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WORKSHOP ON URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

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Addis Ababa, 25 April - 5 May 1962

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND TRENDS

(prepared by the Secretariat of the
Economic Commission for Africa)

Demographic Factors and Trends

I. Introduction	1
II. Rapid population growth as a factor in urbanization at the present time.....	2
III. Present stage of urbanization in African countries.....	7
IV. Composition of population by age and by sex - Role of migrations.....	15
V. Fertility and mortality rates.....	29
VI. Summary and conclusions.....	37

I. INTRODUCTION

From the demographic point of view, "urbanization" means a rapid growth in the total and proportional population of localities where economic activity is essentially of a non-agricultural nature.

Towns have existed since the very beginning of civilization, but at no time in history has the rate of urban growth been comparable to that prevailing at the present time. The rate has, in fact, been steadily increasing since the beginning of the 19th century. About 1800, approximately 2 per cent of the world's population lived in towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants. About 1960, that figure had become 25 per cent. During the period 1800-1960, the total, urban and rural, population of the world trebled, and the population of urban centres with 20,000 or more inhabitants increased in the ratio of approximately 1:30. In the meantime, one-third of the world demographic increase was displaced by migratory movements to cities and towns of the same size.

Most of the world's urban populations are to be found in economically advanced countries; in the less-developed countries, the population is still essentially rural. Africa, as a whole, is today the least urbanized region in the world. However, urbanization has speeded up there in recent decades, and the problems facing the authorities responsible for urban administration and town-planning are no less difficult to solve than in other regions of the world. For example, a town of 150,000 inhabitants with an annual inflow of 15,000 immigrants needs for the latter's use alone: 50 additional class-rooms, 4,000 dwellings, a hospital, vocational training centres etc.. The expenditure involved cannot be readily incurred, since the new immigrants are unskilled workers, either under-employed or unemployed, who cannot contribute to municipal funds in proportion to their numbers. In fact, the needs of the new citizens precede their contributions to the municipal budget, and more rapid immigration also entails a corresponding increase in social welfare burdens on the municipal budget. For lack

of funds, therefore, only some of the 4,000 dwellings and 50 class-rooms will be built. Some of the children of the newcomers will be unable to attend school; and most of the new families will have to crowd into hovels and shanty-towns.

II. RAPID POPULATION GROWTH AS A FACTOR IN URBANIZATION AT THE PRESENT TIME

The reasons for urbanization are complex, and involving a whole series of socio-economic and demographic variables. A detailed account of these factors is outside the restricted scope of this paper, and they will only be cursorily mentioned in commenting on available data. From the demographic point of view, the following aspects of and factors in urbanization require study:

Territorial expansion of urban areas into former rural areas; and
Former rural localities which become urbanized with the growth of their populations.

These two aspects depend on the definitions of "urban" and "rural" populations, which, though obviously important, will be disregarded here.

Migratory movements and their bearing on the age and sex structures of the urban population. (These will be discussed in Part IV).

Varying mortality and birth rates in urban and rural populations. (These important variables in population growth and urbanization will be discussed, despite the scarcity and heterogeneity of statistics, in Part V).

Population increase in African countries and the inflexibility of rural and agricultural economic structures, the term "population increase" being taken here to mean natural increase, i.e. the difference between birth and death rates (See Table I).

TABLE 1

Estimated Birth Rates, Death Rates and Natural Increase Rates^{a/}
for Selected African Countries

Country	Estimated rate		Rates of natural increase (per cent) estimated ^{b/}
	Birth rate (per 1000)	Death rate (per 1000)	
<u>North Africa</u>			
Algeria ^{b/}	47	27	2,0
Sudan ^{c/}	51	23	2,8
Tunisia	40	20	2,0
UAR (Egypt) ^{d/}	43	20	2,3
<u>West Africa</u>			
Cameroon	35	27	0,8
Guinea ^{e/}	60	40	2,0
Ivory Coast ^{f/}	58	26	3,2
Senegal	50	25	2,5
Central African Republic ^{f/}	40	30	1,0
Congo (Brazz.)	45	24	2,1
Chad	45	23	2,2
Ghana	51	29	2,2
Nigeria	54	35	1,9
Togo	35	23	1,2
<u>South & East Africa</u>			
Angola	45	35	1,0
Congo (Leo.)	44	22	2,2
Malgasy	45	24	2,1
Mauritius	42	13	2,7
Kuanda-Urundi	42	13	2,9

^{a/} Estimates obtained by using stable population model.

^{b/} Muslim population only.

^{c/} Estimates given by 1955-56 sample census of population.

^{d/} Estimates relate to Health Bureau areas covering 45 per cent of the population; birth registration estimated 80 per cent complete.

^{e/} Results obtained from a demographic sample survey covering the whole national area.

^{f/} Results obtained from a demographic sample survey of only part of the national area.

Broadly speaking, urbanization is the result of a state of imbalance between the economic and social organizations of the urban and rural areas. This state has always existed; but it would appear that, owing to the co-existence of different civilizations and of varying technological levels, the dissimilarities in levels and modes of living between town and country have never been more pronounced. This was and remains true in most of the economically advanced countries. At the present time, the gap between town and country in the less-developed countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia has so widened that, even without a high rate of population growth, urbanization would have been rapid even where an increase in the rural population had not led to pressure on rural resources.

In addition to the economic and social aspects dealt with in detail in other studies before the Workshop (emergence of a rural monetary economy, expansion of the market economy, increased productivity, industrialization, greater chance of social betterment, cultural role of the city, etc.), the present-day city or town has acquired a new role, that of "receiving station" for some of the surplus rural population. This phenomenon can be noted the world over, whether in economically advanced or less-developed countries.

Urbanization in the industrialized countries has generally absorbed more than the actual increase in the rural population, which is itself lower. In these countries the constant shift of workers from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector goes hand in hand with increased productivity on the part of the farmers left behind. At the same time, economic progress continues in the non-agricultural sectors, and the diversification of the economy and the employment situation are such that in many industrialized countries (particularly in western Europe and in Japan) the immigrant from the country is rapidly absorbed in the urban working population. On the other hand, in the less-developed countries rural population growth is generally more rapid - about 1-3.5

per cent (see Table 1), while agricultural productivity either remains stationary or increases but slightly. In many countries, allowing for under-employment and un-employment, and comparing agricultural production with the working-age group of the population, we find productivity decreasing. The problem is particularly acute in those areas where cultivable land is limited, as in many densely populated zones of North Africa.

