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# State of the Art Report for RurbanAfrica

## Work Package 3: City Dynamics

### 1 Introduction

The nature of city dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa is contested. During the past decade it has been commonplace for extremely high rates of urban growth to be predicted with accompanying scenarios of cities growing out of control with ever expanding slums (Nugent and Locatelli 2009). However, another line of argument has emerged alongside these claims, with researchers such as Satterthwaite (2007) highlighting how these scenarios are often based on the misinterpretation of unreliable data. As Potts (2009, 2012) argues, sub-Saharan African urban growth rates are very variable; most have slowed down and recent censuses show that many are around or below the national rates. Thus the demographic process of urbanization, i.e. the increase in the urban share of a country's population, is slow or stagnating in most sub-Saharan African countries. The experiences of individual countries illustrate the diverse nature of urbanization with some demonstrating counter-urbanization (Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire and Mali), some having weak city in-migration (Ghana, Benin and Mozambique), whilst others have cities with high net in-migration (Tanzania, Kenya and Niger) (Potts 2009, 2012).

Although much city growth in sub-Saharan Africa is now due to natural population increase, this does not mean that mobility is on the decline. Circular migration, which has always been important in sub-Saharan Africa, has intensified in recent decades partly as a consequence of structural adjustment policies (Tacoli 2001). As urban livelihoods have become increasingly insecure, linkages back to rural areas have provided the primary safety net for many urban inhabitants, although there cases such as South Africa and Zimbabwe where rural-urban links for long-term city dwellers are weakening (Potts 2011). A key outcome of this situation is that elderly migrants returning to their hometown no longer dominate urban-rural migration streams. On the contrary, young people are now increasingly involved in migratory processes back to rural areas (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013). Understanding the nature of these urban-rural connections is central to understanding city dynamics and the potential for poverty reduction.

This State of the Art Report for Work Package 3 aims to contribute to our understanding of City Dynamics by providing a detailed analysis of current urban population trends and the relative contribution of migration to urban growth in Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania. Gaining an overview of the rate of urban growth and the role that migration plays in this growth, as well as the livelihoods and mobility of urban residents and their links to rural areas, will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of urban-rural connections. In this summary report, the findings from all four countries are brought together under four headings: urban growth trends, urban hierarchy, urban migration, and urban livelihoods. This is followed by the full reports for each of the countries in alphabetical order: Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania.

## **2 Urban growth trends**

There are two dominant positions regarding the form and nature of urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa. One group of scholars argues that rapid urban growth is occurring despite declines in urban incomes and widespread urban unemployment. Urban growth is seen as being a largely poverty-driven process, leading to nightmarish scenarios of slum expansion and deepening urban poverty (Burra 2004, Kombe 2005, Barrios et al. 2006, Davis 2006, UN-HABITAT 2008, Watson 2009, Myers 2010, and Annez et al. 2010, UN-HABITAT 2010). Critics of this position argue that urban population growth is actually stagnating because of declining rural-urban migration, and assert that projections of high levels of urbanization should be questioned. These critics propose that the primary sources of current urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa are natural growth and the reclassification of smaller settlements. In addition, declining urban fertility and increasing urban adult mortality related to HIV/AIDS are argued to have slowed down natural urban population growth (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004, Potts 2006, McGranahan et al. 2009, Potts 2009, Potts 2010, Satterthwaite 2010, Parnell and Walawege 2011, Zulu et al. 2011, Potts 2012,). The projections of urban growth at a continental level, however, mask the multiplicity of experiences of individual countries.

Before turning to analyse trends in the project countries it is important to highlight the distinction between urbanization and urban growth. Urbanization in statistical terms is the increasing proportion of a population living in settlements defined as urban centres. The net movement of people from rural to urban areas typically causes urbanization. Urban growth on the other hand is the absolute increase in the urban population (Satterthwaite 2007). Hence urbanization leads to urban growth but urban growth can occur without urbanization also taking place.

In terms of the level of urbanization in the four project countries there is a clear difference between Ghana and Cameroon, which have both recently become predominantly urban countries with just over half of their populations living in urban areas, and Rwanda and Tanzania where between about a fifth and a quarter of the population is urban (table 1). However, regarding absolute numbers for the four respective urban populations, Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania have urban populations of a similar size with 10-12 million urban inhabitants, while Rwanda has only 1.4 million. The periods of highest urbanization rates also vary between the four countries with Ghana experiencing high rates in the late 1940s and 1950s, Tanzania in the late 1960s to 1970s, Cameroon in the latter half of the 1970s and 1980s, and Rwanda in the 1990s and 2000s.

Table 1 Urbanization and urban population<sup>1</sup>

<b>Country</b>	<b>Independence</b>	<b>Current level of urbanization (percent)</b>	<b>Total urban population (millions)</b>	<b>Period of highest urbanization rates (years)</b>
Cameroon	1960	52	10.1	1976-1987
Ghana	1957	51	12.5	1948-1960
Rwanda	1962	17	1.4	1991-2002
Tanzania	1964*	27	12.4	1967-1978

\*Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated the data presented in the tables for Ghana is from 2010, Cameroon is projected 2010 data, Tanzania is projected 2012 data and Rwanda is 2002 data.

It is important to acknowledge, however, the potential unreliability of these figures, as the data for Rwanda is over 10 years out of date and the Cameroon and Tanzania figures are projected. Nevertheless, as indicated there are some clear differences and similarities between the project countries in terms of their respective level of urbanization, the size of their urban populations, and their periods of highest urbanization rates. For example, Ghana is now predominantly urban and its highest period of urbanization began over four decades earlier than Rwanda, which has the lowest current level of urbanization and most recent period of high urbanization rates. These similarities and differences are attributable to historically differing social, economic and political processes in each of the countries.

A key theme that emerges from all four country reports is the importance of the transition from colonial to post-independence governance. All four countries attained independence from colonial rule over a seven year period from 1957 to 1964. Rwanda, which has a lower level of urbanization and smaller total urban population in comparison to the other three countries, began its highest period of urbanization thirty years after attaining independence from colonial rule. In contrast, Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania experienced their highest urbanization growth rates within the first two decades following independence. The delay in Rwanda's period of highest urbanization is notable because it differs from the prevailing strategy of many post-independence governments that were steeped in the era's prevailing economic rationales (Yankson 2006). This strategy entailed investing in capital-intensive industries located in urban centres in the hope that this would stimulate other sectors of the economy, and that growth impulses would trickle down to rural and peripheral zones. This approach was particularly pronounced in Cameroon and Ghana. When Cameroon attained independence in 1960, agriculture was at the heart of the economy. In an attempt to strengthen, and in some cases establish urban-rural linkages, the government implemented two five-year development plans in the decade following independence. In the period between 1976 and 1987 Cameroonian towns experienced accelerated urbanization, a situation attributed to the exodus of rural youths to towns in search of employment.

In post-independence Ghana, state-led industrialisation especially affected the three urban agglomerations of southern Ghana: Accra-Tema, Kumasi, and Sekondi-Takoradi, where government industrial estates provided the infrastructure and services needed to attract manufacturing firms; this benefited regions that were already relatively more developed. Consequently, job opportunities in the manufacturing sector were enhanced within what is often described as a 'golden triangle' with Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi forming the base, and Kumasi as the apex. The creation of Tema as the industrial hub of Ghana made Accra-Tema an attractive destination for migrants from all over Ghana, but most especially from the regions adjoining greater Accra (Benneh et al. 1990). Other regional capitals, including Tamale in the north, did not benefit from the same state-sponsored industrialisation and contributed to population movements to major cities. Major infrastructural projects such as the Volta river hydroelectric projects, Tema harbour, and new town projects in the late 1950s and early 1960s, necessitated the implementation of population resettlement schemes.

As indicated above, Rwanda's post-independence approach to urbanization differed from the general sub-Saharan African trend as the government actively discouraged migration into urban areas. Kigali became the official capital of Rwanda, and its designation as the capital and the associated relocation of all national ministry functions to the city fuelled its growth and importance. The focus on Kigali in the two decades following independence was accompanied by policies and practices designed to limit rural-urban migration (UN-HABITAT 2008). This emphasis on Kigali and restrictions on rural-urban migration resulted in the capital experiencing strong growth, while national urbanization growth rates remained relatively slow from independence through to the mid-1980s.

There are fundamentally two components of urban growth: net in-migration and natural increase. Natural increase is a function of demographic trends in fertility and mortality, and it is necessary to look at how these trends differ in rural and urban areas to understand the impact on urbanization (Potts 2006). In practice, urban growth is also often fuelled by the absorption of smaller settlements in the growth path of larger cities as well as the reclassification of small settlements as population thresholds are passed (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2012). Table 2 summarizes the importance of

these four components to urban growth in each of the project countries. It shows that net in-migration is highly important in Rwanda and Cameroon but only moderately important in Ghana and Tanzania. In relation to natural increase, the reverse is the case; it is highly important in contributing to urban growth in Ghana and Tanzania but less so in Cameroon and Rwanda. The reclassification of settlements is important in Cameroon, Rwanda and Tanzania but less so in Ghana, whereas the absorption of smaller settlements is less important in all four countries

Table 2 Factors contributing to urban growth

<b>Country</b>	<b>Net in-migration</b>	<b>Natural Increase</b>	<b>Reclassification of settlements</b>	<b>Absorption of smaller settlements</b>
Cameroon	Highly important	Moderately important	Highly important	Less important
Ghana	Moderately important	Highly important	Moderately important	Less important
Rwanda	Highly important	Moderately important	Highly important	Less important
Tanzania	Moderately important	Highly important	Highly important	Less important

A key challenge noted for all four countries is that when working with national urban growth rates, data often fail to convey the nuances taking place within a country. Growth rates may vary dramatically between urban centres of different sizes or between urban settlements in different regions. We now turn to look at intra-country variations in urban growth and urbanization trends through analysing urban hierarchies.

### **3 Urban hierarchy**

The term 'urban hierarchy' refers to a system of cities consisting of urban centres of different size, power and influence within a given regional, national or even broader territory (Pumain 2006). Interactions between these urban centres are often based on the exchange of goods, services, information and social capital. The question as to what constitutes a town or city, and how urban differs from rural is notoriously difficult to answer. An urban centre in one country may be classified as rural in another, and administrative divisions may define the outskirts of a city as a rural area despite huge informal settlements being located there. There is no dividing line that is conceptually meaningful since settlements form a continuum stretching from the smallest hamlet to a megalopolis. Consequently, many terms such as the urban-rural fringe, peri-urban interface, the suburb, and urban-village have been employed (Hall 2001, Simon et al. 2006, Pacione 2009).

There are four principal methods for distinguishing urban places. The first is population size; the most universally applied method for defining an urban settlement is by stipulating a certain minimum population for demarcation as a town. Second, population size is combined with other diagnostic criteria to define urban places, such as the majority of the workforce engaged in non-farm activities. Third, administrative criteria are used in defining urban areas though these may have little correspondence with the actual physical extent of the urban area. Fourth, there is a functional classification that reflects the role of urban areas and the extent of urban influence.

One challenge facing this project is that the four study countries all define urban in differing ways (see table 3) which has major implications for the differing levels of urbanization reported in table 1. Ghana and Cameroon both use population size but differing levels, and both Cameroon and Tanzania include functions in their definitions but in differing ways. Rwanda by contrast uses an administrative/legal definition of urban.



Table 3 Definitions of urban

<b>Country</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Cameroon	Administrative headquarters with at least 2,000 inhabitants
Ghana	Settlements of at least 5,000 inhabitants
Rwanda	Those resident within the urban administrative units recognized as such by law
Tanzania	Regional and district headquarters; other areas where there is a concentration of houses and institutions like police stations, post offices, health centres and streets

Similarly to definitions of urban, the urban hierarchy differs in each of the four countries (see table 4). Rwanda is the country that demonstrates the highest degree of urban primacy with 45 percent of its urban population living in Kigali. In both Tanzania and Ghana, one city, Dar es Salaam and Accra respectively, dominate the urban scene though both countries, especially Ghana, also have other secondary cities of notable size. Cameroon is dominated by two major cities, Douala and Yaoundé, a reflection of its dual British/French colonial past. Within the RurbanAfrica project, the major city has been selected as a site for primary research. In the case of Ghana and Rwanda, Accra and Kigala respectively are also the capital cities, whereas in Cameroon and Tanzania the capital cities are Yaoundé and Dodoma respectively which, despite being the seats of government, are smaller and economically less important than Douala and Dar es Salaam.

Table 4 Size of major cities

<b>Country</b>	<b>Major city</b>	<b>Population of major city around independence</b>	<b>Population of major city today</b>	<b>Proportion of urban population (percent)</b>
Ghana	Accra	400,000	2.1 million	17
Cameroon	Douala	111,000	2.5 million	25
Rwanda	Kigali	6,000	603,000	45
Tanzania	Dar es Salaam	433,000	3.1 million	32

Accra, with a current total land area of 201 km<sup>2</sup> has been the capital of Ghana since the British moved it there in 1877. Its population has increased from just fewer than 400,000 inhabitants in 1960 to almost 2.1 million inhabitants in 2010. Accra's population, like that of other urban centres in Ghana is youthful; in 2010, 42 percent of Accra's population was aged between 15 and 34 years and 31 percent was under 24 years old. Rather unusually, the capital had a slight predominance of women as 52 percent of the population was female. Douala is the economic capital of Cameroon. Its coastal location allows it to function as a trading hub, and its stature as one of the most important towns in Cameroon has reinforced its ability to attract migrants from within, but also beyond Cameroon. Douala has grown from 110,500 inhabitants in 1960 to an estimated almost 2.5 million today. The population is essentially youthful with there being especially many in the 20-35 age group. Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's largest city and is located in the administrative region of the same name. Dar es Salaam region grew from a population of 433,000 in 1967 to 2.5 million in 2002 and is estimated to be 3.3 million in 2012. Kigali's population expanded rapidly from 6,000 in 1962 to 160,000 in 1984, continuing to expand until the genocide of 1994. From 1994 to 1996, urban population growth in Kigali stagnated because of the ensuing chaos and the density of

the Kigali urban area plummeted. Since 1999, Kigali's urban population has grown at a rate of 8 percent per annum.

The regional distribution of the urban populations also differs between the project countries. The majority of Rwanda's urban population is located in the capital, and the nation's urban population is, therefore, very much focused in the centre of the country around Kigali. In Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania, the coast is an important location for urban growth. As well as the major city in each case being coastal, other cities located on the coast are also important and expanding rapidly; in Cameroon the ports of Kribi and Limbe, and in Ghana the cities of Sekondi-Takoradi and Tema are rapidly growing urban centres. As well as having a coastal concentration of urban settlements, Ghana, Cameroon and Tanzania exhibit distinctive urban regional distributions. In Ghana there is a clear north/south divide with the south of the country, which includes the major cities of Accra, Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, as well as numerous intermediate and small urban centres being the most heavily urbanized. In Cameroon, towns and cities are especially concentrated in the west, centre and far-north of the country as well as along the coast; the Mounjo corridor stretching from Douala to Bafoussam is especially important in this regard. In Tanzania, the location of the urban population is more diverse with urban centres of importance being located in the north, west and south of the country.

Alongside the major city in each of the four countries, a secondary city has been selected for the collection of primary data in the RurbanAfrica project. The cities are Bafoussam (Cameroon), Tamale (Ghana), Musanze (Rwanda) and Arusha (Tanzania) (see table 5). They vary in size from Mwanze with a population of just over 80,000 (though this is likely to have increased since 2002) to Arusha with an estimated population of over 700,000.

Table 5 Secondary study cities

<b>Country</b>	<b>Secondary city</b>	<b>Population</b>
Cameroon	Bafoussam	282,000
Ghana	Tamale	371,351
Rwanda	Musanze	83,150
Tanzania	Arusha	727,511

Tamale is the regional capital of the Northern Region and is the dominant urban centre in the three administrative regions of northern Ghana, which as well as the Northern Region includes Upper East and Upper West Regions. In 2010, Tamale with a population of over 370,000, had more than seven times the population of the next largest town in the Northern Region, Yendi with a population approaching 52,000 showing the extent of Tamale's primacy in the region. It is reportedly one of the fastest growing cities in West Africa.

Bafoussam is the regional capital of West Cameroon, one of the most densely populated regions of the country. It is situated at the convergence of three national roads hence has attracted migrants from the Western highlands as well as other regions including the North and East, resulting in a population today of over 280,000. Alongside administrative and commercial functions, Bafoussam has numerous agro-industries including breweries, soap and oil factories.

Musanze (formerly known as Ruhengeri) became recognised as a town following a decision by the extraordinary Consultative Council of Musanze District in October 2010. Musanze is now the most important town in Rwanda's Northern Province with a

population of over 83,000 in 2002. The town's growth is linked to the increasing importance of tourism in the area as it is located close to a national park with gorillas.

The city of Arusha is situated in northeast Tanzania and shares its name with the region within which it is located. Arusha had an estimated population of 728,000 in 2010. Its importance is linked to the region's historical influence, and the city's growth rate has been higher than the national average for all the inter-census periods. Tourism is also an important driver of urban growth in Arusha being located close to Mount Kilimanjaro and several national parks famous for their wildlife.

Although of differing sizes, all four towns are capitals of their region/province hence play important administrative roles. They all act as important service centres for a large rural hinterland and agro-industry is present in all of the cities. Tamale and Bafoussam in particular are both important trading centres due to their strategic location, while Musanze and Arusha are both well located in relation to national parks hence are experiencing a booming tourist industry.

#### **4 Urban migration**

Urban settlements have typically been sites of in-migration as rural residents move from rural to urban areas in search of better livelihood opportunities. In the early stages of urban growth, migration constitutes the majority of urban growth. This migration, however, is not simply a one-way process from rural to urban areas; as conditions in many African cities have deteriorated, mobility patterns have changed with higher rates of circular migration, higher prevalence of multi-spatial households and increasing urban-rural migration.

West Africa has a long history of population mobility, both regionally and internationally (Bakewell & De Haas 2007), and movement from rural to urban areas has traditionally dominated migratory flows. In the case of Ghana, internal migration to urban areas was the most important factor in the population expansion of Ghana's major urban centres between 1948 and 1970. This movement was often circular and predominantly male. A characteristic of contemporary rural-urban migration is the shift

from circular and male dominated movements, to one which has become more permanent, and includes children, independent females and/or large family units (Porter et al. 2011, Riddell 1980, Yaro et al. 2011). Independent female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty. Consequently, in Ghana the dominant migration stream is from north to south, and increasingly involves female youths moving independently of their families towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi, some of whom become 'street children' (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah 2008, Clark and Manuh 1991, Grieco et al. 1996).

Migration to towns also remains a key factor in the composition of Cameroon's urban population. According to findings in the last census, the proportion of Cameroonian migrants living in towns increased from 36 percent in 1976, to 41 percent in 1987, and to 51 percent in 2005. However, unlike Ghana, Cameroonian males are still more likely to migrate than their female counterparts.

Migration to urban areas, particularly among young people, has also played an important role in Tanzania's urban growth and urbanization process (Potts 2006). Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008) estimate that in the most recent inter-census period 1988-2002, migration contributed to 17 percent of urban population growth in Tanzania. However, findings indicate that lower net migration to cities from 1988 to 2002 conceals a much higher turnover level as much mobility goes unrecorded. Furthermore, in the Tanzanian context, urban-urban migration is almost as important as rural-urban migration but as it does not directly contribute to urban population growth it is often ignored by policy makers (Ngware and Kironde 2002).

Rwanda offers a sharp contrast to the three other countries because 80 percent of the population are categorized as non-migrants. The population's relatively limited mobility is attributed to physical/geographical constraints, gender norms and the traditional practice of intensive agriculture along with sedentary animal breeding (MINECOFIN 2005). The genocide clearly impacted on mobility within Rwanda during the 1990s. Migration is now emerging as an important livelihood strategy for financially disadvantaged groups in Rwanda, however, similarly to Cameroon, men dominate migration streams (MINECOFIN 2005). It is important to recognise, however, that the

introduction of reforms creating new administrative units and redefining the limits of others complicates attempts to understand the role of migration in urban growth. These reforms were designed not only to cater for the resettlement of repatriated nationals following the genocide, but also for the exodus of youth from rural areas searching for employment and security (MINECOFIN 2005).

The connection between migrants and their places of origin highlights the importance of rural-urban linkages. A key finding within the country reports is that urban migrants often maintain strong ties with their home (rural) communities, and these ties are expressed in both economic and non-economic terms. Home visitation is usually the connecting medium through which gifts, constructions of status, new ideas and cultural practices flow between migrants on the one hand, and their family and friends at home on the other, though the widespread use of mobile phones has reduced the need for personal movement. Migrants are typically expected to send remittances back home, and face significant pressure to do so. It is well documented that rural households often benefit from remittances from urban kin, yet recent research has also found the reverse to be true (Owusu 2005). With increasing economic insecurity and rising costs of living in cities, food transfers from rural to urban areas have become more important, and remittances from urban to rural areas have decreased. Access to rural food through kin or rural land ownership has become a crucial resource in the livelihoods of urban dwellers (Foeken and Owuor 2001, Owuor 2007).

Multi-spatial households are also becoming more prevalent, as some households split up with, for instance, women living in rural areas and men working in towns and cities, a practice found to be most prevalent in Cameroon. These multi-spatial households stimulate urban/rural connections thus requiring greater interaction across rural-urban spaces. Furthermore, offspring may be sent from urban areas to rural areas to attend school if they are more financially viable, and urban households often host young people from rural areas as part of a practice of 'educational fostering'. If they have failed or performed poorly in their studies they may be sent back to their village (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Davis 2006, Owuor 2007, UN-HABITAT 2010). These findings illustrate how static understandings and definitions of households as either urban or rural are problematic because they fail to grasp the increasingly fluid and multi-spatial

nature of households, where some members are resident in rural areas, some in urban areas while others have undertaken international migration (Gough et al. 2010).

Circular migration has always been a crucial part of urbanization processes in sub-Saharan Africa. For many urban dwellers links to rural areas provide a safety net during periods of urban unemployment, disease or retirement. Potts argues that decreasing net in-migration to urban areas is not necessarily related to decreasing levels of mobility, but rather to higher rates of circular migration (Potts 2009, Potts 2010, Potts 2011). UN-Habitat also emphasizes the increasing importance of circular migration as an important survival strategy spreading risks and providing access to livelihood opportunities in different localities (UN-HABITAT 2008). We now turn to address these livelihood activities in the next section.

## **5 Urban livelihoods**

Societal perceptions of an association between economic opportunities and urban environments have made certain cities and regions more attractive to migrants as part of livelihood strategies. Livelihoods are generally portrayed as comprising of people, their capabilities and their means of making a living, including food, income, tangible assets (such as resources and stores) and intangible assets (such as claims and access). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shock, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers and Conway 1992).

The implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAP) in the 1980s and 1990s in sub-Saharan Africa resulted in increasing economic insecurity, casualisation of the labour force and the erosion of wages capable of sustaining a household. In Ghana, the programme of retrenchment and redeployment as a direct consequence of the country's economic recovery programme (ERP) and SAP, had a detrimental impact on urban employment, especially in the public sector (Overa 2007, Langevang and Gough 2009). The implementation of these economic policies left a large a number of public sector workers and civil servants jobless, and removed a key employer of educated workers located in major urban centres. As a consequence, informality grew and the



informal economy is currently the main source of employment for the majority of Ghana's population; estimates of the proportion of the population working in the informal economy range from 69 percent (GSS 2012) to 89 percent (Yankson et al. 2001). Urban agriculture, retail enterprises and to a lesser extent petty-commodity production and are some of the key informal economic activities identified as taking place in urban Ghana. Street trading in particular has increased rapidly due to the lack of alternative income-generating activities in urban centres. Young people in particular are increasingly seeking employment in the urban informal economy and although many income-generating activities are gendered, a trend for men to move into previously female-dominated occupations has been identified (Overa 2007). Home-based enterprises are also widespread and are especially an important way for women to engage in income-generating activities (Gough 2010).

Informal activities also prevail in the livelihood strategies of Cameroonian urban residents, with the informal sector accounting for just over 90 percent of the working population compared to the formal sector's almost 5 percent. A recent INS study conducted in 2010 suggests that the informal sector's influence, however, has started to decline with increasing employment in the public and formal private sector. In Douala, the multi-activity rate is almost 15 percent for males and 13 percent for females indicating that urban residents are dependent on multiple income sources. A 2005 employment study found that unemployment affects more than 10 percent of Cameroonians, particularly in Douala (12.5 percent) and Yaoundé (14.7 percent). Young people under 29 years of age are also more likely to be unemployed.

Although data on Tanzanian urban livelihoods is scarce (though see Holm 1995 on intermediate cities), similarly to Ghana and Cameroon, Tanzania's urban population rely heavily on the informal sector, which by its very nature is largely unregistered, unmonitored and hard to document empirically. Findings indicate that the majority of employed urban residents are engaged in skilled and unskilled manual occupations, and that more women are engaged in unskilled manual occupations compared to their male counterparts, though this depends on how 'skilled' is defined. The available statistical data suggest that unemployment in Tanzania is low; labour force participation increased from 77.5 percent in 2008/09 to 82.6 percent in 2010/11.

For Rwanda, data on Rwandan urban livelihoods are also limited. Employment in the informal economy also predominates, however. In the case of Kigali, the overall employment rate is recorded as 78 percent of the resident population aged 16 years and above; the unemployment rate is 5.3 percent and the economic inactivity rate is 17.7 percent. Irregular incomes, including those who work for wages, result in financial insecurity for many households (MINECOFIN 2005).

In line with widespread trends in sub-Saharan Africa, all four countries have experienced increasing informalization of their economies. Consequently, the majority of urban populations rely on the informal economy for generating their livelihoods. Initial attempts to suppress the informal economy have been generally replaced by recognition of its importance in generating urban livelihoods. Unemployment rates are generally quite low, though can be high amongst young people, as few urban residents can afford to be unemployed, and the statistics are notoriously unreliable.

## **6 Conclusions and way forward**

This summary of City Dynamics in Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda and Tanzania has highlighted the similarities in their experiences of urbanization and urban growth, as well as indicating some key differences. While Cameroon and Ghana are now predominantly urban countries in statistical terms, Rwanda and Tanzania still have the majority of their populations living in rural areas. A key difficulty, though, in engaging in comparisons between the countries is that they all define urban areas differently. All four countries are still experiencing urbanization and rural-urban migration remains a contributing factor, especially in Rwanda, which has been the most recent to urbanize. Increasingly, however, natural increase is a major factor in the growth of urban areas. Some of the key differences between urbanization rates and levels and the nature of urban growth in the four countries stem from their very varied colonial and post-colonial histories as outlined in this summary and expanded upon in the individual country reports.

One key aspect that emerges from this State of the Art Report on City Dynamics is the limitations of existing data. Figures on urbanization and urban growth are dependent on census data which are often outdated and not always reliable. During the course of

RurbanAfrica, however, it should be possible to analyse in detail the recent census data for Ghana (2010), Tanzania (2012) and Rwanda (2012) which are currently or shortly expected to be released. Tracking changes in urban growth and urbanization is also affected by changing definitions of urban and the moving of urban boundaries, which makes tracing urban growth patterns for specific cities and towns challenging. Census data, however, typically do not capture much of the mobility that is taking place, and which smaller-scale studies suggest is widespread and often circular. And although there are some studies on urban livelihoods, especially in Ghana and Cameroon, these tend to be fairly limited in scope. It is clear, however, that employment within the public and formal private sectors is limited and the vast majority of urban residents work within the informal economy. Another key aspect is the increasingly youthful nature of urban populations.

As Pieterse (2011: 20) claims, and as this state of the art report has reaffirmed, 'the African city remains an elusive mirage clouded by limited data and inadequate theoretical approaches'. A number of key areas requiring further research have emerged from this report. First, the concept of informality is central to an understanding of urban livelihoods as informal employment is dominant and increasing in African cities. Many urban residents who used to have formal sector jobs are now self-employed informal workers, and many of those who have formal jobs supplement their wages through engaging in the informal sector (Potts 2008). In many African countries, a substantial proportion of young people entering the workforce do so in the informal economy. The inadequacy of the terms 'formal' and 'informal' to describe the nature of urban employment are well rehearsed as not only do people combine work in the two, the boundary between them is indistinct and overlapping with many so called informal enterprises being registered and taxed in one form or another. Hence, 'the informal is not outside of the formal' and the 'processes of formalization and informalization work together' (Mbembe and Nuttall 2008: 9 cited in Myers 2010). Informality has now come to be accepted as the norm in African cities, however. As Pieterse (2011: 14) claims, we do not know 'what it means for the functioning of urban economic systems when distinctions between formal and informal economic activity are seemingly redundant, and the imaginary of long-term wage work becomes permanently displaced'. Through analyzing the livelihood strategies of urban residents in eight cities

in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa, this project has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of these complexities and dynamics.

Second, the role that mobility plays in urban growth and urban livelihoods has emerged from the state of the art reports as being a central feature of city dynamics. Linked to the so-called mobility turn of the last decade in the social sciences, it has been claimed that mobility is so widespread that it should not be seen as a rupture in society but as a normal way of life, with immobility being the anomaly (Sheller and Urry 2006). Although there has been a particular focus on advances in new technology and new ways of living and interacting in a global North context, Rigg (2007), among others, has sketched out an alternative new mobilities paradigm which highlights the linkages between mobility and livelihoods in the global South. Despite mobility being a widespread practice, not everyone has an equal opportunity to be mobile, as moving between places can be a source of status and power (Sheller and Urry 2006), consequently, mobility 'means different things, to different people, in differing social circumstances' (Adey 2006: 83). The city can thus be envisaged as 'a mobile networked whole – messy, moving and morphing – rather than as compartmentalised sections' (Skelton and Gough 2013: 460). Through a focus on the mobility of urban residents in eight sub-Saharan African cities, this project can make an important contribution to analyses that link people and places and hence contribute to our understanding of city dynamics. Adopting a process-orientation approach to the mobile city as suggested by Oswin and Yeoh (2010: 170) will enable an examination of 'the interrelationships of movements of people, objects, capital and ideas in and through the overlapping scales of the local, the body, the national and the global'.

Third, the youthful nature of urban populations which has emerged from the state of the art reports highlights the need to gain an understanding of the priorities and prospects of urban youth. Although youth is a widely debated concept, the most common way of defining youth is using chronological age. The United Nations defines youth as 15-24 year olds; however, many African countries define youth in more expansive terms with the upper ceiling pushed into the mid-thirties (Chigunta 2013). Young people in sub-Saharan Africa are growing up in challenging social and economic environments. Rates of unemployment and underemployment are especially high for young people and most

have to create jobs for themselves (Gough et al. 2013). Against the odds, many young people in the global South hang onto the possibility of improving their lives through working and achieving social mobility (Gough 2008). As this often entails being mobile, young urbanites play central roles in, and contribute to, mobility within cities; practices which connect the local through to the global and vice versa (Skelton and Gough 2013). A particular focus on the livelihoods and mobility of young people, who form a large proportion of urban populations in the selected cities within RurbanAfrica, will add an important aspect to our understanding of city dynamics.

Finally, this project has the potential to make an important contribution to attempts to view African cities in their own terms rather than through the lens of western conceptualization. As Barac (2011: 24) has argued, there is a need for 'a research analytic more faithful to everyday events than 'Northern' paradigms of urban order'. He goes on to argue that there is a 'broad demand for stories of city life and new narratives of urbanity in Africa' (Barac 2011: 27). It is important, however, that these stories are not just anecdotal accounts of individual lives but are combined to generate informed understandings of city dynamics. Adopting a comparative approach through studying eight cities in four countries provides the RurbanAfrica project with the real potential to achieve this. As McFarlane and Robinson (2012: 765) highlight, there has been a resurgence and reorientation of comparative urban research in recent years and scholars are being challenged to 'develop new and sophisticated comparative imaginations'. New ways of writing across the diverse realities of contemporary urban landscapes and processes are needed, and as highlighted in this state of the art report, differences not just similarities should be part of comparative analysis. Through exploring common experiences within cities, tracing connections and examining the ways these play out in different contexts, greater insights into urban complexities can be generated (McFarlane and Robinson 2012: 769). This improved understanding of city dynamics should both feed back into some of these key intellectual debates whilst not losing sight of the fact that many urban residents face situations of real hardship, a better understanding of which should contribute to better policies and practice.

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## **State of the art report:**

### **Dynamics of urbanisation in Cameroon**

#### **1 Introduction**

Cameroon exhibits many of the characteristics commonly associated with post-colonial urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa. Research conducted during the mid to late 20th century, for example, highlighted how the post-independence government inherited a spatially distorted urban hierarchy (Vennetier 1989, 1991, 1993, Mainet 1985, Franqueville, 1984, 1987, Champaud 1984, etc.). More specifically, research has observed two types of urban - the legal city and the illegal city - which earlier captured the attention of Milton Santos (1971) and Paul Bairoch (1985). The country has emerged out of an economic crisis and there is an ambitious development plan aimed at becoming an emerging economy by 2035.

This report addresses the dynamics of urbanisation in Cameroon by focusing on five key areas, namely; urban growth trends, changes in the urban hierarchy, the role of migration, urban livelihoods, and urban policy and challenges.



Figure 1: Map of Cameroon

## **2 Urban growth**

This section provides an overview of key urban population growth trends in Cameroon, as well as outlining the definition and classification of urban settlements. The section pays particular attention to four questions, specifically; what are the definitions/class/classifications of urban settlements and how have they changed over time? How has the urban growth rate changed over time? How has the level of urbanisation changed over time? What are key driving forces behind urbanisation? The section begins by highlighting how definitions and classifications of urban locales have changed overtime, and this is followed by an analysis of urban growth trends.

### ***Definitions and classifications***

Colonialism undoubtedly had an impact on Cameroon's urban system, but it is also important to note that localities with urban features existed long before colonization. Similarly to other West-African countries, Cameroon contained pre-colonial 'cities' such as Ngaoundere and Maroua (Simmons et al. 1969, Davidson 1971). Moreover, cities like Kotoko in Northern Cameroon, Foumban in the West, the city of and Yokaduma in the East prospered in the pre-colonial as hubs for the exchange of agricultural and artisanal products. However, it was when the Germans settled in Cameroon in 1884 that the 'urban phenomenon' developed. Douala was the first town to welcome the European colonizers and it became the base from which all the hinterland was conquered. The colonial administrative units that became towns were initially established for strategic purposes, such as the exploitation of resources or military posts to counter local resistance. Dschang and Bamenda provide good examples this trend, as they were created to the resistance of the Bamileke's and Mankon/Bafut at the beginning of the colonization of hinterland in 1904. An agreement after the First World War mandated Cameroon to France and Great Britain. The German towns whose numbers were not more than ten or so were maintained their functions, and on the eve of the independence, there were no more than fifteen functional colonial towns.

When Cameroon attained independence in 1960, agriculture was at the heart of the economy. In an attempt to strengthen and in some cases establish urban-rural linkages, the government implemented five-year development plans in the decade following independence. Problematically, the reforms penalised rural areas. A third five-year development plan was implemented to redress this situation, and it advocated for

equal development to reduce disparities between the regions. This new policy directive led to the creation of agro-industries accompaniments, designed to stimulate development in their host towns. Sodenkam developed Nkondjock, Sodecoton and Sodeble boosted Garoua, Socapalm and Hevecam developed the Lower Moungo and Sofibel the town of Belabo in the east.

