate.

In most countries of the region the urban population is increasing at twice, and sometimes as much as 4 or 5 times, the rate of growth of the total population, and in general the population in the cities is increasing faster than in the towns. It is worthwhile to note that the rate of growth is lowest in the currently highly urbanized sub-regions and vice-versa.

Urban populations grow by the addition of births, decrease by deaths, and to this balance of natural increase is added that of net migration.

From the data presented in Demographic Handbook for Africa^{1/} it may be said that in Africa, as in other areas, fertility levels are generally higher in rural than in urban areas. Of the six countries for which there are comparable rates, (Guinea, Dahomey, Mali, Senegal, Central African Republic, Zaire) it is only in Zaire that the urban rate (general fertility rate) is higher than the rural rate.

^{1/} Demographic Handbook for Africa, UN Economic Commission for Africa, June 1971.

For mortality too, the crude death rates show lower levels in urban than in rural areas. The exception to this is the Central African Republic where the rates for urban and rural areas are the same.

Unfortunately there are no comparable data on the rate of natural increase for urban populations in Africa.

But there is evidence that the crucial factor in urban population growth is migration of population from rural areas to towns and cities. At a rather fast and alarming rate, people are increasingly gravitating from rural areas to the urban centres, especially the very large primary cities, whose stature and power of attracting migrants have been encouraged and sustained in Africa by recent post-independence economic, administrative and political developments.

Africa's growth rate of urban population is one of the highest at 5.4 per cent yearly as against 3.2 per cent for the whole world. In many cases, the annual rate of growth for the very large African cities far exceeds the above rate, reaching for example 10.9 per cent in Lusaka, Zambia, during 1958-63 and 11.8 per cent during 1963-68. 1/

On a continental basis the growth of localities having more than 100,000 inhabitants is 8.6 per cent annually; this rate being more than four times the annual rate of the total population growth in Africa between 1950 and 1960. 2/

The rates of increase of urban population in sub-regions and particular countries have been presented in Table 2.

1/ Doxiades Associates, Report on the Development of Greater Lusaka, 1969, pp. 90-91.

2/ "Size and Growth of Urban Population in Africa", (E/CN.14/CAS.6/3).

TABLE 2

Rates of increase of urban population

Sub-region and country	Population in cities of 20,000 and more inhabitants		Population in cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants	
	Period	Annual rate of increase	Period	Annual rate of increase
NORTH AFRICA				
Algeria	1948-60	5.8	1948-60	5.0
	1960-66	5.5	1960-66	-1.4 ^{a/}
Egypt	1947-60	4.4	1947-60	4.9
	...	...	1960-66	4.4
Libya	...	...	1954-64	10.5
Morocco	1952-60	3.1	1952-60	4.6
Sudan	...	...	1956-62	5.5
Tunisia	1946-56	0.7	1946-56	1.2
	1956-66	2.7	1956-66	1.2
WEST AFRICA				
Dahomey	1956-61	24.4	-	-
Gambia	1951-64	3.0	-	-
Ghana	1948-60	11.5	1948-60	9.1
Guinea	1958-60	8.4	-	-
Ivory Coast	1955-61	12.2	1955-61	6.9
Liberia	1956-60	18.3	-	-
Mali ^{b/}	1955-60	23.0	-	-
Niger	1955-62	12.1	-	-
Nigeria	1953-63	16.5	1953-63	13.8
Senegal	1955-60	10.8	1955-60	15.1
Togo	1955-62	13.1	-	-
Upper Volta	1959-61	15.5	-	-
CENTRAL AFRICA				
Burundi	1960-65	8.1	-	-
Cameroon	1962-64	0.4	1952-56	1.5
Central African Rep.	1959-64	5.6	-	-
Chad	1958-63	12.9	-	-
Republic of Congo	1956-62	7.9	1962-65	8.7
Gabon	1961-64	13.9	-	-
Zaire	1955-59	7.5	1955-59	15.2