The problem is different in most of the African countries south of the Sahara, where the ratio of population to agricultural resources is satisfactory, even in the present state of the technical equipment available locally. In that respect, most of the African countries south of the Sahara are differently situated from those of south-eastern Asia and the Far East, their position being somewhat similar to that of the Latin American countries. However, the development of their potential wealth is hindered by an inflexible economic and social structure. As the working agricultural population grows faster than rural resources expand, a redistribution of population - often irrational in character - becomes essential because non-agricultural jobs are not created as fast as the working-age population increases.

At the present time, rural and urban population increases would seem to prevail over other economic and social factors in urbanization. For example, with a natural rate of increase of 2.5 per cent and sex and age structures similar to those found in Africa, the working-age population from rural areas doubles in less than 30 years, and the difficulty of doubling cultivable areas over the same period, even in countries with abundant land, is well known.

In that light, an urban and rural population projection for almost any African country should allow for continued and even faster urbanization, even in the event of reduced economic activity in urban zones and of recession in international trade. The return of some town-dwellers

to the country - a phenomenon often observed in Africa between the two wars and also in recent times - will become less and less common owing, among other reasons, to the present increase in population.

In a document before the Workshop (SEM/URB/AF/21), the Government of Morocco estimates the natural increase in the rural population over the period 1955-1970 at 1,740,000; of these, 1,140,000 persons will probably remain in their home district or settle in other rural areas, while 600,000, i.e. 34 per cent of the natural increase, will become urbanized. Given the age and sex compositions of the migrants, most of the new town-dwellers will be looking for work. The difficult problems confronting the Government of Morocco can well be understood, faced as it is with the necessity of providing new non-agricultural jobs to cope with the increase in urban population.

III. Present stage of urbanization in African countries

Like most of the under-developed regions, Africa is only at the beginning of that economic expansion which turns predominantly rural societies into highly urbanized societies (see Table 2).

During the period between the two World Wars, urban centres in Tropical Africa expanded very little. However, such a phenomenon as the ever-increasing exploitation of mineral wealth and of agricultural commodities during the Second World War and the post-war period was accompanied by increasing expansion of towns and cities in West, South and East Africa. ⁽¹⁾

Contrary to the pattern in Tropical Africa, the growth of urban centres in North Africa is no new phenomenon. A market economy, with periods of boom and slump mirroring the ups and downs of Mediterranean trade, had existed for many centuries in most countries of that sub-region. Urban centres have existed since time immemorial, with varying periods of growth and decline. In more recent times, the foundations of a modern money economy were laid in the region as early as the 19th century, in particular in Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria and, at the beginning of the 20th century, in Morocco. In that sub-region the process of urbanization speeded up in the years preceding the Second World War (see Table 3).

Of all African countries, urbanization has been most intensive in the Union of South Africa, where it also most closely reflects the development of the non-agricultural sectors of the economy. At the end of the 19th century, mining enterprises led to the development of many urban centres, which were not slow to expand. Over the past thirty years, the processing industries and related economic activities have played an ever-increasing role in economic development and urbanization.

(1) United Nations, Report on the World Social Situation, New York, 1957.

TABLE 2

Percentages of Population in Selected Countries of Africa Classified as Residing in Urban Areas in Largest City and in Cities of Population 100,000 and Over and of 20,000 and Over.

Country	Date	Per cent of Population Living in:			
		Urban Areas	Largest City	Urban area 100,000 and over	Urban area 20,000 and over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<u>North Africa</u>					
Algeria	1948	23.6	3.1	6.6	14.1
Libya	1954	22.7	11.9	11.9	18.3
Morocco	1960	29.3	8.3	18.9	24.0
Sudan ^{a/}	1955-56	8.3	2.4 ^{a/}	2.4 ^{a/}	4.5
Tunisia	1946	29.9	11.3	11.3	19.2
UAR (Egypt)	1947	30.1	11.0	19.3	20.1
<u>West Africa</u>					
Dahomey	1955	7.1	3.5	-	5.5
Guinea	1955	6.5	1.1	-	5.1
Ivory Coast	1956	11.1	5.1	5.1	6.8
Mali	1956	5.1	1.8	-	1.8
Mauritania	1956	4.5	1.4	-	-
Niger	1956	2.7	0.8	-	-
Senegal	1956	22.9	9.9	9.9	19.0
Upper Volta	1956	4.0	1.3	-	2.3
Ghana	1948	14.3	3.3	3.3	5.0
Nigeria	1952-53	17.5	1.5	4.1	11.4
Togo	1958	9.6	4.5	-	4.5
Gambia	1951	71.8	71.8	-	-
<u>South and East Africa</u>					
Angola	1955	7.4	4.4	4.4	6.0
Congo (Leopoldville)	1957	9.8	2.2	3.5	7.1
Kenya	1948	15.0	2.2 ^{a/}	2.2 ^{a/}	3.0
Mozambique	1954	13.9	2.5	6.6	13.9
Mauritius	1952	34.9	13.5	-	-
Rhodesia and Nyasaland	1950	13.6	1.7	1.7	-
Tanganyika	1957	3.3	1.5	1.5	1.9
Uganda	1948	0.8	0.4	-	-
Union of South Africa	1951	42.6	5.0	24.0	30.7
Zanzibar and Pemba	1948	20.0	17.1	-	17.1

a/ The three municipalities of Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman are taken together since they are contiguous and for all practical purposes form one economic unit.

b/ For Northern Rhodesia only.

c/ Represents the population of Nairobi. The results of the 1957 sample survey of the city show that the city has 4.2 per cent of the 1957 estimated population of the country.