The definition and classification of what constitutes a town or urban locale in Cameroon has undergone several changes during the post-colonial era. A key constant within all of the definitions is that a town or urban locale must perform an administrative function. In the 1976 population census a town was the site of an administrative unit that within a basic community infrastructure, regardless of the number of inhabitants. The 1987 census defined a town as an agglomeration that either performed an administrative function, or had a population of more than 5000 inhabitants and contained basic infrastructure such as primary school, a health centre, a daily market, potable water and electricity. For the 2005 census, the same conditions were maintained. Alongside these definitions, classification of urban locales has also taken place. According to 2005 census report, a small towns has less than 20 000 inhabitants; medium towns range from 20 000 to 49 999 inhabitants, meanwhile large towns are up to 50 000 inhabitants. Classifications made by researchers often combine administrative functions, influence zones and dynamics, with no specific reference to demographic size as indicated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Summary of urban classification elaborated in Cameroon

Authors	Criteria	Study area	Year	Adopted typology
Marguerat Y.	Conventional unit of migration	Cameroon	1967	National metropolis Regional metropolis Regional pole Secondary pole Local pole Secondary local pole Local centre Isolated local centre
Marguerat Y.	Urbanity index	Cameroon	1976	Very high urbanity index High urbanity index Average urbanity index Low urbanity index Lower urbanity index Lowest urbanity index
Dongmo J.L.	Migration between subdivisions/polarization	Cameroon	1976	National sphere Regional sphere Local sphere
Champaud J.	Presence of equipments and publics services	West Cameroon	1983	Regional centres Principal centres Secondary centres Borough
MINUH	Administrative functions and non agricultural/pastoral activities	Cameroon	1983	Metropolitan towns Principal towns Secondary towns Towns with specific functions



Timnou J.P.	Demographic characteristics	Cameroon	1990	Others towns
				Most dynamic towns
				Very dynamic towns
				Dynamic towns
				Averagely dynamic towns
Bellow average dynamic towns				
Assongmo Th.	Administrative functions	Cameroon	1997	National capital
				Provincial headquarter
				Divisional headquarter
				Sub-divisional headquarter
				Town with no administrative functions

Source: Assongmo (2001)

Cameroon's first census in 1976 counted 43 towns of more than 10 000 inhabitants, 7 regional towns corresponding to 7 provinces, 40 divisions and 138 subdivisions (Table 2 below). The country then moved from 49 divisions in 1987 to 58 divisions in 1996, and that since 2008 further fragmentation and uplifting of provinces into regions has occurred (Nguendo et al. 2008).

Table 2: Administrative evolution of Cameroon

	1960	1987	2008
Provinces/regions	7	10	10
Divisions	40	49	58
Subdivisions	138	312	360

This process of fragmentation has taken place alongside a national decentralisation programme, which has led to the introduction of new territorial organisations. This had implications for the administrative functions played by towns. A change to legislation meant that 'some urban agglomerations because of their particularities could be raised to city council by a presidential decree' (article 109, paragraph 1 of the 2004 law laying down the rules applicable to councils). There were 2 city councils in 1987 (Douala and Yaoundé), but in 2008, 12 were created (Maroua, Garoua, Ngaoundere, Bertoua, Ebolowa, Bamenda, Bafoussam, Limbe, Kumba, Edea, Nkongsamba and Kribi). They are managed by appointed government delegates and made up of sub-divisional councils (13 in total) with elected mayors. It is perhaps indicative of the growing influence of urban discourse that the 2004 law, which provides the rules for these councils, does not talk of a rural or urban council, but simply a council. The urban nature of these localities is taken for granted. Problematically, the Ministry of Territorial Administration still maintain distinctions between rural and urban settlements, and this creates confusion and conflict in places where boundaries are contested.

### ***Urban growth trends***

As can be seen in the Table 3 below, Cameroon has experienced fairly rapid urbanization post-independence. In 1967, the country had close to 23% of urban dwellers for a total population of 5 437 618 inhabitants. Between 1976, date of the first general population census and 1987, date of the second, the urban population growth was 5.3% per year while the general average was 2.9%. The third census in 2005 showed an annual rhythm of urban population growth of 4.2% compared to 2.8% for the general population. In 2010, Cameroon's population was estimated at 19,406,100 inhabitants, with 10, 091,172 living in towns, equating to 52% of the total population. Therefore after close to 50 years of independence, more than 50% of Cameroonians were living in towns.

Table 3: Principal indicators of urbanization in Cameroon

Cameroon	1967	1976	1987	1992	1997	2002	2005	2010
Total population	5 437 618	7 663 246	10 493 655	12 194 700	14 044 100	16 163 600	17 463 836	19 406 100
Urban	1 110 959	2 184 242	3 968 919	5 175 500	6 623 000	8 384 400	8 514 938	10 091 172
Rural	4 326 659	5 479 004	6 524 736	7 019 200	7 421 100	7 779 200	8 948 898	9 314 928
Urbanization level (%)	23,1	28,5	37,8	42,4	47,2	51,8	48,8	52,0
Number of towns over 10 000 inhab.	31	43	64	/	/	/	102	/
Annual population growth rate		3,4	2,9	2,9	2,8	2,8	2,8	2,6
Population density in km <sup>2</sup>	11,66	16,44	22,52	26,17	30,13	34,68	37,5	41,6

Sources : Marguerat (1972) ; Champaud , Courade, Franqueville (1984), RGPH, 1976, 1987, 2005; INS (estimations), 1992, 1997, 2002.

In the period between 1976 and 1987 Cameroonian towns experienced accelerated growth (see Table 3 above). This situation is attributed to the exodus of rural youths toward the towns following independence, and the negative impact this had on rural economies. The urban growth rate of Cameroonian towns then experienced a period of slower but positive growth between 1987-2005 (as shown in Table 2 above). This decline in urban growth is quite normal, and signifies a shift from post-independence urbanization fuelled by rural to urban migration, to a post-crisis urbanization structured by regulated natural growth and rural exodus. The average growth rate between 1987 and 2005 is 3.6%, with the highest rates (>4.5%) found in the metropolises, regional and secondary towns. This suggests that Cameroon is experiencing multi-level urban growth. The “littoralisation” of urbanization is confirmed with growth rates of more than 5% for Kribi, Tiko and Buea. The town of Bamenda, Sangmelima, Bafoussam and Kumba show their dynamism as regional towns in the process of local development.

Table 4 below shows that the three levels of growth can be identified between 1987 and 2005. Firstly, at the level of national metropolises, there has been an average growth rate of 5%, and since 1976 Yaoundé's growth has always surpassed that of Douala. The importance of 'littoralisation' to national urban growth rates can be seen in the growth rates of secondary towns, such as Tiko (5.2%), Buea (5.6%), Kribi (5.7%). Secondly, urban growth is apparent at the regional level. Bamenda, Bafoussam and Sangmelima have growth rates of over 4%. They share this growth rate with secondary towns like Kumbo and Kumba. After which comes towns with growth rate around 3%. Thirdly, at the level of regional towns and secondary towns, localities such as Maroua and Garoua have experienced growth rates close to the national average rate of 3.6%.

Table 4: Population evolution of regional towns in Cameroon and secondary towns with more than 50 000 inhabitants

Towns	Sources of data			Average annual growth rate (%)	
	RGPH 1976	RGPH 1987	RGPH 2005	1976-1987	1987-2005
SANGMELIMA	14 758	23 261	51 308	4,2	4,3
GUIDER	17 197	32 775	52 316	6,0	2,5
MBALMAYO	22 075	35 390	52 813	4,4	2,2
KRIBI	11 261	21 507	59 928	6,1	5,7
TIKO	14 810	23 559	60 796	4,3	5,2
DSCHANG	17 814	35 717	63 838	6,5	3,2
EBOLOWA	18 239	34 771	64 980	6,0	3,4
EDEA	25 398	50 609	66 581	6,5	1,5
KUMBO	12 533	33 353	80 212	9,3	4,8
FOUMBAN	33 737	57 271	83 522	4,9	2,1
LIMBE	26 988	44 561	84 223	4,7	3,4
BERTOUA	14 982	43 402	88 462	10,1	3,9
KOUSSERI	12 456	53 713	89 123	14,2	2,8
BUEA	24 584	32 871	90 088	2,7	5,6
NKONGSAMBA	70 464	85 420	104 050	1,8	1,1
KUMBA	44 175	70 112	144 268	4,3	4,0
NGAOUNDERE	38 840	78 062	152 698	6,5	3,7
MAROUA	67 187	123 296	201 371	5,7	2,7
GAROUA	63 900	141 839	235 996	7,5	2,8
BAFOUSSAM	62 239	112 681	239 287	5,5	4,1
BAMENDA	48 111	110 142	269 530	7,8	4,9
YAOUNDE	313 706	649 252	1 817 524	6,8	5,7
DOUALA	458 426	809 852	1 907 479	5,3	4,7

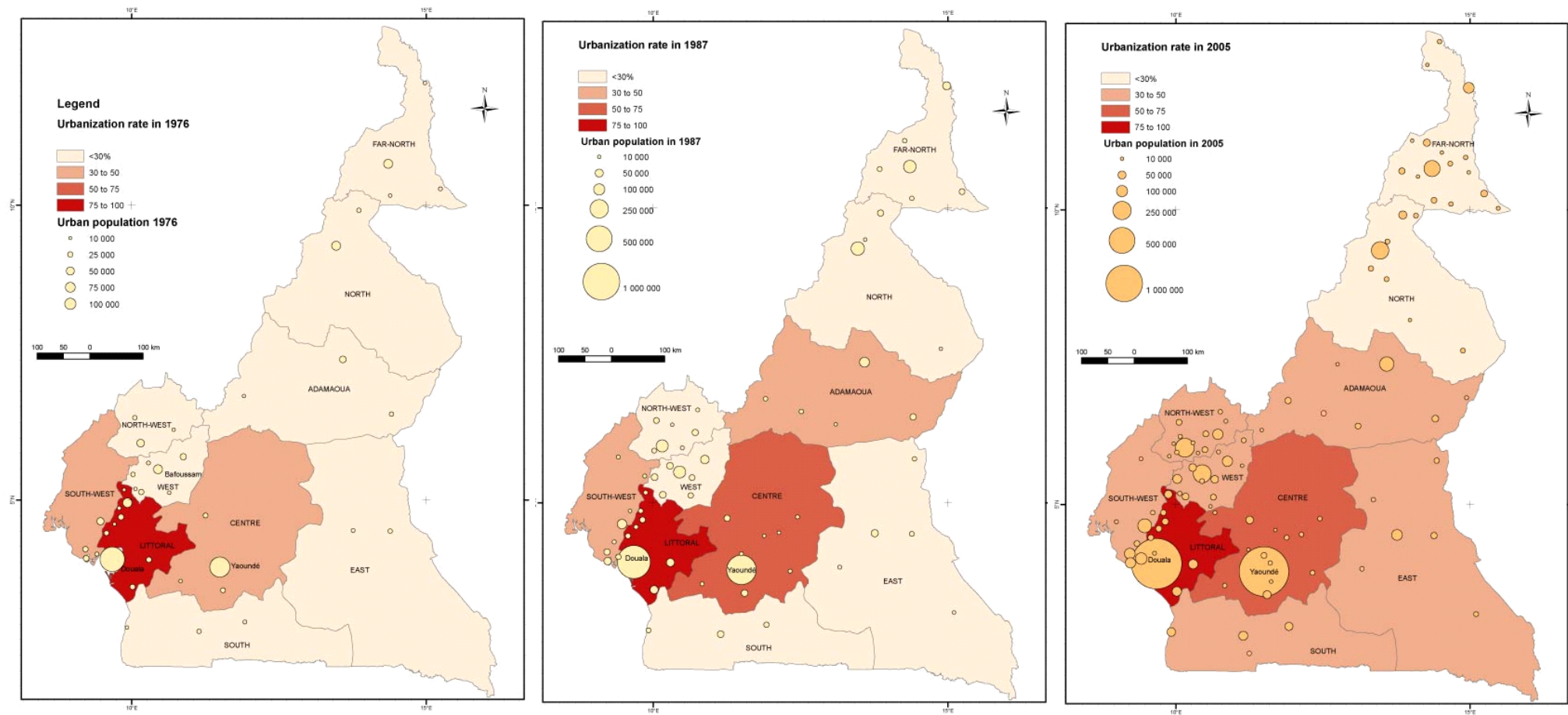
Source: RGPH, 1976, 1987, 2005

It is at the regional level that variations in urban growth trends are most striking, and these trends are documented in Table 5 and Fig 2 and 3 below. Between 1987 and 2005, the Western region with Bafoussam, the Northwest with Bamenda and the Littoral commanded by Douala experienced urbanization rates of over 12%.

Table 5: urbanization rates at the level of Region from 1967 to 2005

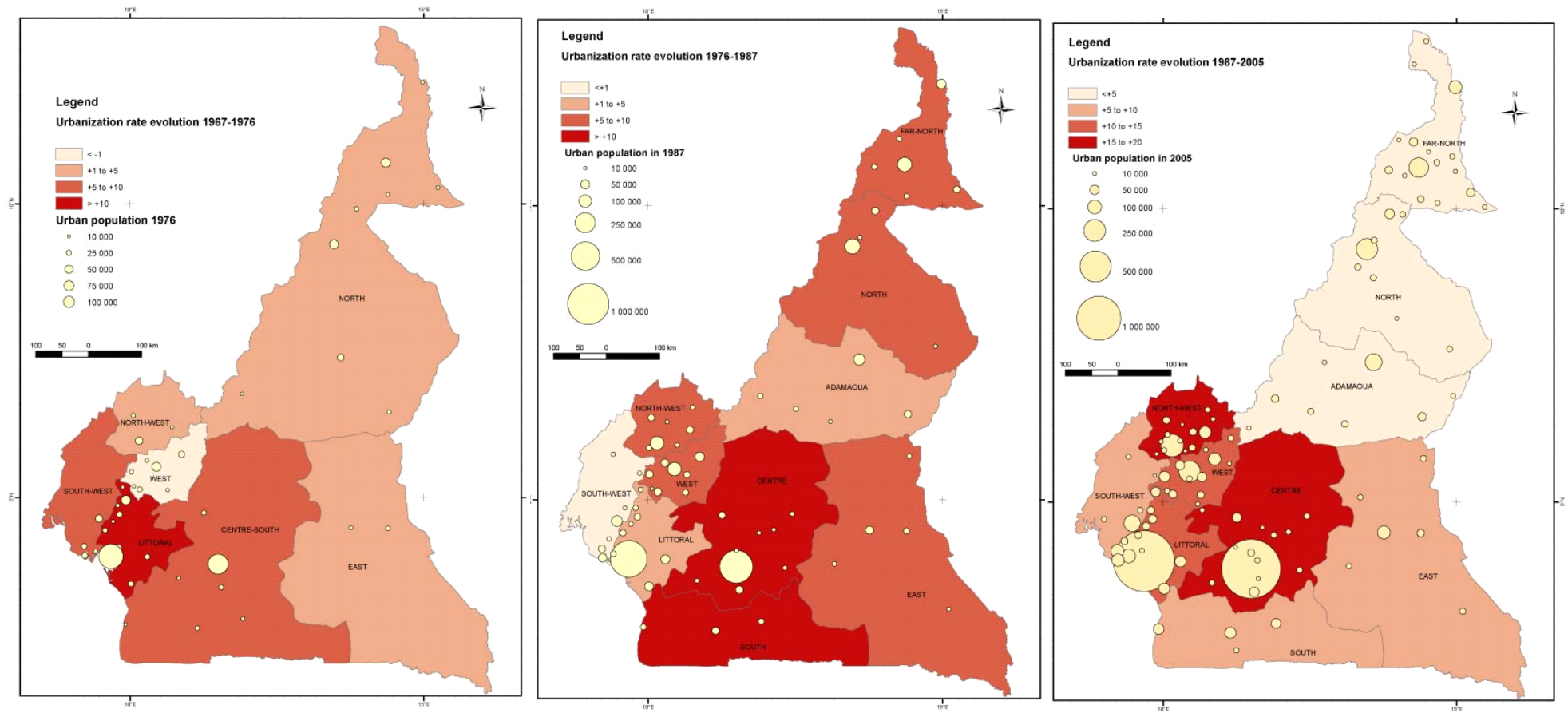
Regions	1967 rate	1976 rate	Variation 1967-1976	1987 rate	Variation 1976-1987	2005 rate	Variation 1987-2005
Adamawa	/	26,1	/	36,2	+10,1	38,8	+2,6
Centre	25,6	37,6	+7,8	52	+14,4	71,9	+19,9
East	16	20,7	+4,7	29	+8,3	36,5	+7,5
Far-North	/	9,9	/	19,8	+9,9	22,8	+3,0
Littoral	63,7	75,2	+11,5	80,1	+4,9	92,6	+12,5
North	11,1	20,4	+3,6	27,2	+6,8	27,9	+0,7
North-West	10,6	14,9	+4,3	21,8	+6,9	37,1	+15,3
West	23,3	22,4	-0,9	29,8	+7,4	42,6	+12,8
South	/	17,6	/	28	+10,4	35,8	+7,8
South-West	25	32,3	+7,3	32,5	+0,2	42,5	+10,0
Cameroon	23,1	28,5	+5,4	37,3	+8,8	48,8	+11,5

Source : Marguerat (1972); Champaud, Courade, Franqueville (1984); RGPH, 1976, 1987, 2005



Drawn by A. Yemmafouo

Figure 2: Urban growth, hierarchy and polarization in Cameroon from 1976 to 2005



Drawn by A. Yemmafouo

Figure 3: Variation of urban growth rate in Cameroon from 1967 to 2005



Three key public enterprises shape the construction of urban infrastructure as part of Cameroon’s urban policy. Crédit Foncier du Cameroun (CFC), Mission d’Aménagement et d’Équipement des Terrains Urbains et Ruraux (MAETUR) and Société immobilière du Cameroun (SIC). These bodies function as follows: CFC provides funds in the form of loans to finance the construction of developments built by SIC, on land and building sites provided by MAETUR. This plan of action permits the construction of many planned quarters commonly referred to as ‘Camp SIC’. For example, in Douala there are Bonamoussadi, Makepe and Logpom, which in the 1980s constituted the ‘new city’. In Yaounde, we have ‘cite Verte’ (1977-1978, 1982-1984), Biyem-Assi (1981-1983) and Mendong (1983-1986). There are also some planned quarters in regional metropolises such as Ebolowa, Bertoua and Maroua. In 2007 when MAETUR was celebrating its thirtieth anniversary, it presented the following results, presented in Table 4 below.

Table 6: Realization of MAETUR at the national scale since the creation

Towns	Number of Projects	Plots /housing	Population served	Roads network (km)	Water network (km)	Electric network (km)
Douala	98	32 889	766 098	400	690	600
Yaoundé	77	11 131	241 850	122	210	83
Bafoussam	3	594	15 583	10	17	1
% of the 3 towns	93,19%	96,54%	97,27%	95,17%	95,32%	84,51%
Rest of country towns	13	1 599	28 767	27	45	127

Source: Journal d’information MAETUR, « Foncièrement votre », spécial 30 ans, juin 2007

Table 6 above shows that since the creation of these para-public enterprises, 50,000 plots have been distributed to 1,052,298 city dwellers throughout the country. In 2010, SIC managed 9,363 lodgings (5 321 in Douala and 4 042 in Yaoundé). Unfortunately, the declining fortunes of the economy alongside mismanagement have limited the effectiveness of these three central pillars of Cameroonian urban planning. These enterprises are no longer primarily concerned with new developments; in fact

they now struggle to manage existing projects. To remedy this situation, reforms have been proposed (not implemented) as part of a policy framework 2035.

The task of urban planning is not confined to public authorities. There has been an evolution of laws concerning town planning and land reform that has permitted and encouraged the involvement of the private sector. This is particularly evident with regards to housing enterprises. Despite the emergence of a private sector to support para-public institutions, there is still a disparity between demand for urban housing and associated infrastructure, and the ability to supply. Attempts are however being made to provide a more structured approach to urban planning, for example: order of town-planners architects, order of housing agents, order of engineers, order of notary, etc.

The demand for a more regulated and structured approach to urban planning is further fuelled by estimates indicating that approximately 70% of national urban growth is 'spontaneous'. Urban population growth has historically been associated with poverty induced rural-urban migration (discussed further below). These migrants often occupy and thus reinforce existing informal 'slum' settlements as described by Mike Davis (2005). Dzalla Ngangue (2000, 2002) also provides case studies of the colonization of the Wouri's mangroves by Douala's urban poor. At Bafoussam, spontaneous quarters have been present since 1960 when, during the independence war the town was used as a shelter for the rural population (Kamga Souop 1977). Today, these spontaneous quarters have become increasingly densified and the centre of various conflicts, and are seen as being the most problematic quarters in the city.

There is also a middle ground between 'spontaneous' - informal settlements, and formal urban planning, known as 'intermediary urbanization'. This is typically associated with middle class members of society who upon purchasing land in or on the outskirts of an urban locale, attempt to develop the urban infrastructure e.g. by installing water and energy supplies (Yemmafouo 2007). The urban dynamics associated with 'intermediary urbanization' can be seen in areas such as Bonamoussadi or Maképé in Douala, and Kamkop in Bafoussam. In these cases, the landowners organized themselves and with the informal assistance of town planning agents established land developments more or less in respect of decree 2008/0738/PM of 23th April 2008 which lays down procedural modalities of land planning. In fact, they parcelled the land and contributed to the installation of infrastructure and equipment.

Nevertheless, it is just a form of semi- planning because the level of formalization remains limited.

### **3 The urban hierarchy**

Section 2 drew attention to Cameroon's accelerated urban growth, yet as can be seen in Fig 1 above (page 3) this growth is unequally distributed, with towns and cities more concentrated in the West, Centre and Far-North of the country. In addition, the Littoral urban population is particularly dominant politically and thus economically. This is linked to a broader historical process known as "littoralisation" (coastal development), which is noticeable in Cameroon (and in most non-landlocked of the African countries), and can be attributed to the development of coastal areas in a context of colonial extraverted economy, compounded by globalization processes (role of ports like Douala, Kribi, Limbe, etc.).

This section examines the development of Cameroon's urban hierarchy, and contributes to existing research on the spatial distribution and structure of the urban system. The section addresses three key questions, specifically; how has the urban hierarchy changed over time? What are the links between urban settlements and how have they changed? How has the sphere of influence of urban settlements changed over time?

#### ***Hierarchy, systems and urban polarization***

Cameroon's urban hierarchy consists of a bipolar system of cities. This situation is somewhat atypical of a sub-Saharan African country, which is generally associated with urban primacy. The economic and political metropolises have more than a million inhabitants, but this does not seriously affect the growth of regional towns. As mentioned above, the latter have still experienced accelerated growth since the economic crisis in the 1980's through to the late 1990s. Three main polarization zones emerge. The Grand West polarized by Douala, The Grand South focused on Yaoundé, and The Grand North controlled respectively by Maroua, Garoua and Ngaoundere (Fotsing 2002).

At the time of the 2005 census, Cameroon had 102 towns with 7,721,137 inhabitants. The census found that only Douala and Yaoundé had more than one million inhabitants, and there were no towns or cities with 500,000 to 1 million inhabitants.

These numbers confirm the bipolarity of the national urban system. The census found that 4 regional towns had between 200,000 and 500,000 inhabitants. These towns could become key sites in national multipolarity development if urban planning was oriented to that objective. Apart from the metropolitan cities, the urban population is concentrated in towns with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants as shown in Table 7 below. They are classified as medium towns with administrative functions, and maintain close relations with regional towns or metropolitan towns. There were 109 towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants representing less than 14% of the urban dwellers but 66% of the total towns. Towns with under 10,000 inhabitants are often non-administrative boroughs, thus their function as towns can be called into question.

Table 7: Evolution of Cameroonian towns in numbers and size of the population

Number of inhabitants	1976		1987		2005	
	Number of towns	Population	Number of towns	Population	Number of towns	Population
Less than 5 000	119	231 120	119	242 691	147	347 631
5 000 – 9 999	33	238 120	33	273 785	63	446 168
10 000 – 19 999	26	359 762	29	418 065	46	648 203
20 000 – 49 999	11	337 642	23	700 307	33	1 013 058
50 000 – 99 999	4	63 420	6	395 901	14	988 190
100 000 – 199 999	0	0	4	489 230	3	401 016
200 000 – 999 999	2	772 131	2	1 461 025	4	946 184
1 000 000 and more	0	0	0	0	2	3 724 486
<b>Total</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>2 202 151</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>3 994 775</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>8 514 936</b>

Source: RGPH, 1976, 1987, 2005

The growing importance of small and medium towns within Cameroon's urban hierarchy has been studied and acknowledged for some time, with findings indicating that their influence most notable in the West Province. Small and medium sized towns in the West Province were able to utilise their administrative and commercial functions to build a strong network amongst themselves and attain urban influence (Champaud, 1983, 1985). In many African countries, small and medium sized towns function as service centers for rural populations and redistribution points in the rural-urban linkages (Sautter, 1981; Pourtier, 1991). This situation is often caused by the State, who comes under pressure from societal elites to create administrative centres and thus transform rural locales into towns. It is therefore important to understand the power dynamics and the contribution of elites, native or not, in the development of the towns. After the decree has been passed allowing for the creation of an administrative unit i.e. a town, it is very often the same elites who benefit economically, because they are involved in the construction of infrastructure and provision of services (Assako 2001).

The accelerated growth of secondary towns despite the metropolization process merits more consideration. In fact, as structural poles for the local economy, secondary towns are strongly integrated into the urban system. They have benefited from their proximity to rural areas and returning migrants who had bad experiences in the towns (Gubry and al. 1996, Kamga, 2002; Elounddou-Enyegue, 1994). This phenomenon of 'deurbanisation' during crisis (returning to rural areas or secondary towns from the metropolis) has been observed in several African countries (Bruneau, 2002). Demographic perspectives as analyzed by Africapolis show that most new urban dwellers will live in secondary towns by 2020. Thus we can observe the evolution of the towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants since 1976 in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Addition of towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants in 1976, 1987 and 2005

Level	1976	1987	2005
Small towns	20	3	1
Medium towns	11	22	13
Large towns	6	12	23
Total	37	37	37

Source: RGPH, 1976, 1987, 2005

The Far-North, the North-West and the West have more than 20 towns (annex 2); associated to the Littoral, they are the most populated regions in the country. The South alone has 5 towns; it is the least populated region in the country but has 10% of the national surface area. The annual growth rate of these towns is also significant and shows the level of urbanization in Cameroon.

### ***Case Study: Urban dynamics in Douala***

Douala is the economic capital of Cameroon. Its coastal location (see Fig 1 above) allows it to function as a trading hub, thus Douala's growth has remained positive both during and after colonization. Furthermore, its location and stature as one of the biggest towns in Cameroon has reinforced its ability to attract migrants from within, but also beyond Cameroon. At the time of independence, the town had 110,500 inhabitants and 8 years later its population had doubled (see Table 9 below). At the first general population census in 1976, the town had a total population of close to 500 000 inhabitants, this figure is now estimated to be close to 2.5 million inhabitants.

Table 9: Evolution of the population growth in Douala

Year	1960	1968	1976	1987	1997	2005	2015	2020
population	110 500	225 000	458 426	820 100	1 350 000	1 907 479	2 888 000	3 458 000

Source : Kengne Fodoup et Boupda (2000), BUCREP (2005) et estimation PDU Douala 2011

As shown in Table 10 below, this high population growth is accompanied by high demand for land. From 1960 onwards the city of Douala has spread in all direction, encroaching on the predefined limits of the airport and the Bassa industrial zone. After 1975, the urbanization front conquers new spaces due to the project of the new town at the north of Douala, notably the construction of new residential quarters such as Bonamoussadi, Maképé and Logpom. Accordingly Mainet (1985) highlighted how in the early to mid 1980’s the town began to extend haphazardly towards the north (Bepanda) and towards Oyack in the southeast. From 1990 onwards, spontaneous and informal quarters began to develop close to planned quarters on the banks of the river Wouri, destroying the mangroves. Contemporary urban sprawl now occurs approximately 25-30 km from the city centre.

Table 10: Evolution of the surface area in Douala

Year	1963	1982	1991	1997	2001	2015	2020
Surface area (ha.)	3200	6600	11 290	17 580	21 000	19 000	22 000

Source : Dzalla Ngangué 2007 and estimation PDU Douala 2011

Three key growth poles have emerged in Douala, namely, Douala-East, Douala-North and Douala-West. Satellite imagery of Douala-East indicates that the area is relatively sparse and a suitable zone for urban development, an observation also noted in the 2011 Douala master plan e.g. the “Dibamba beach” project in the Sanaga Maritime division put in place for 2025. Development in the area could alleviate the pressure of urban growth to the North and Southeast of Douala. However, any serious development would be reliant upon the completion of a two-lane road construction project connecting Doula-East to the city centre and enabling inhabitants to cross the river rapidly and safely. Growth in Douala-North currently takes place in a variety of ways, with a mixture of spontaneous, semi-planned and planned settlements. However, geographical limitations hinder the continued expansion of this area e.g. natural obstacle such as streams and steep slopes. In Douala-West, urban sprawl towards Bonendale is also realized through a mixture of spontaneous and planned development. To counteract the trend of informal development and to also contribute to the establishment of this, The Town Planning Company of Douala set up a social housing

project to provide 1000 additional homes. In addition, the construction of a new bridge over the Wouri is designed to improve connections to the city centre.

Plate 1: Sprawl of Douala

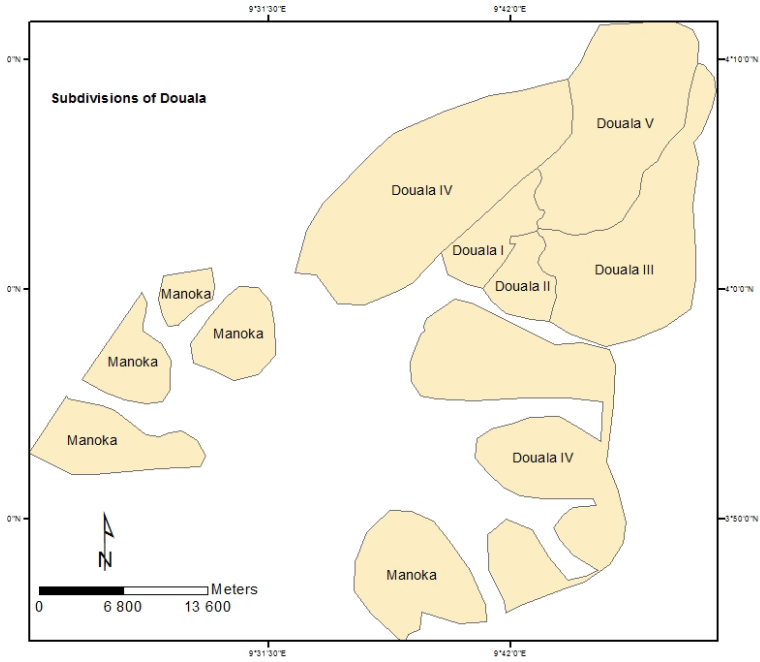
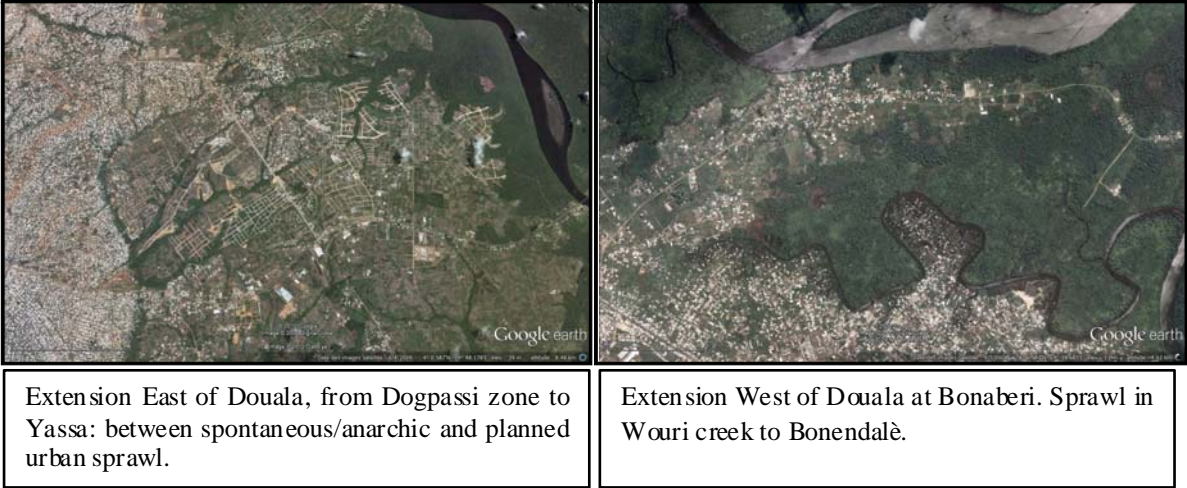


Figure 4: Administrative unit of Douala city (councils and subdivisions)



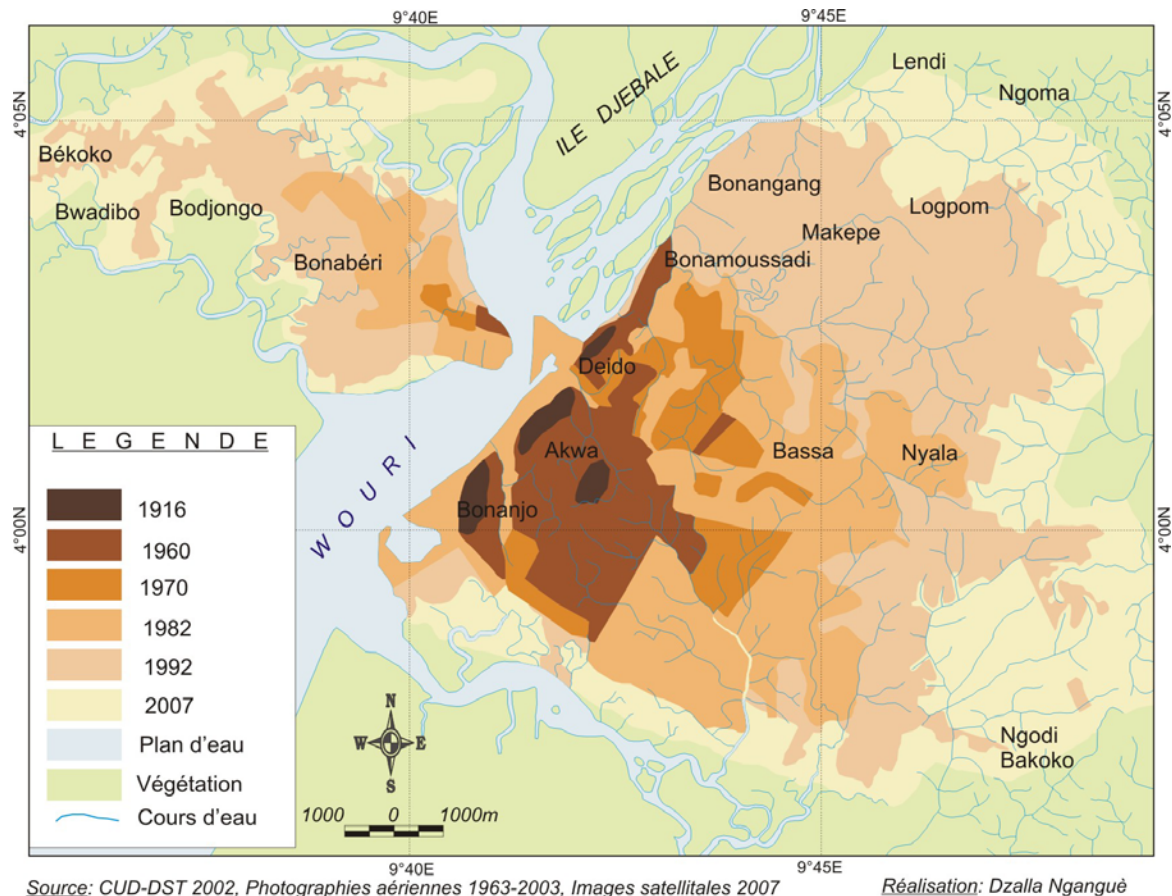


Figure 5: Spatial growth of Douala

Table 11 below provides data on population change at district and town level. It shows that since 1987 the Douala I council, which comprises the CBD and port zone, the administrative centre Bonandjo and residential quarters Deido and Bonapriso has experienced relatively stable growth of between 2.3 and 2.47 per cent. In comparison, Douala II and III councils have more noticeable variations in their respective growth rates, due to growth opportunities offered by the natural milieu and access to land in the Douala-East extension pole. From 1987-2005, Douala II gained more than 1 point of growth while Douala III lost a similar amount. Bonaberi (Doula IV) has the highest growth rate and like Douala V the council was created in 1987. They are very dynamic extension poles.