TABLE 2 Continued

Sub-region and country	Population in cities of 20,000 and more inhabitants		Population in cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants	
	Period	Annual rate of increase	Period	Annual rate of increase
EAST AFRICA				
Ethiopia	...	-	1957-62	3.8
			1961-67	6.0 ^{d/}
Kenya	1948-62	6.6	1948-62	9.7
Madagascar	1959-62	7.7	1959-62	6.7
Mauritius (including dependencies)	1952-62	4.4	-	-
Tanzania	1957-67	10.9	1957-67	7.8
Tanganyika	1957-67	12.9	1957-67	7.8
Zanzibar & Pemba	1957-67	1.9	-	-
Uganda	1948-58	2.5	-	-
	1948-59	12.0	-	-
	1959-69	10.7	1959-69	10.4
Zambia	---	---	1963-64	81.8 ^{e/}
OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES				
Angola	1950-55	9.0	1955-60	3.4
Botswana	1946-64	23.2	-	-
Mozambique	1950-60	1.0	-	-
Southern Rhodesia	1951-65	2.0	1951-56	9.3
Republic of South Africa	1951-60	4.1	1951-60	4.2
Namibia	1951-58	4.5	-	-

Sources: ECA, Demographic Handbook for Africa, June 1971;
United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1960, 1963, 1964, 1965;
National sources.

a/ The annual rates of growth of the city population between 1960 and 1966 is -1.4 per cent due to the decrease in the population of Sidi-Bel-Abbes from 100,013 to 89,061.

b/ African population only.

c/ For Commune of Dakar comprising city proper, the suburban village and Goree.

d/ For Addis Ababa only - provisional result of 1967 municipal census.

e/ The high rate is due to the inclusion of Ndola, estimated at 100,000 in 1964. Excluding this town, the rate of increase is 32.2 per cent for 1964-65.

3. Urban Population Projections, 1975, 1980

Projections, based on the "medium" assumption, made at the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa, indicate that the number of people living in towns of 20,000 or more persons in size, estimated at 62 million in 1970 is likely to increase, to 102 million in 1980. When this happens, it will mean a worsening of the present problems facing many African countries.

Migration from rural to the urban areas has various economic and social consequences particularly in regard to the provision of public health, housing, education, etc. in particular and living and environmental conditions in general. The rapid urbanization influences also demographic processes, especially in the field of customs governing marriages, divorces and fertility levels. It is generally considered that these changes are motivated by social, educational and economic factors. Urbanization and migration have to be considered both as an effect of economic changes as well as factors influencing the economic and social process in the countries. The most realistic approach to stopping the deleterious effects of rural-urban migration can be considered to be the setting up of mechanisms for economic development in the rural areas along with the provision of social amenities such as for public health, education, etc. In short, the process of migration and urbanization has to be brought into the mainstream of economic and social development of the countries of the region, according to their national needs and objectives.

The projection of future total urban population in African countries is presented in Table 3.

The age structure of urban population differs from that of the total population. Thus the proportion of the group under 15 is usually lower in urban areas than in the total population.

The proportion of the 15-59 age group is much higher in urban areas. In most cases this is due to the high rate of migratory movement of the working age population from rural to urban areas. Out of 14 countries 13 mentioned in the Table 4 had in 1960's higher proportion of population in working age in big cities (capital towns) than in the country as a whole. The proportion of persons aged 60 and over is considerably lower in urban areas compared with the total population and it is lowest in big cities.

The picture of age distribution of the total population and population of capital towns in selected African countries is presented in the table 4.