The present development of African towns, striking as it is in comparison with development in the past, has nevertheless not brought the urbanization process to the same level as in other regions of the world. About the year 1960, when more than one-quarter of the world's population dwelt in towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants, only some six per cent of the population of Africa south of the Sahara lived in towns of similar size. Urbanization in North Africa (excluding the Sudan) - measured by the numbers living in localities of 20,000 or more, - affected between 20 and 30 per cent of the population. Taking the above definition of "urban centre", urbanization in Africa, is far lower particularly south of the Sahara, than in the countries of Latin America and South-East Asia. (2)

Table 2 shows, for a certain number of African countries for which data are available, the percentage of the total population considered as living in urban areas. These percentages are only useful for purposes of approximate comparison, definitions of "urban area", usually complex enough in any case, being based both on size of population and on the relative diversification of the economy, vary so much from one African country to another. It is therefore perhaps preferable, at least for better comparability, to regard the figures in column 6 of Table 2 as the best indices of urbanization levels. On the basis of these figures, it will be noted that, with the exception of Nigeria, Senegal, Mozambique, Zanzibar and Pemba, the percentage of the population living in towns with not less than 20,000 inhabitants does not exceed 10 in most countries of Tropical Africa.

(2) The percentage of the population living in towns or cities in Latin America is roughly 24; in the countries of South-East Asia, between 10 and 35. United Nations, The Population of South-East Asia (including Ceylon and China (Taiwan)). New York, 1958.

In one region only is the level of urbanization high. According to estimates, more than 30 per cent of the population of Western Nigeria live in urban centres with 20,000 or more inhabitants, (as against 11 per cent for Nigeria as a whole)^{3/}.

In most African countries, the mass of the urban population is concentrated in one or two towns or cities. For example, Tripoli (Libya), Porto Novo (Dahomey), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Lomé (Togo) and the cities of most countries of South and East Africa account for more than 50 per cent of their respective countries' urban population. A comparison of columns 5 and 6 in Table 2 shows that in most countries for which data are available, the percentage of the total population residing in small towns is so slight that these towns, with their restricted populations, can play no effective part in the urbanization process, i.e. can provide no basis for diversification of the economy.

3/ United Nations, Report on the World Social Situation, New York, 1957

It should be noted that a good many urban centres in Western Nigeria consist of sprawling rural centres (or large villages) whose economic activities hardly justify the designation of "urban centres".

TABLE

Cities and urban agglomerations of 100 000 and more inhabitants -
Average annual rates of increase between the post-war periode
and recent years. (C : city proper; A : urban agglomeration).

Countries and cities	Period	Increase per cent	Period	Increase per cent
<u>North Africa</u>				
<u>Algeria</u>				
Alger	C 1936-1954	1.74	A 1948-1959	4.68
Bône	C 1936-1948	-0.80	C 1948-1954	6.53
			A 1948-1959	2.12
Constantine	C 1936-1948	-2.84	C 1948-1954	10.93
			A 1948-1959	6.50
Oran	C 1936	1.66	C 1948-1954	3.37
			A 1948-1959	2.80
Sidi-bel-Abbès	C 1936-1948	0.85	C 1948-1959	5.94
<u>Morocco</u>				
Casablanca	C 1936-1951-52	6.49	C 1951-52-1960	4.11
Fes	C 1936-1951-52	1.37	C 1951-52-1960	2.23
Marrakech	C 1936-1951-52	0.80	C 1951-52-1960	1.40
Meknes	C 1936-1951-52	4.11	C 1951-52-1960	2.8
Oujda	C 1936-1951-52	5.68	C 1951-52-1960	5.79
Rabat	C 1936-1951-52	4.15	C 1951-52-1960	4.40
Tetoun			C 1945-1960	0.48
<u>Tunisia</u>				
Tunis	C 1936-1946	5.19	C 1946-1956	1.17
<u>Egypt</u>				
Alexandria	C 1937-1947	2.97	C 1947-1959	3.17
Asyut	C 1937-1947	4.13	C 1947-1959	2.50
Cairo	C 1937-1947	4.77	C 1947-1959	2.63
Damanhur	C 1937-1947	3.08	C 1947-1959	3.28
El Mahalla el Kubra			C 1947-1959	2.72
Giza	C 1937-1947	5.68	C 1947-1959	8.39
Ismailia	C 1937-1947	6.28	C 1947-1959	4.32
Mansura	C 1937-1947	3.98	C 1947-1959	2.92
Port Said	C 1937-1947	1.39	C 1947-1959	2.01
Suez	C 1937-1947	7.89	C 1947-1959	2.98
Tanta	C 1937-1947	3.95	C 1947-1959	1.88
Zagazig	C 1937-1947	3.18	C 1947-1959	3.30

TABLE 3
(Cont'd)

Countries and cities	Period	Increase per cent	Period	Increase per cent
<u>East Africa</u>				
<u>Ethiopia</u>				
Addis-Ababa	C 1938-1957	2.73		
<u>Kenya</u>				
Mombassa			C 1948-1959	5.43
Nairobi			C 1948-1959	7.40
<u>Madagascar</u>				
Tananarive	C 1936-1948	3.24	C 1946-1959	3.18
<u>Mozambique</u>				
Lourenço Marques	C 1935-1950	4.73	C 1950-1956	1.04
<u>Tanganyika</u>				
Dar-es-Salaam	C 1931-1948	6.68	C 1948-1957	7.20
<u>South Africa</u>				
<u>Union of South Africa</u>				
Benoni	A 1936-1946	-1.03	A 1946-1960	4.38
Bloemfontein	A 1936-1946	2.64	A 1946-1960	3.86
Cape Town	A 1936-1946	2.19	A 1946-1960	3.19
Durban	A 1936-1946	3.36	A 1946-1960	4.12
East London	A 1936-1946	2.63	A 1946-1960	2.73
Germiston	A 1936-1946	4.66	A 1946-1960	3.25
Johannesburg	A 1936-1946	3.06	A 1946-1960	2.64
Port Elisabeth	A 1936-1946	3.01	A 1946-1960	4.42
Pretoria	A 1936-1946	6.49	A 1946-1960	13.88
Springs	A 1936-1946	2.47	A 1946-1960	11.41
Verconiging	A 1936-1946	5.24	A 1946-1960	7.90
<u>West Africa</u>				
<u>Angola</u>				
Louanda	C 1930-1950	5.26		
<u>Cameroon (Yaounde)</u>				
Douala	C 1931-1954	6.44		