Table 11: Evolution of the population of the councils in Douala

Councils	Population in 1976	Population in 1987	Growth rate in 1987	Population in 2005	Growth rate in 2005
Douala I	128 499	143 192	2,3	223 214	2,47
Douala II	123 972	132 138	2,5	261 407	3,80
Douala III	143 410	392 339	3,8	646 347	2,80
Douala IV	23 196	44 582	3,1	250 626	9,60
Douala V	/	/	/	544 919	/
Douala VI	/	/	/	5 464	/
Total	419 077	712 251	3,2	1 931 977	5,55

Douala's urban growth is attributable to several factors, some which have been mentioned above. Douala is Cameroon's principal town, and shown in Fig 6 below it is also the economic centre of the CEMAC sub-region (Ndjambou, 2005).

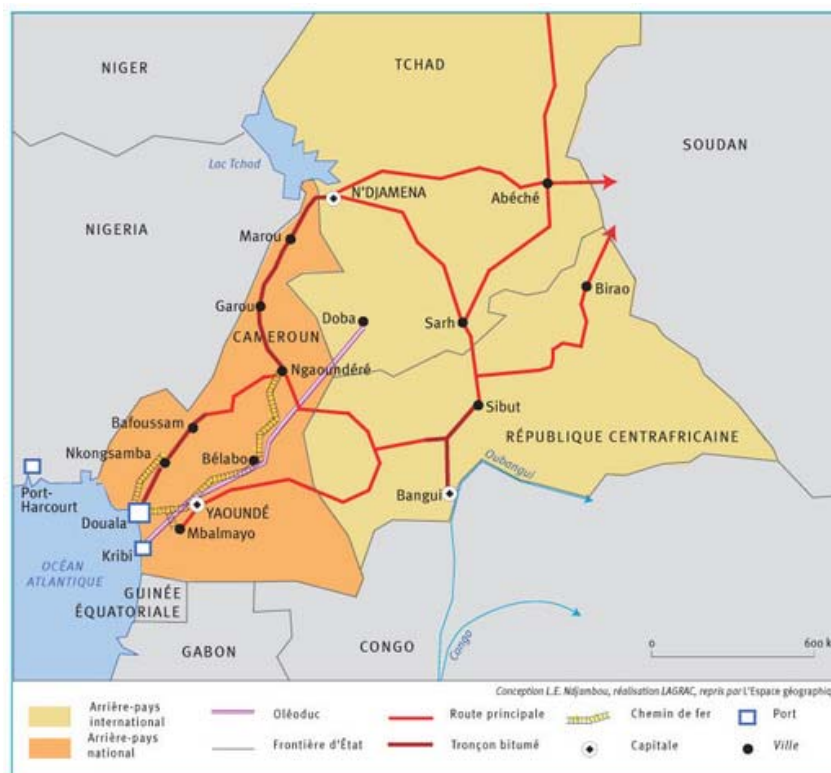


Figure 6: Cameroon ports hinterland and their connections with CEMAC sub-region  
Source: Ndjambou, 2005

It is estimated that close to three-quarters of the country's main companies and more than 60% of small and medium size enterprises can be found in Douala (Essombe 2007). The town generates 61.4% of the country's turnover and provides 45% of formal sector employment (NIS 2010). According to National Institute of Statistic (2010) the wealth created by the city of Douala amounted to 3092 billion FCFA, making 31.2% of the National Domestic Product. The Gross Domestic Product/capita in Douala is in the order of 1.6 million FCFA, making close to 2.8 times the GDP/capita at the national level. The tertiary sector constitutes the principal source of activity and revenue of the population in the city of Douala (Table 12 below).

Table 12: Distribution of enterprises by sector of activities in Douala

Secteurs	Nombre d'entreprises	%
<b>PRIMAIRE</b>		
agriculture	14	
agro-industrie (+ Boulangeries)	178	
agro-alimentaire	38	4,2
<b>SECONDAIRE</b>		
industrie	340	
Artisanat	77	7,6
<b>TERTIAIRE</b>		
Finances	229	
Services aux Particuliers et aux Entreprises	1 983	
Services Publics	121	
Professions de la Santé	336	
Etablissements Scolaires Privés	159	
Commerces (+ Stations-service)	2 030	88,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5505</b>	<b>100</b>

Source : O.S.E.E.D./ Rapport provisoire d'étape sur le contribuable urbain : les entreprises industrielles à Douala -nov. 2005.

The city owes much of its economic success to its seaport (see Table 13 below). It has seen an increase in trade from 5,710,100 ton in 2001 to 7,174,600 ton in 2009. This increase is dominated by the importation of manufactured goods, since exportation has remained more or less stable and concerns agricultural products (banana, cocoa and coffee) and raw materials (aluminium, cotton, rubber).

Table 13: Evolution of maritime traffic in Douala seaport

Date	Number of boats	Importations	Exportations	Total (000)
2001	1243	3709,5	2000,6	5710,1
2002	1277	3932,8	1930,8	5863,6
2003	1258	4341,2	2060,3	6401,5
2004	1122	4125,5	1987,1	6112,6
2005	1064	4114,4	1997,5	6111,9
2006	1102	4472,1	2155,5	6627,6
2007	1056	4754,4	2113,5	6867,9
2008	1057	4854,3	2158,3	7012,6
2009	1095	5356	1818,6	7174,6

Source: NIS (2010)

According to a 2008 report on strategies for the development of Douala and its metropolitan area, Central Africa has 4 main seaports situated at the end of important road network, namely Lagos, Douala, Libreville and Pointe-Noire. In addition to the Cameroonian hinterland, Douala mobilizes the territories of Chad and RCA, creating a zone of influence close to 2 383 000 km<sup>2</sup>, 36 million inhabitants and a GDP of 22 billion dollars. Douala does not currently face any serious competition, except in relation to the movement of contraband goods from Nigeria, which is discouraged by local industries.

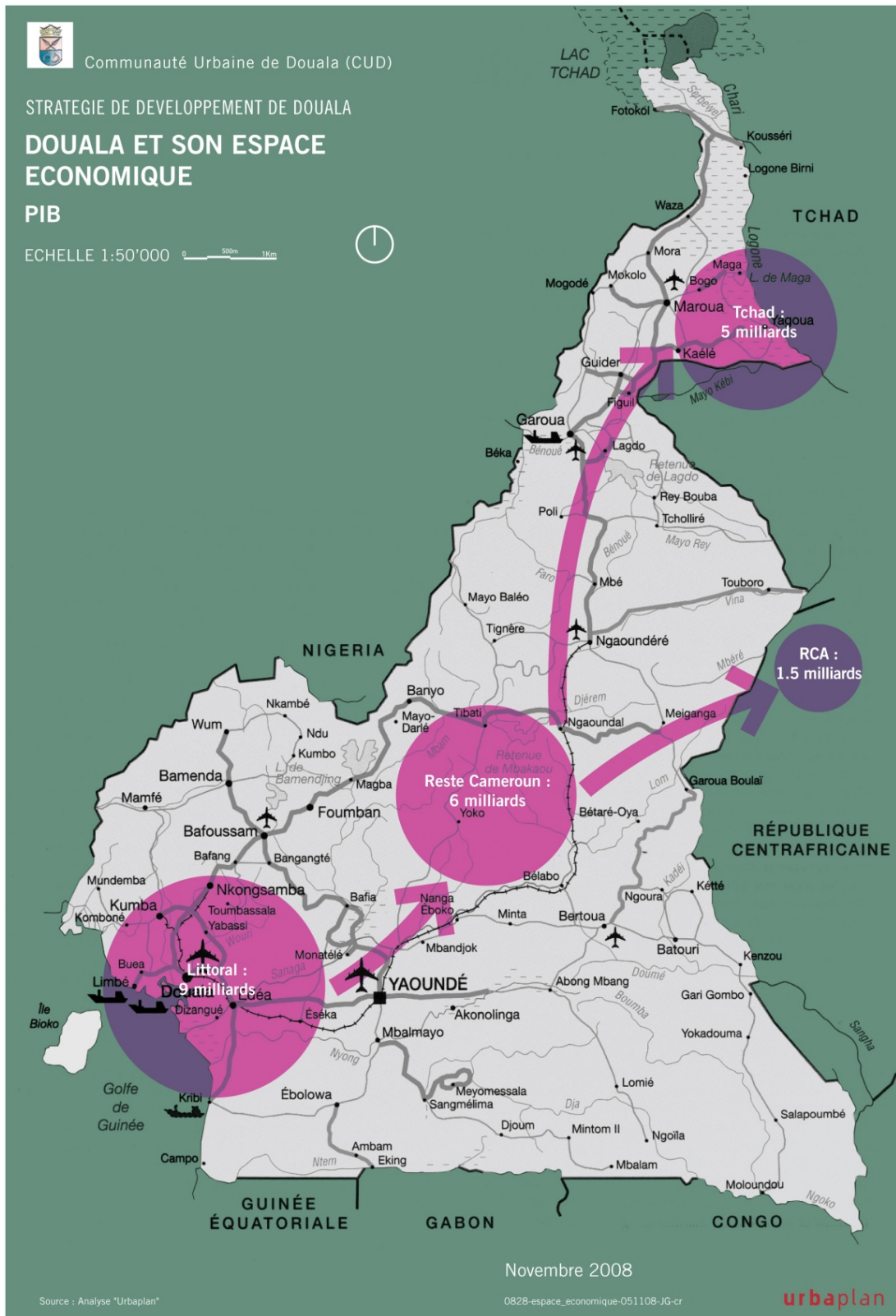


Figure 7: The zone of influence of Douala measured from its economic space

### ***Case Study: Urban dynamics in Bafoussam***

Bafoussam is the regional capital of West Cameroon, one of the most densely populated regions of the country, with 1,720,047 inhabitants concentrated on a surface area of 13 892 km<sup>2</sup>. It is the smallest region in Cameroon in terms of surface area (3%), but contains 10% of the population. It is a mountainous region with steep slopes whose rural density is generally more than 200 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> and even 1,000 in some quarters. The region counts 35 towns with 13 between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, which equates to the highest density of town/km<sup>2</sup> in the country. In a study by AfricaPolis (2009), the development of Bafoussam and nearby Bamenda is described as 'in-situ urbanization', a conurbation formed as a result of the extensive agglomeration of villages and bamiléké chiefdoms.

Created in 1925, it was in 1964 that the town witnessed a demographic and spatial boom associated with two major events. Firstly, the transfer of regional capital from Dschang to Bafoussam, and secondly the influx of refugees linked to the struggle for independence. Since that period the population has moved from 42,000 inhabitants in 1967 to 62 239 in 1976 and to 112 681 inhabitants in 1987. In 2005, the town counted 239,287 inhabitants (Table 14 below). The growth rate was 5.5% between 1976 and 1987 and 4.1% between 1987 and 2005. This population growth also involved spatial expansion, despite constraints from land pressure and high population density. According to the master plan elaborated in 2010, the built up area moved from 590 ha in 1967 to 700 in 1976, 4,666 ha in 2000 to 5,235 ha in 2010. A growth rate of approximately 6 ha per annum (Table 15 and Fig 8 below).

Table 14: Demographic growth in Bafoussam (1967 - 2010)

Year	1967	1976	1987	2005	2010
Population	42 000	62 239	112 681	239 287	282 800
Growth rate		4,37	5,5	4,1	4,1

Source: Official census and estimations (2010)

Table 15: Spatial growth in Bafoussam (1967 - 2010)

Year	1967	1976	1980	1997	2000	2010
Surface area (ha)	590	700	840	4000	4666	5235

Source: Kamga Souop (1977), Fotso (2005), PDU (2010)

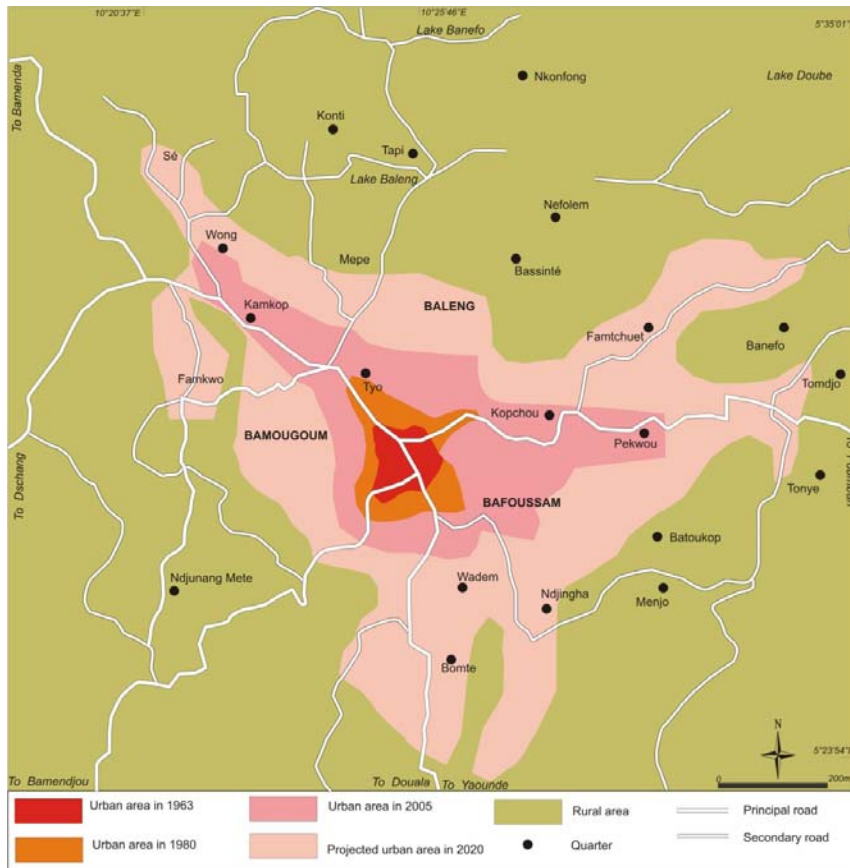


Figure 8: spatial growth in Bafoussam

Realisation: Yemmafouo

Boussam consists of three main administrative units and sub-councils: The South (I), The Northeast (II) and The West (III) (see Fig 9 and Table 16 below).

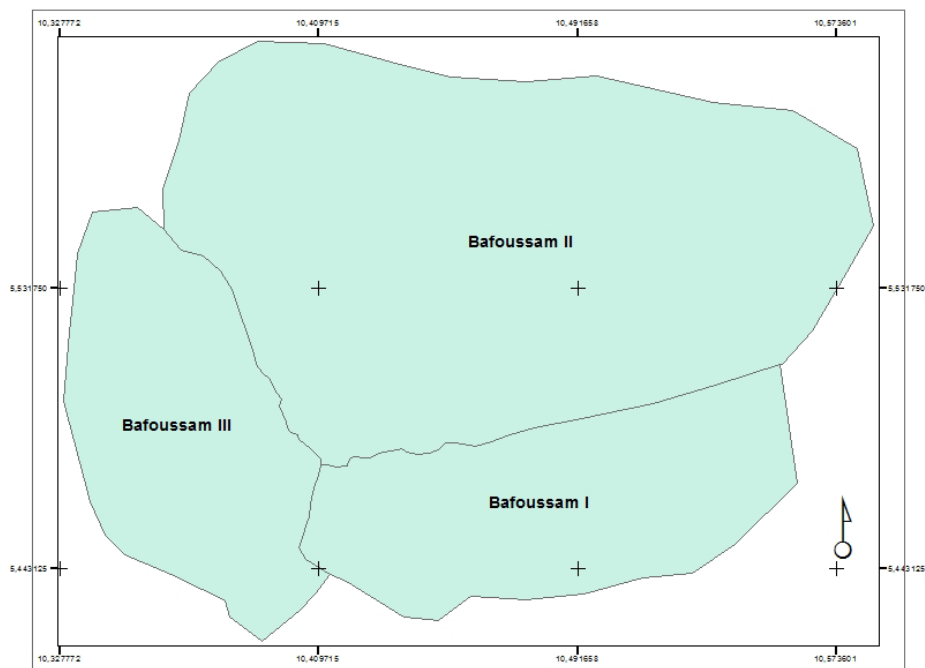


Figure 9: Administrative unit of Bafoussam (councils and subdivisions)

Table 16: Population evolution within the councils of Bafoussam

Council	Population in 1976	Population in 1987	Growth rate in 1987	Population in 2005	Growth rate in 2005
Bafoussam I (Bafoussam)	62 239	112 681	5,50	81611	0,35
Bafoussam II (Baleng)				99524	8,40
Bafoussam III (Bamougoum)				58152	4,95
Total Bafoussam				239287	4,1

Source: Official census

Bafoussam is situated at the conjunction of three national roads, namely, national road n°6, linking Bamenda, national road n°5 leaving Douala till Bandjoun and national road n°4 to Yaoundé. This position has allowed the town to attract migrants in and around the Western highlands, or those who are travelling through the town on their way to other regions such as the North and East. The town forms the focal point of a well-structured urban network with Foumban, Dschang and Bafang as important urban centers, Mbouda and Bangangté as local centers and Bandjoun and Foubot as secondary towns (Champaud, 1983; Dongmo, 1981, Yemmafouo, 2013). Alongside administrative and commercial functions, Bafoussam has also been strongly involved in the development of agro-industries like breweries, soap and oil factories. A combination of urban commercial activities and a strong agricultural sector has enabled the town to emerge as a key producer of agricultural products for metropolises, and manufactured products for surrounding villages.

A study by AfricaPolis (2009) argued that these positive attributes combine to create and reinforce a 'headquarter effect', which leads to sustained growth and influence. Three growth poles have been highlighted in the 2010 Master plan, as part of a long-term project over the next 25 years in an attempt to maintain and enhance Bafoussam's position within the urban hierarchy. There are plans for a highway through Bandjoun and Bameka-Bamendjou which will reach the Bamougoum-Dschang road. An industrial site is to be located in the Bapi/Baleng territory that will link the airport following the circular highway, which will be constructed along the Mifi/Noun



agricultural basin. The last pole is the residential quarter to be developed at the Nkongso/Bamougoum zone to reduce spontaneous and haphazard quarters.

Plate 2: Sprawl of Bafoussam



Bafoussam: Urban sprawl in Bamougoum, at Military camp zone. Also look at wetlands for market gardening at Kena quarter.

Bafoussam: Urban sprawl cross to Noun subdivision, Cami-Toyota roundabout and periurban quarter.

The impacts of spatial development are important and the issue of governance has been analyzed by Kayo-Sikombé (2005). In an area where traditional chiefdom powers are strong, the political control of urban spaces is linked to land tenure. In the case of Bafoussam, the official city limits defined in 1999 included two chief palaces (Bamougoum and Baleng). A new physical extension would certainly absorb other rural chiefdoms and the stake of balance between central administration and chiefdom powers is important for urban planning and governance.

In Bafoussam I (South), physical constraints limit opportunities for expansion, despite the presence of key administrative sites. The eastern slope of the Bamileke escarpment prevents the development of residential properties. While to the south, Bandjoun village, which belongs to another administrative unit, blocks the potential expansion of the town. In Bafoussam II (The North and East), the village of Baleng has for long been urbanized with more than 51% of the surface area consecrated to the town. The sacred forest reserves of Lake Baleng have only been preserved because of their socio-cultural significance. Lineal urbanization is developing along the road linking Bafoussam-Foumbot-Foumban. The creation of a new lay-out by the state at Koptchou and at Tchitchap enlarged an urban landscape otherwise marked by spontaneous urbanization. Bamougoum is the key site in Bafoussam III (West). The town extends

beyond the military camp towards Dschang–Mbouda following the national N°6 road to Bamenda. The Bamougoum palace and the raphia swamps hinder the lateral extension of the town, with the remaining roads only capable of linking the town to the peripheral villages. According to studies published by Yemmafouo and Sufo (2011) and the Master plan in 2010, the town of Bafoussam is the most rapidly spreading in Bamougoum.

#### **4 Migration and urbanization in Cameroon**

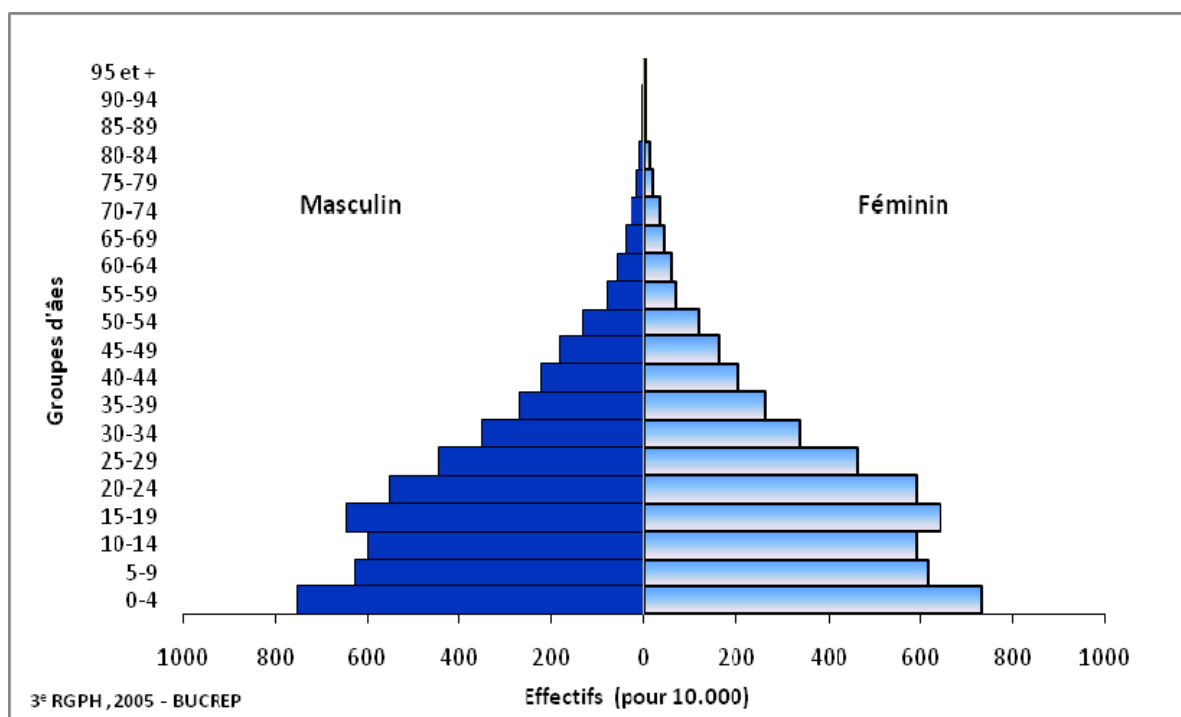
This section provides an analysis of available data on migration in relation to urban growth trends in Cameroon. The discussion is framed around addressing four key questions, specifically; who has been migrating to the city? From where are they migrating? Why do people move to cities and have the reasons changed over time? Where in the city have they been moving?

##### ***The role of migration in urbanization***

As indicated above, it is widely believed that Cameroon's urban population growth is underpinned by rural to urban migration, as opposed to natural increase. This argument is linked to data which indicates that the Cameroonian urban population is essentially youthful, and since 1976 there has been more males than females within the active age group (15-64 years). According to the Bureau Central des Recensements et des Etudes de la Population (BUCREP, census board) in 2005;

The age/sex pyramid of Cameroonian urban population is specific till about 25 years because of the internal migration of youths for school or economic reasons, thus the consequence is the increasing of youthful age groups in towns. For older ages groups, age/sex pyramid tapers very quickly. We also note that the male population is relatively much larger than that of female. The median age of the urban population is higher than that of the total population: 19.1 years for the entire urban population, 19.2 years for women and 19.0 years for male (compared to 17.7 years for the entire population, 18.3 for women and 17.1 for men)".

Figure 10: Age sex pyramid of urban population in Cameroon in 2005



The same report also reveals that;

The age/sex pyramid of the rural population has a very broad base (due to high fertility), and it bears the marks of a lack of population in active age, following a strong migration of young adults to urban areas. Females are much more than males at these ages. For advanced ages, there is a stronger presence of the elderly in rural areas than in towns. The median age of the rural population is 15.8 years for the whole population, by gender it is 14.9 years for males and 17.1 years for females (BUCREP, 2005).

Problematically, this argument is not supported by quantifiable data. Apart from the 1976 census, there is no officially published data that can be used to examine the role of migration in the urbanization process. The situation of the last census in 2005 is still more critical than that of 1987, where partial data exist. The natural growth hypothesis argues that provided there are significantly more births than deaths, urban growth can still occur despite a reduction in the proportion of urban immigrants. The living conditions have generally ameliorated with the eradication of some deadly diseases

despite the emergence of the new HIV- AIDS pandemic. According to provisional report on migratory movements from the last census in 2005, Youana J. and Guiffo M. demographers from BUCREP confirmed that pre-existing mobility trends were maintained with variations in quantity.

In 2005, the proportion of the migrant population in Cameroon was 31.19%; this situation meant that slightly more than three persons out of ten had changed their places of residence at least once. The 1987 proportion (32.5%) was higher than that of 2005 by 1.31 points. As concerns regions, on the basis of the 2005 Census Results, the proportions of the migrant population have some disparities. The regions of the Littoral and Centre as such they hold the two national metropolitan areas which are the most attractive with a residential index of 48.15% and 45.66% respectively. These two regions share close to 60% of internal migrants in Cameroon. Six regions have a negative migration balance. West remains the least attractive as shown in the table and figure below. Conversely, the lowest proportions are those of the Far North Region (13.15%) and North-West Region (18.15%). In the inland part of the country, proportions vary greatly from one division to another. Looking migration at the scale of administrative hierarchy, people move more from one region to another (52.66%). At the divisional level, the movement is more (26.03%) than between two sub-divisions (21.31%).

Table 17: Evolution of migration balance in Cameroon between 1987-2005 censuses

Région	RGPH-1987			RGPH-2005			Bilan des migrations internes nettes de la période 1987-2005
	Sortants durée de vie	Entrants durée de vie	Solde migratoire en avril 1987	Entrants durée de vie	Sortants durée de vie	Solde migratoire en novembre 2005	
Adamaoua	60 619	41 085	+19 534	92 168	110 025	-17 857	-37 391
Centre	300 758	182 312	+118 446	784 404	346 594	+437 810	+319 364
Est	57 678	44 812	+12 866	98 304	98 333	-29	-12 895
Extrême-Nord	34 056	146 702	-112 646	66 050	358 061	-292 011	-179 365
Littoral	427 618	157 385	+270 233	874 250	322 395	+551 855	+281 622
Nord	130 696	45 166	+85 530	287 152	86 789	+200 363	+114 833
Nord-Ouest	41 159	157 164	-116 005	88 146	395 549	-307 403	-191 398
Ouest	98 674	389 611	-290 937	185 158	809 635	-624 477	-333 540
Sud	56 587	83 328	-26 741	127 024	160 057	-33 033	-6 292
Sud-Ouest	111 208	71 488	+39 720	226 263	141 481	+84 782	+45 062
Cameroun	1 319 053	1 319 053	0	2 828 919	2 828 919	0	0

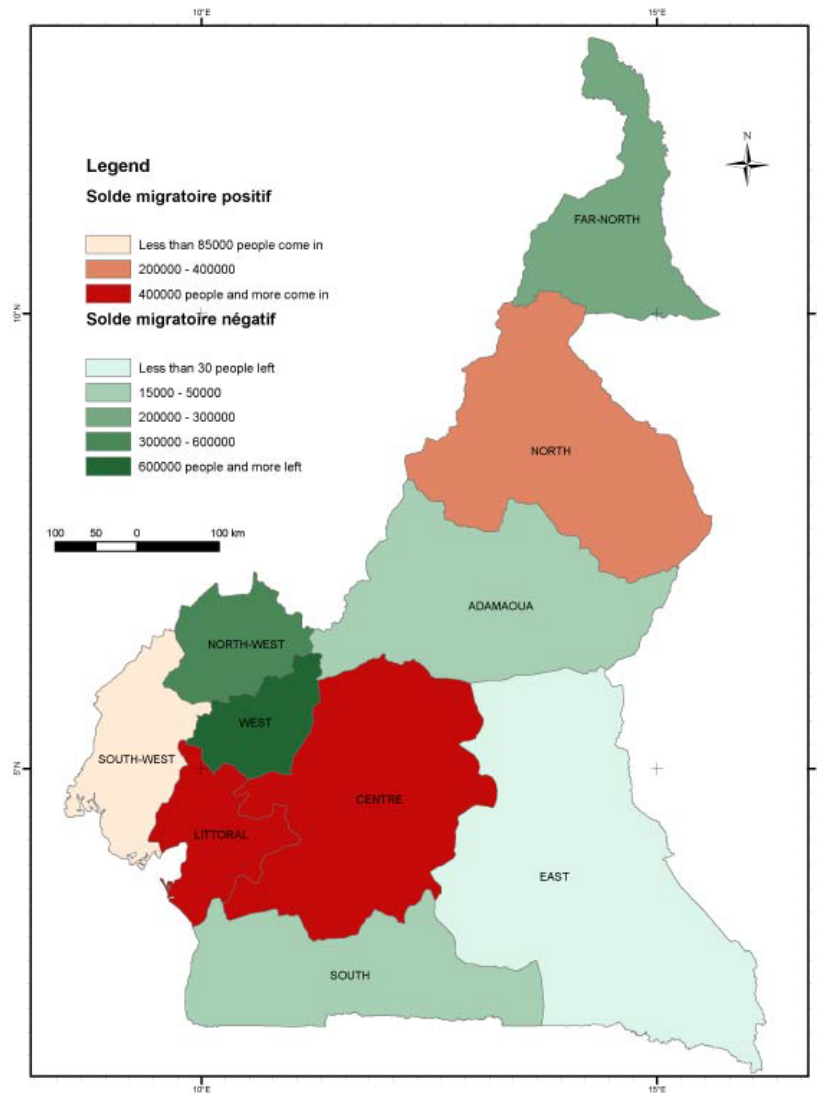


Figure 11: Map of migration balance in Cameroon in 2005

According to the report on migration from the last census, the proportion of immigrants living in towns increased from 36.13% in 1976 to 41.43% in 1987 and to 50.75% in 2005. Migration to towns remains a key factor in the composition of the urban population, and males migrate more than females. Conversely, the proportion of immigrants living in rural areas has decreased from 63.87% in 1976 to 58.57% in 1987 and to 49.25% in 2005 as shown in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Distribution of immigrants by residence and sex in 1976, 1987 and 2005 censuses

Year	Residence	Sex		
		Male	Female	Total
1976	Urban	40,04	31,30	36,13
	Rural	59,96	68,70	63,87
	Total	100,00	100,00	100,00
1987	Urban	45,67	36,27	41,43
	Rural	54,33	63,73	58,57
	Total	100,00	100,00	100,00
2005	Urban	54,29	46,23	50,75
	Rural	45,71	53,77	49,25
	Total	100,00	100,00	100,00

### ***Douala: A youthful and mobile population***

The 2004 Cameroonian Household Inquiry (ECAM3) estimated Douala's population at 1.8 million inhabitants (similar to the 2005 census). The Littoral has 14% of the country's population and Douala represents 76% of the region's population. The average annual growth rate for the last thirty years is estimated at 5%. This growth rate is above the national average of 2.8%. According to the National Institute of Statistics Douala's population is forecasted to triple by 2035. It is an essentially youthful population underpinned by migration trends that can be observed in the age/sex pyramid in Figs 12 and 13 below. Youths aged 20 to 35 predominate, which is the reverse of trends found in rural areas that are dominated by females over 40 years of age.

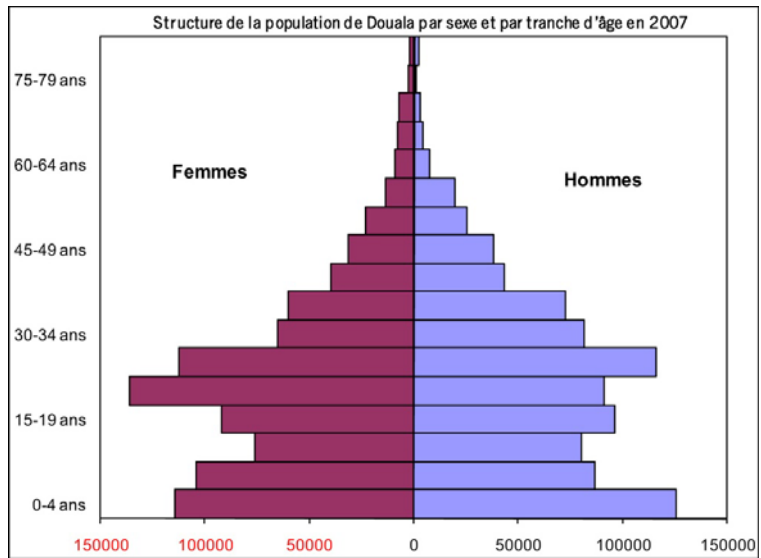


Figure 12: Age/sex pyramid of Douala in 2007

Source : ECAM3/INS quoted by CDS Douala, rapport diagnostic, 2009

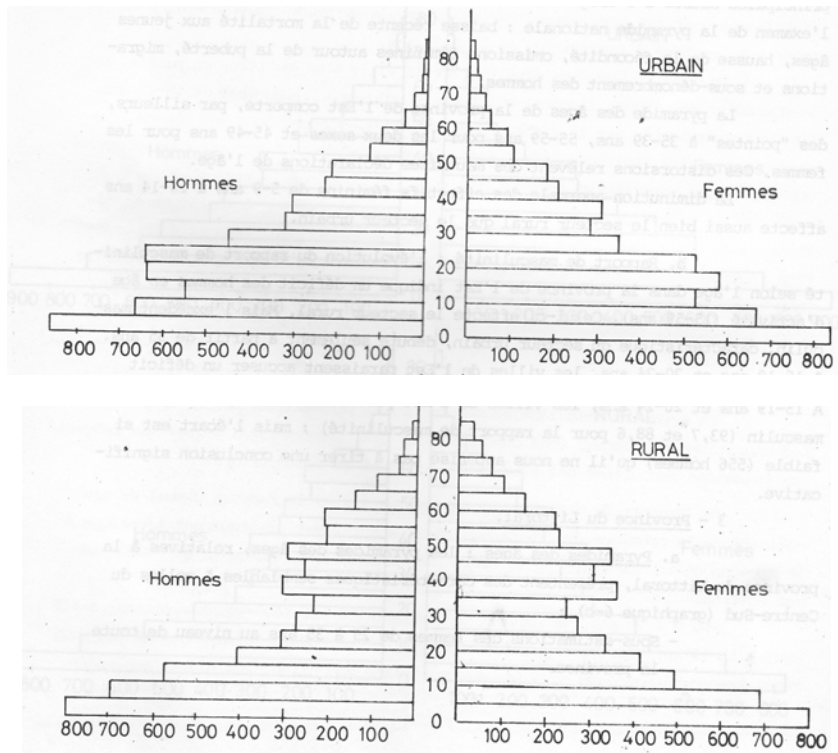


Figure 13: Age/sex pyramid of Douala in 1987



Table 19 below shows that Douala's population consists of migrants from all of the nation's regions, and also from abroad. Between 1976 and 1987, the proportion of migrants from regions such as the East and Adamawa decreased while that of regions like the West, North West increased from 7.16 and 2.04 respectively. Migrants from the West are most prevalent in Douala, followed by those from the Centre and foreigners (Dongmo, 1981). In 1976, 35.8% of foreigners were Nigerians, 32.2% French and those from Chad and Central Africa Republic were around 3%.