TABLE 3

Urban population estimates and projections, 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980

Sub-region and country	Population (in thousands)			
	1965	1970	1975	1980
AFRICA TOTAL	48,633	62,057	79,646	101,791
NORTH AFRICA	20,408	25,885	32,628	41,329
Arab Republic of Egypt	11,300	13,890	16,770	20,310
Sudan	975	1,180	1,445	1,770
Morocco	3,585	4,765	6,445	8,720
Algeria	3,065	4,135	5,380	7,090
Tunisia	980	1,305	1,780	2,440
Libya	345	445	635	795
Spanish North Africa	158	165	173	183
Ifni	-	-	-	21
Spanish Sahara	-	-	-	-
WEST AFRICA	12,625	15,920	21,220	27,005
Nigeria	8,480	10,125	13,455	17,790
Ghana	1,160	1,575	2,120	2,830
Upper Volta	160	225	370	495
Mali	250	360	450	555
Ivory Coast	540	820	1,130	1,420
Guinea	300	420	550	730
Senegal	860	1,070	1,300	1,535
Niger	105	165	235	305
Dahomey	230	320	450	600
Sierra Leone	210	350	460	610
Togo	130	195	330	440
Liberia	150	215	270	340
Mauritania	-	20	35	75
Portuguese Guinea	20	25	25	30
Gambia	30	35	40	50
Cape Verde Islands	-	-	-	-
CENTRAL AFRICA	2,805	3,650	4,780	6,150
Zaire	1,720	2,230	2,845	3,590
Cameroon	350	425	550	690
Chad	190	280	430	620
Burundi	60	80	110	145
Rwanda	-	-	30	40
Central African Republic	180	250	340	430
Republic of Congo	230	290	355	430
Equatorial Guinea	75	95	120	160

TABLE 3 Continued

Sub-region and country	Population (in thousands)			
	1965	1970	1975	1980
EAST AFRICA	4,623	6,148	8,003	10,364
Ethiopia	990	1,230	1,530	1,920
United Republic of Tanzania	557	755	1,078	1,450
Kenya	610	860	1,215	1,670
Uganda	351	465	615	778
Madagascar	610	730	870	1,120
Malawi	100	183	245	345
Zambia	745	1,035	1,360	1,750
Somalia	220	325	435	555
Mauritius	310	405	465	530
Reunion	85	105	130	165
Comoro Islands	-	-	-	21
French Somaliland	45	55	60	60
Seychelles	-	-	-	-
OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES	8,172	10,454	13,015	16,143
Republic of South Africa	6,584	8,350	10,257	12,520
Mozambique	341	462	639	875
Angola	407	552	743	1,014
Southern Rhodesia	681	833	1,015	1,228
Lesotho	-	25	35	50
Namibia	56	76	100	132
Botswana	103	135	190	269
Swaziland	-	21	36	55

Sources: ECA, Population Programme Centre.

TABLE 4

Age distribution of population in selected countries and cities

Country / City	Year	Population aged		
		0-14	15-59	60 and over
		in percentages		
Senegal	1960-61	42.4	52.0	5.6
Dakar	1960-61	42.5	54.3	2.8
Mali	1960-61	43.8	51.2	5.0
Bamako	1960-61	41.5	55.3	3.2
Niger	1959-60	43.8	51.6	4.6
Niamey	1960	35.7	62.1	2.2
Upper Volta	1960-61	41.7	53.0	5.3
Ouagadougou	1961-62	38.3	58.0	4.0
Guinea	1954-55	42.0	53.0	4.9
Conakry	1960	40.2	57.9	1.9
Ivory Coast	1957-58	43.6	52.9	3.5
Abidjan	1963	40.6	58.5	0.9
Togo	1961	47.9	46.8	5.3
Lome	1961	47.9	48.9	2.8
Dahomey	1961	46.0	48.4	5.6
Cotonou	1964	47.2	50.2	2.6
Cameroon (Oriental)	1960-62	36.4	57.6	6.0
Yaounde	1962	39.7	58.7	1.6
Central African Republic	1959/60	40.0	58.0	1.9
Bangui	1955-56	29.0	70.2	0.8
Congo (Braz.)	1960-61	41.5	53.6	4.9
Brazzaville	1961	45.0	54.0	1.0
Gabon	1960-61	29.5	62.8	7.7
Libreville	1964	30.7	66.8	2.5
Madagascar	1957-60	41.3	53.8	4.8
Tananarive	1960	46.2	49.3	4.5
Liberia ^{a/}	1970	43.2	51.3	5.5
Urban areas	1970	41.6	55.9	2.5

Source: Afrique Noire, Madagascar, Comores, demographie comparee, INSEE, Paris, 1967.

a/ Country Statement: Liberia, African Population Conference, Accra, Ghana, December 1971, paper no. POP/INF/68.