TABLE 3
(Cont'd)*

Countries and cities	Period	Increase per cent	Period	Increase per cent
<u>West Africa (cont'd)</u>				
<u>Congo (Braz.)</u>				
Brazzaville	C 1931-1946	9.96	C 1946-1959	3.74
<u>Ghana</u>				
Accra	C 1936-1948	5.56	C 1948-1960	11.29
<u>Guinea</u>				
Conakry	C 1936-1946	7.18	C 1946-1960	3.65
<u>Ivory Coast</u>				
Abidjan	C 1933-1946	7.49	C 1946-1955	10.92
<u>Nigeria</u>				
Ibadan	C 1936-1952	1.08		
Ifo	C 1931-1952	7.53		
Iwo	C 1931-1952	2.72		
Kano	C 1931-1952	1.82		
Lagos	C 1936-1950	3.77	C 1950-1960	4.69
Ogbomosho	C 1931-1952	2.29		
Oshogbo	C 1931-1952	4.27		
<u>Senegal</u>				
Dakar	C 1936-1946	3.51	C 1946-1954	7.40
<u>Sierra Leone</u>				
Freetown			C 1947-1959	3.65
<u>Central Africa</u>				
<u>Congo (Leo.)</u>				
Elisabethville			C 1946-1959	9.52
Leopoldville	C 1938-1947	14.21	C 1947-1959	10.67
<u>Rhodesia & Nyassaland, féd. of</u>				
South Rhodesia			A 1946-1959	10.31
Salisbury			A 1946-1959	11.01

* Rates computed according to data given on Demographic Yearbook 1960, Table 7.

For the population of these cities and urban agglomerations, the same table.

C : proper; A : urban agglomeration.

The figures in Table 3 show that towns and cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants have grown rapidly during the past thirty years. With very few exceptions, the rates of growth of these towns are distinctly higher than those noted or estimated for all the countries taken together (Table 1). In certain cases, these rates may be slightly exaggerated, calculated as they are from census data or urban population estimates, in view of under-enumeration in censuses conducted before the Second World War and of changes in territorial boundaries. In other, probably more numerous, cases, the rate of population growth have been under-estimated because urban localities have over-run the territorial limits of recently created or ancient towns.

IV. Composition of population by age and by sex -- role of migrations.

The sex and age structures of a population are determined by fertility and mortality rates, with modifications due to migrations. But variations in the death-rate have but little effect on the age structure. The reductions in death-rate noted in most African countries, as in all other regions of the world, affect people of all ages, especially at the higher mortality levels. A greater proportion of the population is living on to a ripe old age; at the same time infant and child mortality figures are dropping; more people are surviving until and during the reproductive period, with a resultant increase in births. Hence the age structure of a population is not significantly affected by reduced mortality, but almost solely by fertility levels.

In a fraction of the population, migration⁽⁴⁾ - an important factor in African countries - has the effect of modifying the sex and age structure. This happens in provinces or small countries subject to migratory exchanges with other countries; it happens, too, in the urban and rural populations in a given country.

The composition by sex and age of the population of certain urban zones in Africa is shown in Table 4. It is clearly different from distribution by age⁽⁵⁾ of the total population (urban and rural) in the same countries (Table 5).

(4) For example, it emerges from a document before the Workshop (SEM/URB/AF/26) that half the inhabitants of the urban centre of Khartoum (Khartoum, Khartoum-North and Omdurman) were born outside their place of residence. The same proportion of 'outsiders' is found in 6 other selected towns (see the same table). Similar or higher proportions are to be found in many African countries.

TABLE 4

Selected African countries - Urban population (or population of selected cities) by broad age-groups and sex.

	Age group	Distribution per 1000 persons			Sex-ratios ^{1/}
		Males	Females	both sexes	
<u>Congo (Brazzaville)</u>	0-14	171	169	340	101
	15-59	380	274	654	139
Bacongo - Poto Poto	60 +	3	3	6	100
1955-56	All ages	554	446	1 000	124
<u>Congo (Leopoldville)</u>	0-14	206	202	408	102
	15-54	323	250	573	129
1955-57	55 +	11	8	19	138
	All ages	540	460	1 000	117
<u>Congo (Leo.)</u>	0-14	176	177	353	99
	15-54	400	233	633	171
Leopoldville	55 +	7	7	14	100
1955	All ages	583	417	1 000	140
<u>Ivory Coast</u>	0-14	163	158	321	103
	15-54	410	255	665	161
Abidjan	60 +	9	5	14	180
1955	All ages	582	488	1 000	119
<u>Ghana</u>	0-15	180	186	366	97
	16-45	278	219	497	127
Accra	45 +	70	67	137	105
1948	All ages	528	472	1 000	112
<u>Guinea</u>	0-14	204	199	403	102
	15-54	258	282	540	92
"Urban areas"	55 +	30	27	57	111
1955	All ages	492	508	1 000	97
<u>Lybia</u>	0-14	169	164	333	103
	15-54	321	269	590	119
Tripoli	55 +	37	40	77	92
1954	All ages	527	473	1 000	110

Source : Outre-Mer 1958 - Service des statistiques d'outre-mer - Paris 1959
and from census and survey data.

1/ Sex ratio : Number of men for 100 women.

TABLE 4 (cont'd)

	Age groups	Distribution per 1000 persons			Sex ratios
		Males	Females	both sexes	
<u>Mali</u>	0-14	208	196	404	106
	15-59	265	287	552	92
Bamako	60 +	25	19	44	126
1958	All ages	498	502	1 000	96
<u>Niger River Valley</u>	0-14	177	189	366	94
(Mali)	15-59	249	314	563	79
Urban areas	60 +	36	35	71	103
1958	All ages	462	538	1 000	86
<u>Morocco</u> 4/	0-19	219	235	454	93
10 cities	20-59	241	257	498	93
1951-1952	60 +	20	28	48	73
	All ages	480	520	1 000	92
<u>Nigeria (West)</u> 2/	0-14	266	253	519	105
(8 cities)	15-49	208	200	408	104
1952	50 +	36	37	73	97
	All ages	510	490	1 000	104
<u>U.A.R. (Egypt)</u>	0-14	192	196	388	98
Cairo and	15-59	292	272	564	197
Alexandria	60 +	24	24	48	98
1947	All ages	508	492	1 000	103
<u>Central African Republic</u>	0-14	152	138	290	110
Bangui	15-59	384	318	702	121
1955	60 +	4	4	8	100
	All ages	540	460	1 000	118
<u>North Rhodesia</u> 3/	0-14	228	216	336	105
(8 cities)	15-59	321	232	553	148
1960	60 +	2	1	3	287
	All ages	551	449	1 000	123

2/ Lagos, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Iwo, Ogbomosho, Oshogbo, Ije, Oyo.