Table 19: Immigration toward Douala in 1976 and 1987

Place of former residence	Number of immigrants received in Douala		% of immigrants received		
	1976	1987	1976%	1987%	Average
Adamawa	1 597	2 693	0,80	0,66	0,73
Centre	38 981	65 872	19,43	16,23	17,83
East	2 196	3 963	1,09	0,98	1,04
Far-North	2 138	7 072	1,07	1,74	1,40
Littoral	59 993	95 274	29,91	23,48	26,69
North	1 895	2 838	0,94	0,70	0,82
Northwest	3 578	15 510	1,78	3,82	2,80
West	61 491	153 467	30,66	37,82	34,24
South	7 053	14 899	3,52	3,67	3,59
South-West	9 207	18 844	4,59	4,64	4,62
Foreigners	12 444	25 360	6,20	6,25	6,23
Total Douala	200 573	405 792	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source : censuses 1976 and 1987

Table 20: Distribution of the Littoral (thus Douala) urban residential population by migration status in 2005

	Total	Moun go	Nka m	Sanaga Maritime	Wouri (Douala)
Total population	232465	32129	1001	85859	1 907 479
Non migrants	118440	16654	5841	45660	966 358
Migrants inside division	84361	32303	1018	9557	41483
Migrants between division	202621	18364	1385	7776	175096
Migrants between region	834603	10191	1766	22538	708 381
Total internal migrants	112158	15258	4169	39871	924 960
Total born in Cameroon	230598	31913	1001	85531	1 891 318
Born out of Cameroun	10403	394	6	231	9772
Unclassified peoples	8260	1771	3	97	6389

Source : censuses 1976 and 1987

In 2005 of the 1,907,479 inhabitants more than 924,960 had migrated (Table 20 above). Nevertheless, it is important to note that birth rate remains high. In 1987 there were 40.4 births per thousand Douala inhabitants, and the national average was 42 births per 1000 inhabitants. The fertility rate of 148 for 1000 women remains high. The death rate in Cameroonian towns is still inconsistent due to such as HIV-AIDS and malaria. According to a 2008 NIS report this has considerably reduced life expectancy to 58 years for men and 63.6 for women.

Migration and mobility have for long been described, particularly between the West region and Douala. Dongmo (1981) shows the chronology and the intensity of migration to the metropolis, but also to secondary towns. Douala has been a powerful settlement place for Bamileke people over time. They represented 10% of Douala's population in 1944, 22 % in 1947, 26 % in 1956, 47 % in 1976, 53 % in 1986. "Douala was the town of Duala people until the Second World War, it became a Bamileke and Bassa town in the 1960's and 1970's (...) it is the main Bamileke town in the country, with more Bamileke inhabitants than in the whole Bamileke towns" (Dongmo 1981). Different studies show the migration routes and circles with relay between rural areas and main cities. The Mungo corridor (between Douala and the West region) has been

described as one of these intermediate places within the migration process. It is a transition and transit area between the Western highlands and the coast (Barbier et al., 1983; Moby-Etia, 1976). The patterns of these migrations are related mostly to intense and complex mobility processes, sometimes described as “Brownian motions” (Champaud, 1983) describing the symbiotic linkages between rural and urban places within household strategies.

**Bafoussam: The role of emigration**

The town of Bafoussam has the most important urban population in the West region (300 000 inhabitants), yet in 2005 it accounted for just 14% of the region’s total population. The other towns, all under 100,000 inhabitants (annex 1), constitute about 400,000 urban dwellers. The total urban population represents 42.58% of the regional population, thus the West region remains more rural than urban. The West region is well known for its high rural population density, which is approaching 1,000 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> (see Fig 14 below).

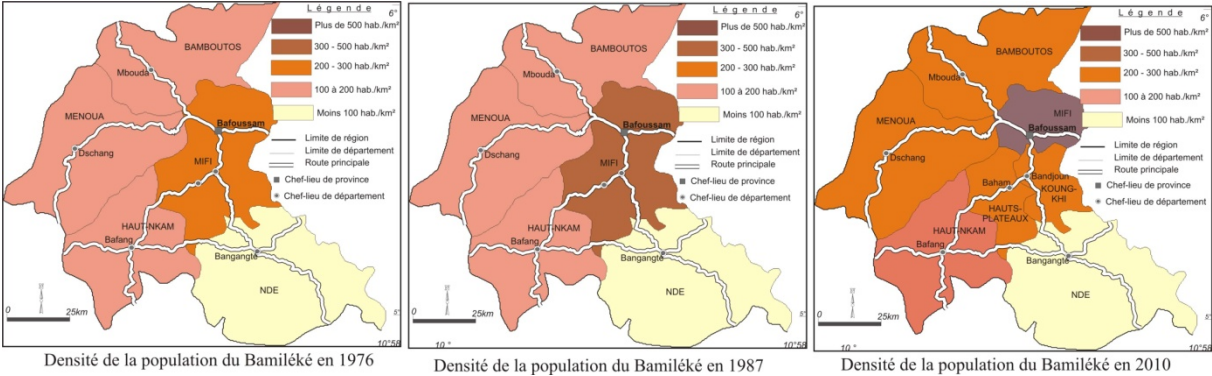


Figure 14: Evolution of density in Bamileke region, west Cameroon

The population of Bafoussam, as in the rest of the country, is very youthful as shown in the age/sex pyramid below (Fig 16).

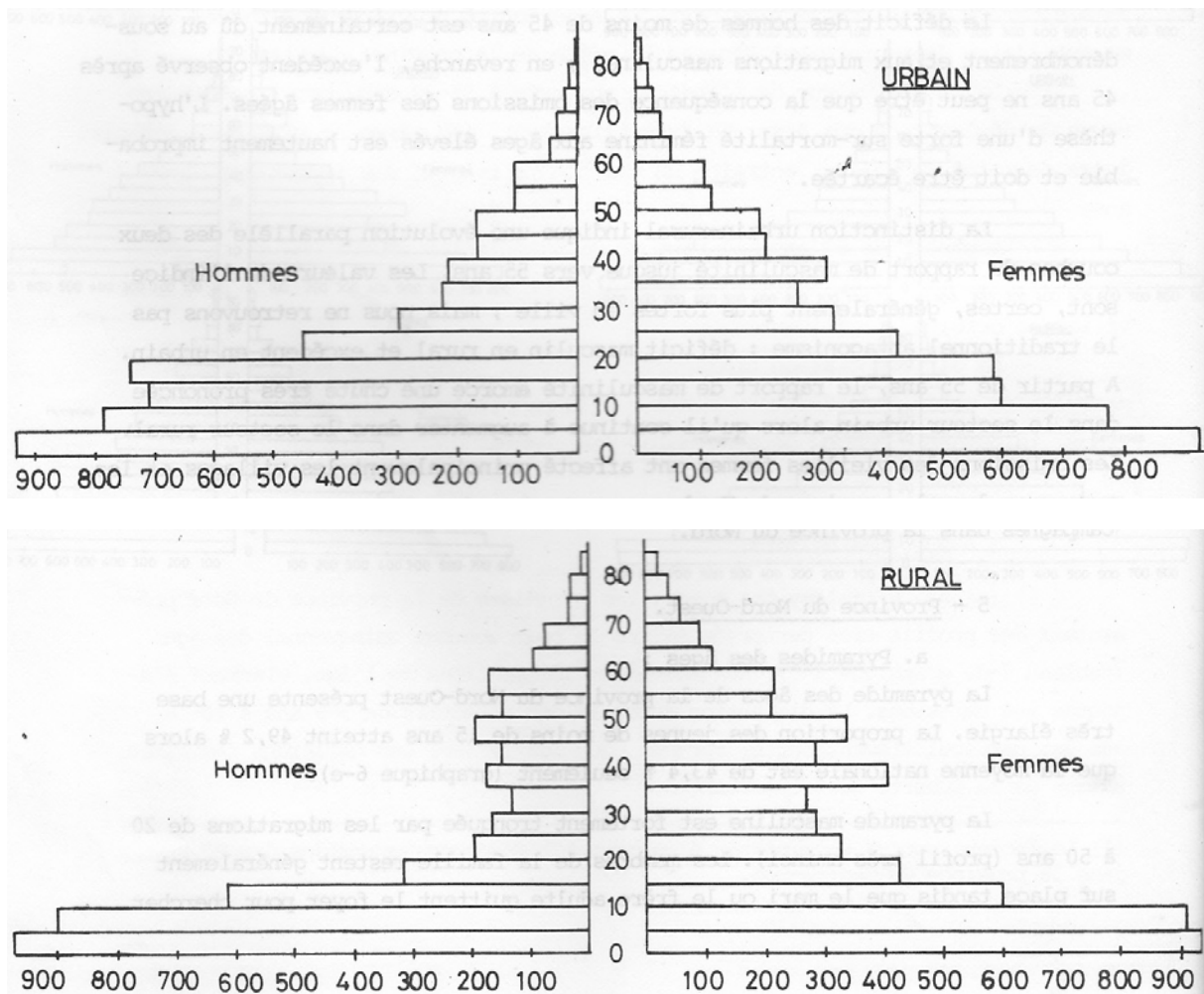


Figure 15: Age/sex pyramid of the West region in 1987

Existing studies (including the general censuses) have all noted the West region's negative migration balance (Champaud and Barbier 1983, Dongmo 1981, Barbier, Courade and Dupuy 1982, etc). The majority of towns in the West registered negative growth rates from 1967 to 1976 as documented by Champaud (1980). Moreover, resources are very limited in relation to the population, which encourages surplus emigration. Despite this negative migration balance, the growth of the town is not severely affected. This is due to a high birth rate and the enterprising spirit of the regions inhabitants. This spirit is explained by socio-cultural reasons elucidated by Dongmo (1981).

Table 21: Distribution of the urban resident population in the West region (thus Bafoussam) by migration status in 2005

	Bamboutos	Haut Nkam	Hauts Plateaux	Koungou	Menoua	Mifi (Bafoussam)	Nde	Noun	Total
Total population	60294	64504	13534	24019	80475	239287	47555	202893	732561
Non migrants	39755	40763	9206	17787	44633	121327	26725	144938	445134
Migrants inside division	7284	7637	214	352	8216	16966	5348	17474	63491
Migrants between division	5130	6171	1956	2401	9271	59160	4964	11945	100998
Migrants between region	8083	9839	2149	3447	17758	41385	9438	28108	120207
Total internal migrants	20497	23647	4319	6200	35245	117511	19750	57527	284696
Total born in Cameroun	60252	64410	13525	23987	79878	238838	46475	202465	729830
Born out of Cameroun	12	68	9	22	100	193	43	207	654
Unclassified peoples	30	26	0	10	497	256	1037	221	2077

Source: census 2005

## 5 Urban livelihoods

This section contributes to debates over urban livelihoods in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa by examining urban livelihoods in Cameroon. The section does so by addressing four key questions, specifically; what are the main sources of urban livelihoods and how have these changed? In which ways does mobility form part of urban livelihood strategies? Which links do urban residents have to rural areas?

According to a 2005 employment and informal sector inquiry, unemployment affects more than 10% of Cameroonians, particularly in Douala (12.5%) and Yaounde

(14.7%), and people under 29 years of age are more likely to be unemployed. Informal activities therefore prevail in the urban livelihoods strategies of Cameroonian urban residents. The informal sector accounts for more than 90.4% of the working population compared to the formal sector's 4.7%. A recent INS study conducted in 2010 suggests that the informal sectors influence has declined by 12.7% since 2005, against increasing employment in the public and formal private sector. This is primarily in commerce and services related jobs (67.9%). Independent workers are more prevalent in socio-professional categories (45.5%) as shown in Table 21 below. Nevertheless, the multi-activity rate is still high being 14.7% for males and 13% for females in Douala.

The ECAM3 inquiry (2007) found that in urban locales 81% of males are employed compared to 70% of female, meanwhile in rural areas the figures are 91.7% of male vs 90% of female. In 2005 the average monthly income in the urban informal sector was 27,300 FCFA compared to 11,100 FCFA in rural areas. In public administration, public enterprises and para-public institutions the average is far higher, at 130,000 FCFA. Formal private is around 100 000 FCFA monthly. In 2010, monthly incomes in town increased to 58 600 FCFA compared with 38 200 FCFA in rural areas but this is still not enough to adequately support a family.

Table 22: Structure of employment according to activities, institutional sector and socio-professional categories sort by residence

	Urban	Rural	Cameroon
Activity sector			
Primary sector	10,8	73,4	55,7
Industry and BTP	21,3	11,3	14,1
Commerce	22,5	5,6	10,4
Services (except	45,4	9,7	19,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Institutional sector			
Public	10,5	2,6	4,9
Private formal	11,8	2,0	4,7
Informal non agricultural	67,4	22,5	35,2
Informal agricultural	10,3	72,9	55,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Socio-professional class			
Staff	10,1	1,8	4,2
Independents workers	45,5	55,9	53,0
Employee, workers	20,3	3,2	8,0
Labourer and others	14,5	5,5	8,0
Housekeeping	9,6	33,6	26,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: INS 2010, EESI 2005, Phase 1

Table 23: Distribution of employment according to activities sector, sex and residence

Activity branch	Sex of the promoter		Residence					Country
	Male	Female	Douala	Yaoundé	Other town	Total urban	Rural	
Industry	27,7	39,6	25,5	27,4	27,8	26,8	41,6	34,1
Food	7,2	28,8	6,1	11,0	13,2	9,7	28,4	19,0
Confection	2,1	8,8	7,5	7,8	4,7	6,6	4,8	5,7
BTP	8,3	0,1	6,8	4,0	4,6	5,3	2,3	3,9
Other industries	10,0	1,8	5,2	4,7	5,4	5,1	6,1	5,6
Commerce	32,2	34,8	33,6	33,8	33,3	33,5	33,7	33,6
Direct Commerce	5,7	1,2	1,7	1,4	3,2	2,1	4,4	3,2
Detail Commerce	26,6	33,6	31,9	32,4	30,2	31,4	29,3	30,4
Services	40,1	25,6	40,9	38,8	38,9	39,7	24,6	32,2
Transport	14,4	0,2	11,5	4,3	9,3	8,9	4,3	6,7
Restaurant	3,0	15,3	8,6	13,6	8,8	9,9	9,4	9,7
Repairing	6,1	0,4	4,5	1,7	5,0	4,0	1,9	3,0
Other services	16,6	9,8	16,3	19,1	15,8	16,8	8,9	12,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: EESI 2, Phase 2, INS, 2010.

Mobility plays an important role in urban livelihood strategies. Many households are located in low-income urban communities with limited access to formal transport infrastructure. 75% of journeys are undertaken by foot or on a motorbike. In Douala for example, according to a study conducted by SSATP<sup>1</sup> in 2004, 77% of low-income city dwellers walk on foot against only 12% by taxi and motorbike. Motorbikes are particularly important in Douala, where it is estimated that 50,000 motorbike drivers (Ben skin) transport a million people to and from peripheral quarters and the centre of town on a daily basis. Several recent studies and reports have examined the transport systems and the issue of intra-urban mobility in Douala amongst the urban poor (Adolehoume et al., 2005; Bouma, 2002; Amougou Mbarga, 2010; Jemba Eboumbou, 2012) and the relationship between the public and private sectors (Sahabana, 2006).

According to a study carried out by the city council Douala has only 320 km of tarred road and 2085 km untarred road. The road network is structured along the west and east entrance which links the town to the metropolitan area, port, city centre, and northern periphery quarters. This network is used by an estimated 355,000 vehicles per day which equates to approximately 1.5 millions of people/day. The study also found that 59% of journeys are done by motorbike taxi drivers who assure the mobility of 40% city dwellers; 17% of journeys are by private vehicle which provides mobility for 12% of the population; 18% of journeys by taxi contribute to 21% of mobility; 2% of journeys by bus assure mobility for 25% of the population. Thus mobility in Douala is strongly tied to the road networks which this leads to high levels of traffic on main roads especially those in good condition. There is an anarchistic occupation of public places by vehicles and an increasing disregard for the Highway Code. The situation is far worse in the informal settlements because there are no clearly defined roads, which is one of the factors underlying the growing reliance on motorbikes as a means of transport.

The movement of urban dwellers to and from rural zones is also increasing. However, apart from mobility in relation to trade and the food supply (Hatcheu, 2006; Tchawe, 2000), the majority of city dwellers move between urban and rural locales for socio-cultural reasons e.g. weddings and funerals, and not for economic purposes. Due to projects in the field of industrial agriculture, often carried out by elites (Elong 2011),

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<sup>1</sup> SSATP (Programme de politiques de transport en Afrique subsaharienne) financé par la Banque Mondiale en 2004



investments in peri-urban agriculture (Chaleard 1996, 1999; Prain, Karanja and Lee-Smith, 2009) or by spontaneous support (Kengne Fodouop, 2003, Kuété 2006, Yemelong 2007), contemporary urban dwellers are now in regular contact with rural areas. Technology plays a crucial role in this dynamic, especially improvements to mobile phone services. The shift to a multiparty system has also led to increased political competition, which has encouraged greater dialogue and relations between residents in rural and urban locales.

## **6 The evolution of urban policy and present challenges**

After attaining independence, Cameroon benefited from its status as a country with intermediate revenue. The post-independence government of the 1970's had ambitions to create a pioneering social housing initiative in francophone Africa. It established the CFC-MAETUR-SIC triduum (Housing Bank Cameroon-Urban and Rural Land Equipment Authority- Cameroon Housing Corporation) to realise this ambition. About two decades of economic crises reduced these efforts, problematically as highlighted in Sections 2 and 3, urban growth increased regardless. Cameroon's urban policy is marked by a planning strategy based on an 'administrative hierarchy', at the national, regional, divisional and sub-divisional level. According to a 2009 Africapolis study, this creates a 'headquarter effect'. In fact, a town is not authorized to have infrastructure that is better developed than the administrative headquarter above its level, except in exceptional situations where particular authorization is needed from the central administration.

The government has undertaken both institutional and judicial reforms to remedy the disparity between urban growth and infrastructure provision. An entire ministry is devoted to towns since 1997 and has as its principal mission the implementation of the said reforms within the framework of the latest urban policy. Other departments assist the ministry, for example:

Ministry of State Property and Land Tenure, thus the Urban and Rural Land Equipment Authority (MAETUR) and the Cameroon Housing Corporation (SIC);

Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation, thus the Local Materials promotion authority (MIPROMALO) ;

Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization and mandatory institutions, thus Special Council Support Fund for Mutual Assistance (FEICOM) plus Regional and Local Authorities;

Ministry of Economy, Planning and Regional Development

Ministry of Agriculture & Rural Development

Ministry of Finance

Ministry of Commerce

The Institutional evolution of land and town planning laws in Cameroon can be observed in Table 24 below.

Table 24: Institutional evolution of the situation of land and town planning in Cameroon

Nature and date of the law	Subject
Law	
Law of the 15th June 1896	Free hold land
Law n° 66-10-COR of 18th november1966	Regulate urban land management
Law n° 80-22 of 14th July 1980	Repression of the infringement to the landed property
Law n° 80-21 of 14th July 1980	Modify and complete the ordinance n° 74-1 of 6 July 1974 laying down the land tenure
Law n° 85-09 of 4th July 1980	Expropriation due to public utility and compensation methods
Law N°97/003 of 10th January 1997	Estate agency
Law N°2004/003 of 21th April 2004	Town planning code
Law N°2009/009 of 10th July 2009	Built property transaction
Law N°2009/010 of 10th July 2009	Renting/accessing with the real estate
Ordinances	
Ordinance n° 73-20 du 29-05-1973	Laying down town planning in United Republic of Cameroon

Ordinance n° 74-1 of 07th 1974 modified and completed by ordinance n° 77-1 of 10th January 1977	Laying down the land tenure
Ordinance n° 74-2 of 6th July 1974 modified and completed by ordinance n° 77-2 of 10th 1977	Laying down the land tenure
Ordinance n° 74-3 of 6th July 1974	Define the procedure of expropriation due to public utility
Decrees	
Decree n° 70-107-COR du 5-8-1970	Organize town planning, building and housing
Decree n° 76-165 of 27th April 1976, modified and completed by decree N°2005/481 of 16th December 2005	Laying down of conditions to obtain land title
Decree n° 76-166 of 27th April 1976	Laying down modalities of management of state estate
Decree n° 76-167 of 27th April 1976	Laying down modalities of management of private state estate
Decree n° 77/193 of 23th June 1977	Create Urban and Rural Land Equipment Authority (MAETUR)
Decree n° 79-017 of 13th January 1979	Regulate private real estate
Decree n° 79-189 of 17th May 1979	Regulate delimitation of urban center
Decree n° 79-194 of 19th May 1979	Laying down of rules creating housing estate
Decree n°87/1872 of 16th December 1987	Modalities of application of the law n° 85 09 of 4th July 1980 on expropriation due to public utility and compensation methods
Decree n° 97/205 of 07-12-1997	Create Ministry of town
Decree N°2004/320 of 08th December 2004	Create Ministry of State Property and Land Tenure
Decree N°2007/1138/PM of 03th September 2007	Modalities of application of the law N°2001/020 of 18th December 2001 on the organization of the profession of real estate agency
Decree N°2007/1419/PM of 02th	Modalities of application of the law N°97/003 of

November 2007	10th January 1997 relative to real estate
Decree N°2008/0736/PM of 23th April 2008	Modalities of the elaboration and revision of urban management planning tools
Decree N°2008/0738/PM of 23th April 2008	Organized procedures and modalities of land management
Decree N°2008/0740/PM of 23th April 2008	Laying down sanctions applicable to infringement of town planning rules
Decree N°2009/1726/PM of 04th September 2009	Fix modalities of application of the law N°2009/009 of 10th July 2009 concerning sale of building land
Decree N°2009/1727/PM of 04 September 2009	Fix modalities of application of the law N°2009/010 of 10th July 2009 concerning Renting/accessing with the real estate
Order	
Order n° 165-A-SECTTP of 9th August 1968	Fix the forms and required times of the requests for building permit, prior agreement and compliance certificate.
Order N°0009/02/MINDUH of 21th August 2008	Fix norms of social housing

Source: Assako Assako 1999, Yemmafouo 2007, complement 2010

The government works in conjunction with estate agents, financial institutions, trade unions, NGOs and other actors to implement their policies. In theory, the gaps in the operational plan have been solved but the policies are not put into practice. Cameroon now has a well-structured urban policy capable of addressing the challenges it faces but the problem of effectively applying these policies still remains. For example, the demolition of unplanned housing as part of the state's fight against informal settlements, known as 'catch up town planning', poses serious questions with regards to the human rights of the evicted residents. The mayors are not currently taking this issue into consideration. On the side of the private sector, there is a serious failure to comply with town planning rules, as shown by the increasing number of media reports concerning buildings collapsing in Douala and Yaoundé.

Urban development, regional planning and environment protection are outlined in the “Cameroon – Vision 2035” document as the fourth major challenge the country needs to take up in order to become an emerging economy. As stated in the document “The challenge of urban and regional development is to set up a national integrated economic space. The objective here is not only to control urban development and make towns production and consumption centers indispensable for the takeoff of the industrial sector, but also to promote the emergence of peripheral towns, development of average and secondary towns that can structure economic activities in urban areas and contribute to the development of nearby rural areas”. To achieve these goals, the government has defined the following specific objectives and strategies:

Specific objectives:

- 1) - To reduce the increasing rhythm of urbanization rates (reach a rate of 57, 3% in 2020);
- 2) - To construct 100 km of tarred road and 17 000 social housing, setting out 50 000 plots;
- 3) - To reduce by half percentage of the urban population which does not have access to a supply of potable water, electricity and new information technology;
- 4) - To reinforce industry, private sector, governance and human resources of urban sub-sector.

Specific strategies:

- 1) - Maintenance and rehabilitation of the urban infrastructures,
- 2) - Development of the urban infrastructures,
- 3) - Improvement of the access to the basic urban services,
- 4) - Control of the land use,
- 5) - Protection of the vulnerable social groups and,
- 6) - Reinforcement of the institutional capacities of the sector.

### ***Discussion: Douala, Bafoussam and regional planning in west Cameroon***

In ‘half a century of urban research in Cameroon’, Kengne and Bopda (2000) argued that 57.3% of urban research in Cameroon is undertaken by Cameroonians and 38.2 percent

by the French (38.2%). They also observe that the focus is on Douala and Yaoundé. Of the 702 works carried out from 1970 to 2000, the following conclusions can be made.

Table 25: Distribution of urban research themes in Cameroon according to Kengne and Bopda (2000) study

	Urban monograph	Urban growth	Urban/rural linkages	Population and urban society	Urban activities	Housing and urban lodging	Urban food supply and informal sector	Environment	Others research
Nu m	119	41	55	86	70	82	32	22	195
%	17%	5,8%	7,8	12,3	10	11,7	4,6	3,1%	27,8

17% of the urban research consists of monographs examining the first three decades of independence, and during this period the aim was to understand the state of the existing landscape and assess the potential for future development. This is also the reason for the study of population, urban societies and housing.

There is also a pressing need to understand and address issues that are fuelling instances of violent urban protest. For example, research is required that investigates how the implementation of urban democracy and decentralization could act as a form of governance capable of ameliorating the living conditions of city dwellers, thus preventing violent outbursts. This is linked to a broader issue regarding governance in Cameroon; there is currently little attempt to implement international conventions at the local level (Agenda 21, MDG, etc.). On the subject of international issues, the impact of climate change is also ignored. There are increasing occurrences of floods and landslides in Douala, yet public powers and private actors do not take the issue seriously. They are content to hand out sanctions and punishments, but there is no action taken at the policy level. Studies should be developed and then given to decision makers to help shape policy. Furthermore, there should be greater dialogue between those conducting the studies and policy makers. This is because in the domain of urban research, like in other fields, there is often a discord between research results and recommendations, and the policies that may or may not be implemented.

## ***Two great towns at the heart of urbanization in West Cameroon***

West Cameroon understood here as North-West, West, South-West and Littoral is the most urbanized region in Cameroon, as demonstrated by Champaud (1980) and more recently by AfricaPolis (2009). In 2005, the whole region contained 46 towns with over 10,000 inhabitants and close to 4 million urban dwellers, slightly less than half of the total urban population. Douala is the focal point of the region and plays a role in the development of secondary towns and peripheral areas (Figure 16 below). It is thus a remarkable urban system in which the growth of each town is firstly linked to Douala before other towns near or far. That is what we observe with Bafoussam and the other towns of the West.

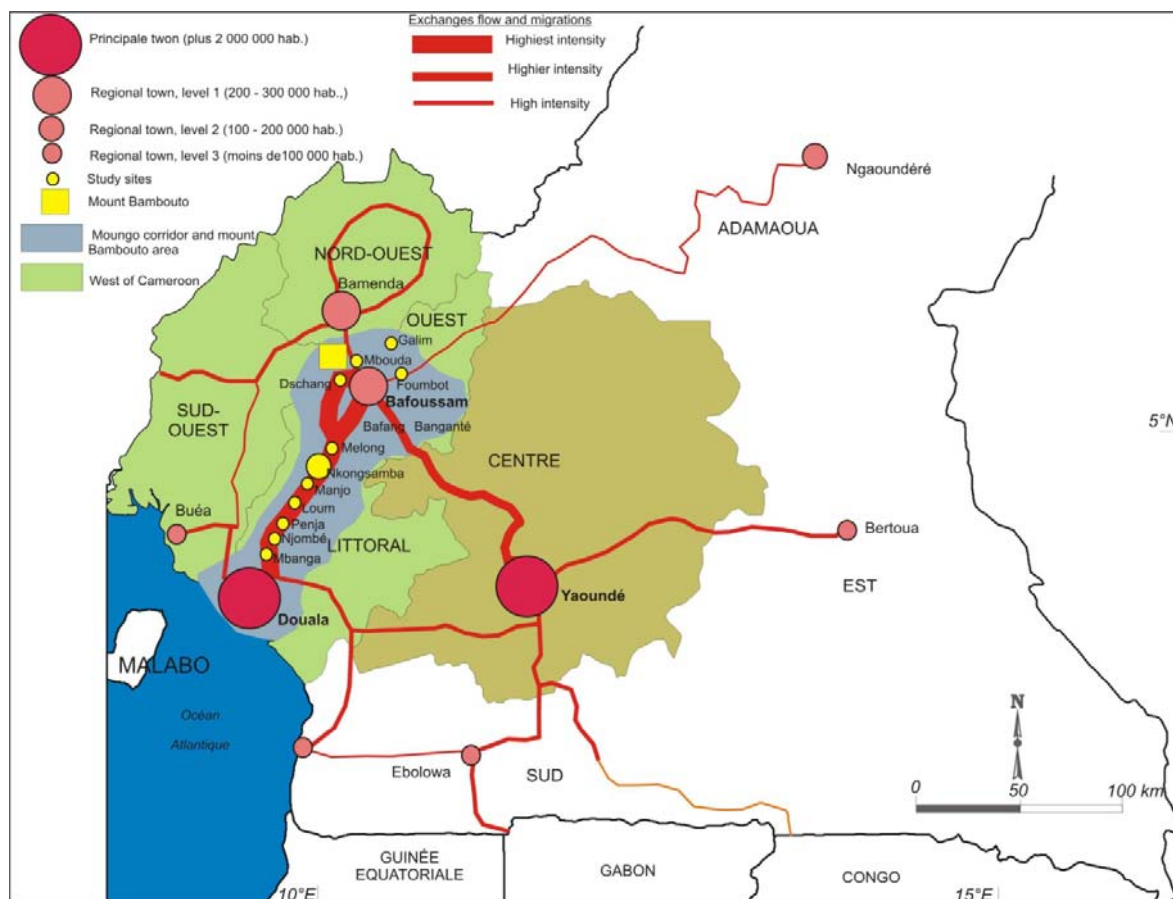


Figure 16: Douala, Bafoussam and regional planning in West Cameroon  
Realisation: A. Yemmafouo

Urbanization in Cameroun is strongly littoralised and the coastal towns experienced the highest growth rate in the 2005 census, with towns such as Kribi, Limbe and Tiko challenging the administrative hierarchy. In fact, with the pressure of the

littoral, these towns acquired infrastructure above their administrative rank, a situation that is likely to continue following the creation of the Kribi deep seaport and the restructuring of the port of Tiko. The growth of Douala and its ability to attract migrants does not prevent urbanization occurring in neighbouring towns. As discussed in Section 4, despite a high emigration rate, Bafoussam and other towns of the West maintained a rate of growth similarly to Douala. However, future regional planning policy should ensure that the metropolization favours the growth of the surrounding towns like Bafoussam. This last point is important, because the two towns both suffer from inadequate infrastructure. Yet the economic power of Douala gives it an advantage over Bafoussam, and due to its high population density the problem of land scarcity is more acute in Bafoussam than in Douala.



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**State of the art report:  
Dynamics of urbanisation in Ghana**

**1 Introduction**

This report contributes to our understanding of city dynamics in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa by providing an analysis of urbanisation and the relative contribution of migration to city growth in Ghana. In Ghana any community with at least 5000 people is administratively defined as a town, a definition that has remained since independence. It was during the era surrounding independence that the country experienced rapid urbanisation (between 1948 and 1960). This growth slowed in the 1970s and into the 1980s, a situation that mirrored the fortunes of the Ghanaian economy. A second phase of urbanisation began in the early decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, this process is not evenly distributed. For example, there is a sharp contrast in the rate of urbanisation between the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions on one hand, and other regions on the other. This creates a polarization of urban growth in the Southern half of the country, particularly along the coast and middle forest belt, as against the northern half of the country. Ghana's urbanisation is therefore skewed in favour of the metropolitan areas, though at the national level primacy has been reducing since 1984. Increasing urbanisation of metropolitan areas imposes a severe strain on urban services and infrastructure, including housing provision and that of basic services like water, sanitation, education and health.

This report addresses the dynamics of urbanisation in Ghana and other related issues by focusing on five key areas, namely; urban growth trends, changes in the urban hierarchy, the role of migration, rural-urban connections and urban livelihoods. The report is structured around five sections. Urban growth trends are analysed in the next section. This section is followed by a discussion situating the contemporary Ghanaian urban hierarchy in its historical context. The geographical distribution of urban settlements is then addressed, and explanations for this pattern and urban growth trends are discussed including migration, natural increase and rural-urban linkages. The final section discusses the nature and form of Ghanaian urban livelihoods paying particular attention to the informal economies growing prominence. The report concludes

with a summary of key findings and an outline of emerging issues and their policy implications. In addition the report provides a short profile of two case study cities, namely; the largest city Accra, and the rapidly growing intermediate-sized city Tamale.

## 2 Urban growth trends

The process of urbanisation is a relatively recent phenomenon in Ghana. Records indicate that in 1911 there were only 117,000 people living in what could be termed urban settlements. This figure increased to 1.6 million in 1960, a thirteen fold increase (Addo 1972, pp.243–251), and by 1970 had risen to just over 2.2 million within a decade (see Table 1 below). Looking at these trends periodically, census data indicates that the annual urban population growth rates for the periods 1931-48, 1948-60, 1960-70 were 3.5, 9.3 and 4.7 per cent per annum respectively. The population growth rates between 1970-1984 and 1984-2000 were 3.7 and 4.6 respectively. These figures can also be placed in the context of national population growth. Caldwell (1969) observed that from a mere growth rate of 1.4 per cent per annum between 1901 and 1921, the national population growth rate doubled between 1921 and 1960 to 2.7 per cent per annum, hitting an all-time peak of 4.2 per cent per annum between 1948 and 1960. It declined somewhat to between 2.6 per cent and 3.0 per cent between 1960 and 1984. The annual inter-censal growth rate between 2000 and 2010 was 2.5 per cent (GSS, 2012, p2). These figures are significant because they indicate that throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century, urban population growth has been outstripping overall national population growth.