There are no available projections for the future age distribution of urban populations in Africa. The rate of growth for specific age groups of population differs significantly. Therefore as an indicator of future trends one can use the expected age distribution of total population in Africa. Table 5 presents the appropriate data.

It is necessary to bear in mind the following remarks analysing the expected age structure of population.

As regards the children aged 0-4 it is possible to expect that in urban areas the rate of growth will be a bit lower because of lower level of fertility in towns and expected further decline. On the other hand infant mortality should decrease much more in urban than in rural areas. Nevertheless it probably does not compensate for the decline in the level of fertility. The number of children aged 0-4 may increase by one-third up to 1980.

As regards the children aged 5-14 the rate of growth in urban areas may be considered as similar or a bit lower to that for the children aged 5-14 in the whole region. This age group roughly corresponds to the official age for primary school education in African countries and so gives an indication of the increased demand for primary level spaces that should be expected from the present rates of population increase. It can clearly be seen that the size of this age group will increase seriously throughout Africa in the near future, unless population growth rates decrease significantly.

Regarding the persons aged 15-64 the rate of growth in urban areas will be much more significant because of migratory influx especially in younger age groups.

This age group roughly corresponds to the productive age and so gives an indication of the increased demand for jobs, where a sufficient number of jobs cannot be created unemployment, underemployment, and increases in non-monetary types of occupation (i.e. subsistence agriculture) are the necessary results.

Regarding the persons aged 65 and over the rate of growth is very high, because of changes in the level of mortality. One can expect at least the same level of population increase in urban areas as in the country as a whole.

The dependency ratio, defined as the combined number of persons of ages below 15 and above 65 and above per 100 persons in the working ages 15-64 is estimated at about 86 in Africa or at about the same level as that of South Asia and Latin America, as compared to 59 in the developed countries. But it is only in Africa that this ratio is expected to increase during the next 15 or 20 years reaching about 92 in the late 1980s compared to about 74 in the developing countries combined, and the improvement anticipated in the decade of the 1990s may not make the picture better in the year 2000 than it was in 1970.

TABLE 5

Age Structure according to UN Medium projections as assessed in 1968

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Age	1970	1975	1980	Indices		
				1970	1975	1980
AFRICA						
0-4	61,383	71,489	83,087	100	116	135
5-14	89,387	103,359	121,022	100	115	135
15-65	184,085	209,218	219,419	100	113	119
65+	9,628	11,190	13,190	100	116	137
Total	344,483	395,266	436,718	100	115	127
WESTERN AFRICA						
0-4	18,388	21,381	24,954	100	116	136
5-14	26,599	30,441	35,373	100	114	133
15-65	53,887	61,107	69,749	100	113	129
65+	2,398	2,807	3,330	100	117	139
Total	101,272	115,736	133,406	100	114	132
EASTERN AFRICA						
0-4	17,465	20,225	23,450	100	116	134
5-14	25,404	29,240	34,085	100	115	134
15-65	52,294	59,238	67,528	100	113	129
65+	2,717	3,148	3,693	100	116	136
Total	97,880	111,851	128,756	100	114	131
CENTRAL AFRICA						
0-4	6,100	7,076	8,082	100	116	132
5-14	8,922	10,091	11,712	100	113	131
15-65	19,777	21,975	24,557	100	111	124
65+	1,095	1,244	1,435	100	114	131
Total	35,893	40,385	45,786	100	113	128
NORTHERN AFRICA						
0-4	15,706	18,564	21,741	100	118	138
5-14	23,002	27,245	32,453	100	118	141
15-65	45,329	52,646	61,628	100	116	136
65+	2,569	3,006	3,563	100	117	139
Total	86,606	101,460	119,385	100	117	138
SOUTHERN AFRICA						
0-4	3,723	4,252	4,860	100	114	131
5-14	5,460	6,343	7,400	100	116	136
15-64	12,799	14,254	15,900	100	111	125
65+	849	986	1,168	100	116	138
Total	22,832	25,834	29,388	100	113	129

Source: United Nations Population Division.