3/ From Report on Northern Rhodesia African Demographic Survey 1960, Table 11, page 4.

4/ Casablanca, Marrakesh, Fes, Rabat, Meknes, Oujda, Safi, Kenitra, Sale, Mazagan

TABLE 4 (cont'd)

	Age groups	Distribution per 1000 persons			Sex ratios
		Males	Females	both sexes	
<u>Senegal</u>	0-15	177	182	359	97
Dakar	15-59	317	285	602	116
	60 +	20	19	39	105
1955	All ages	514	486	1 000	106
<u>Senegal - Lower Valley</u>	0-14	196	194	390	101
urban areas	15-59	234	308	542	76
	60 +	33	35	68	94
1957	All ages	463	537	1 000	86
<u>Togo</u>	0-14	216	235	451	92
	15-59	248	271	519	92
1958	60 +	10	20	30	50
	All ages	474	526	1 000	90
<u>Union of South Africa</u>	0-14	153	155	308	99
	15-59	363	269	632	135
1951	60 +	28	32	60	88
	All ages	544	456	1 000	119

The differences are found in both directions. In some urban populations, e.g. in Morocco, Togo etc., there is a shortage of men - whereas the cities of the Union of South Africa and, say, Dakar show a masculinity ratio ⁽⁶⁾ - of 119 and 106, respectively. One characteristic of regions subject to rapid immigration is that initially they receive more men than women - a common observation in demographic history. Later, the masculinity ratio tends to oscillate around 100, as the urban economy becomes more diversified and the urban social organization more stabilized. But so long, for example, as a city's growth by immigration continues and available jobs are mostly suitable for men, the masculinity ratio may remain very high. Leopoldville is a case in point. Between 1926 and 1955, its population increased by more than ten times (from 23,000 to 290,000). During the same period, the masculinity ratio (base:100) for the adult population was 360 in 1926-29, 230 in 1930-34, 190 in 1935-39, 190 in 1940-44, 180 in 1945-49 and 190 in 1950-55. ⁽⁷⁾

In the Union of South Africa, where urbanization reaches the highest level on the continent (see Table 2), structure by age and sex shows predominance of the population of working age (see Table 4). In that age group (15-59 years) the masculinity ratio is very high, though a separate study of the

(5) Population composition by age is of course subject to error, due to under-enumeration of children and other forms of under-enumeration or multiple enumeration. Such errors do not, however, distort comparisons between Tables 4 and 5. Where censuses and surveys more frequently under-enumerate young children in rural than in urban areas, the real distributions by age and sex tend rather to strengthen than to weaken the arguments used in this part of the study.

(6) Number of men to 100 women.

(7) From data published in "Léopoldville, Phénomène Urbain Africain" (by L.Baeck), extracted from "Zaire", No.6, June 1956.

non-indigenous population ^{8/} shows the number of men per 100 women to be normal, even in the working-age group; in the indigenous population ^{8/} between 15 and 59 years of age, on the other hand, the masculinity ratio is 200. This age group represents 72 per cent of the indigenous population ^{8/} living in urban areas. This is partly explained by the fact that many of the towns are mining towns where immigration from rural areas is to some extent temporary.

The masculinity ratio of urban and rural populations in Guinea for 1955 shows that country to be one of net emigration. This is especially clear for the 15-54 age group, for the population as a whole and for the rural population. In the case of urban areas, the masculinity ratio borders on 100 for all age groups and stands at 92 for the 15-54 age group.

According to the 1958 survey, the ratio at Bamako was under 100 for all age groups. Half of the inhabitants of Bamako were born in the city; among those born elsewhere, women predominate, particularly in the 15-59 age group.

Despite this diversity, African towns may, generally speaking, be said to attract more men than women from the rural areas. In that respect, Africa shows common features with most Asian countries, whereas in modern Europe, Latin America and almost all countries with a European population, the towns attract more women.

^{8/} As used in this document, the term "indigenous population" means the Bantu population, and the term "non-indigenous population" elements classified under other headings in the census of the Union of South Africa.

One of the other factors largely explaining this "abnormal" composition by age and sex is the structure of employment in African urban areas. Were we able to measure the average length of stay per immigrant and to classify immigrants as "temporary" or "permanent", masculinity ratios might be very high for the former but perhaps observably near 100 for the latter. This seems to be confirmed by the figures given in Table 6.

It clearly emerges that in the Ghanaian towns selected ^{9/} the proportion of the population born locally ^{10/} is higher among women than men. In some towns the proportion born outside the limits of the census areas is very high, which argues both rapid urbanization and considerable mobility in Ghana's population. In fact, half of the urban and rural inhabitants were enumerated in 1948 outside their place of birth. It can also be seen that migrations are not entirely due to the flight from the land; they also affect town-dwellers. With the exception of Sekondi-Takoradi, masculinity ratios are comparatively low for town-dwellers of local origin. They are high, and sometimes very high, for those of non-local origin, except in Keta. The latter is not, however, a very big town; in small towns the age and sex structure can be completely upset by some local factor, e.g. the installation of an undertaking recruiting female labour. The high proportions of inhabitants born outside the census areas, as also the high masculinity ratios, demonstrate the extreme mobility of Ghana's urban and rural populations. However, the indirect measurement of the volume of migrations by masculinity ratios reflects only a minimum of migratory movements, because it cancels out an equal number of migrants of both sexes.

The male majority in certain African urban areas reflects the composition by sex and age of the migrants. It has sometimes been thought that excess mortality in women may have led to a surplus of men. Considering the high mortality rates ^{11/} observed

in Africa, excess mortality may affect women of certain ages, particularly those corresponding to the reproductive period. It is unlikely that high mortality in women can significantly alter masculinity ratios.

In countries with A European civilization, including those of Latin America, women are more attracted than men to urban areas. This fact has often been presented as a socio-cultural phenomenon with roots going deep into European culture. In countries with a non-European civilization, e.g. in Africa and South-East Asia, the flight from the land affects more men than women because, inter alia, women's work is there confined to the home. However, the need to ascertain present and future population trends in Africa demands a re-examination of certain views commonly held in the past. Many African towns and townships have more women than men. It would, to be sure, be wrong to underestimate the importance of cultural factors, such as the restriction of female labour to the home. It would seem nevertheless reasonable to argue that, while migrants make for the towns under the impact of socio-cultural factors, they also

9/ This comparison is weakened by the errors attaching to classifying population by birth-place. It nevertheless remains significant.