**Table 1: Urban Population Growth in Ghana, 1921-2010**

Populations	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1921	1931	1948	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010
Total national population	2,295,194	3,160,386	4,118,450	6,726,815	8,545,561	12,205,574	18,912,079	24,658,832
Total urban population	179,080	296,053	532,720	1,547,167	2,468,738	3,907,876	8,303,244	12,545,229
Urban as % of national population	7.8	9.4	12.9	23.0	28.9	31.3	43.8	50.9



Sources: i (Addo 1972, p.243), ii Central Bureau of Statistics: 1984 Population Census of Ghana, Preliminary Report ; iii Ghana Statistical Service (GSS): 2000 Population and Housing Census Report (GSS 2002); iv GSS: 2010 Population and Housing Census Summary Report of Final Results (GSS 2012)

One of the challenges of working with national urban growth rates is that they fail to convey the nuances that may be taking place within a country, e.g. growth rates may vary dramatically between urban centres of different sizes or between urban settlements in different regions. Nonetheless, the figures presented above indicate that urban growth was most rapid between 1948 and 1960, and this was also the period which witnessed the fastest growth in the nation's population, peaking at 9.3 per cent. The rate of urban growth then slowed to an annual average of 3.2 per cent per annum between 1960 and 1984. The decline in the rate of urbanisation during this period was partly due to the economic hardship facing Ghana. From the early 1970s into the early 1980s, economic difficulties negatively impacted on the employment generating capacity of the urban-based formal economy (Konadu-Agyemang 2000). Cities and towns, therefore, lost their attractiveness to potential migrants. A substantial proportion of young and able-bodied men and women opted to migrate to neighbouring West African countries (particularly Nigeria), instead of Ghanaian cities and towns (see also Bakewell & De Haas 2007).

The poor economic opportunities and the high cost of living in urban areas during the 1970s and into the early 1980s, may have compelled some Ghanaian urban dwellers to move to rural areas, a situation that corresponded with broader political policies and discourses of that time. For example, farming ventures were strongly advocated in response to the government of the day's call for 'a return to the land', predicated on the belief that the nation might be able to meet its own food requirements through increased farming. The short-lived administration of the Progress Party government (1969-72) led by the late Dr. Abrefa Busia launched a rural development program. The subsequent military led National Redemption Council (NRC) government continued this agenda by establishing the 'Operation Feed Yourself' programme (OFY) in the mid 1970s. This was followed by the 'green revolution' in the early 1980s. Thus a combination of economic uncertainty and the promotion of rural based activities offer a partial explanation for the decline in urbanisation during the period.

### ***Regional urbanisation rates***

The most striking aspect of urbanisation in Ghana is the overwhelming concentration of towns in the administrative regions in Southern Ghana (see Fig 1 below). Conversely, the settlement pattern of the Northern and Upper Regions of the country are dominated by rural settlements. In terms of the rate of urbanisation, there is a sharp contrast between the Greater Accra and Ashanti Regions on the one hand, and other regions on the other. Greater Accra is the most urbanised administrative region with as much as 90.5 per cent of its population in urban centres. These urban centres are predominantly clustered within the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), where Accra and Tema provide the main nuclei within the metropolitan complex (Songsore 2009). The Ashanti Region is the second most urbanised administrative region, with 60 per cent of its population in urban centres. Similarly to GAMA, the Ashanti region is dominated by key urban settlements, in this case Kumasi, which is the second largest agglomeration in Ghana after GAMA (see Table 2 below).

The remaining regions have urbanisation levels that fall below the national average of 50.9 per cent. Table 2 below shows that Central Region (47.1%), Brong-Ahafo Region (44.5%), Eastern Region (43.4%), and Western Region (42.4%) are the next group of regions with over 40 per cent of their population living in urban centres. The least urbanised regions are the Upper East (21.0%) and Upper West Regions (16.3%).

**Table 2: Proportion of Urban and Annual Growth Rate, National and by Region, 1960-2000**

Region	Urban Proportion				Annual Growth Rate			
	1960	1970	1984	2000	1960 - 1970	1970-1984	1984-2000	1960-2000
All Regions	23.1	28.9	32.0	43.8	4.7	3.3	4.6	4.2
Western	24.7	26.9	22.6	36.3	2.9	1.7	6.1	3.8
Central	28.0	29.1	28.8	37.5	2.1	1.7	3.7	2.6
Greater Accra	72.6	85.3	83.0	87.7	6.1	3.5	4.8	4.7
Volta	13.1	16.0	20.5	27.0	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.7
Eastern	21.1	24.6	27.7	34.6	3.4	2.9	2.8	3.0
Ashanti	25.0	29.7	32.5	51.3	4.6	3.1	6.3	4.8
Brong-Ahafo	15.6	22.1	26.6	37.4	6.1	4.6	4.7	5.0
Northern	13.0	20.4	25.2	26.6	7.6	4.9	3.1	4.9
Upper East	3.9	7.3	12.9	15.7	7.8	6.5	2.3	5.2
Upper West	5.0	6.7	10.9	17.5	4.0	5.7	4.7	4.9

Source: (GSS 2005; ISSER 2007, p.198)

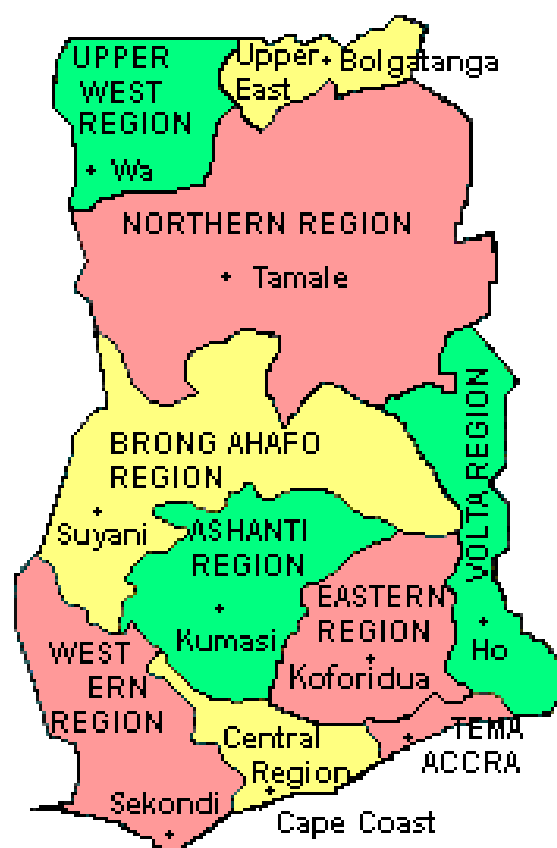


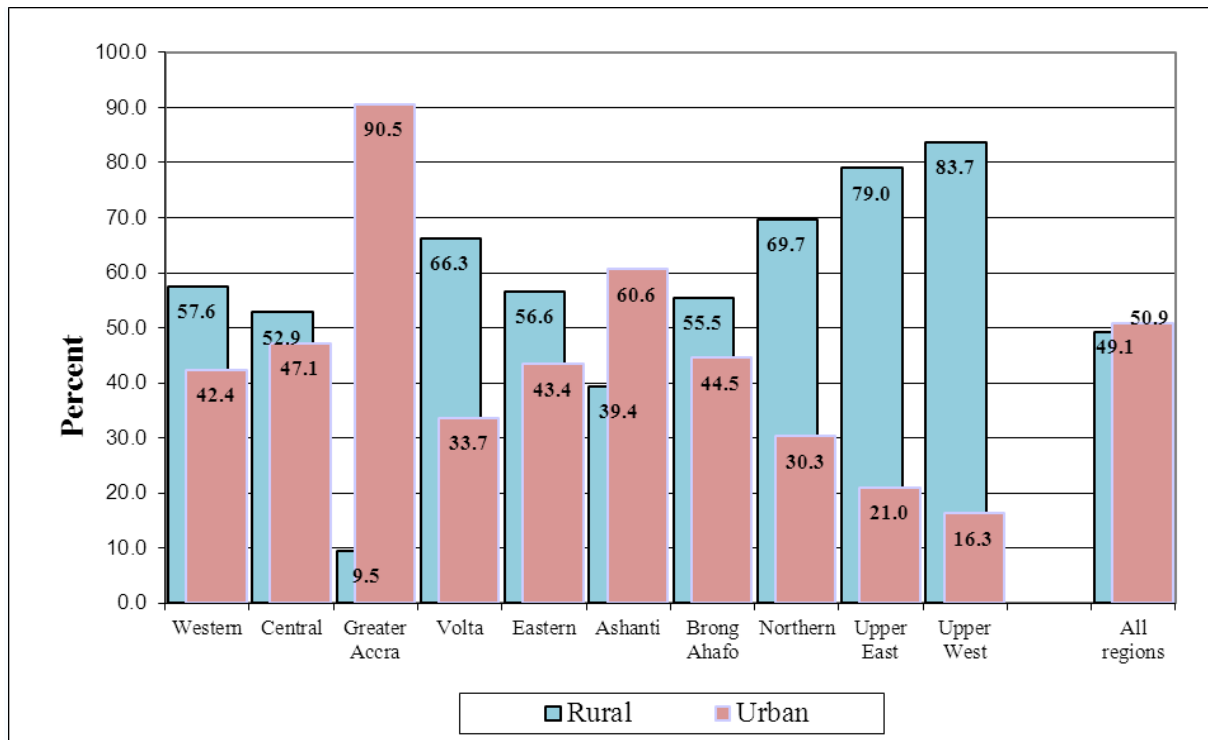
Fig 1: Map of Ghana (Regions)

Source: (GhanaWeb 2013)

In contrast to the period 1960-70 and 1984-2010, Table 2 indicates that between 1970 and 1984, the Western, Greater Accra and Central Regions suffered slight reductions in their urbanisation rates. For example, in the Western Region, Samreboi's population fell from 7,151 in 1970 to 4,514 in 1984, and Awaso's population fell from 5,449 in 1970 to 3,548 in 1984. The city of Sekondi-Takoradi also saw its urban population decline from 160,868 to 117,196 people between 1970 and 1984 respectively. This may have been due to economic decline in their respective urban areas and increasing instances of urban to rural migration as intimated in section 2.0 (Benneh et al. 1990, p.119; Gyamfi 1989, p.20; Songsore 2009).

The most noticeable case of decline in the Central Region is that of Winneba, an important centre of education whose population declined from 30,778 in 1970 to 27,105 in 1984. Moreover, the population of important towns in the forest belt which is an important cocoa growing area of the Central Region, either remained stagnant or lost population between 1970 and 1984 (see Brunel 1990). There were exceptions to this trend, Agona-Nyakrom's population increased slightly from 11,252 in 1970 to 11,639 in 1984, while Agona-Abodom's population declined very slightly from 5195 in 1970 to 5009 in 1984. Agona-Bobikuma saw its population of 5195 in 1970 declining slightly to 5016 in 1984. Some urban settlements were, therefore, reclassified as rural settlements because they fell below the 5000 population threshold in 1984 (Songsore 2009).

Table 2 also highlights that since 1984 all of Ghana's regions have experienced steady urbanisation, with Greater Accra followed by Ashanti maintaining their pre-eminent positions. This point is also illustrated in Fig 2 below, which shows the urban population of each region in relation to its rural population.



**Fig 2: Regions and Population by Type of Locality in 2010**

Source: (GSS 2012, p.4)

Figure 2 captures a fundamental aspect of urbanisation in Ghana, namely, the conspicuous concentration of urban settlements in the country's southern administrative regions. Meanwhile the settlement pattern of the Northern and Upper Regions of the country are dominated by rural settlements. It is argued that this increase in urbanisation is linked to societal perceptions of an association between economic opportunities and urban environments, which has made certain cities and regions more attractive to migrants (Anarfi et al. 2003; Berkoh 1975; Bobo 1974; Kwankye et al. 2009); a situation exacerbated by the relative failure of government policies to stimulate rural economies as discussed above. This association between urban environments and economic opportunities emerged despite the decline and virtual collapse of many industrial establishments following the implementation of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) during the mid-1980s (Loxley 1990; Mohan et al. 2000; Yankson 2006; I. Yeboah 2000; Weissman 1990).

### **3 The urban hierarchy**

The aim of this section is to situate the previous discussion within an analysis of Ghana's evolving urban system. The term urban system or hierarchy refers to a series of cities, towns and hinterland regions that interact over space to characterize their localities (Berry 1964). These interactions are often based on the exchange of goods, services, information and social capital (Berry 1975; Berry & Horton 1971). Urban hierarchy is used here to refer to a system of cities consisting of urban centres of different size, power and influence within a given regional, national or even broader territory (Pumain 2006).

As highlighted in the introduction, a wide range of criteria is currently used to define cities (United Nations 2004). Measuring the size of cities by the number of inhabitants remains the easiest way to compare their rank within an urban hierarchy. Historically, as well as today, in every country and the world over, the number of cities follows an inverse geometric progression in relation to their size (Pumain 2006). Indicators of urban product would potentially provide an alternative and more realistic view of the importance of a city in economic terms. However, production statistics are usually collected in business headquarters that may not be located in the place where the added value is actually produced. Personal income could be used as a proxy, but such statistics are also very rarely produced in relation to urban agglomerations. Thus most studies on urban hierarchies use the demographic indicator to measure city size (Pumain 2006).

A convenient way to describe the hierarchical structure and change in the urban system is to apply models of city size distribution. Existing theoretical structures and empirical generalisation, which have attempted to explain or describe the hierarchical relationship of urban centres, are represented by the central place theory of Christaller (1966) and expanded by others such as Beckman (1958) and Berry and Garrison (1958). There is also Zipf's (1949) 'rank size relationship' or 'lognormal distribution', which simply means that in any urban system, the second largest city is half the size of the largest etc. This leads to a scenario where there are a few large centres, a large number of medium-sized centres and a relatively many small centres.

The rank size or lognormal distribution of cities is considered more consistent with the urban systems in the advanced industrialised countries (Zipf 1949). Table 3 below appears to corroborate this assertion, as it shows that this is not the characteristic feature of Ghana's urban system, which has only a few large medium sized centres and many small urban centres. In 2000, there were only nine towns with population between 50,000 and just under 100,000. There were only 6 large towns that had population between 100,000 and 250,000 and only two (Accra and Kumasi) that had population in excess of 250,000. Ghana could therefore be described as a country of small towns, most of which are large villages.

**Table 3: Operational Classification of Towns According to Size of Population and by Regions in Ghana in 2000**

Size by Population	NUMBER OF TOWNS					
	Very Small	Small	Medium	Large Medium	Large	Very Large
Regions	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999	20,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000+
Greater Accra.	20	12	7	2	2	1
Ashanti	36	16	4	0	1	1
Brong Ahafo	33	12	7	2	-	-
Volta	22	9	3	1	-	-
Central	21	10	7	1	-	-
Eastern	32	17	6	1	-	-
Western	27	5	4	-	2	-
Northern	15	8	3	-	1	-
Upper East	4	1	1	1	-	-
Upper West	5	-	-	1	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>

Source: Computed from GSS (2002)

It is important to note that although small towns are very numerous, census data indicates that very large towns contain a greater proportion of Ghana's urban population, as shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4: Size distribution of Towns and their Proportions in Terms of Numbers and Population 1960-2000**

Size Range of Towns		Proportion of all towns							
		1960		1970		1984		2000	
		<i>% of No. of Towns</i>	<i>% Pop. prop. of all Towns</i>	<i>% of No. of Towns</i>	<i>% Pop. prop. of all Towns</i>	<i>% of No. of Towns</i>	<i>% Pop. prop. of all Towns</i>	<i>% of No. of Towns</i>	<i>% Pop. prop. of all Towns</i>
Small Towns	(5,000-9,999)	66.7	25.7	63.9	16.7	61.7	21.0	59.1	18.1
	(10,000-19,999)	26.0	22.0	21.8	15.8	21.8	14.6	24.7	14.8
	Total	<u>92.7</u>	<u>47.7</u>	<u>85.7</u>	<u>32.5</u>	<u>83.5</u>	<u>35.6</u>	<u>83.8</u>	<u>32.9</u>
Medium Sized Towns	(20,000-49,999)	4.2	13.5	9.8	16.0	11.7	14.1	11.5	14.8
	(50,000-99,999)	1	5.5	2.3	10.2	2.1	7.5	2.5	7.3
	Total	<u>5.2</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>26.2</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>14.0</u>	<u>22.1</u>
Large Towns	100,000-249,999	<u>1.0</u>	<u>11.6</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>10.9</u>
Very Large Towns	250,000+	<u>1.0</u>	<u>21.7</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>36.2</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>31.6</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>34.1</u>
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* The total for the various categories of towns have been underlined

Source: Calculated from 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000 Population Census reports of Ghana (Yankson 2006, Table 3)

A key finding indicated in Table 4 is that since 1960, the proportion of small towns in terms of numbers has declined from 92.7 per cent in 1960 to 83.3 per cent in 2000. Concurrent to this trend, the proportion of the urban population living in small towns decreased from 47.7 per cent in 1960 to 32.9 in 2000. Meanwhile the proportion of medium-sized towns increased from 5.2 per cent to 14 per cent while the proportion of urban dwellers also increased slightly from 19 per cent to 26.2 per cent in 1970, but decreased sharply to 13.8 per cent in 1984 and increased appreciably to 22.1 per cent in 2000. This clearly shows that medium sized towns experienced a decline in urbanisation during the period of economic difficulties of the 1970s and the early 1980s. It also suggests that the medium sized centres must have either borne the brunt of exodus of



Ghanaians to especially the neighbouring countries to seek greener pastures (as discussed in Section 2.0), or lost much of their population to the large and very large urban centres. It is also possible that these towns may have experienced more urban to rural migration during the period than the large and very large urban centres.

Ghana's urbanisation is more concentrated in and around large and very large urban centres, even though these settlements account for less than three per cent of all the towns in Ghana. Since 1960, towns classified as large towns, though constituting less than two per cent of all towns, have accounted for on average 11 per cent of the urban population. The notable exception being 1970 when this reduced to about 5 percent as shown in Table 3. Interestingly the proportion of urban population living in the very large urban centres has continued to increase from 21.7 per cent in 1960 to 34.1 per cent in 2000, with an all time high of 36.2 per cent in 1970. Consequently, as of 2000 the large and very large urban centres accounted for 45 per cent of the total urban population in Ghana.

Another model or concept of city size distribution is the concept of urban primacy (El-Shakhs 1972). This is typified by one large centre accounting for a very large share of the national urban population (or production etc) with no other centre approaching it in importance. Hall (1983) has used two alternative methods to measure primacy: the proportion of total national population recorded in the leading agglomeration, and secondly, the ratio between the first and the second agglomerations. Using these two indices it is found that the proportion of the population of Accra, the main urban centre in Ghana, to that of the whole nation, increased from 5.77 per cent in 1960 to 8.77 per cent in 2000 and decreased slightly to 8.42 per cent in 2010 (See Table 5 below).

**Table 5: Proportion of the Ghana's Population in Accra Metropolitan Assembly Area 1960-2010**

	Year				
	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010
Accra	338,396	636,667	969,195	1,658,937	2,076,552*
National Pop	6,727,000	8,559,000	12,296,000	18,912,000	24,658,832
Prop of National Pop in Accra (%)	5.77	7.44	7.88	8.77	8.42

Calculated from 1960-2010 Census Reports

\*Includes Population of Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal Assembly Area, which used to be part of AMA until recently

The primacy model appears to offer a more accurate depiction of Ghana's urban hierarchy than that provided by rank size or lognormal distribution models. However, Table 6 below indicates that Accra has historically been a little over one and half the size of its nearest counterpart Kumasi, and indeed this ratio has been falling since 1984. In 2010, Accra Metropolitan Assembly Area (AMA) only just had slightly more residents than the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Area (KMA). In light of these findings, there seems to be no serious problem of primacy at the national level, at least not in terms of population. It is rather in the economic sphere where the dominance of Accra and its neighbouring city, Tema, is most apparent (Berkoh 1975; Yankson 2006). A subject discussed below.

**Table 6: Ratio of population of Accra Metropolitan Area to Kumasi Metropolitan Area 1960-2010**

Year	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010
Accra Population	388,936	636,667	969,195	1,658,937	2,076,552*
Kumasi Population	218,172	346,336	496,628	1,170,270	2,035,064
Ratio Accra:Kumasi	1:1.78	1:1.84	1:1.95	1:1.42	1:1.02

Source: Computed from National Population Census data, 1960-2010 \*Actual population of Accra without the population of Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal Assembly Area which used to be part of AMA until recently is 1,848,614.

On the subject of urban primacy, Yankson (2006, p.10) draws attention to the significance of dynamics taking place in and around Accra and Tema which are witnessing fast growing suburban areas such as Ashiaman in the case of Tema, and Madina and Kasoa in the case of Accra. Ashiaman, with a population of 150,312 in 2000 was the fifth largest township in Ghana, and its population had increased to 190,972 in 2010. Madina, another dormitory town lying to the north of Accra has experienced a very rapid growth from 7,480 in 1970, through 28,364 in 1984 to 76,697 in 2000 and 79,832 in 2010. Towards the west of Accra two very fast growing townships are emerging, namely Kasoa, which in 1970 had a population of 863, saw an increase to 34,719 in 2000 and then 69,384 in 2010. Buduburam, a very well known refugee camp had only 40 people in 1984, 18,713 in 2000 and then 50,560 in 2010. Such rapid growth has a major impact on land and other natural resources of the city regions of Accra. Much of the suburban development is without adequate services and infrastructure. This has serious implications for metropolitan growth and management, and ultimately for national development (Yankson 2006, p.10).

Table 7 below shows the rate at which the fringe communities of Accra and Kumasi Metropolitan areas are growing. Initially, these were not towns but have grown to become towns. They are now rapidly expanding due to the spill over of their population into adjoining districts. Their rates of growth are far higher and above the growth rates of Accra (3.4%) and Kumasi (5.4%).

**Table 7: Growth Rates of Selected Fringe Communities of Accra and Kumasi, 1984-2000**

Accra		Kumasi	
Community	Growth Rate (%)	Community	Growth Rate (%)
Anyaa	37.5	Tikese	35.2
Awoshie	32.7	Oduom	25.8
Tantra	25.9	Daban	20.7
Lashibi	25.5	Ahenema-	16.3
Amanfrom	23.6	Kokobin	15.8
Gbawe	22.2	Atimatim	13.3
Ogbojo	22.1	Esereso	12.7
Ashaley-Botwe	21.1	Krofofrom	12.4
Taifa	20.3	Achiase	12.3
Adenta West	19.1	Maakro	11.8
Dome	16.9	Manhyia	11.7
Sakumono	16.7	Afrantuo	9.9
Ofankor	14.3	Ahwaa	9.8
New Achimota	14.0	Abuakwa	7.4
Pokuase	19.1	Fumesua	7.1
Ashaiman	6.8	Kwamo	6.3
Madina	6.2	Asaman	6.0
		Asuofua	
<b>City (Accra)</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>City (Kumasi)</b>	<b>5.4</b>

Source: (Boateng 2009; GSS 2012)

In the case of AMA, much of the new growth is occurring in what was formerly Ga District, which has now been split up into three local government units. Ga District was essentially a rural district to the north, northeast and west of Accra. Some of the urban developments have also occurred in the rural parts of Tema Municipal Assembly Area to the east, northeast and northwest of Tema city. Much of the growth in Ga District has occurred in urbanized areas, i.e. in the small settlements and towns along the main regional roads. The rapid development of essentially agricultural areas into housing and other non-agricultural land uses has been ascribed to many factors including economic liberalization and SAPs, which has indirectly contributed to the physical expansion of Accra (Grant & Yankson 2003). One of the effects of economic liberalization has been the housing sector 'boom'. Trade liberalization has permitted much easier access to many commodities, including building

materials, which has led to residential development in and around the indigenous villages in the peri-urban areas. Another issue is the movement of low-income tenants from the inner city areas to the fringe zones in search of cheaper rents. The effects of structural adjustment policies (SAP) on the housing market, the deepening poverty have all compelled low-income households and even some middle-income households to move out of the inner city area to the fringe communities in search of cheaper housing units.

Studies by Kasanga et al (1996), Moller-Jensen and Yankson (2008), Gough (1999), Gough and Yankson (1997; 2000) and Maxwell et al (1999) have examined the impact of urbanization on the fringe zones of Accra and Kumasi. Their findings indicate that alongside the examples of fast growing suburban areas, there has also been a slowing down in the growth of villages, particularly those situated away from principal access roads. These settlements have experienced increased levels of out-migration owing to rural poverty, lack of services, employment opportunities and the perceived economic benefits of urban centres. A clearly visible effect of this rapid sprawl-like development of the fringe zones of cities in Ghana has been conversion of agricultural and fallow land to housing and related infrastructure uses.

An outcome of rapid population growth, increasing urbanization and weak investment in the urban sector, is a scenario whereby urban infrastructure and services have proven to be inadequate, especially with regards to utility services provision, sanitation and waste management. Housing, which is broadly defined to include physical shelter, related services and infrastructure (such as water, electricity, roads, drainage, etc), appears to be inadequate both in terms of quality and quantity in all major Ghanaian towns. Due to the absence of required basic infrastructure and services, housing has tended to be reduced to shelter or living space only. In this instance, dwellings (physical shelter) tend to be built without regard to the environment and services needed to support their inhabitants (Government of Ghana 2010).

In the case of Accra, studies by Moller-Jensen and Yankson (2008) and Yankson et al. (2005), have employed remote sensing images (Landsat TM and Landsat ETM) and geographic information systems (RS/GIS) techniques to provide estimates of the extent of urbanization, as shown in Table 8 below. Table

8 shows that in 1985 the urban area of GAMA (comprising Accra Metropolitan Area, Tema Municipal Assembly Area and the Ga District) was 216 km<sup>2</sup>. This had increased to 276 km<sup>2</sup> in 1991, an increase of 60 km<sup>2</sup>. By 2002 the extent of the urbanized area had increased to 555km<sup>2</sup>, an increase of 279 km<sup>2</sup> since 1985. A study by Otoo et al. (2006) using a similar approach shows a 35 per cent increase in urban areas of AMA between 1985 and 2003.

**Table 8: Urban Growth of Greater Accra Metropolitan Area Between 1985 and 2002 Based on Satellite Derived Maps. The size of the transition Zone was Unavailable for 1985 and 1991**

Label	Year	Total Area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Growth in Period (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Yearly Growth in Period (Km <sup>2</sup> )
Urban	1985	216	-	-
Urban	1991	276	60	10
Urban	2002	555	279	25
Transition + Urban	2002	751	186	-

Source: (Yankson et al. 2005, p.5)

GAMA's rapid growth has not had the benefit of consistent and coordinated planning. Consequently, Accra's growth is fragmented (Larbi 1996), with an amorphous and largely inefficient urban form. The construction around Accra has been so extensive that the boundaries between AMA and the surrounding districts are blurring. The Strategic Plan for GAMA developed in the early 1990s (Ministry of Local Government 1992) with assistance from the World Bank has not been fully implemented. GAMA's current administrative framework comprises three separate and independent districts, with Accra, Tema and Ga having been split further into districts and municipalities. This has further impeded spatial planning. It also means that AMA has different planning elements and priorities than its largely peri-urban districts (Gough 1999). Much of the development in peri-urban Accra is taking place before any planning scheme has been prepared. In fact, no detailed spatial development plan has been prepared for the peri-urban districts, which have been neglected by

planners and aid agencies alike with severe consequences for the environment (Gough & Yankson 2012; Yankson & Bertrand 2012).

Alongside Accra and Kumasi, Ghana's two other most notable metropolitan areas are Tamale and Sekondi-Takoradi, both of which lag far behind Accra and Kumasi in terms of population size. Tamale and Sekondi-Takoradi have experienced differential growth rates. Tamale has witnessed a very fast rate of growth since 1948. From a small town of 17,787 in 1948, it grew rapidly from 40,443 in 1960 to about 136,000 in 1984 (Yankson 1992, p.65). Therefore between 1960 and 1984, the population of Tamale increased more than three fold. This increased again to 202,317 in 2000 and 371,351 in 2010. Tamale is the dominant urban centre in the three administrative regions of Northern Ghana namely: Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions. In 2010, Tamale had 7.2 times the population of the next biggest town in the Northern Region i.e. Yendi (51,727). This shows the extent of Tamale's primacy in the Northern Region.

The population of the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Area (STMA) was 105,491 in 1970, which increased to 184.9% to 300,524 by the year 2000. The metropolis grew by 5.4% per annum between 1970 and 1984 and 1.9% per annum between the years 1984 and 2000. This is against a regional growth rate of 2.9% per annum for 1970 to 1984, and 3.2% per annum for 1984 to 2000. The wide variation in the inter censal growth rate for STMA compared to the Western Region can be explained by the formers sensitivity to changes in population growth determinants such as migration. This low inter-censal growth rate is partly attributed to the fact that Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis has suffered from the decline of key economic activities between 1970 and 1984, such as timber processing (MEST 2011). However, similarly to developments taking place in GAMA, though to a lesser degree, the ramifications of inconsistent and uncoordinated planning are beginning materialise in the Tamale Metropolitan Area and more so in the STMA. This is likely to become more problematic in the future due to the discovery and development of the oil and gas industry in the Western Region's offshore deposits, placing Sekondi-Takoradi in the centre of this emerging industry.

The primacy situation becomes more nuanced when a cross regional analysis is undertaken. Table 9 below shows that apart from the Central, Brong-Ahafo, Volta, Eastern and Upper East regions, all the other regions are characterised by a primacy situation.

**Table 9: Extent of Primacy at the regional Level in Ghana 1960-2000\***

<b>Region</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>2000</b>
National	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.4
Western	9.1	10.6	8.0	9.4
Central	4.2	4.4	3.7	1.8
Greater Accra	14.3	6.2	5.1	4.7
Eastern	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.0
Volta	1.2	1.6	1.8	1.6
Ashanti	9.6	11.1	8.1	10.1
Brong Ahafo	1.1	1.7	1.4	1.1
Northern	3.6	4.5	5.5	5.0
Upper West	5.1	4.9	6.0	7.5
Upper East	2.3	1.9	1.1	1.0

\*Measured in terms of the ratio between the first and second largest urban centres in each region.

Source: Calculated from Data in 1984 Population Census of Ghana (Preliminary Report, CBS, Accra; Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) 2000 Population and Housing Census: Special Report on 20 Largest Localities, GSS, March 2002.

As Greater Accra has historically been the most urbanised region, and given that the city of Accra is the regional and national capital, it is perhaps unsurprising that has maintained a somewhat dominate position within Ghana's urban system. In 1960, Tema, the second largest urban centre was only a small settlement. With the construction of a new port and an accompanying township, Tema grew rapidly from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, and by 1970 this had led to the reduction of Accra's level of primacy by more than half. The decline in the level of primacy in the Greater Accra Region has continued up to the year 2000. In the case of the Western Region, Tarkwa, a mining town and the second largest urban centre in the region, experienced very slow growth. Thus although Sekondi-Takoradi itself grew rather slowly between 1960 and 1970, the level of primacy actually decreased rather than increased, and it slowed between 1970-



1984 before achieving an increased rate of growth leading up to 2000. The Ashanti Region has experienced a trend similar to that of the Western Region.

In the case of the Northern Region, Tamale, the regional capital has experienced one of the fastest growth rates experienced by any urban centre in the country post 1960. The population of Yendi, the second urban centre has not been as fast as that of Tamale, however there was a slight reduction in the primacy level between 1984 and 2000. Wa and the second urban centre Tumu dominate the Upper West Region, where the primacy level declined between 1960 and 1970 and increased between 1970 and 1984 (6.0) and again increased to 7.5 in 2000. The designation of Wa town as the capital of Upper West Region in the 1980s is likely to have contributed to its population growth and primacy situation.

#### **4 The growth and distribution of towns**

The drivers of urbanisation and urban growth are presented in this section. A historical approach is adopted to show the various factors that have operated in the past and their relative importance in contemporary Ghana.

##### ***The Pre-colonial era***

The spatial configuration of Ghana's urban centres can only be understood in the context of the country's temporal and spatial development. Dickson (1969, p.46) argued that before the period of formal colonial rule (from 1844), there was an urban culture in the forest belt of Ghana. This was the outcome of the socio-political organization of the kingdoms in the forest belt, particularly the Ashanti Kingdom. A hierarchy of settlements developed and towns acquired a primarily political and cultural role, thus the most important towns were the seats of important chiefs. Towns were also important trading centres, through which business transactions with kingdoms to the north of Ghana and via the trans-Saharan trade routes were conducted. Most of the towns developed in rich agricultural areas but mining also had a very important role to play in the development of towns. Gold mining has a long history, with artisanal gold mining being one of the mainstays of the numerous Akan states (Dumett 1979; Dumett 1998). Several towns linked to the Akan kingdoms and chieftaincies grew up

close to mining centres (Dumett 1998; Kea 1982). Gold is thought to have been central to the establishment of the Great Ashanti kingdom around 1700 (Ofosu-Mensah 2011; Gough & Yankson 2012).

Kumasi, the base of the Ashanti Kingdom, became the largest urban centre and obtained a status as an administrative, spiritual and commercial centre. Apart from gold, trading was also associated with the development of farming, livestock rearing, fishing, salt making and handicrafts. Although relatively small in size compared to the size of present day urban centres, towns were also central to the military operations of kingdoms in times of war (Kea 1982). In the coastal areas some inland settlements developed and these were important in the trade with Europeans on the coast. In this era, urban culture had not at all developed in present day Northern Ghana (Dickson, 1969). This delayed engagement with urban culture is in some respects still felt today, as northern Ghana is the least developed area with limited resources and it is also the least urbanized (Dickson 1968, pp.687–97; Ewusi 1976, pp.75–100). Thus it appears that the growth and distribution of Ghanaian towns both historically and contemporarily, is linked to the broader level of development found within the various regions. It must be noted, however, that empirical studies have yet to confirm the precise nature of the relationship between urbanization and economic development (Berry 1975).

### ***The colonial era***

The pre-colonial space economy was transformed during the colonial period. Ghana's colonial masters penetrated the hinterland and exploited the country's resources, a situation accompanied by increased trade and the development of transportation networks hitherto unseen during the pre-colonial era. Trade between the natives and Europeans along the coast led to the development of ports spanning the entire coastline. This instigated the development of coastal settlements, most of which became commercial, educational and administrative centres of the colonial government. Such settlements include present day towns such as Sekondi, Accra, Winneba, Axim, Saltpond and Keta (Dickson 1965, pp.98–111). These settlements attracted populations from their immediate hinterlands,

which indirectly led to the decline of some of the important inland settlements of the pre-colonial era.

In the interior, also known as the forest belt, villages began to develop into towns of considerable size. This was particularly true with regards to mining towns, which often contained modern infrastructural services. These towns include the present day gold mining towns of Obuasi, Tarkwa, Prestea, Bibiani and Konongo. Mining towns and their associated areas attracted migrants from all parts of the country, particularly from economically depressed and underdeveloped Northern Ghana. The fortunes of the gold mines influenced the rate of growth and pattern of development experienced by these towns. For instance, since the 1970s, Bibiani town has either suffered decline or minimal expansion in terms of its population, due largely to the intermittent closure of large-scale mining operations. Bibiani's population of 29,691 in 1970 declined to 10,182 in 1984 but doubled to 22,381 in 2000 but reduced to 18,517 in 2010. The recovery between 1984 and 2000 can be partly ascribed to the revival of the mining operation there by the Anglo-gold-Ashanti mining company, which acquired the old mining concession in the early 1990s. Conversely Obuasi, which has experienced consistent and very active gold-mining operations since the middle of the 1980s, has experienced rapid urbanization. Its population of 31,005 in 1970 had increased to 60,617 in 1984, and to 115,564 by 2000, making it the sixth largest town in Ghana at that time. Its population in 2010 was 143,644.