4. Urbanization and Education

One topic to which African governments have given great attention and are spending large sum of money in the provision to educational facilities because of the desire to provide trained manpower for the countries, and because educational achievement is desirable in itself. Nevertheless the goal set in 1961 by the African Ministers of Education in Addis Ababa that by 1980 all children of school age should be in schools, which would require an increase of school enrollment by 4 per cent each year due to the growing population in the school age group, will not be reached and therefore there is going to be a large number of illiterate children for a long time.

The most pressing educational problem in most African countries has been to relate to the purpose and programme content of education to the economic and social development needs and goals of the country.

Urbanization presents an important opportunity to organize adequate educational facilities benefitting from the concentration of population and properly educated staffs. But the rate of urban population growth is usually so high that governments are not able to solve the problem. Furthermore very often the content of the school curricula is out of date or not suitable for the "education for development".

Finally the tragedy of many African countries is that they are as yet unable to effectively utilize the manpower resources created by the schools.

One can cite as an example the opinion of Prof. Okonjo on the educational problems in Nigeria.

"The very rapid strides made between the middle fifties and the mid-60s at all levels of education should, however, not lead us to think that Nigeria's educational problems are well on the way to being solved. The fact is that the amount of work and effort needed to bring Nigerian educational standards quantitatively up to the level of the developed countries is still immense. Thus of the total population in urban centres, slightly more than half of the population aged 5 and above have no formal education. Two-thirds of this population is illiterate, while only one-third is literate in Arabic or Roman script. About one-quarter have had a few years of primary education and about one-fifth have had between 6 years and 11 years of formal schooling, while some 3 per cent have had more than 11 years of formal education and only 20 per cent of the urban population aged 5 and over are permanently literate.

If the situation in the urban areas is so bad, the situation, as is to be expected, in the rural areas is much worse. 75 per cent of the rural

population is illiterate, 10 per cent are literate in Roman or Arabic script. About one-eighth of the population aged 5 years and over have had less than 6 years of formal education and are not permanently literate. Secondary school leavers make up 0.1 per cent of the population and permanent literacy has only been achieved by some 2 per cent of the rural population.

It is, therefore, not surprising that a particular effort has been made in the past to improve the standards and accordingly substantial sums have been allocated to educational expenditure. Thus between 1958/59 and 1966/67 annual expenditure on education has risen from £23.8 m. or 2.3 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product at 1962 factor cost to £48.2 m. or 3.0 per cent of the GDP." ^{1/}

The expected increase in enrolments in Nigerian schools give an excellent picture of large problem which should be solved by the Government. The projection is based on the medium assumption of the population growth and realization of basic educational objectives of the Second National Development Plan. The detailed data are presented in the Table 6.

^{1/} Chukuka Okonjo, Population Dynamics and Nigerian Development (A Study of the Effects of Population Growth on Economic and Social Development in Nigeria). African Population Conference, Accra, December 1971, paper no. 1/15, page 36.

TABLE 6

Projected Enrolments in Nigerian Schools 1965-2000 (Medium Assumption)

L E V E L	E N R O L M E N T S						
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	2000
1. Primary (000)	2912	3067	5845	10181	16105	19157	25566
2. Secondary (000)	248	786	1499	2610	4129	4912	6555
(a) Secondary Grammar and Commercial (Up to School Certificate) (000)	138	235	448	781	1235	1469	1961
(b) Sixth Form (000)	5	47	90	156	247	294	392
(c) Vocational (000)	105	504	961	1673	2647	3149	4202
3. Tertiary Level (Units)	11389	16500	31500	72800	169400	222000	361300
Non-University (Units)	3693	6200	11800	27300	63500	83200	135500
(a) Teacher Training (Units)	1587	3700	7100	16400	38100	49900	81300
(b) Technical College (Units)	2106	2500	4700	10900	25400	33300	54200
(c) University (Units)	7696	10300	19700	45500	105900	138700	225800
Total (000)	3171.3	3869.5	7375.5	12863.8	20403.4	24291.0	32482.3

Source: Chukuka Okonjo, Population Dynamics and Nigerian Development, African Regional Population Conference, Accra, December 1971, paper No. 1/15, page 42.