10/ See also footnote 4.

11/ Most countries with low mortality rates show excess male mortality at almost all ages.

TABLE 5

Age Composition of the Population for Selected African Countries (Estimated percentage of total population).

Country	Census date	Percent of total population aged:		
		Under 15	15-59	60 and over
<u>North Africa</u>				
Algeria	1954	41.0	53.0	5.9
Libya	1954	38.0	52.4	9.5
Morocco	1951-52	40.6	52.5	3.5
Sudan ^{a/}	1956	46.6	49.8	3.5
Tunisia	1956	41.8	52.6	5.6
UAR (Egypt)	1947	38.0	55.7	6.0
<u>West Africa</u>				
Cameroon ^{c/}	1958	28.6	68.2	2.5
Guinea ^{c/}	1955	42.1	52.9	4.9
Ivory Coast ^{c/}	1958	44.9	51.1	4.0
Mali ^{c/}	1958	36.4	55.7	7.9
Senegal ^{c/}	1958	40.1	53.4	6.5
Central African Republic ^{c/}	1958	34.7	62.9	2.4
Congo (Brazzaville) ^{c/}	1959	41.6	56.4	2.0
Chad ^{c/}	1959	42.5	53.9	3.6
Ghana ^{b/}	1948	33.7	61.4	4.9
Gambia	1959	31.2	59.9	8.9
Nigeria ^{b/}	1952-53	40.2	53.9	4.9
<u>South and East Africa</u>				
Angola	1950	39.1	56.0	4.7
Basutoland	1946	37.6	53.5	8.9
Bechuanaland	1946	36.5	55.7	7.8
Congo (Leopoldville)	1953	35.2	58.4	6.4
Mauritius	1959	44.1	41.0	5.0
Mozambique	1956	40.4	54.5	5.0

a/ From an adjusted age distribution obtained by use of United Nations model population methods for a joint study by the United Nations and the Government of Sudan on population growth and manpower in Sudan (report under publication)

b/ Census age categories revised to five-year age groups by mathematical methods.

c/ Based on the results of a demographic sample survey covering only parts of the national area.

go there mainly for economic reasons.

The relationship between urbanization in African countries and regional economic development is, on the whole, pretty loose. In other words, urbanization has been more rapid than diversification of the economy, industrialization and, more generally, the creation of non-agricultural employment. In North Africa, for instance, certain official studies and surveys have revealed steady and substantial unemployment in centres like Tunis, Casablanca, Cairo and Alexandria. Unemployment also appears to have spread during certain recent years in some cities of Tropical Africa. However, in the absence of statistics and regular surveys, no quantitative study has been possible of the employment situation in most of the larger towns.

The employment situation in African urban areas largely explains the age and sex structure of the migratory movements and of the urban populations in general. On the one hand, most of the jobs offered on the urban labour market are unskilled jobs. On the other hand, most of the people newly absorbed into the urban communities have had no vocational training or tradition before being so absorbed. In the competition for the available jobs, most of which demand more physical strength than skill, men have the advantage over women.

Urban population characteristics vary with the size of town and the economic activities there engaged in. In average-size and small towns, opportunities of employment are more selective than in the main urban centres. For example, in a town of 8,000 inhabitants with a textile factory employing 1,000 persons, mostly women, the number of men of working age is very likely to be less than that of women in the same group. But in

TABLE 6

SEM/URB/AF/4

Page 25

GHANA 1948 - Sex-ratios (Number of men for 100 women)
in selected cities of Ghana and distribution by birth
place (born (local) and not born (non-local) where
enumerated.)

Cities and urban agglomerations	Sex ratios according to birth place			Distribution (%) by birth place			
	local	non local	total	local	non local		
	a)	b)		a)	b)	Males Females	Males Females
Accra	81	157	109	46	63	54	37
Kumasi	96	119	112	28	32	72	68
Sekondi-Takoradi	104	134	129	20	25	80	75
Cape Coast	80	129	95	59	70	41	30
Kaforidua	91	107	101	32	35	68	65
Wiuneba	87	125	95	74	80	26	20
Keta	82	89	86	51	53	49	47
Ghana c)	85	127	102	47	58	53	42

Source: According to data published in "Census of population, 1948,
Report and tables".

- a) born where enumerated
- b) not born where enumerated
- c) total population, population of Ghana, urban and rural.

a mining locality of the same size it is just as likely that the masculinity ratio will be very high. In large urban centres, non-agricultural economic activity is complex and employment opportunities are varied, so that the jobs available to both men and women are also diversified, and opportunities may in fact be about equal. Among reasons for a high masculinity ratio and a surplus of adults may be seasonal migratory movements. In some African towns the influx of country-dwellers is of course partly temporary, seasonal workers seeking paid employment to eke out the fruits of the subsistence economy they live by in the country. The fact that there is a majority of adult males in certain towns may also be due to a housing shortage, as is observable in most rapidly-growing African towns. A low masculinity ratio, well below unity, may result from more employment opportunities for women, from a social movement in which women think by leaving their native village or township of origin to emancipate themselves from a social organization that is inimical to them.

In almost all countries throughout the world, the age composition of urban populations shows a higher proportion of adults between 15 and 59 years of age, and a smaller proportion of children and elderly people, than that of rural populations. The figures in Table 4 do not contradict that general rule. The rural areas have a markedly higher proportion of children. It is said that the differences between urban and rural populations are in reality slightly more marked still. It is well known that in African countries, as in most countries in other parts of the world, under-enumeration of children is a classic defect of censuses and surveys, and one which is more common in rural than in urban areas. The proportion of people of working age (15-59 years) is much higher in urban than in rural areas, and the proportion of the elderly comparatively lower (see Tables 4 and 5).

This age structure of urban populations has substantial repercussions on a whole series of economic and social policy problems, such as employment, education, housing, public health, establishment of industries etc....With most of the population of working age, non-agricultural production development and consumption problems are not the same as in rural areas, especially in those that have lost a high proportion of their adult to the towns. And the predominance of people of working age is not without its disadvantages, e.g. the high proportion of enemployed adults in many African towns. In rural areas, partly thanks to the subsistence economy, problems of under-employment and unemployment are less serious, at least from the point of view of social and political consequences.