The expansion of cocoa cultivation from the late 19th century to the early 1920s facilitated the development of certain settlements as important cocoa collection centres, particularly in the cocoa-growing areas of the Eastern, Ashanti and Central Regions. For many of the towns in these regions development was tied to the fortunes of the cocoa industry. In the Central region, for instance, the development of Agona Swedru and Agona-Nyakrom from small villages to towns can be explained by their role as collecting centres for the cocoa industry (Dickson 1969). Similarly to settlements reliant on the gold mining industry, a decline in the cocoa industry had an adverse effect on the region, except for those towns that performed administrative/political functions in addition to being cocoa collection centres.

The colonial administration's investment strategy, particularly infrastructure investment, was aimed at facilitating the operation of the colonial economy. A significant aspect of urbanization during the colonial period was the movement of the colonial capital from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 (Grant & Yankson 2003). The pre-eminence of Accra in the urbanization of Ghana has its roots in this move. Much of the investments in infrastructure were concentrated in the southern part of the country, where all the exploitable resources of interest to the colonialist at the time were located. The transportation network initially extended inland from the coastal ports and trading centres to sources of exploitable resources. It was then extended to other areas enabling the colonial administration to establish effective control over the territory now known as Ghana.

The influence of the railway system is particularly noteworthy. The construction of the railway line from the port of Sekondi reaching Tarkwa in 1901, Obuasi in 1903, and Prestea in 1910 (Dickson 1969) primarily facilitated movement of machinery and other inputs for the mining industry. Thus areas with little or no economic prospects were generally neglected. This was partly the case with northern Ghana, which in addition to being neglected because of its poor resource base, had the few economic activities that sustained its key towns disrupted by wars, particularly the Anglo-Ashanti wars of the late 19th century and Anglo-German rivalries in the area. Towns such as Kintampo and Salaga, the two most important trading centres in the Savannah belt during the era were the hardest hit. In the mid 20th century a select few settlements grew to become important towns and administrative centres, such as Yendi, Gambaga, Tamale and Wa (Dickson 1968; Dickson 1969).

### ***Independence to the mid 1980s***

Ghana, like most developing countries with colonial experience, emerged from the period of colonial rule (in the late 1950s) characterised by serious functional and spatial disparities. The country's first post independence government attempted to reverse these conditions by adopting a top-down development strategy. For administrative effectiveness, and also to strengthen national unity after independence, new administrative regions and districts were created and

in this exercise some settlements became new administrative centres. Examples are Bolgatanga and Sunyani, which have developed from small settlements to sizeable ones and are now the regional capitals of Upper East and Brong Ahafo Regions respectively. This period is often categorised as Ghana's 'national urbanisation phase', because development was relatively insulated from the global economy and largely influenced by local and national forces, especially government national development policies (Otiso & Owusu 2008; Gough & Yankson 2012).

The post independence government's strategy was steeped in the era's prevailing economic rationales (Yankson 2006). Investment was diverted to capital intensive industries located in urban centres. It was hoped that this strategy would stimulate other sectors of the economy, and that growth impulses would trickle down to rural and peripheral zones. Much of this investment was made in southern Ghana, which is already relatively more developed in comparison to other regions. State-led industrialisation affected the three urban agglomerations in southern Ghana; Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, where government industrial estates provided the infrastructure and services needed to attract manufacturing firms. Thus job opportunities from the manufacturing sector were enhanced within what is often described as a 'golden triangle' with Accra-Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi forming the base, and Kumasi as the apex.

The major infrastructural projects such as the Volta river hydroelectric projects, the Tema harbour and new town project in the late 1950s and early 1960s, necessitated the implementation of population resettlement schemes. The creation of Tema as the industrial hub of Ghana made Accra-Tema an attractive destination for migrants from all over Ghana, but most especially from the regions adjoining greater Accra (Benneh et al. 1990). Other regional capitals, including Tamale, did not benefit from the same state-led industrialisation.

Ghana adopted a four-tier growth pole strategy in the 1970s, and in 1975 regional development corporations were established in all the administrative regions. These corporations established a range of ventures which further contributed to the growth of existing urban settlements such as Cape Coast, Koforidua, Tamale, Ho (Yaro et al. 2011; Gough & Yankson 2012). Public

investment- particularly within the 'golden triangle' to address matters such as housing, education and health, made these urban environments more attractive to migrants. From the late 1950s through to the mid 1980s, the state was heavily involved in housing production, mainly via state institutions such as the Tema Development Corporation (TDC) and the State Housing Corporation (SHC). The two institutions constructed 24,000 single household dwellings between 1957 and 1990 (Tipple & Korboe 1998).

State financial institutions such as the State Insurance Corporation (SIC), the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), and the First Ghana Building Society (FGBS), were also encouraged to invest in low-cost housing. However, the majority of beneficiaries were relatively well off and/or formal sector employees (Tipple & Korboe 1998). The state's active involvement in housing provision continued throughout the 1970s under the various military regimes of the time. Special mention can be made of the construction of low-cost houses in district and regional administrative capitals under General I.K. Acheampong's Supreme Military Council (SMC) regime.

### ***From the mid-1980s to the present***

Ghana's economic downturn started in the late 1960s and reached its pinnacle in 1983. To offset these economic setbacks the country had to adopt the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) (1983-86), followed by SAP. These policies were implemented to restore macro-economic stability and growth. In the view of Grant and Nijman (2004) and Otiso and Owusu (2008) this marked the beginning of Ghana's incorporation into the modern global economy. The SAPs promoted economic liberalization, and a general restructuring of the state's role in the economy. This had spatial and sectoral effects, most notably by reinforcing the existing concentration of economic activities and investments in large cities, especially Accra (Grant and Yankson 2003).

There have been two salient consequences of liberalisation on the urban housing market. Firstly, the expatriate communities residing in Ghanaian cities, particularly in Accra, have increased in size, which along with an expanding middle class has intensified pressure on housing (Fernandez et al. 1998; Tipple

et al. 1999). Secondly, the liberalisation of the financial sector has enabled foreign currency transactions, and much of the money originates from Ghanaians working abroad. This can and often is used for investment in real estate. Research indicates that in 1996 Ghana received US\$ 276 million in remittances from abroad (Briggs & I. Yeboah 2001; Yankson & Bertrand 2012). House building also attracts investment from middle-income Ghanaians seeking to insulate their savings from inflation (Fernandez et al. 1998). Consequently, house-building has been a driving force in the expansion of Accra with individuals prepared to utilize areas that are not yet serviced in anticipation of future service provision, and to speculate on the lower land cost in these areas (Briggs & Yeboah 2001, p.21). It is estimated that up to 50 per cent of all buildings erected since the introduction of SAPs were constructed without building permits (Yeboah 2000). Much of the residential development at the urban fringes of Accra has been rapid and uncontrolled, with serious consequences for land and environmental management of the fringe zone of the metropolitan area.

Economic liberalisation has also given impetus to increased commercial and service activities in the major cities (cf Ruf 2007). This has been translated into increased demand for land with accompanying land-use change, especially from residential to commercial and services (Yankson 2006). In Accra, the Abossey-Okai area offers a typical example of land-use change associated with the era of SAPs. The area has seen a significant rise in the number of shops, entertainment venues, fast food restaurants, communication and commercial points. Unplanned markets have emerged along the major thoroughfares, often in front of houses and other vantage points in what are primarily highly built-up areas (Yankson 2006, p. 25).

The infrastructure development projects that accompanied liberalisation also provided support for urban development. For example, the series of World Bank urban initiatives (Urban 1-5) implemented to support infrastructure and capacity building of the metropolitan, regional centres and selected district capitals, entailed major road construction around Accra to improve connectivity (World Bank 2000). In addition, the Kotoka International Airport and Port of Tema improvement projects were designed to promote linkages with the global

economy as part of the 'Gateway Project'. Bertrand (2010) has critiqued these policies by highlighting how the focus on highways was often associated with a desire to showcase international investment. This often came at the expense of developing secondary roads and improving public transportation provision, which also play an important role in ensuring the transport system functions effectively.

The 'Gateway Project' also incorporated the establishment of Export Processing Zones in Accra-Tema, and other major urban centres to attract foreign direct investment into the manufacturing sector (Grant and Yankson 2003). The government's aim is for the country to attract foreign and domestic investment through a comprehensive private sector-led development strategy. Thus these and other factors influenced the pattern urban development by encouraging growth in the metropolitan areas and to a lesser extent other urban centres, particularly in resource-rich areas such as the Ashanti and Western Regions.

## **5 Urban population growth and migration**

This section provides an overview of the major factors influencing urban population change in contemporary Ghana, and examines the different components of urban population growth. The role of migration receives special treatment.

The change in a town's population is generally attributed to three demographic processes; the reclassification of settlements, migration, and natural increase, which refers to a surplus of births over deaths (Addo 1972, p.244). Reclassified settlements are those that cross a population threshold beyond which they are classified as towns and not rural settlements. In Africa between 1950 and 1980, the share of reclassification in urban population growth was 26.4%. This means that, in 1980, more than one in four new African urban dwellers lived in an agglomeration that was classified as rural in the preceding 30 years (Beauchemin & Bocquier 2004). In the case of Ghana, the reclassification threshold is a population of 5000 people. Table 3 shows that Ghana had 215 very small towns in the year 2000. Many of these were villages that crossed the population threshold and become towns. In these cases natural



increase seems to be a very important factor, particularly for very small towns, most of which have simply progressed from being very big villages into small towns.

The link between migration and urbanization within Africa is widely acknowledged, yet the process of urbanization from a demographic point of view is more complex than a simple rush of migrants from rural to urban areas. Furthermore, the contribution of migration and reclassification to urban growth appears to be decreasing. According to the GEOPOLIS database, two-thirds of urban growth in West Africa was due to migration and reclassification in the 1960s, and only one-third in the 1990s (Bocquier & Traoré 2000; Beauchemin & Bocquier 2004). In the case of Ghana, in-migration/internal migration was perhaps the most important factor when accounting for the population expansion of Ghana's major urban centres between 1948 and 1970. On the basis of analysis of population movements and characteristics, Engmann (1972) identified two main demographic areas in Ghana. The first area or region includes all areas west and south of the Volta River. The second includes all areas east and north of the Volta River. The first region accounted for over 90 per cent of the total absolute population gain between 1948 and 1960, a situation attributed to economic circumstances. The second area is generally characterized by population loss and stagnation, due to being the source region for much of the unskilled labour needed for the development of the first region. Table 10 shows the growth of urban population due to migration and natural increase between 1948 and 1984.

**Table 10: Growth in Urban Population Due to Migration and Natural Increase, 1948-1984**

Region	% Growth in Urban Population					
	Due to Migration			Due to Natural Increase		
	1948-1960	1960-1970	1970-1984	1948-1960	1960-1970	1970-1984
All Regions	97.7	54.5	18.3	2.3	45.5	81.7
Western	95.4	27.1	-124.6	4.6	72.9	224.6
Central	96.7	-32.5	-126.3	3.3	132.5	226.3
Greater Accra	97.7	66.1	17.4	2.3	33.9	82.6
Eastern	98.2	33.7	12.2	1.8	66.3	87.8
Volta	98.8	42.8	30.5	1.2	57.2	69.5
Ashanti	97.2	53.5	15.1	2.8	46.5	84.9
Brong-Ahafo	99.7	67.8	47.8	0.3	32.2	52.2
Northern	96.9	77.9	48.4	3.1	22.1	51.6
Upper West		43.7	63.3	2.5*	56.3	36.7
Upper East	97.5*	62.3	58.9		37.7	41.1

\*Include Upper West and Upper East Regions

Source: i Ghana Population Census Reports: 1948, 1960, Vol. 2 and 3; 1970 Vol. 2 and 3 and 1984 Report. ii de Graft-Johnson, K.T., " International and Internal Migration in Ghana", The Demographic Transition in Tropical Africa, pp 81-89, 1971. Table taken from Demographic Studies and Projections for Accra Metropolitan Area (AMA) (A Report prepared by the Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana to Government of Ghana/UNDP/UNCHS, July 1990, Table 3.7, P 39)

Table 10 shows that between 1948 and 1960 migration was the main source of urban growth in all Ghanaian regions. This was also the case for several regions between 1960 and 1970, noticeable exceptions being the Central and Western Regions. After 1970 natural increase took over as the key cause of urban growth for all the regions, especially in the Western and Central Regions, noticeable exceptions being the Upper East and Upper West Regions. Table 11 shows that overall, natural increase in towns is the main factor of urban growth in Ghana even within the last decade.

**Table 11: Ghanaians resident in urban localities and where they were born in 2000**

	<b>All Localities</b>	<b>Locality of enumeration</b>	<b>Other localities (same region)</b>	<b>Another region in Ghana</b>	<b>Other ECOWAS</b>	<b>Other African countries</b>	<b>Outside Africa</b>
Frequency (population)	7,569,448	4,793,007	789,729	1,886,643	55,008	24,286	20,705
%	100.0	63.3	10.4	24.9	0.73	0.34	0.37

Source: Computed from Ghana Statistical Service (2005): 2000 Population and Housing Census of Ghana-Demographic, Economic and Housing Characteristics-Total Country Table 8 p 24

Table 11 shows that 63.3 per cent of all Ghanaians residing in urban localities in 2000 were born there. The rest were born elsewhere (about 37 per cent). Almost 25 per cent of them were born in regions outside the administrative regions in which they were living in 2000. Beauchemin and Bocquier (2004) propose that migration's declining influence in West African urbanisation is due to the gradual increase in the urban population when compared to the rural population. As the disparities in rural and urban populations diminish, the number of migrants contributing to urban growth decreases, even though the probability of out-migration from the rural areas may remain the same. In addition, Beauchemin and Bocquier attribute migration's contribution to urban growth as a reactionary adjustment to a depressed economy. The case of Ghana in this respect has already been presented above, however it remains worthwhile to consider who has been migrating to the city? Where have they been migrating from? Why do people move to cities and have the reasons changed over time? Where in the city have they been moving to?

West Africa has a long history of population mobility, both regionally and internationally (Bakewell & De Haas 2007), and movement from rural to urban areas has traditionally dominated migratory flows. In Ghana this movement was often circular and contained elements of sex selectivity. A survey conducted in 1995 found that 53 per cent of all out migrants were males (GSS 1995). The dominance of males over females, at least in the initial phase of migration, had implications for the fertility and family formation of urban areas, as most out-

migrants were young and unmarried. Moreover, most of those who married before migrating alone, often requested that their families and relatives join them at later date (Yankson 1995). This pattern has changed as traditional male-dominated short to long-distance migratory streams in West Africa are being increasingly feminized. A fundamental characteristic of contemporary rural-urban migration is the shift from circular and male dominated movements, to one which has become more permanent, and includes children, independent females and/or large family units (Porter et al. 2011; Riddell 1980; Yaro et al. 2011).

Independent female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in the sub-region. This is evident in Ghana where the dominant migration stream is from north to south, and increasingly involves female youths moving independently of their families and towards the cities of Accra and Kumasi (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008; Clark & Manuh 1991; Grieco et al. 1996). These young female migrants, often from Ghana's three northern regions, move to markets and other commercial areas in the cities where they serve as *kayayei*- girl porters who carry goods on their heads for a negotiated fee (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008; Oberhauser & M. Yeboah 2011). The major reasons given for this migration include; poverty, lack of employment opportunities in origin regions, the need to purchase requirements for preparation towards marriage, and other socio-cultural factors (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008; Oberhauser & M. Yeboah 2011).

The circulation of children and youth in Ghana and West Africa more generally is also well documented (Chant & Jones 2005; Hashim 2005; Manzo 2005; Ruf 2007). In Ghana, it is estimated that in 1998 as many as sixteen percent of rural households and fifteen percent of urban ones contained children under fifteen living without their parents (Pilon 2003 cited in Hashim 2005, p.21). Migrant children are highly vulnerable to the possibility that the household in which they are placed may become unable to accommodate them (Hashim 2007). Adjacent to 'cultural placement' there have been increasing occurrences of children and youth migrating to urban areas independently and contributing to the issue of street children, with reports and studies referring to this phenomenon as 'streetism'. Streetism has been associated with concerns

regarding the exploitative use of child labour. For instance, in August 2000, Ghana's Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare reported that there were about 18,000 children working in Accra (see also Chant & Jones 2005).

A Ghana Child Labour study conducted in 2003 reported that of the children who migrated voluntarily, 46 per cent did so independently of their family. These children all fall within the 5-17 year old age bracket, and had little or no education (see also Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008). While most young migrants do move to urban areas primarily to look for employment, acquire skills or both (Hashim 2005), studies often play down young people's desire to better their education as a motivating factor to migrate (GSS 1995; cf Hashim 2005; Langevang 2008). Yet one of the reasons often given by young people for migrating is the desire to improve their educational attainment (Hashim 2007). This is because despite government attempts to ensure free primary and junior secondary education (Osei 2004), it is not unusual for Ghanaian children to be sent from rural to urban households to help them secure their primary education, particularly if their own household is unable to meet the costs and has access to suitable networks (Hashim 2007; Hashim 2005). This practice, referred to as 'educational fostering', is one of the key ways in which Ghanaian children and youth migrate from rural to urban areas (Hashim 2005). Very often these young people undertake this form of migration in order to satisfy household labour shortages. In return their school fees or access to a better school are offered as 'compensation' for their labour (Hashim 2005; Hashim 2007).

Ackah and Medvedev (2012), drawing on a recently-assembled nationally-representative sample of Ghanaian households, argue that Ghanaian migrants are influenced by a combination of individual (pull) and community-level (push) characteristics. They propose that younger and more educated individuals have a higher likelihood of migrating. Conversely, communities with higher levels of educational attainment, higher rates of subsidized medical care, and better access to water and sanitation are less likely to produce migrants (Ackah & Medvedev 2012). Furthermore, households with migrants are more likely to be better off than households that do not have migrants, even after controlling for the fact that households with migrants are a non-random sample

of Ghanaians. Significantly, this positive relationship is only true for households with at least one migrant in an urban area (Ackah & Medvedev 2012). This is connected to an important and often over looked reason why people migrate to urban areas, despite the lack of formal wage employment and even prospects for employment in the informal economy, the existence of a family-based support system. Family networks help new in-migrants settle upon arrival in a town. The results of a survey on migration (GSS 1995; Yankson 1995) showed that sixty-four per cent of all in-migrants indicated that they had relatives and friends living in their destinations before they moved there. Eighty-nine per cent of them were helped by these relatives and friends to settle down. The majority were provided with lodging and food (84%) while others received help in looking for accommodation (5.5%) and work (4.2%).

### ***Urban to rural linkages***

As indicated in above, Ghanaians like other West African migrants tend to maintain strong ties with their rural communities, and these ties are expressed in both economic and non-economic terms (Adepoju 1995; Brunet et al. 1994). During the course of their migratory careers, Ghanaian migrants usually visit home periodically, provide social support for newly arrived migrants from home places, and send cash and consumer items to families at home (Ungruhe 2010; Van Der Geest 2010). A study found that 46 per cent of Ghanaian migrants returned home either yearly and/or occasionally, while 22 per cent of migrants residing in urban areas visited home once every three months (GSS 1995). The study also found that migrants in urban destinations often belong to migrant unions, and make contributions by cash and in kind to the development of their home areas e.g. sponsoring and financing water, road, and health-related projects (GSS 1995; Yankson 1995). These unions unite members outside their home of origin by bringing them under one umbrella, and offer a forum to help one another in times of need. Furthermore, they provide means to engage in familiar rural practices in urban environments e.g urban agriculture (Brunet et al. 1994).

Migrant unions, also known as hometown associations, play a key role in maintaining urban/rural linkages, however home visitation is often the

connecting medium through which gifts, constructions of status, new ideas and cultural practices flow between migrants on the one hand, and their kinsmen and friends at home on the other (Ungruhe 2010; Le Bris 1978). In addition to visits, migrants are expected to remit home. Remittances and other monetary transfers demonstrate the intimate socio-economic ties between migrants and their home (Coe 2011; Coe 2008). It is not uncommon for migrants to avoid visiting home, and their reticence is often linked to an inability or disinclination to meet financial and other obligations awaiting them upon return (Ungruhe 2010; Van Der Geest 2010). There is significant pressure on Ghanaian migrants to support their families, especially if their families helped them adjust to urban life by sending goods such as foodstuffs and financial aid. This resonates with research that had shown that remittance of money has been an institutionalized feature of migration in West Africa more generally. Studies by Caldwell (1969), Adepouju (1974; 1987) and Oucho and Mukras (1983) among others, have amply documented the prevalence of urban to rural transfer of earnings.

The results of a migration research study (GSS 1995) show that a sizeable proportion of Ghanaian return migrants (37%) and in-migrants (35%) did send money and goods to their relatives and friends in their home area. Most return migrants used to remit monthly while the majority of in-migrants remitted quarterly, yearly or on request. Money sent was used mainly to supplement family income or for their upkeep, for education of children and other family members, and also for investment in farmland and other properties. On the other hand about a tenth (11%) of all return migrants (79% of who were in urban areas) did receive money or goods from their households back home while they were away. These came mainly from parents (58%), siblings and other relatives (39%). The support was largely to help them meet living expenses, and school expenses in the case of students (Yankson 1995).

It is also important to note that urban to rural linkages are not expressed solely in economic terms (Abdul-Korah 2007; Ungruhe 2010; Van Der Geest 2010). It also involves the movement of ideas, trends and practices. As Ungruhe observed, 'moving to a city and returning with symbols of success is part of the rural cultural practices of youths' (2010, p.268). For example, Abdul-Korah (2008) highlights how since the 1930s, male youth from Dagaaba in upper

western Ghana have gone to southern cities and returned with 'modern' European goods e.g. bicycles and radios. In addition to these items, they also brought back alternative cultural practices and dispositions. In periods where symbolic material items were in short supply, the motives for migration were still imbued with notions of character formation and a struggle for elevated social status and recognition among ones peers (Abdul-Korah 2007; Ungruhe 2010). This is still prevalent in contemporary Ghana, and discourses of 'adventure', 'seeing the world', as well as the belief that urban environments offer a means for males to acquire social status enhancing dispositions capable of making them more attractive to young women upon their return, are frequently mentioned among young migrants (Abdul-Korah 2007; Ungruhe 2010, p.265).

## **6 Urban livelihoods**

A livelihood refers to the means by which individuals procure an income to sustain themselves, and comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities for maintaining this stream of income. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shock, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Conway 1992). The functions performed by Ghanaian towns offer clues regarding the different livelihood forms occurring within them. In Ghana, most towns perform administrative, political, commercial and cultural functions. Only a few urban centres have an appreciable amount of manufacturing taking place. The manufacturing or industrial functions are concentrated in the country's three main urban agglomerations, namely: Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. Greater Accra is the dominant region in terms of operational manufacturing units and employment. Small-scale manufacturing, artisanal and service units can be found in the regional capitals and other urban centres.

The Ghanaian urban sector has struggled to recover from the economic downturn that began in the middle of the 1960s and continued into the 1980s (Konadu-Agyemang 2000). In periods of economic downturn, the urban sector was unable to offer adequate productive wage employment. Consequently, unemployment has and continues to be a major problem in urban Ghana,



particularly for the youth (Overa 2007; Rolleston & Okech 2008). The problem of urban unemployment in Ghana was highlighted as early as the late 1960s, when Peil (1969) discussed the issue in relation to Tema and Ashiaman. Ntim (1974) also estimated the magnitude of urban unemployment between 1960 and 1968, and showed that incidence of urban unemployment was more pronounced in larger urban centres, particularly Accra. Studies and thus data focusing specifically on the economies of Ghanaian towns are lacking. Apart from Dickson's (1972) study, which is rather general in content, the most detailed case study on a specific town is that of Hinderink and Sterkenburg (1975) on Cape Coast. The survey showed that Cape Coast performed mainly administrative, educational and service activities. However, a broader study of 36 small and medium-sized towns in Ghana found these towns to be primarily commercial in nature, and engaged with mainly retail, small-scale production and repair activities (Thomi & Yankson 1985).

It has been argued that the majority of Ghanaian towns have not grown economically (Yankson 2006), and that the poor performance of the manufacturing and industrial base of even large towns are partly to blame for this situation (Aryeetey & Harrigan 2000; Asante & Addo 1993; Yankson 2006). However it is important to acknowledge that the programme of retrenchment and redeployment as a direct consequence of Ghana's economic recovery programme (ERP) and SAP, also had a detrimental impact on urban employment, especially in the public sector (Overa 2007; Langevang & Gough 2009). The implementation of these economic policies left large numbers of public sector workers and civil servants jobless, and removed a key employer of educated workers located in major urban centres (Chant & Jones 2005; Konadu-Agyemang 2000; Langevang & Gough 2009; Osei 2004; Overa 2007). This was particularly damaging in Ghana because the expansion of educational provision coincided with falling labour demands, in the aftermath of structural adjustment retrenchment during the late 1980s and early 1990s (Rolleston & Okech 2008). The divestiture of some state-owned enterprises rendered significant numbers of people unemployed (ISSER 2007). Moreover, competition from cheaper imports caused sectors of the manufacturing industry to collapse, especially the textile and the garment sub-sectors (Ackah et al. 2012). Unfortunately, service

sectors such as finance and telecommunications, considered to be the driving force of modern economic growth, have low labour absorption capacity (Ackah & Baah Boateng 2012).

The informal economy is currently the main source of employment for a large proportion of Ghana's population (Overa 2007). The concept of an informal sector entered the development literature in the early 1970s, when Hart (1973) used it to describe the part of the urban labour force which contributes to 'the mass of economic transactions that takes place beyond effective state control (Hart 2000 cited in Overa 2007, p.653). The concept acknowledges ways of earning a living that fall outside the formal wage economy, either as an alternative, or as a means of supplementing income earned within it (Bromley & Gerry 1979). The term was popularized by the World Bank and the International Labour Office in its report on employment in Kenya (ILO 1972). Informality in this report is said to be characterised mainly by the avoidance of government regulations and taxes. It conceptualized the informal economy as being characterised by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small-scale of operation, labour intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside formal education/training systems and unregulated and competitive markets. It related the growth of the informal sector to its positive effects on employment opportunities and the distribution of income.

The informal sector's share of Ghana's total employment is estimated to be as low as 69% (GSS 2012) and as high as 89% (Yankson et al. 2001 cited in Overa 2007, p.543). As Overa and others have noted, it is often hard to differentiate formal from informal activities in Ghana, and interactions between informal enterprises and the state are littered with paradoxes (ibid 2007, p. 543). For example, it is not uncommon for self-employed people to register their enterprises yet not pay taxes, meanwhile unregistered street traders operating in public marketplaces may be heavily taxed. Moreover, even untaxed activities are frequently under some kind of government influence through payment of fees, police control and exclusion from particular areas. Thus many economic activities involving the self-employed take place at 'the formal-informal interface' (Over 2007, p. 543). It is, therefore, argued that Ghanaians hold rather

abstract and somewhat fluid notions of the formal and informal sector binary, a rigid demarcation which makes little sense in a context where people have always combined incomes from both sectors according to their needs (Overa 2007).

In recent years most African governments, including Ghana's, have altered their attitude towards the informal economy from one of neglect and even repression, to one of tolerance and promotion. This change of tact is in line with the 'disengagement from the state' approach proposed by the World Bank, the ILO, and other international institutions promoting neoliberal reform in sub-Saharan Africa (Meagher 2005; Overa 2007). In this view the informal economy is fêted for its potential to stimulate employment and economic growth (Overa 2007). The promotion of entrepreneurialism as a feature of contemporary development policy (see Langevang et al. 2012), is perhaps an extension of this perspective. In the past, Ghanaian operators and businesses involved in the informal economy were lucky to be ignored, and many were harassed as they tried to create room within the urban space economy for their enterprises. Despite the increasingly positive attitude towards the informal economy, it is yet to be properly integrated into the formal economy or within the urban management and planning system. In order to facilitate integration policy makers will need to provide informal enterprises with suitable accommodation, infrastructure and environmental services within the urban space economy (Yankson 2000a).

There are currently several informal economic activities that have been identified as taking place in urban Ghana, and these are categorized as follows (Yankson 2000a, p.318);

- Urban agriculture and other primary activities, such as mining and quarrying (including sand winning and stone cracking for construction purposes)
- Petty-commodity production and service enterprises, including small-scale manufacturing, handicrafts and repair services
- Small-scale enterprises in construction sector and, in particular, the construction of housing units and related activities
- Retail enterprises, including small-shops and hawking units

- Transport services

In the case of urban agriculture, a study of open-space farming in Accra (Yankson 2000b) found that that majority of farm units covered in the study belonged to men rather than women. Moreover, urban farming in Accra does not seem to attract young people, as only 10 per cent of the farmers interviewed were below 30 years of age, with the majority (68%) more than 40 years old. Only 30 per cent of the farmers had received no formal education, while 40 per cent had attained primary level education, and 24 per cent had received secondary/technical/vocational levels of education. The farmers had varied employment experiences, but 32 per cent of those interviewed had always been farmers because they had had no other employment opportunities. Others went into farming to supplement their incomes from their main occupations such as self-employment (19%), civil/public service (10%), security service (17%) and teaching service (4%). The study found that urban farming was not practised exclusively or even primarily by recent rural to urban migrants. Most of the participants (67%) were migrants who had moved into metropolitan Accra before the end of the 1970s. The farmers covered in the study had been farming in Accra for very long periods, with only 35 per cent of them having been doing so for less than 10 years. Availability of virtually free land coupled with financial difficulties was said to encourage people to undertake urban farming in Accra.

In comparison to urban agriculture, street trading is more heterogeneous, and a variety of people use the streets and pavements for commercial purposes. This includes but is not limited to: traders who use particular sites on pavements and sidewalks on a permanent and semi-permanent basis; and traders who do not have permanent sites but who are mobile and carry their wares from one spot to the other in search of customers. These activities frequently spill onto the roads and create conflict with pedestrians, vehicular and non-vehicular traffic.

The case of female porters working informally, described above, and they are part of the street-trading phenomenon. However, in addition to the young females migrating from the northern regions, the general unemployed, rural-urban migrants, and school-leavers of both genders are increasingly seeking employment in the urban informal economy, undertaking what Ghanaians

traditional considered 'female' occupations i.e. street trading (Overa 2007, p.539). This change in the demographic of street traders is perhaps why a study by Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008) investigating Accra's major trading areas (Makola, Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Kaneshie and Osu) found that males dominated the sample, while an unrelated study by Yankson (2007) sampled more females relative to males. Overa (2007, p.542) has observed four gender related consequences of informalisation in Ghana. First, the definition of the food trade as a feminine activity is becoming more blurred as unemployed young men, lacking other opportunities. Second, barriers against women's entry into formal employment are higher than ever (Manuh 1994: 69) hence female traders face competition not only from men but also from the women who previously either earned their own wages or were provided for by wage-earning husbands. Third, the consequent overcrowding in women's informal economic domains is combined with their customers' reduced purchasing power, which means that their profit potential is reduced. Fourth, when husbands are unemployed or underemployed, a high proportion of women's earnings are spent on household expenses instead of being accumulated and used as investment and working capital. Unlike in many other African countries, the consequence of SAPs in Ghana is not that women are forced to enter the informal labour market (since they were already highly present there), but that their incomes are reduced and they can rely on male support to an even lesser degree than before (ibid 2007, p.542).

One-third of the respondents in Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah's study (2008) were in the age group of 18-25 years. In central Accra, about 40 per cent and 55 per cent were in the age groups 15-24 and 25-44 years respectively (Yankson 2007). The majority of respondents in the two studies referred to above had a basic (primary/junior secondary school) level education. In the central Accra study, while 19 per cent of the sampled street traders had not had any formal education at all, about 72 per cent of such traders were women. Both studies showed that street traders in Accra were not predominantly recent migrants. In the case of central Accra about 54 per cent of all the sampled traders had lived in Accra for at least 5 years while 46 per cent were recent migrants who had lived

in Accra for less than 5 years. Similarly, Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008) found that more than one-third of the vendors had lived in the city for more than 10 years and most of the vendors were migrants from various regions of the country.

## **7 Conclusion and emerging issues**

This report has provided an overview of urbanisation in Ghana, and contributed to our understanding of city dynamics in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa by addressing five key areas, namely; urban growth trends, changes in the urban hierarchy, the role of migration, rural-urban linkages and urban livelihoods.

The change in a town's population is generally attributed to three demographic processes; the reclassification of settlements, migration, and natural increase, which refers to a surplus of births over deaths (Addo 1972, p.244). In the case of Ghana, in-migration/internal migration was perhaps the most important factor when accounting for the population expansion of Ghana's major urban centres between 1948 and 1970. Urban growth in Ghana was most rapid between 1948 and 1960, and this period experienced the fastest national population growth, peaking at 9.3 per cent. The rate of urban growth then slowed to an annual average rate of 3.2 per cent per annum between 1960 and 1984. The economic hardship facing Ghana during this period played a significant role in the declining rate of urbanisation. After 1970, natural increase took over as the key cause of urban growth for all the regions, especially in the Western and Central Regions, noticeable exceptions being the Upper East and Upper West Regions.

The primacy model appears to offer a more accurate depiction of Ghana's urban hierarchy than that provided by rank size or lognormal distribution models. The most striking aspect of urbanisation in Ghana is the overwhelming concentration of towns in the administrative regions in southern Ghana. Ghana's urbanisation is concentrated in and around large and very large urban centres, even though these settlements account for less than three per cent of all the towns in Ghana. Conversely, the settlement pattern of the Northern and Upper Regions of the country are dominated by rural settlements. Greater Accra is the most urbanised administrative region with as much as 90.5 per cent of its

population in urban centres. Similarly to Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, the Ashanti region is dominated by key urban settlements, in this case Kumasi, which is the second largest agglomeration in Ghana after GAMA (Korboe & Tipple 1995). The medium level of the urban hierarchy is weak and small and medium-sized urban centres seem to have lost population to the metropolitan areas and emigration.

The tendency of Ghanaian urban settlements to cluster around the metropolitan areas has serious implications for natural resource management, especially with regards to land and water. Alongside this clustering, increasing instances of urban sprawl are creating several issues of concern for residents and policy makers alike, such as; haphazard and fragmented spatial development, loss of agricultural land and resources for outdoor recreation, increasing instances of poverty in peri-urban areas and an outmigration of their residents (Agyei-Mensah & G. Owusu 2009; Larbi 1996; Gough & Yankson 2012). Despite the continued prevalence of outmigration, natural increase has become a key cause of urban growth alongside the rural-urban migration traditionally witnessed during the 1970s. Furthermore, the pattern of migration has changed somewhat, with young female migrants, especially from the northern parts of the country, and children very much present in the city-ward migration stream (see Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandorf 2008; Kwankye et al. 2009; Langevang & Gough 2012; Oberhauser & M. Yeboah 2011).

Urban Ghanaian migrants often maintain strong ties with their home (rural) communities, and these ties are expressed in economic and non-economic terms. Migrant unions in urban centres are found to play an important role in maintaining urban to rural linkages. Nonetheless, home visitation is usually the connecting medium through which gifts, constructions of status, new ideas and cultural practices flow between migrants on the one hand, and their family and friends at home on the other. In addition to visits, migrants are typically expected to send remittances back home, and face significant pressure to do so. However it is also important to note that urban to rural linkages are not expressed solely in economic terms (Abdul-Korah 2007; Ungruhe 2010; Van Der Geest 2010). These linkages also involve the movement of 'modern' ideas, trends and practices.