5. Urbanization and Employment

Since the urbanization in Africa is already outpacing industrialization, urban workers are faced with problems such as: heightening job competition, a lack of adequate health and welfare services and insufficient educational and vocational training programmes. Many young people with or even without some education are drifting into large urban centres, hoping for some kind of white-collar employment which they cannot find and end up as social misfits and often tend towards delinquency. Besides, they put a big strain on the inadequate urban services and thus further accentuate social problems. The occupational opportunities of such people are extremely limited and most of them have to become part of the mostly unemployed shifting masses who gather in cities and large towns. Moreover, the housing situation in cities has generally inadequate and in some cases despite laudable government efforts to solve this problem, it verges on disaster.

Therefore the rural out migration to urban areas is not only contributing to the rapid growth of cities but is adding to the already appreciable tendency for the increasing numbers of the urban labour force to exceed the availability of urban jobs.

Besides the rural migration and a high rate of population growth, the other major cause of urban unemployment has been the expansion in education which has resulted in the serious problem absorbing school-leavers into the labour force. In many countries, a large number of school-leavers, especially in urban areas, have no prospect of finding employment. This problem has resulted in a high incidence of unemployment among youth in many countries especially among primary school-leavers and in a number of cases including secondary school-leavers as well. Employment possibilities have on the whole been far from sufficient to absorb the excess manpower.

With higher future growth rates of the labour force in most African countries, due to recently increasing rates of population growth, the pressure on the economy can only increase. It may well be beyond the means of many countries to cope with these increases, to incorporate the major portion of the new potential workers into the modern urban economy and at the same time to try to modernize the agricultural production. This is the only solution for further development.

6. Urbanization and Housing

The housing situation in most African countries is unsatisfactory not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. The basic factors of the situation are population growth, rapid urbanization and resultant overcrowding, lack of measures to mobilize finance, under-development of productive resources, and the failure to draw up and implement effective housing programmes.

The future demand for housing depends mainly on the expected numbers of households or families. Regional projections of households and families have also been prepared. ^{1/} This is an area of demography that has only recently been given attention despite the importance of households and families as the unit in which the population lives, consumes and reproduces.

As Table 7 indicates, an increase of about 52 per cent in the number of household and families during 1970-85 is foreseen for Africa by the medium projections, which is about the same as the percentages in the developing countries as a whole. As might be expected, both the amount and the rate of this increase are only slightly higher than those of the working-age population. The conspicuous aspect of the projections for Africa is that the average size of households is expected to increase, albeit slightly, contrary to the universal decreasing trend in other areas of the world. This reflects the increase in the number of children due to lower mortality which is not offset by fertility decline or changes in socio-economic factors affecting household size during 1970-1985.

In addition to the population growth rate, the housing situation is further aggravated by the high costs of construction. The current cost of constructing a modern type of house, including sanitary facilities, is, on the average, not less than US \$2,000 in urban areas. A similar situation exists in rural areas where the poor quality of the houses is a major problem. Construction materials are wattle, timber, mud and clay.

In these circumstances, a large number of people in the urban areas are of course without housing and they are fortunate if they are able to secure shelter even to the extent of hiring "sleeping places". There is the need for new techniques to provide adequate and improved housing for rapidly growing urban population.

^{1/} United Nations Population Division, "Analysis and Projections of Households and Families", ESA/P/WP.28/Rev.1, August 1971.