Studies on the sex and age structure of the population are also useful in seeking solutions to problems like the national financing of education or relief for the aged. Generally speaking, the proportion of dependants is not so high in urban as in rural areas in Africa. In other words, for the same number of people of working age there are less children of school age to be educated in the towns. This situation is partly due to the influx into the towns of people of working age from the countryside. Where town-dwellers of rural origin send part of their earnings to their families, there is a redistribution of national income in favour of the rural areas. However, as the central authorities cannot count merely on this spontaneous machinery, calls have been made through public finance channels on the incomes of town-dwellers to develop education in the countryside. This is, it may be added, a policy with many and varied aims and consequences. Assistance to rural education raises the educational standards of the working population, thus increasing the future flow of migrants

into the towns. In addition, financing education and vocational training in the country out of urban funds does something to slow up the flight from the land, thus rendering less thorny the problems facing the urban authorities.

The proportions of dependants in the urban population are generally higher than the figures in Table 4 would suggest. For, as has been seen, a proportion of the urban population, varying from country to country, resides temporarily in the locality of employment. This floating urban population, whose dependants belong to the rural population, regularly sends some part of its earnings back to the village of origin. Accordingly, in the urban areas, where masculinity ratios are high, where the population includes a very high proportion of people of working age, the proportions of dependants as currently calculated i.e. separately for each population, exaggerate discrepancies between town and country.

V. Fertility and mortality rates

The statistical data on births and deaths available in African countries are far from satisfactory and of even less value than those at hand on the age and sex composition of the population. Many African countries have for long been compiling vital statistics, but of a quality so far restricted by poor administrative facilities for applying a system of registration. The incompleteness of these statistics is, moreover, aggravated by the lack of measures to induce the population to make the necessary declarations. In many areas, particularly some urban areas, the registration of births and deaths is regarded as complete. Yet little is known of the people concerned in the births and deaths. On the one hand, births and deaths are not always referred to the place of residence of the persons concerned; on the other, as rural and suburban residents frequently use hospital facilities mainly located in urban centres, vital statistics registers of African towns are often swollen with records of births and deaths that in reality refer to the rural population.

Table 1 gives estimates of births and deaths in certain African countries. These estimates are based on the method of stable population models elaborated by the United Nations, using population distribution by age and certain other demographic characteristics. But, because of migratory movements, this method cannot be used for separate estimates of birth and death rates in the towns and cities.

The occasional data available on urban birth and death rates are derived from sample surveys conducted mainly in West Africa (Tables 7 and 8). While the results of these surveys cannot pretend to demonstrate in any reliable way the probable effects of urbanization for all Africa, they nevertheless confirm observations made on differential birth and death rates in other parts of the world.

TABLE 7
Birth and death rates for urban and rural areas obtained
for African sample surveys

Country	Year	U R B A N			R U R A L		
		Birth rates (per 1000)	Death rates (per 1000)	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 births)	Birth rates (per 1000)	Death rates (per 1000)	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)
Central African Republic ^{a/}	1959	38	27	197	40	26	188
Congo (Leo.) ^{b,c/}	1957	52	9	66	41	23	113
Guinea ^{b/}	1955	52	29	189	63	41	218
Mali ^{a/}	1957	44	31	246	52	47	320
Senegal ^{a/}	1957	53	27	152	52	25	172

^{a/} Demographic sample survey covering only part of the national area.

^{b/} National demographic sample survey.

^{c/} The population living in "mixed" areas (i.e. sub-urban areas with 12 % of the national population) has been excluded in these estimates.

Mortality

Except in Senegal and the Central African Republic, crude death rates are higher in rural than urban areas (Table 7). The exceptions may be due merely to under-estimation of crude death rates in the rural areas. The infant mortality rate^{12/}, for instance, is lower in town than country in the Basse Vallée of Senegal. In the other countries considered, crude death rates are so much higher in country than town that death rates have probably been underestimated in rural areas of the Basse Vallée of Senegal, and especially in the rural areas of the Central African Republic, where the rate of 26 per 1,000 is much lower than that estimated by the stable population method : 30 per 1,000 (Table 1). Several writers have held that mortality might be higher in African urban areas than in rural areas, as happened in industrialized countries in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is difficult to judge the merits of this view in the absence of adequate statistics and systematic population surveys. Nevertheless, from detailed studies^{12/} recently made by the UN Secretariat on mortality trends in less-developed countries there have emerged certain conclusions that cast serious doubts on the possibility of higher mortality in urban populations. At the higher mortality levels, as e.g. in most African countries, most deaths are due to infectious, parasitic and respiratory diseases. Such causes of death have been greatly reduced by the inexpensive medical techniques elaborated in recent decades; and in African countries

^{12/} The infant mortality rate remains a good index to general mortality levels, despite fluctuations around the same general mortality index. (See UN Demographic Bulletin No. 6 (not yet published).

public health facilities (hospitals, doctors, medicines) are much better in the urban than in the rural areas. There is, of course, no pretence that urban living conditions are always very healthy or all tend to reduce mortality risks; but, despite slums, despite malnutrition, it would be really surprising if mortality was higher in the urban than in the rural areas of Africa, except in extreme - and very rare - cases. Apart from the Central African Republic, infant mortality rates are much lower in towns than in the countryside. It should, however, be noted that the rates are still pretty high, particularly compared with the rate observed in Congo (Leopoldville). The experience of other less-developed regions, e.g. South-East Asia, shows that infant mortality can be substantially and rapidly reduced - say, to 60-70 per 1,000 - without undue public health expenditure.

Birth rates and fertility

Except in Senegal and Congo (Leopoldville), crude birth rates for the urban population are lower than those observed for the rural population. From the results of the survey of the Basse Vallée in Senegal, the crude reproduction rate was estimated at 2.5 for the population of Dakar and at 3.0 for the population in general. So, there is every reason to think that the crude birth rate for urban populations in Senegal does not represent their real fertility levels. Again, the same survey established that the number of live children born to women between the ages of 45 and 59 years^{13/} was 4.2 for women living in towns and 5.2 for countrywomen.

In Congo (Léopoldville), the birth rate for the urban population may be explained on health grounds, as (1) country-dwellers newly integrated into the urban community may preserve the procreative habits they have acquired in the country and (2) fertility may be increased by reduction in the incidence of certain diseases, like malaria, and the mitigation of morbidity. But an examination of age distribution in the under-5 section of the population suggests more under-enumeration of children in rural than in urban areas, hence under-estimation of the birth rate for the rural population.