Most Ghanaian towns perform administrative, political, commercial and cultural functions. Only a few urban centres have an appreciable amount of manufacturing taking place. The manufacturing or industrial functions are concentrated in the country's three main urban agglomerations, namely: Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. The programme of retrenchment and redeployment as a direct consequence of Ghana's economic recovery programme (ERP) and SAP, also had a detrimental impact on urban employment, especially in the public sector (Overa 2007; Langevang & Gough 2009). The implementation of these economic policies left large a number of public sector workers and civil servants jobless, and removed a key employer of educated workers located in major urban centres. A consequence of this situation is that the informal economy is currently the main source of employment for a large proportion of Ghana's population. Urban agriculture, petty-commodity production and retail enterprises are some of the key informal economic activities identified as taking place in urban Ghana. The most important factor accounting for the rapid rate of street trading in Accra, and by implication in the other metropolitan areas of the country, is the rising unemployment rate, particularly among youth. 94 per cent of the respondents in a study conducted in central Accra gave economic/survival reasons for being in the street trading business.



## **Profile of selected urban centres**

### ***Accra***

#### ***Growth and governance***

Accra, with a current total land area of 201 km<sup>2</sup> has been the capital city of Ghana since 1877. The British colonial administration transferred the capital from Cape Coast to Accra. Once established as the capital, Accra benefited from improvements to its transportation infrastructure. It was chosen as the seaward terminus of the eastern railway, became the focus of the road system in the east, thus reinforcing its position as a port, and finally the only international port was located there. Improvement in accessibility expanded Accra's sphere of influence, and hence, stimulated its growth both economically and demographically. Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) is a corporate body and the highest political and administrative organization in Accra. The Assembly has legislative, deliberate and executive functions. Physical development in Accra is governed by an elaborate Master Plan and Sector Layout plans prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department of AMA.

Accra has experienced rapid growth, and with an annual average growth rate of 4.3 per cent it is one of West Africa's fastest-growing cities. As indicated in Table 6 above, Accra's population has increased from just fewer than 400,000 inhabitants in 1960 to almost 1.9 million inhabitants in 2010. The gross population density for Accra Metropolitan Area is currently 10.03 persons per hectare as compared to 6.23 per hectare in 1970 (UN-Habitat, 2009). Accra accommodates 17.7% of Ghana's total population, and although migration has historically been and still is an important component of the city's population change, natural increase is now the dominant factor. According to the 2010 population and housing census, 54 per cent of the Accra's residents were born in Accra. Accra's population, like that of other urban centres is youthful, with 42.4 per cent of the population between 15 and 34 years of age. In 2010, approximately 31 per cent of Accra's population was under 24 years old, and fifty-two per cent of the population was female.

The Town and Country Planning Department and the Metro Works Department have the day to day responsibility of managing the plans and the sector layouts. Unfortunately, the physical development of Accra has ‘run faster’ than planning. This places large pressure on the cities already strained and limited housing stock (Bertrand 2010). Consequently, there are areas that are unplanned or where inadequate planning has been carried out by the landowners, who attempt to integrate their developments into Accra’s statutory land use plan. This problem has contributed to and reinforced haphazard development and the proliferation of informal settlements, with 38.4% (1,652,374 people in 2000) of the city’s population classed as living in slums (UN-Habitat 2011).

### ***Livelihoods***

The census reports provide data about sources of employment in urban areas. Data from the 2010 census report show that in the Accra metropolis, 65 per cent (856,033) of the population aged 15 years and above (1,316,895) were employed; 29 per cent were described as not active, while 6 per cent were described as unemployed (see Table 12 below).

**Table 12: Economically active population 15 years and above by status of employment, Accra Metropolis**

<b>Type</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Employee	320,969	34.6
Self-employed without employee(s)	412,581	44.4
Self-employed with employee(s)	63,075	6.8
Casual work	17,425	1.9
Contributing family worker	19,004	2.0
Apprentices	33,315	3.6
Domestic employee (house-help)	8,315	0.9
Other	1708	0.2
Seeking work for the first time	52,566	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>928,958</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from 2010 population and housing census, Ghana Statistical Service (Unpublished)

Table 12 shows that in 2010, the majority (51.2%) of Accra’s economically active population (aged 15 years and above) was self-employed, either without employees (44.4%) or with employees (6.8%). Employees accounted for almost 35 per cent of the Accra metropolis’ economically active labour force. Interestingly, almost 6 per cent of the economically active population was seeking work for the first time. In terms of occupation, sales and service workers constitute the key occupation, followed by craft and related trade workers. The managerial, professional and the technician group constitute about 16 per cent of the labour force in Accra (see Table 13 below).

**Table 13: Economically active population 15 years and above by occupation in Accra Metropolis**

<b>Type</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Managers	47,052	5.0
Professionals	69,549	7.5
Technicians and associate professionals	35,508	3.8
Clerical support staff	33,044	3.6
Service and sale workers	334,285	36.0
Skilled agric, forestry and fisheries workers	14,529	1.6
Craft and related trade workers	173,800	18.7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	54,289	5.8
Elementary occupation	107,503	11.6
Other occupations	6,833	0.8
Seeking work for the first time	52,566	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>928,958</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from 2010 population and housing census, Ghana Statistical Service (Unpublished)

Another feature of employment of Accra, and indeed that of all the major urban centres in Ghana is the overwhelming importance of the informal economy, at least in employment terms as shown in Table 14 below. Approximately 69 per cent of Accra’s economically active labour force operated within the informal economy.

**Table 14: Economically active population 15 years and above by sector of employment in Greater Accra**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Public (Government)	148,355	7.6
Private (formal)	322,370	16.4
Private (informal)	1,353,238	68.9
Semi-public (parastatal)	3274	0.2
NGO (local & international)	18,772	1.0
Other international organisations	3105	0.1
Seeking work for the first time	114,771	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,963,885</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from 2010 population and housing census, Ghana Statistical Service (Unpublished)

## **Tamale**

### ***Growth and governance***

The precise date of the founding of Tamale is unknown but by the beginning of the 18th century Tamale had become the capital and the market centre for a number of small surrounding villages, all within a radius of 15 miles (Nyankamawu 1972; Yankson 1992). Tamale grew quickly, especially in the early years of the 20th century when it was made the centre of the colonial administration in present day northern Ghana. Tamale was the administrative headquarters of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) until 1960 when the region was divided in two, and Bolgatanga was made the administrative headquarters of the Upper Region (Yankson 1992).

Since 1948 Tamale has witnessed rapid population growth. From a population of about 18,000 inhabitants in 1948, the population increased to 83,657 in 1970, 135,952 in 1984 (Yankson, 1992) and 371,351 in 2010 (GSS 2012). Like Accra, Tamale has a young population, with approximately 68 per cent of the population under 24 years year old, and 38 per cent within the youthful age bracket of 15-34 years old. Up until the early 1980s, Tamale experienced large scale in-migration, but recently this has slowed down due to a lack of employment opportunities. Tamale's sustained growth is strongly associated with natural increase, which has had an important part to play in the rapid urbanization still taking place (Yankson 1992). In the 2010 population and housing census, 80.3 per cent of the population enumerated was born in Tamale.

Tamale Metropolitan Assembly (TMA) is a corporate body and the highest political and administrative organization. The Assembly has legislative, deliberative and executive functions. Physical development in Tamale is governed by an elaborate Master Plan and Sector Layout prepared by the Town and Country Planning Department of TMA. The Town and Country Planning Department and the Metro Works Department are responsible for managing the implementation of the plans and the sector layouts. Tamale is one of the fastest growing cities in Ghana, and similarly to Accra it is confronted with development challenges, especially unauthorized development, which is contributing to environmental degradation in Tamale (UN-Habitat, 2009b). Several of Tamale's

communities have slum characteristics, and have an insufficient water supply, lack good roads, domestic toilet provision is low and residents either use the limited public toilets or defecate in the bush and open spaces. Tamale is faced with a daunting challenge in the management of both solid and liquid waste, water shortage and congestion in the markets (UN-Habitat, 2009b).

### ***Livelihoods***

Tamale is located in the middle in a predominantly agricultural region. Manufacturing has played a limited role in Tamale's urban/regional economy. An industrial estate was developed there in 1975 with the aim of attracting private investors to the town as well as to provide accommodation for small-scale firms located in the residential areas of the town. One hundred and twenty eight (128) industrial establishments were enumerated in Tamale during the 1987 nationwide industrial census. Out of these only 16 were medium and large-scale industries (units employing over 30 persons each) (Yankson, 1992) most of these were agro-based industries such as the Ghana Cotton Company Limited, the Nasia Rice Company and the Kalariga Sheabutter Producers. All categories of small-scale industries in Tamale and in other urban centres in the Northern region in general draw their raw materials from local agriculture with the exception of metal working, auto repairs, wood working and pottery (Yankson, 1992). During the 2003 industrial census of Ghana, 695 manufacturing units with 5,041 people engaged were enumerated in the Northern Region. It is reasonable to suppose that most of these were enumerated in Tamale, the largest urban centre in the northern region of Ghana, and most of these units operated as informal economic units.

The characteristics of operators operating in the informal economy in Tamale are not be too different from those operating in Accra as noted above. The data from the 2010 population and housing census offers an insight into Tamale's livelihood situation. For the population aged 15 years and above, about 6 per cent were unemployed while as many as 37.5 per cent were not active, and about 57 per cent were employed. In terms of status of employment about 60 per cent of all 15 years and above were self-employed with employees (54.4%) and without employees (5.9%). In terms of occupation, 28 per cent of the labour

force worked in service and retail/sales sector, and another 20 per cent were in craft and related activities. Interestingly, 8 per cent of the labour force was seeking employment for the first time. The bulk of Tamale's labour force is operating in the informal economy; about 74 per cent were in the private informal sector while almost 17 per cent were employed either by the government (12%) and the private formal sector (4.6%).

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**State of the art report:**  
**Dynamics of urbanisation in Rwanda**

**1. Introduction**

Currently there is unprecedented population growth in urban areas in Rwanda as rural settlers migrate to development growth points (REMA, 2009). Rwanda does not have a specific definition of an urban area. The District Development Plans describe urban areas in specific districts in terms of growth points or trading centres. The census of 2002 in Rwanda defines the urban population as those residents within the limits of the urban administrative units recognised as such by law, not all urban centres in Rwanda are legally recognised as such. Apart from the capital city Kigali, major towns include Huye, Nyamagabe, Rusizi, Karongi, Musanze, Rubavu, Muhanga, Byumba, Kibungo, Nyagatare and Kayonza. Others include: Kabuga, Nyanza, Ruhango, and Rwamagana (NISR, 2012d; REMA, 2009).

With 17% of the population living in urban areas, including some largely rural populations which were only recently incorporated into adjacent urban agglomerations, Rwanda has a very low urbanisation rate. In terms of figures, there were 1,372,604 persons living in urban areas in 2002, of which 603,049 were resident in the City of Kigali (MINECOFIN, 2005). The population of the city of Kigali alone constitutes some 45 percent of the entire urban population of the country.

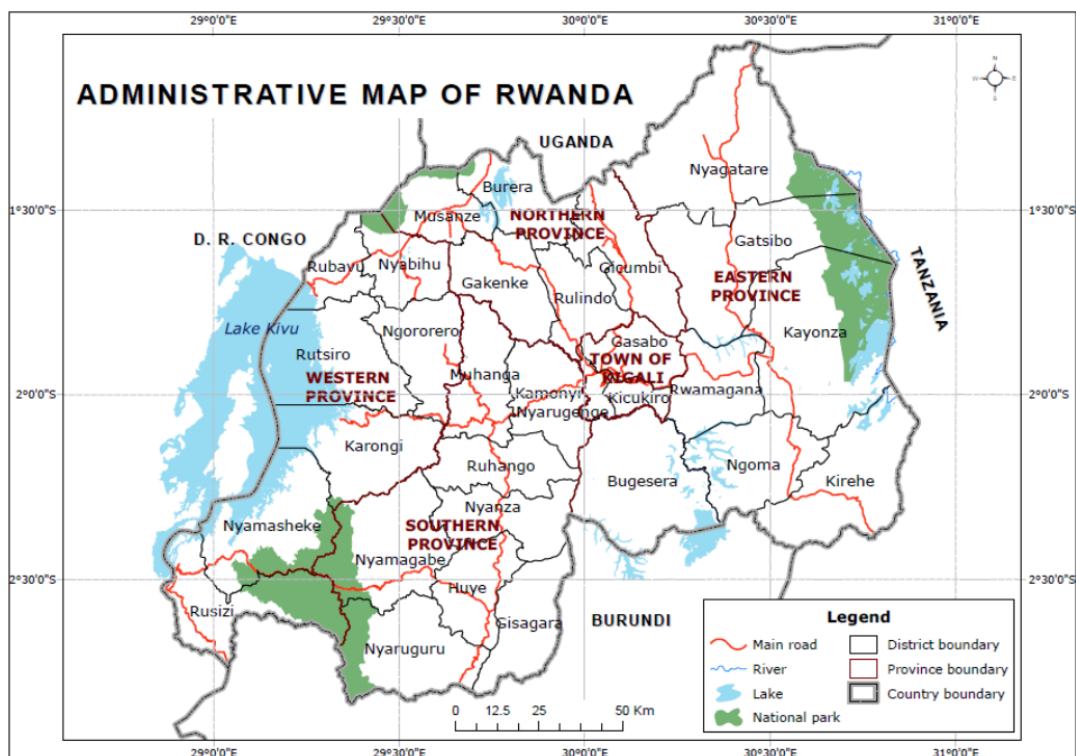
The report presents an analysis of city dynamics in Rwanda. It ascertains the rate and nature of urban growth and the relative contribution of migration to this growth. Key to understanding this growth is knowledge of how much is due to in-migration and how much on natural growth. Examining where the migrants are moving from has revealed which are the main source areas of migrants. The ways in which these urban growth processes vary between cities of differing size and in differing locations form an important part of the analysis. The case study includes the City of Kigali and the emerging town of Musanze in the Northern Province. Main secondary data used include national census surveys, integrated

household living conditions surveys (EICV) and other available surveys' reports. Other relevant publications have also been utilized.

## 2. Urban growth trends

Urbanization in Rwanda was very slow from early 1900s until early 1960s: less than 1% of Rwandans lived in urban areas in 1962. Kigali was the only town accommodating around 6,000 people; other towns were small villages. The root causes of this slow urbanization were: (i) the little interest that Rwandans had for burgeoning urban centers, (ii) the catholic clergy which prevented its followers to join the new urban centers (Twarabamenye & Mukashema, 2012). Urbanization growth rate remained relatively slow from independence until early 1980s following prevailing policies and practices aiming at limiting rural-urban migration (UNHABITAT, 2008). From 1970 to 1991, the total urban population increased threefold, and the level of urbanization shifted from 3% to 5.6% while the total population had not doubled yet. The urbanization level rose from 5.6% in 1991 to approximately 9% just before the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi (UNHABITAT, 2008).

Figure 1 Map of Rwanda



The three last censuses of Rwanda as shown in table below provide an idea of the rhythm of evolution of the urban population between 1978 and 2002 through a comparison of the mean intercensal annual rates of growth (MINECOFIN, 2005).

Table 1 Evolution of the urban population from 1978 to 2002

Province/City	1978	1991	2002	Growth rate	
				1978-1991	1991-2002
<b>Rwanda</b>	<b>222,727</b>	<b>391,194</b>	<b>1,372,604</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>12.1</b>
Kigali City	115,990	235,664	603,049	5.6	8.9
Kigali Ngari	-	-	51,693	-	-
Gitarama	8,531	17,490	137,995	5.7	20.7
Butare	33,752	38,442	137,334	1.0	12.3
Gikongoro	5,637	8,506	32,427	3.2	12.9
Cyangugu	7,201	9,693	59,070	2.3	17.9
Kibuye	3,045	4,393	46,640	2.9	24.0
Gisenyi	12,655	22,156	67,766	4.4	10.7
Ruhengeri	18,942	29,286	71,511	3.4	8.5
Byumba	7,702	11,947	66,268	3.4	16.9
Umutara	-	-	8,437	-	-
Kibungo	9,272	13,617	90,414	3.0	18.8

Source: (MINECOFIN, 2005)

Urban population dropped off drastically in 1994 following the Genocide, the flight of a great proportion of Rwandans in neighbouring countries, and the post-war and post-Genocide economic crisis. Urbanisation peaked up from 1995 more firmly than in previous years (Twarabamenye & Mukashema, 2012).

Compared with the 1991 census, the urban population of Rwanda increased from 391,194 inhabitants to 1,372,604 inhabitants in 2002, representing a mean annual growth rate of

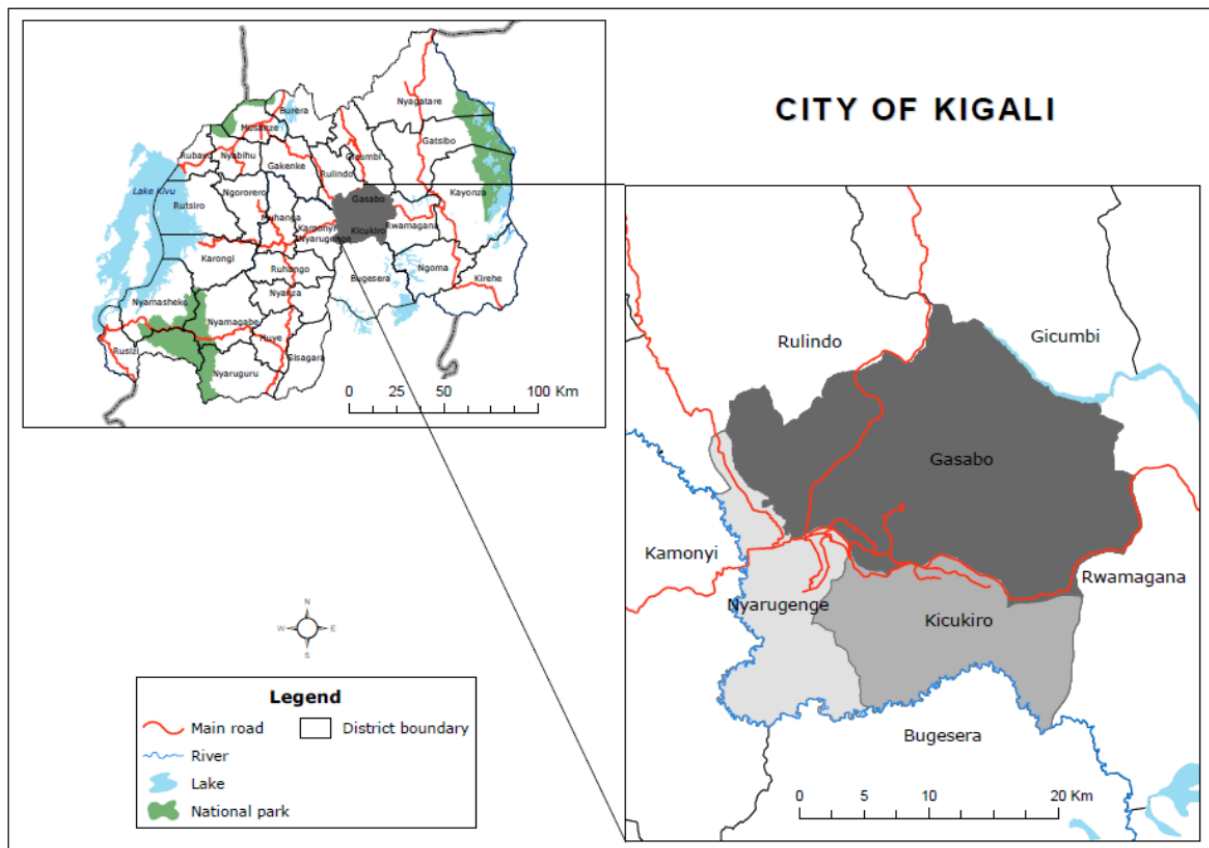
more than 12% during the 11-year interval. Taking a look to Kigali city, its population increased from 235,664 inhabitants in 1991 to 603,049 inhabitants in 2002. Meaning that there was an increase of 367 385 inhabitants in Kigali city (60.9%) from 1991 to 2002. The observed disparity in growth rates is attributed mainly to recent administrative reforms creating new administrative units and redefining the limits of others, to the preferential settlement of repatriated nationals within urban areas and to massive rural exodus prompted not only by search for employment but also by the search for security during the turbulent years of the last decade (MINECOFIN, 2005). Between 2002 and 2008, urban population was increased of around 500,000 people. The rapid increase of urban population between 1991 and 2008 is, however, to be taken cautiously: indeed urban population increased but also all urban centers were legally extended to rural areas in 2002 and end 2005 (Twarabamenye & Mukashema, 2012).

In 2002, Kigali city was the most inhabited urban area in Rwanda. According to place of residence, males predominate in the urban areas with 112.7 males to 100 females overall, but more especially within the economically active age groups (20 to 60 years). The opposite is true in the rural areas where the sex ratio is as low as 87.5 males to 100 females. This is largely the result of sex-selective urbanward migration in favour of males in search for jobs and better conditions of living and who go to swell urban sex ratios but also to consistently higher male mortality in Rwanda and to outmigration (MINECOFIN, 2005).

### **2.1. Historic Growth and Planning Trends**

The Kigali Conceptual Master Plan (MININFRA, 2007) grouped the history of Kigali city growth in four sequences: the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and the evolving urban development.

Figure 2 City of Kigali



### Pre-Colonial history of Rwanda

The exact date of the founding of the Kingdom of Rwanda varies from source to source with some placing it as early as 1312 and some as late as 1532. However, most sources agree that the Kingdom of Rwanda existed by the beginning of the fifteenth century. It grew out of the fusion of several clans into a single kingdom under one royal clan. The center of the Kingdom of Rwanda was located at the town of Nyanza. There is little mention of Kigali or the area near Kigali before colonial intervention.

## **Colonial History of Kigali**

In 1885 European representatives met in Berlin to carve Africa up for colonisation. Rwanda and Burundi were given to Germany, and were administered as a joint colonial territory of Deutsch Ost Afrika (German East Africa).

In 1907, Germany, under the advice of Dr. Richard Kandt, the first European resident of Rwanda, set up an administrative residence in Kigali in Cyahafi sector. In 1909, 20 commercial houses were built on the place of Nyarugenge market and a military camp was built at the current site of the prison of Kigali. At this time a small village occupied only a part of what is now the field hospital complex of Kigali.

Kigali remained a small colonial outpost with little link to the outside world until World War I. On May 6, 1916, Belgian troops entered Kigali and declared victory over the Germans. The Belgians criticized the choice of the site of Kigali and decided to create another administrative residence in Nyanza, the traditional residence of the King of Rwanda. After the war ended in 1919, Rwanda became a mandate territory under the League of Nations and continued to be administered by Belgium. In 1921, Kigali again became a colonial administrative center of Rwanda, but the main administrative center for Rwanda/ Burundi was located in Bujumbura, the present-day capital of Burundi.

The growth of Kigali under Belgian rule was very slow, and was contained primarily on the top of Nyarugenge hill. When Rwanda gained its independence on July 1st, 1962, Kigali remained a small village with primarily administrative functions.

In 1962 the population was 5,000 to 6,000 people and the urban area of Kigali was approximately 3 square kilometers.

## **Post-Colonial History**

Soon after independence, the Rwandan republic decided to make Kigali the capital of Rwanda. This designation as capital of Rwanda and the relocation of all national ministry functions to Kigali fuelled growth of Kigali beyond the Nyarugenge hill to five neighboring hills: Nyamirambo, Gikondo, Kimihurura, and Kacyiru.

From 1962 to 1984, the population and the built area of Kigali expanded rapidly. The population grew at around 16% from around 6,000 people to nearly 160,000. The built area expanded to 15 square kilometers. Kigali continued to expand until the genocide against Tutsi of 1994.

During the genocide, Kigali experienced a massive population loss but relatively minimal damage and destruction to the built environment. Only in 1999 did the population of Kigali exceed its pre-genocide level.

### **Evolving Urban Development**

Until 1962, urban development in Kigali was minimal and limited primarily to Nyarugenge hill. The plans of Kigali in 1948 and 1958 show that the only two areas of Kigali that were developed were the historic core on top of Nyarugenge hill, and the core of the Muslim district just south of the Nyarugenge district. When Rwanda achieved independence in 1962, Kigali resembled more a small village than the capital of a new independent nation.

After independence, Kigali expanded rapidly. A new international airport of Kigali was built in 1963 just to the east of the main City. Substantial growth occurred through the concentration of administrative functions of the country and the location of diplomatic embassies of other nations in Kigali.

In 1964 with the assistance of the French Ministry of Cooperation, a Conceptual Master Plan for Kigali was established that presented four principal options:

- Delimitation of area around Nyarugenge hill for the extension of Kigali
- Structuring of the hills of Nyarugenge
- Construction of the ministry sites at the former site of the military camp
- Delimitation of affordable housing plots on the hill of Nyamirambo

The first two agendas were carried out in 1969, but the other two were not met: the ministries located instead on Kacyiru hill. Nyamirambo was not delineated as envisioned partly because of the growth of informal housing settlements.

In 1975, the growth of Kigali spread beyond the area delimited in the 1964 Conceptual Master Plan and a 5-year plan for development was applied to regulate housing and to continue the expansion of urban infrastructure. In the early 1980's another plan was put into effect to delimit new areas for residential expansion primarily on the hills of Nyamirambo, Gikondo, Kicukiro, Remera, Kimihurura, and Kacyiru, and to develop an industrial area near the airport.

In 1984, the urban population of Kigali was approximately 160,000 people and the urban area occupied approximately fifteen square kilometers. The urban population density for Kigali stood at around 105 people/hectare.

From 1994 to 1996, urban population growth in Kigali stagnated because of the ensuing chaos. As a result, the density of the Kigali urban area plummeted to approximately 75 people/hectare. By 1999, the urban population of Kigali had exceeded its pre-genocide level while the built area of Kigali had stayed about the same.

Since 1999, the urban population and the built area of Kigali have continued to grow at a rate around 8%. This urban growth is much faster than the overall growth of the city, which from 2002-2007 grew at an average of 4.8%. The density of the Kigali urban area has increased to around 86 people/hectare. Much of this development has occurred in wetland areas and areas of steep slopes. Currently, 19% of the built environment of Kigali is on land that is not ideal for development

## **2.2. Overview of existing city environment**

According to the third census of Rwanda (MINECOFIN, 2005), the city of Kigali is entirely urbanised. The city is located in the centre of Rwanda and it is the capital city of the country. It is composed of three districts: Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge. In Kigali, population pressures have created two types of urban neighbourhoods, each with their own planning needs. While densely populated informal settlements are remarkably sensitive to the topography and provide a good mixed use framework, they have inadequate infrastructure. In the second type of urban neighbourhood, returnees and internal migrants have randomly developed their homes with a "suburban" quality that



tends toward sprawl (MINECOFIN, 2005). Existing city development portrays a largely unplanned mixed use settlement, except in industrial areas where these uses are likely to be more concentrated or organized settlements such as “Imidugudu<sup>1</sup>” in various parts of the city. Densities range from a low of 1-2 dwelling units (DU) per hectare in the outlying regions to a high of 62 DU/hectare in the city centre. There are no significant concentrations of development in towns or secondary cities in Kigali. Scattered and unplanned development will require attention in terms of retrofitting infrastructure into informal settlements, but it will also present opportunities to identify settlement clusters in less densely populated zones. Likewise in higher standing areas that have been loosely planned, there are opportunities to intensify cohesion and neighbourhood identity.

### **2.2.1. Demographic and economic profile**

#### **Demographic Profile**

Kigali is the primary city of Rwanda, with approximately 45 percent of Rwanda’s urbanized population. In 2006, the population of Kigali was estimated at approximately 1.1 million, an increase of over 500,000 from the population documented in the 2002 census. Of this total, approximately 60 percent live within the urbanized area of Kigali. Kigali grew larger as a result of the provincial reorganization at the end of 2005 (MINECOFIN, 2005).

Rwanda’s demographics show that it is young, densely populated, and less urbanized than many developing countries. In 2000, 13.6 percent of the population in Rwanda was urbanized, yet Rwanda has one of the highest population density in Africa, with an average of approximately 3 people per hectare. However, it is experiencing increasing urbanization largely resulting from rural-urban migration and the resettlement and repatriation of refugees. By 2030, the percentage growth of urban population in Rwanda is projected to be the highest in the world, at around 6.71%. For Kigali, this rate is even higher.

According to the 2002 census, between 1991 and 2002 Kigali experienced an average annual growth rate of 9 percent. In the next 25 years over 1 million people are projected to

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<sup>1</sup>Umudugudu (Imidugudu in plural) is Kinyarwanda word that means grouped settlement mostly under a kind of village.

migrate to cities in Rwanda. If current trends continue, Kigali will bear the brunt of the urban growth pressure in Rwanda created by this extremely high rate of urban migration.

This phenomenon will continue to tax the existing urban and community infrastructure and availability of developable land within the city boundaries. According to available figures, approximately 83 percent of the urban population of Kigali is located within informal settlements. This number represents approximately 62 percent of the land area. The implication is that a large proportion of the city's population is living in highly dense, sub-standard conditions, with poor infrastructure services.

The population increases and continued urbanization trends, if not properly managed will result in increasingly failing environmental and urban systems. The Kigali Conceptual Master Plan is part of the effort to reduce or eliminate this trend.

#### **2.2.2. Administrative and institutional framework**

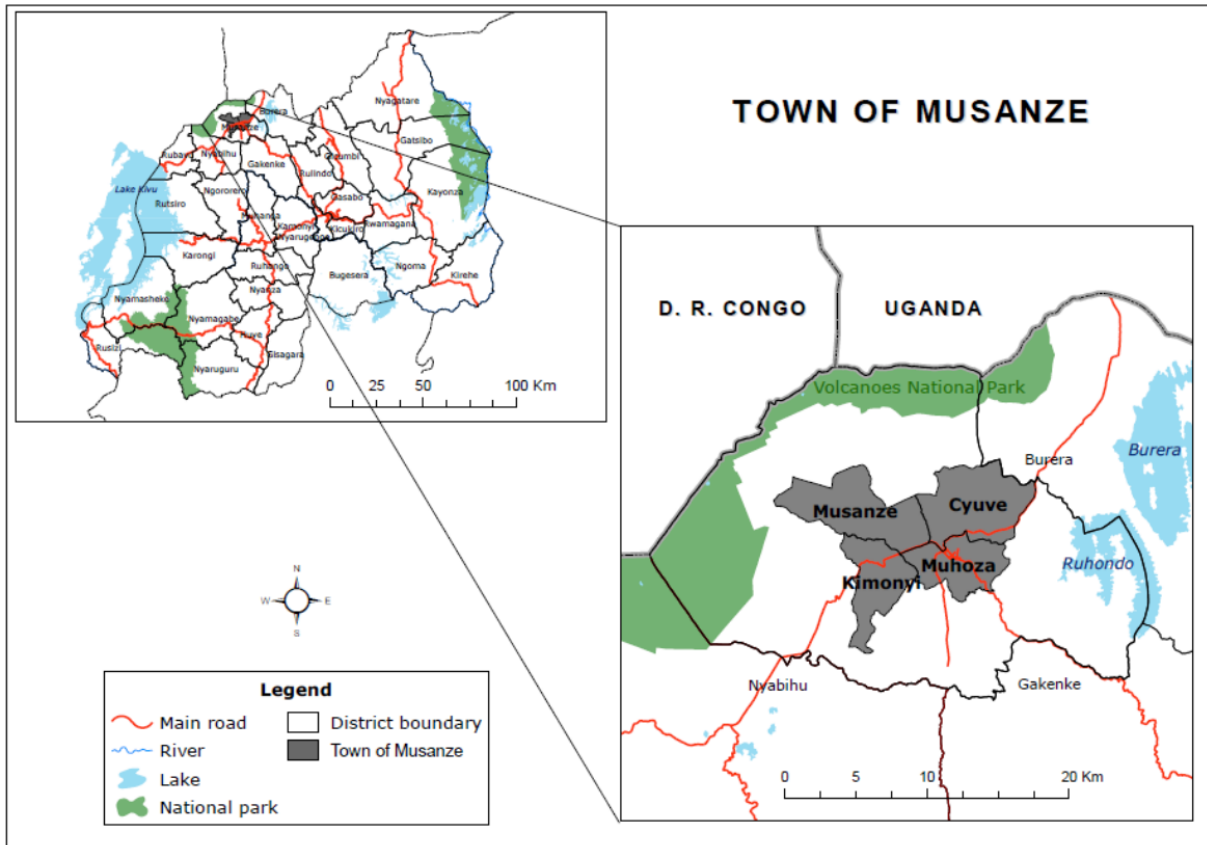
Through the Rwanda good-governance rebuilding process over the last decade an institutional structure is beginning to emerge that will capably administer city planning and development for the future. This process is not only a challenge of administrative structure, but one that rebuilds peoples' trust in the capability and reliability of government. Ultimately, the Kigali Comprehensive Plan is being implemented by a public sector that sets the stage in many ways for improvements by public, private and civil society sectors. The success of this outcome depends on a clear and effective institutional framework and a strong, clear, reliable and predictable administrative process. At this time, there are many steps that should be taken to strengthen the administrative and institutional framework and capacity to administer and implement urban plans.

#### **2.3. Musanze Town**

Musanze Town (formerly known as Ruhengeri, but still widely used) is the most important town in Rwanda's Northern Province and in the Volcanoes area. Musanze Town originates from the decision of the extraordinary Consultative Council of Musanze District which took place on 16<sup>th</sup> October 2010. The delimitations of Musanze town are made of the limits set

by Administrative organs of the Rwandan State as written in article 4 of this presidential order. The delimitation of Musanze urban area was confirmed by the Cabinet Meeting which took place on 20<sup>th</sup> April 2011(District de Musanze, 2007).

Figure 3 Town of Musanze



The limits of Musanze Town touch on four sectors which are: Muhoza, Cyuve, Musanze and Kimonyi in 13 cells, 65 Villages. The total area of Musanze Town amounts to 61.97km<sup>2</sup> with 83,150 Population distributed in 21,954 Households. The Town has got its Master plan which is going to be implemented in 15 years (2010-2025) (MININFRA, 2008).

### **3. Urban hierarchy and urban system**

#### **3.1. The beginning of urbanisation in Rwanda**

Up to the beginning of the 20th century, Rwanda was totally rural. Ruhengeri<sup>2</sup> was the first town created by the German colonialists in 1903 followed by Gisenyi, Kigali, Cyangugu and Butare created respectively in 1907, 1908, 1914, and 1927 (Twarabamenye, 2012). Kigali was recognized as the capital of Rwanda in 1908 by Dr. Richard Kandt, the then German Governor of Rwanda. In 1962, when Rwanda recovered its independence, Kibuye, Byumba, Kibungo, Gikongoro and Gitarama, were also recognized as towns. Nyanza and Rwamagana were recognized as towns by the Government of Rwanda in 1975, Nyagatare and Kabuga in 1995, and Ruhango in 2002 (MINECOFIN, 2005; REMA, 2009; Twarabamenye & Mukashema, 2012).

#### **3.2. Administrative reforms operated under the decentralization policy**

In 2000, as part of the rebuilding of Rwanda, the country adopted Vision 2020 (MINECOFIN, 2000): a strong image of the country they wished to be achieved in the year 2020 and beyond. Rwanda is envisioned having achieved the Millennium Development Goals and moved to be a model of prosperity, environmental sustainability, and social harmony for all its citizens. The Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) is the Government of Rwanda medium-term strategy for economic growth, poverty reduction and human development towards attainment of the long-term Rwanda Vision 2020 objectives (MINECOFIN, 2007). In the same framework, the decentralisation policy was adopted in 2000 under which have been operated two important administrative reforms (MINALOC, 2007).