It is necessary to note that "housing in urban areas is one among several means for fulfilling individual, family group and social needs. It has two important roles:

- (a) It constitutes part of the necessary framework that gives shape and support to the life of the individual, the family and other primary groups;
- (b) It organizes and distributes amenities of basic value to the individual and to the groups in which the individual participates.

Many efforts have been made to strengthen the production and improvement of housing as a means of assuring the physical and mental health of the individual". 1/

Unfortunately the housing situation in Africa is far from satisfactory. Prof. Chukuka Okonjo for example characterizing the urban living conditions pointed out: 2/

"Living conditions in Nigerian towns as in most of the towns of 'developing Africa', are some of the worst in the world and the housing situation in the urban areas is characterized both quantitatively and qualitatively by its utter inadequacy. To illustrate, we cite only one example taken from a survey of the Western Nigerian city of Ibadan. Bath and toilet facilities for a house with 28 rooms, two of which were unoccupied at the time of the survey, and in which 93 adults and children lived or an average of 4.4 persons per family in an occupied room, consisted of two cubicles about three feet by nine feet for bathing and a pit latrine.

One estimate of the housing needs of towns with a population of 75,000 and above was 47000-62000 housing units per annum as of 1965, representing the minimum number of houses then required to prevent the further deterioration of the poor standards of housing which then obtained. Yet the total private investment in housing in towns with a population of 75000 and over was an annual 35000 units representing an investment of £21 m. - £42 m. while the then five governments of the Federation built only 500 houses per annum, and of these, only 38 per cent were for low income occupation. How low a priority is accorded housing can be seen from the fact that in the 1962-68 plan period out of a proposed capital expenditure of £42.0 m. or 6.2 per cent of planned expenditure in the plan period — as against an annual requirement of £28 m. to £37 m. for housing in towns with a population of

1/ Social Programming of Housing in Urban Areas, UN, New York, 1971, ST/SOA/109, p. 13.

2/ Chukuka Okonjo, Population Dynamics and Nigerian Development (A Study of the Effects of Population Growth on Economic and Social Development in Nigeria), African Population Conference, Accra, December 1971, Paper No. 1/15, p. 51 and 58.

75,000 and above -- only £19.6 m. or about 47 per cent of the allocation was disbursed. It is, therefore, not surprising that with the unprecedented population growth in the urban areas, which in the cases of some towns has reached nearly four times the over-all population growth rate, 'slums and shanty towns characterized by overcrowded dwellings, squalid streets and alleys which are nothing else but sewage dumps, lacking the most elementary amenities have sprung up around all the growing centres."

Prof. Okonjo estimated that with population growing under the medium assumption, by 1985 the urban housing needs of the whole Nigeria will be on the order of 175,000 to 234,000 units per annum. The author states that the lower estimate represents the minimum number of new houses needed every year to prevent further deterioration of the present standards of housing.

The conclusion of the estimate is not very optimistic:

"What would be the annual cost for providing this housing? For the low assumption projections the cost would be between £100 m. to £155 m. per annum, that is between five to seven times the current level of investment, for the medium projection between £105 m. and £164 m. and for the high projection between £110 m. and £170 m. per annum, an increase of between £10 m. to £15 m. per annum as against the low assumption projections. Thus by 1975 if adequate housing is to be provided for the urban population between 4.5 per cent to 7.6 per cent of the GDP has to be invested in housing. This percentage of GDP which must be devoted to housing, however, diminishes as GDP grows so that by 1985 only between 1.8 per cent to 3.1 per cent of GDP needs to be so devoted. Since, however, such levels of investment imply a five to seven fold increase in current investment levels in housing, it is likely that these targets will not be met and we can safely predict that unless drastic remedial action is taken the housing situation is likely to worsen not improve. Further it is likely that the housing shortage will increase and that slums and shanty towns will grow at an accelerated pace over the next twenty years around the growing centres." ^{1/}

^{1/} Ibidem, p. 61.