While the birth rate gives an initial measure of the fertility level, that measure is no more than approximate; for, since there is a whole section of the population that takes no part in procreation (children and old people), the birth rate actually depends on the age and sex structures of the population. The gross reproduction rate^{14/} is a more exact measure of fertility. In Guinea, it was 2.8 for the urban population and 3.6 for the rural population.

^{13/} I.e. women who have completed their reproduction period. This age group (45-59 years) is preferred to the commonly used "45 and over" group, as it eliminates the effects of forgetfulness in older women.

^{14/} The gross reproduction rate is the ratio of the numbers in a given generation to the number of children it produces. In practice, it is a question of determining the number of girls a particular generation of girls born alive will give birth to.

TABLE 8

Average number of children ever born by age of mother

Age Groups	Guinea (1955)		Mali (1957)		Sonogal (1957)	
	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural
15 - 19	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,6	0,5	0,4
20 - 24	1,7	1,8	1,7	1,9	1,7	1,7
25 - 29	2,5	2,9	2,7	3,2	2,7	2,9
30 - 34	3,6	3,9	4,0	4,1	3,2	3,9
35 - 39	4,3	4,5	4,1	4,8	3,9	4,6
40 - 44	4,8	5,0	4,4	4,8	4,1	5,0
45 - 59	5,3	5,3	4,9	5,0	4,2	5,2

Source : Annuaire statistique. Années 1955-1956 et 1957 - vol.6,
tome 1. Haut Commissariat général à Dakar - Dakar 1959.

Another approach to fertility consists in determining the total number of children given birth to by women of different ages. In the case of the 3 countries covered by Table 8, less children are born to townswomen than to countrywomen. This may be a very accurate pointer to fertility levels; but it must not be forgotten that the fertility of a population depends on a whole complex of demographic variables, quite apart from other economic and social factors. As regards the urban population, lower fertility rates may be due to lower marriage rates, or even to selective migrations. Countrywomen who settle in urban areas may belong to a socio-economic category with different procreative habits from the rest of the population. In addition, improved public health in town, inter alia, together with lessened morbidity, may have the opposite effect in tending to increase fertility.

The factors determining the fertility levels of populations are many and varied. For example, it is often held that in Africa, urbanization loosens traditional customs (specification of duration of suckling, periods of abstinence etc.), which have so far resulted in keeping fertility at a certain level, and it is thought that their abandonment by incomers to town from the country is helping to raise the birth rate. While the effects of this relaxation of traditional customs must not be underestimated, the question may be asked whether they are really significant and conclusive. An analysis of census data and the population surveys that are expected to be carried out in Africa in the near future will show whether there is any marked difference in fertility trends as between urban and rural populations, such as has been observed since the start of urbanization in economically developed countries and, very recently, in Latin American and Asian countries. Such beginnings of differential fertility as have been noted in Guinea, Mali and Senegal are following the lines already noted in the economically advanced countries.

In Africa, as in other regions of the world, economic and social development, in its many and varied facets, could not proceed without radical changes in the fertility of urban and rural populations. Nevertheless, mortality will decline more quickly, especially in urban areas, and the drop will start long before any substantial decrease in fertility. So natural growth of the urban population may be expected to be rapid over the next twenty or more years. At the same time, much of that population growth will be attributable to the flight from the land.

VI. Summary and conclusions

In Africa, urbanization is largely the result of the rapid growth in urban and rural populations. It has been estimated that the population of Africa as a whole is increasing at a rate of about 2 per cent per year. That must be considered a mere order of magnitude, pending more accurate estimates based on the results of recent censuses; as a rate, it is less rapid than those observed in Asia and Latin America. Over the next 20 years, in the light of our present knowledge of mortality and fertility trends, the rate of population growth will certainly reach the levels recently observed in other less-developed regions. With a few rare exceptions, limited to a few countries and regions, Africa, especially south of the Sahara, cannot be regarded as "over-populated". A rapid increase in population will nevertheless raise difficult problems as regards economic and social development. From present knowledge, however slight, of migratory movements it may be more or less confidently stated that much of the increased population of the countryside, the proportion varying from country to country, will flow into Africa's urban areas. Urbanization will speed up as the rate of population growth mounts, especially with reduced mortality.

Given the present level of urbanization in most African countries, the population will remain mainly rural for the next few decades. The economic and social problems confronting the central and regional authorities will be no less difficult for that, since, unless living standards improve rapidly in the African countries, urbanization will at least in some degree take the form of a transfer of rural poverty to the urban areas.

Accordingly, one of the chief aims of economic development programmes should be harmonized economic growth with high priority accorded to increased productivity in agriculture and related activities. Any hope, however, that measures to that end would to any great extent slow up population transfers from rural to urban areas is doomed to disappointment.

In the African countries as in other parts of the world, the factors of attraction and disaffection - as distinct from demographic factors - responsible for speeding up urbanization tend to become as social as they are economic. Owing to the economic and social aspirations involved, the great cities represented by the African ports and the administrative and cultural capitals will continue to grow over the next few decades more rapidly than the small or medium-sized towns. This is a phenomenon observed throughout the world, in both economically advanced and less-developed countries. The problems raised by urban hypertrophy will, however, be less acute in African countries, where policy tends towards economic and administrative decentralization.

Such is the demographic picture of urban growth in African countries. It clearly calls for a thorough study of demographic factors and trends linked with urbanization. The summary and heterogeneous nature of the statistical data given in this document shows how necessary it is for the authorities responsible for administration and planning to promote and to undertake demographic studies on age and sex structures^{15/}, mortality and fertility levels, and migratory movements. Sample surveys and studies on these facets, made easier now by the censuses conducted in recent years, should be carried out in the light of experience gained in other countries. In addition, economic and social development possibilities call for thorough studies of the urban working population, its age and sex structures, its composition by educational and vocational training standards, and its distribution by economic activity sectors. Prospects of regional economic development should also be evaluated, with a view to planning some redistribution of migratory movements to mitigate problems arising out of hypertrophy in certain towns and cities.

^{15/} For many African countries, no detailed data are available on the age structure of the population. Recent surveys have produced certain techniques for obtaining such data, e.g. the "calendar of events" method.