TABLE 7
Projections of the Number and Average-size of Households and Families, 1965-1985

Medium Variant									
	Total Number of Households and Families (in millions)		Per Cent Increase 1970-1985	Average Annual Rate of Growth (per cent)				Estimated Average size of Household	
	1970	1985		1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1970	1985
World Total	813	1174	44.3	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.5	4.47	4.20
Developed Regions	320	416	29.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.6	3.40	3.06
Developing Regions	493	758	53.8	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.0	5.16	4.82
East Asia	191	285	49.1	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.6	4.86	4.14
South Asia	214	332	55.6	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.1	5.27	5.09
Latin America	56	88	58.2	2.8	3.0	3.1	3.1	5.10	4.95
Africa	69	105	52.3	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	4.97	5.03
Western Africa	21	31	50.2	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	4.93	5.02
Eastern Africa	20	30	50.6	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	4.92	4.98
Middle Africa	7	11	43.2	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.5	4.86	4.96
Northern Africa	17	27	62.3	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.4	5.15	5.14
Southern Africa	5	7	47.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.7	5.07	5.34

Source: UN "Where does Africa Stand in the World Demographic Picture?" (E/CN.14/POP/52).

7. Urbanization and Health

The World Health Organization defines health as complete physical, mental and social well-being. The growing number of people in urban centres will need an increasing number of different types of health services to reach a satisfactory situation according to the following definition.

"Classifying health services by type of activity and by type of control is useful in understanding the services and in differentiating the effects of population growth. Four major types of activities are considered here:

1. personal health services - those provided for individuals by doctors, nurses, and health technicians of many kinds to treat illness, prevent disease or disability, or facilitate such normal processes as human reproduction;

2. environmental health activities - those provided on a mass basis by engineers, sanitarians, and other to minimize disease and discomfort by controlling the quality of specific environmental elements such as water, food, air, and housing;

3. public information and education - those provided by individual and mass means to increase public knowledge of health and conditions affecting it;

4. vital registration and health surveillance - those provided through individual records, sample surveys, and other means of document key events during life, to identify hazardous diseases and conditions, and to measure the level of health and health services in the population." ^{1/}

The interaction between the health situation and economic progress underlines the advantages of an integrated approach for expanding the health services, with their priorities and the need to plan for national health schemes which can be successful only if the personnel requirements are satisfied. Important progress has been made, but obviously there are still big obstacles to be overcome.

^{1/} Leslie Corsa, Jr., and Deborah Oakley, Consequences of Population Growth for Health Services in Less Developed Countries - An Initial Appraisal, Rapid Population Growth, Volume II, London 1971, p. 371-372.

8. Summary

1. The main problem of African urbanization for planning purposes lies, more with the rapid rate and not so much with the relative level of urbanization.
2. Apart from the rapid rate of urban growth, the degree of urban concentration is another aspect of the problem of urbanization in Africa.
3. The implications of demographic trends in urban areas - still relatively high fertility with declining mortality - clearly impose a heavy burden in absolute terms in planning for employment education and training of the labour force. The in-migration to urban areas worsen the problem. There is a growing surplus of labour and at the same time serious shortage of skilled manpower needed for economic and social development.
4. Every year the unemployment situation in Africa has been getting worse as large numbers of rural migrants arrive in towns and industrial centres in search of work only to join a labour market already overcrowded. The problems of unemployment in Africa are a very important part of the urban socio-economic problems and are not easily separable from those of urban migration.
5. Equally important is the increase (declining mortality) in the school-age population in view of its implications on the budget, its requirements in terms of teachers and training facilities, and the need to accommodate it simultaneously with the current efforts at filling in the serious gaps in enrolment and at improving the quality of the present education.
6. Urbanization presents an important opportunity to organize adequate educational facilities benefitting from the concentration of population and properly educated staffs. But the rate of urban population growth is usually so high that governments are not able to solve the problem.
7. The housing situation in urban areas is unsatisfactory not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. In addition to the rapid growth of urban population the housing situation is further aggravated by the high costs of construction.
8. The growing number of people in urban centres will need an increasing number of different types of health services. In general, the so-called infrastructure of urban areas needs more and more expenditures.