In 2001, the first reform defined 11 provinces and the city of Kigali. During the 3rd Census of Rwanda in 2002, an urban population was that which was resident within the limits of the urban administrative units recognised as such by law (MINECOFIN, 2005). Besides the City of Kigali, the capital town of Rwanda, the country had 11 other provinces whose

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<sup>2</sup>Ruhengeri town, though not spatially corresponding exactly with the actual Musanze town will be understood as such.

headquarters enjoyed the status of urban areas. Three other agglomerations had been recognised this status of urban area also. They included: the towns of Nyanza in the Province of Butare, Ruhango in the Province of Gitarama and of Rwamagana in Province of Kibungo. In all, there were therefore 15 towns in Rwanda. In 2006, the second administrative reform kept only 4 provinces: Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western province and the city of Kigali.

The following table demonstrates the five levels of administration and their responsibilities with the decentralisation policy:

Table 3 Five levels of administration and their responsibilities with the decentralisation policy

<b>Level</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Vision</b>
National	1	To promote governance which aims at durable socio-economic development
Provinces	4	To coordinate national programmes and District action plans.
City of Kigali	1	To spearhead durable economic, social and political development of the Rwanda and neighbouring countries. Kigali should be exemplary in this geographical zone.
Districts	30	To promote durable socio-economic and political development of the population.
Sector	416	To be an administrative and economic development base in which the population participated.
Cells	9165	To coordinate the wishes and aspirations of citizens and mobilise them to participate in national activities and programmes.
Umudugudu		To be the basic unit of mobilisation

Source: (MINALOC, 2007)

### **3.3. Urban systems**

Rwanda does not have a specific definition of an urban area. The District Development Plans describe urban areas in specific districts in terms of growth points or trading centres

(REMA, 2009). There are about 18 urban centres in Rwanda. The major towns include: Kigali city, Huye, Nyamagabe, Rusizi, Karongi, Musanze, Rubavu, Muhanga, Byumba, Kibungo and Kayonza. Others include: Nyagatare, Kabuga, Nyanza, Ruhango, and Rwamagana. Only some of them have master plans and land use plans to guide development.

For Kigali, a conceptual master plan has been established in 2007, with its three Districts (Gasabo, Kicukiro and Nyarugenge) having detailed plans prepared (MININFRA, 2007). Musanze town has got its Master plan which is going to be implemented in 15 years (2010-2025) (MININFRA, 2008). Although the Government has been trying to address the planning issues, infrastructure and service provision is still wanting.

#### **4. Migration**

Most of the resident population of Rwanda is composed of non-migrants who make up 80% of the population. Such limited mobility of the population may be attributed to the size of the country, to physical constraints and to those related to access to land and to the traditional way of life of an average Rwandan (intensive agriculture along with sedentary animal breeding) (MINECOFIN, 2005). However, urban development goes hand in hand with migration; urban development depends essentially on the contributions of rural populations. The low urbanization rate and low urban development place Rwanda in the margin of the demographic transition trend which characterizes developing countries (UNHABITAT, 2008). This urbanization dynamic is neither well understood nor fully controlled.

With a population density rate of 322 persons/km<sup>2</sup>, the availability of land is among the country's chief constraints. Hence migration has become an important livelihood strategy for many poor groups in Rwanda. Consequently Kigali City is currently battling the pressure of rapid population increase, making it difficult for the city to accommodate the

rapidly growing population and provide housing, urban services and employment opportunities (City of Kigali, 2013).

Table 3 Evolution of Kigali, 1916–2020

<b>Year</b>	<b>Area (Km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b>Population</b>
1916	0.06	600-700
1945	0.43	2,000
1962	10	6,000
1970	Not available	57, 00
1978	116	111,990
1991	110	235,664
2002	313	603,049
2008	730	860,000
2020	730	3,000,000

Source: (Twarabamenye & Mukashema, 2012)

Compared with the 1991 census, the urban population of Rwanda increased from 391,194 inhabitants to 1,372,604 inhabitants in 2002, representing a mean annual growth rate of more than 12 percent during the 11-year interval. The growth rate during this intercensal period was three times more rapid than that of the preceding period. It was 4.4% during the 1978-1991 period. The observed disparity in growth rates is attributed mainly to recent administrative reforms creating new administrative units and redefining the limits of others, to the preferential settlement of repatriated nationals within urban areas and to massive rural exodus prompted not only by search for employment but also by the search for security during the turbulent years of the last decade (MINECOFIN, 2005).

Overall, the migratory situation in Rwanda is quite similar for the two types of migration (lifetime and recent migration). Provinces with the largest number of lifetime migrants equally have a large number of recent migrants.

#### **4.1. Origin of migrants**

An analysis of the origin of individuals who have migrated, hence have changed their province of origin since birth, reveals a number of disparities. While in-migrants of Kigali city come from everywhere in the country, 44% of the lifetime migrants of Kigali City come from the Southern province. Quite a sizeable proportion of the lifetime migrants of this city were found to have been born in foreign countries, particularly in the D.R. Congo, Burundi and in Uganda – all neighbouring countries (MINECOFIN, 2005).

#### **4.2. Place of Destination of Migrants**

Most of the lifetime migrants of the province of Kigali were born in the provinces of Gikongoro, Butare and of Ruhengeri and its international immigrants come mainly from Burundi (20%). On the other hand, some 43% of the lifetime migrants born in the Kigali Ngari province are presently resident in the City of Kigali while another 20% are in the province of Kibungo (MINECOFIN, 2005).

The largest numbers of immigrants born in the D.R. Congo are resident in the province of Gisenyi which is also home to some 15% of the lifetime migrants born in the province of Kibuye and to 12.6% of those born in Ruhengeri. Lifetime emigrants from this province have been found to have settled in the City of Kigali (30%) and in the provinces of Kibungo (16%) and of Ruhengeri (13%) (MINECOFIN, 2005). The resident population of the province of Umutara, created in 1996, is composed mainly of persons born elsewhere, including 60% of immigrants born in Uganda, 59% of lifetime migrants born in the Byumba province and a quarter of those born in the provinces of Ruhengeri and of Kibungo.

The directions of movement of migrants who declared having stayed elsewhere previously is largely identical to that of those of lifetime migrants. There are however some few exceptions. The proportion of persons who were previously resident abroad and who are presently resident in the City of Kigali is smaller than that of persons who were born abroad. This may be largely due to the fact that many of such persons may have made a couple of stop-over of more than six months before finally settling in Kigali City. On the



other hand, in the provinces of Kibungo and Gisenyi, it is more common to meet persons who had previously stayed abroad than those who were born abroad. These are certainly persons who moved out temporarily during the period of the war and the genocide in the early 1990s (MINECOFIN, 2005). 22% of lifetime migrants born in the Ruhengeri Province are resident in Kibungo but only 17% of recent migrants of this province declared having previously been resident in Ruhengeri.

The potentially active population (15 to 64 years) constitutes the largest proportion of the population irrespective of the sex category or of the place of residence of the population. Overall, it constitutes 53% of the total population but in the urban areas, this sub-population comprises as much as 61% of the population as against barely 52% in the rural area. As opposed to the deficit of males observed among those aged less than 15 years, men predominate in the active age category in the urban areas as a result of the sex selective nature of rural-urban migration in Rwanda (MINECOFIN, 2005).

It appears that rural-urban migration has positive impact on the livelihoods of rural migrant households when the migrant(s) send sufficient money, food or goods back, which can be used to diversify or to improve their livelihood and to offset the negative effects of the loss of labour forces, mainly by hiring labour forces. This concerns mainly the better-off households, who receive frequently high amounts of money, food and goods from relatively well-educated migrant household member(s) in Kigali (Smit, 2012).

## **5. Urban livelihoods**

### **5.1. Schooling and literacy**

For the percentage distribution of individuals aged six and above, that have ever attended school, Gasabo district is ranked third with 89.6% of individuals aged six and above having at some time attended school. The best performing district is Kicukiro (94.4%) followed by Nyarugenge (90.7%) countrywide (NISR, 2012a).

In Rwanda, the education and training system is structured into four main levels: a pre-primary level, primary level, technical or vocational education and secondary education,

and lastly high education. In Kigali city, the Net Attendance Rate (NAR) in primary school for Gasabo district is 95% and in secondary school is 37.5%. The NAR in primary school for Kicukiro district is 95.3% and in secondary school is 48.7%. The NAR in primary school in Nyarugenge district is 91.4% and in secondary school in Nyarugenge district is 40% (NISR, 2012a). The NARs in primary school by district shows that NAR in primary school for Musanze district is 95% which is above the national average of 91.7%, the averages for urban (93.3%), rural (91.5%) areas and Northern Province (95.5%). The NARs in secondary school for the district is between 20 and 30% and the national average is around 21%; the rural area average is 18.2% and the urban area average 37.4%.

## **5.2. Housing characteristics and living conditions**

High demand for housing in the urban areas has rendered the construction of buildings that can host several households at a time, a necessity. For the housing structure in Kigali city, in 2011, 69.3% of the population of Kicukiro district used cement flooring and beaten is 25%. 66% of the population of Nyarugenge district used cement flooring and beaten is 31%. In Gasabo district, 50.3% of households used cement flooring and 43.1% is beaten (City of Kigali, 2013).

According to Census RGPH, 2002, public water standpipes located outside the homes supply water to some 21.4% of the households lodging an equivalent proportion of the resident population (MINECOFIN, 2005). Regarding improved drinking water in Kigali city, in 2011, 94% of Nyarugenge district households, 84.7% of Gasabo district households and 69.7% of households in Kicukiro district were using an improved drinking water source against 74% in Musanze district. Improved drinking water sources include protected springs, public standpipes, water piped into dwellings/yards, boreholes, protected wells and rainwater collection, as defined by the World Health Organisation (NISR, 2012b).

In 2011, the primary sources of energy, in Kigali city, used for lighting by households were categorized as follows: electricity, oil lamp, firewood, candle, lantern, battery, and other unspecified sources. For the distribution of households using electricity as their main source of lighting, in Gasabo district is 47.3% of households use electricity as the main

source of lighting, the district is third country-wide after Kicukiro (63%) and Nyarugenge (61.6%) (City of Kigali, 2013).

### **5.3. Infrastructure and telecommunications**

Generally speaking, the motor vehicle is not a means of transport that can be easily available to most persons or households on account of its initial cost and running costs. 99.3% of the households and 98.9% of the resident population do not have such a facility at home. 3.6% of the urban households own such a facility while in the rural areas; the proportion is close to zero. Over 91% of the households in which reside some 89.7% of the population do not own a bicycle at home. A relatively larger proportion of rural households are found to own bicycles (8.3%) than urban households (7.5%). The simple reason is that, the urban areas offer several other alternative means of transportation of goods and individuals than the rural areas (MINECOFIN, 2005).

The most frequently used gadget for receiving information in households in Rwanda is the radio set which is available in some 43.4% of the households lodging 48.8% of the resident population. This proportion is higher in the urban (61.5%) where income and education levels are relatively higher, than in the rural areas (40.1%). For communication, urban households have more access to the mobile phones than to fixed line phones which had been in existence several years before the advent of the former. Only 0.1% of the households own a computer at home, whether it be connected to the internet or not. The few that do have such a facility are found in the urban areas, particularly, in the City of Kigali (RURA, 2011).

In Musanze district, 59.4% of households own a radio while 48.6% of households own a mobile phone in Musanze district ranking the district first in the Northern Province on this indicator (NISR, 2012b).

### **5.4. Income resources and living standards**

The results from the household surveys (NISR, 2012a) show that at the national level agriculture contributes the largest share of income (46%), followed by wage income (25%), business income (i.e. self-employment), transfers, and rents. The same publication

states that the national average employment rate is 84%, the unemployment rate is 0.9% and the economic inactivity rate is 15%. For the case of Kigali city; in Gasabo district, the overall employment rate is 78% of the resident population aged 16 years and above; the unemployment rate is 5.3% and the economic inactivity rate is 17.7%. The overall employment rate in Kicukiro district is 78% of the resident population aged 16 years and above; the unemployment rate is 4.7% and the economic inactivity rate is 18.3% (NISR, 2012d). The overall employment rate is 71% of the resident population aged 16 years and above in Nyarugenge district; the unemployment rate is 9% and the economic inactivity rate is 22% (NISR, 2012c).

Livestock is another important source of income and food for agricultural households. In Kigali city, the households raising some type of livestock over the last 12 months by district are estimated at 44.5% of all households in Gasabo district, 30% in Kicukiro district and 22.8% in Nyarugenge district (NISR, 2012a). At national level, this percentage is 68.2% (72.8% in rural areas, 41.8% in urban areas).

Concerning the living standard, 24% of the population in Kigali city is in the category of low standard, 51% are in the category of average living standard, 21% are in the category of high living standard while only 3% are of very high living standard (MINECOFIN, 2005). The standard of living of households is determined by the employment status of the head of household. Among households with an average, high or very high standard of living, a large majority are headed by persons who are employers or salaried workers. A stable, regular salary provides some amount of security from want and contributes to the improvement of the conditions of well-being of the household. Households with low or very low standards of living are more likely to be headed by self-employed persons (especially farmers), unpaid family workers apprentices or wage earners. In other words, irregular income, including wage earning cannot guarantee a comfortable well-being for the household. Most self-employed household heads are either farmers or are employed in the informal sector of the economy (MINECOFIN, 2005).

The government of Rwanda has a serious plan of nature conservation and protection in Musanze district because it is the district which attracts many tourists in Rwanda because of the mountain gorillas (District de Musanze, 2007). Leaders in Musanze believe that Musanze is a town today because of the Gorillas tourism which should have not happened if Volcanoes National Park was not preserved. This constitutes the main motivation for the great effort of nature protection in Musanze.

#### **5.5. Some gender aspects**

Rwanda aims at achieving gender equality and equity through support to education for all, in the fight against poverty, and practices a positive discrimination policy in favour of women. Gender is integrated as a cross-cutting issue in all development policies and strategies. 26% of households in Gasabo district are headed by females and 4% are 'de facto female-headed households', i.e. headed by females in the absence of a male head who is ordinarily present (MINECOFIN, 2005). In the Kicukiro and Nyarugenge districts the percentage overturn 20% for females headed households against 7% and 3% '*de facto female-headed households*'.

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**State of the art report:  
Dynamics of urbanisation in Tanzania**

## **1 Introduction**

This report contributes to debates on city dynamics in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa by providing an analysis of urbanisation in Tanzania. The report provides a detailed analysis of the rate and nature of urban growth in Tanzania, and findings suggest that Tanzania is currently an example of continuous rapid urban population growth fuelled by natural increase as well as a continuously high net in-migration to urban areas. The findings are based on academic literature and statistical data from the latest population census from Tanzania's National Bureau of Statistics, the newest available data from UN-Habitat's Urban Indicator database and the newly available Geopolis geospatial mappings of urban settlements. There is generally a high degree of correspondence between data sources, and they all show considerably higher growth rates for the urban population compared to the total population. However, due to concerns regarding data limitations and reliability the report seeks to identify key trends rather than provide precise estimates.

The report addresses the dynamics of urbanisation in Tanzania by focusing on four key areas, namely; urban growth trends, changes in the urban hierarchy, the role of migration, and urban livelihoods. The report contains four main sections. The subsequent section (2) examines Tanzania's urban growth trends and is followed by Section 3, which addresses Tanzania's urban hierarchy and the geographical distribution of urban settlements. Section 4 analyses data on migration within Tanzania, and pays particular attention to the role migration plays in shaping urban growth trends. The final section discusses the nature and form of Tanzania's urban livelihoods. Dar es Salaam and Arusha are used as case study cities throughout the report. The report concludes with a summary of key findings and an outline of emerging issues and their policy implications.

## **2 Urban population growth trends in Tanzania**

This section examines urban population growth trends in Tanzania by addressing four key questions, specifically; how has the urban growth rate changed over time? What proportion of urban growth has been due to migration/natural growth? How has the level of urbanisation



changed over time? What are key driving forces been behind urbanisation? The section begins with an overview of the data sources underpinning the findings and discussions; it then highlights urban population patterns and trends in Tanzania post 1967.

Tanzania's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) has performed censuses in 1967, 1978, 1988 and 2002. These censuses have several limitations. Firstly, they contain general estimates of the size of the urban population, but they do not provide disaggregated data on the populations of the individual cities. Secondly, the thresholds and definitions of when a settlement is considered urban has changed between censuses, which means that growth in census estimates of total urban populations are also affected by reclassification of settlements. Thirdly, the intervals between censuses are quite long, 10 years or more, and they would therefore not be able to capture it if there had been major fluctuations in urban population growth in the long inter-census periods. Fourth, censuses present a static image of urban populations. There is a generally high level of mobility in urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa and circular migration is an important part of both rural and urban livelihood strategies. Census data are not able to catch this fluidity of a part of the urban population. Data from UN-Habitat have some of the same limitations as national census data, which makes sense as much of their data is based on the censuses. Dar es Salaam aside, UN-Habitat population estimates are not provided at the level of individual cities. The data series on urban population appear solid and orderly with regular five-year intervals from 1950 onwards, but in reality estimates are based on modelling and extrapolation using the census data.

A key problem facing research on urban change in Tanzania is that census and UN data are outdated. The most recent census was performed 10 years ago in 2002. A new census took place in 2012, but unfortunately data from this has not been released yet hence data after 2002 are projections. The NBS has made projections for population growth in all regions up to 2025, based on the 2002 census. They extrapolate fertility and mortality trends, but simply assume that inter-regional migration remains the same as the 2002 level in all regions. Great caution is needed with projections based on censuses held 10 years ago. The factors underlying urban population growth, such as rural-urban migration and urban fertility and mortality levels, might have changed significantly in the meantime. UN-Habitat goes even further than the NBS and makes their projections go all the way up to 2050 but projections reaching that far into the future should be handled with even more caution.

The Geopolis project uses a geospatial approach combining and comparing satellite images with available census data creating a new source of knowledge. The Geopolis project has mapped all continuously built urban settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants. A maximum distance of 200 meters between any two constructions defines the continuity. Geopolis provide detailed population estimates for all the individual urban settlements in Tanzania that meet these criteria in 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 plus projections for 2020. As Geopolis data combine two different sources, their estimates are considered to be quite solid, however, it is not without its limitations. Geopolis data is relatively recent, and therefore is unable to provide a comparison with early census and UN data. The use of 10 year intervals means that Geopolis data is often unable to pick up short-term fluctuations and trends. At the aggregated level, it is difficult to compare Geopolis figures with UN data and census data because of the 10,000 inhabitants threshold. The NBS and UN-Habitat might include settlements smaller than 10,000 in their estimates.

There is a high level of correspondence between national census data and UN data, and the two data sources suggest that Tanzania is a country facing rapid urban population growth. Thus even Potts, a fierce critic of UN projections, categorizes Tanzania as a country of vigorous urbanization (Potts 2012). Despite rapid growth in terms of absolute numbers, the overall urbanisation level, i.e. the share of the population living in urban areas, remains fairly low in Tanzania compared to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa (NBS Tanzania 2006, UN-Habitat 2010). According to the most recent census, the total population of Tanzania has tripled from 12.3 million in 1967 to 34.4 million in 2002. In the same period the urban population has increased tenfold from 0.8 to 7.9 million people. Table 1 below indicates that the total population is projected to increase to 45.8 million in 2012 and 63.3 million in 2025. In the same period the urban population is projected to increase to 12.4 million in 2012 and 19.6 million in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006).

**Table 1. Population growth figures, Tanzania, 1967-2025**

	<b>Total population in millions</b>	<b>Urban population in millions</b>	<b>Urban share of the population</b>	<b>Population of Dar es Salaam</b>	<b>Population of Arusha</b>
1967	12.3	0.8	6.4 %	433,145	366,355
1978	17.5	2.4	13.8 %	851,534	512,482
1988	23.1	4.2	18.4 %	1,360,865	744,135
2002	34.4	7.9	23.1 %	2,487,288	1,288,088
2012*	45.8	12.4	27.0 %	3,270,255	1,758,196
2025*	63.3	19.6	31.3 %**	4,131,001	2,349,595

\*= Projections. \*\* = Urban share of 31.3 is the 2022-figure, as the 2025 figure is not made available in the census. *Italic = own calculations based on data from the census. Source: NBS(2006): Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII.*

Table 2 below shows that Tanzania's total population grew at an average annual rate of 3 per cent from 1967-2002, while the urban population grew at an average rate of 6.8 per cent in the same period. The average annual growth rate of the urban population has declined substantially, though, from 10.7 per cent in 1967-1978 to 5.8 in 1978-1988 and 4.6 in 1988-2002, but in all inter-census periods it has remained higher than the national rate. Urban growth is projected to decline further to 4.5 per cent in 2002-2012 and 3.7 in 2012-2025, but still remain higher than the national rate (NBS Tanzania 2006). These figures suggest that Tanzania is a case of continuous rapid urban population growth, fuelled continuously by net in-migration to urban areas.

**Table 2: Average annual population growth rates, Tanzania, 1967-2025**

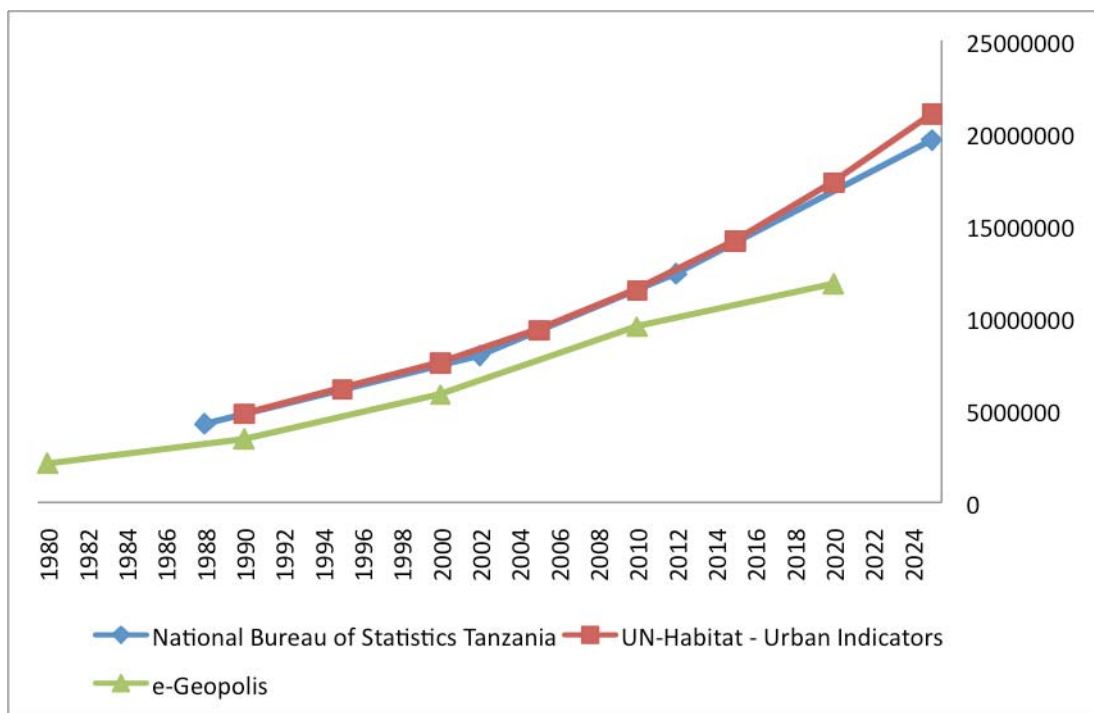
	<b>Total population</b>	<b>Urban population</b>	<b>Dar es Salaam</b>	<b>Arusha</b>
1967-1978	3.2	<i>10.7</i>	7.8	3.8
1978-1988	2.8	5.8	4.8	3.8
1988-2002	2.9	4.6	4.3	3.9
2002-2012*	2.9	4.5	2.8	3.2
2012-2025*	2.5	3.7	1.8	2.3

\*= Projections. *Italic = own calculations based on data from the census. Source: NBS(2006): Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII.*

The urban growth rate has been and is projected to remain higher than the national rate, which indicates that urbanization has been and will continue to occur. The urbanisation level has increased from only 6.4 per cent in 1967, to 23.1 per cent in 2002, and

it is projected that the urban share of the population will increase to 27 per cent in 2012 and 31.3 per cent in 2022 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The UN-Habitat Urban Indicators database and the NBS estimates and projections of total population growth, urban population growth and urban share of the population in the period up to 2025 are in agreement. With regards to future projections, UN-Habitat provides estimates up until 2050. The total population is projected to grow to 85 million in 2050, and urban population is projected to grow to 46 million, accounting for 54 per cent of the total population (UN-Habitat 2012).

The Geopolis' estimates of population growth for Tanzania's mapped urban settlements provide figures considerably lower than the projections from both the NBS and UN-Habitat (see Fig 1 below). According to Geopolis estimates, Tanzania's urban settlements had a total urban population of 5.8 million people in 2000, 9.5 million in 2010 and a projected 11.8 million in 2020 (e-Geopolis 2012).



**Fig 1. Comparison of urban population growth figures for Tanzania, 1978-2025**

Sources: NBS(2006): *Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII. Dar es Salaam (2005 and onwards are projections)*. UN-Habitat (2012): *UrbanInfo*: <http://www.devinfo.info/urbaninfo/> - accessed 6th of December 2012 (2010 and onwards are projections). E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>. (2020 and onwards are projections).

As indicated in Fig 1, caution is needed when comparing urban population statistics from different sources because they use different thresholds. Geopolis defines urban settlements as continuously built-up settlements with at least 10,000 inhabitants, whereas although unclear the NBS and UN-Habitat might include settlements smaller than 10,000, which can explain the huge difference in their estimates. Clearly the enumeration of urban form is dependent on defining what constitutes the urban. The NBS estimates are based on Enumeration Areas, which are small geographical areas with 300-900 individuals; the Region Census Committee classifies each enumeration area as urban or rural. It is possible that different definitions could yield different results.

A recent study by Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008) adopted a density-based perspective of urban form, and the authors argue that the NBS is significantly underestimating the level of urbanization taking place in Tanzania. Muzzini and Lindeboom used a population density threshold of 150 people/km<sup>2</sup> and all settlements above the threshold are considered urban. In doing so the authors argue that the level of urbanisation in Tanzania was actually as high as 33.5 per cent in 2002. This figure is approximately 10 per cent higher than the NBS' figure of 23.1 per cent, which suggests that a large share of the population might live in high-density settlements that are not officially categorized as urban. Moreover, some of those areas considered urban by the bureau might not meet the density threshold of 150 people per km<sup>2</sup> (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008).

### ***Urban population growth trends for Dar es Salaam***

Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's largest city and located on the east coast (see Fig 2 below). Dar es Salaam city is located in the administrative region of the same name. The census provides data on a regional basis only, but for Dar es Salaam the regional population figures are fairly good estimates of the population of the city of Dar es Salaam as 93.3 per cent of the population in Dar es Salaam region was categorized as urban in the 2002 census. The urban share was also high in previous census years - 88.6 per cent in 1988 and 91.3 per cent in 1978 – and it is projected to increase to almost a 100 per cent in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006).

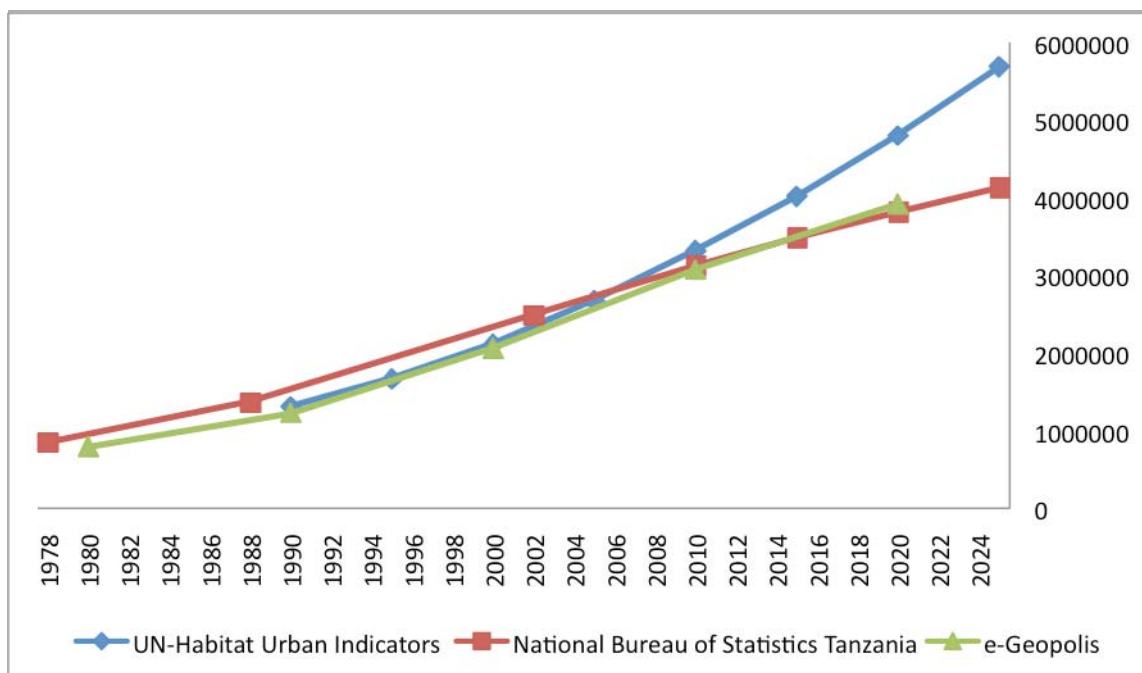


**Fig 2 Map of Tanzania**

(Source [www.maps.com](http://www.maps.com))

The Dar es Salaam region has grown from a population of 433,000 people in 1967 to 2.5 million people in 2002. The region is projected to grow to 3.3 million in 2012 and 4.1 million in 2025. The average annual growth rate of Dar es Salaam’s population has decreased considerably from 7.8 per cent in 1967-1978 to 4.8 per cent in 1978-1988 and 4.3 per cent in the most recent inter-census period 1988-2002. As indicated above in Table 1, the growth rate is projected to decrease even more to 2.8 per cent in 2002-2012 and 1.8 per cent in 2012-2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The UN-Habitat and Geopolis estimates of Dar es Salaam’s population growth show a reasonable correlation with the NBS up until 2010, although the UN-Habitat and Geopolis figures before 2005 are slightly lower than the NBS. The figures are more aligned when Dar es Salaam’s rural population is drawn out from the NBS estimates. With regards to the future, Geopolis projections are very close to those of the NBS, whereas UN projections are much higher. The UN-Habitat data predicts that Dar es Salaam will grow to 5.7 million people in 2025, whereas the NBS forecasts predict growth to

be 4.1 million (UN-Habitat 2012). Furthermore, the UN-Habitat places Dar es Salaam among the world's ten fastest growing cities with the population practically doubling from 2005-2025 (UN-Habitat 2008).



**Fig 3 Comparison of population growth figures for Dar es Salaam, 1978-2025**

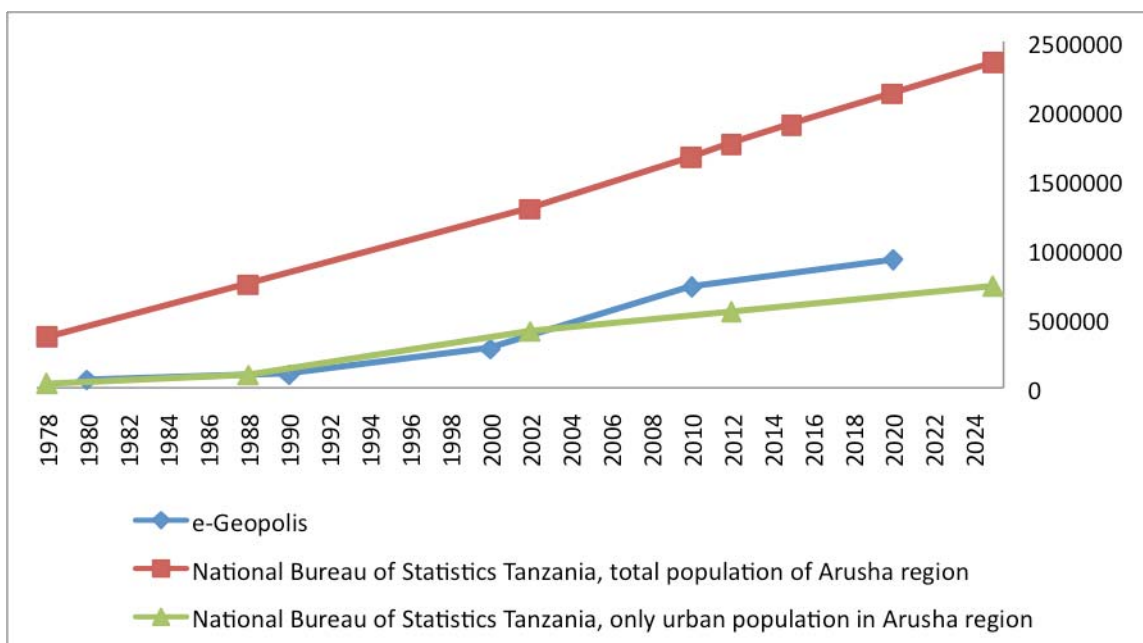
Sources: NBS(2006): *Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII. Dar es Salaam (2005 and onwards are projections)*. UN-Habitat (2012): *UrbanInfo*: <http://www.devinfo.info/urbaninfo/> - accessed 6th of December 2012 (2010 and onwards are projections). E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>. (2020 and onwards are projections).

### ***Urban population growth trends for Arusha***

The city of Arusha is situated in northeast Tanzania (see Fig 2 above) and shares its name with the region within which it is located. Unfortunately the regional figures are not good proxies for the population of Arusha city. Even though Arusha is Tanzania's third most urbanized region, only 31.3 per cent of Arusha's population was classified as urban in the 2002-census, implying that the district population figures contains a majority of inhabitants from surrounding rural areas. In previous census years the urban share was even lower - 12.4 per cent in 1988 and 8 per cent in 1978 - and in the future it is projected to remain at the level of 31.3 per cent up until 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The Arusha region has grown from

a population of 366,000 people in 1967 to 1.3 million people in 2002. It is projected to grow to 1.8 million people in 2012 and 2.3 million in 2025. The UN-Habitat Urban Indicators database does not provide figures for Arusha, but Geopolis' estimates and projections of Arusha are much lower than those of National Bureau of Statistics. According to Geopolis the city of Arusha has grown from 59,000 inhabitants in 1980 to 280,000 in 2000 and 728,000 in 2010, and it is projected to grow to only 925,000 in 2020 (e-Geopolis 2012). The difference is caused by the fact that census figures for Arusha cover the whole region. If one filters away the rural share of the region's population, the bureau's figures actually show a high degree of correspondence with the Geopolis figures, although the bureau's projections are slightly more conservative.

The census data on regional population growth translates into an average annual growth rate for the Arusha region that has remained stable at just below 4 per cent in all inter-census periods. This is projected to decrease to 3.2 in 2002-2012 and 2.3 in 2012-2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The Geopolis figures for the city of Arusha show a much higher average annual growth rate. The Geopolis figures translate into an average annual growth rate for Arusha of 8.75 per cent from 1980-2010. A comparison of the population figures from the 3 main data sources are provided in Fig 4 below.



**Fig 4 Comparison of population growth figures for Arusha, 1978-2025**

Sources: NBS(2006): *Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII. (2005 and onwards are projections)*. E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>. (2020 and onwards are projections).



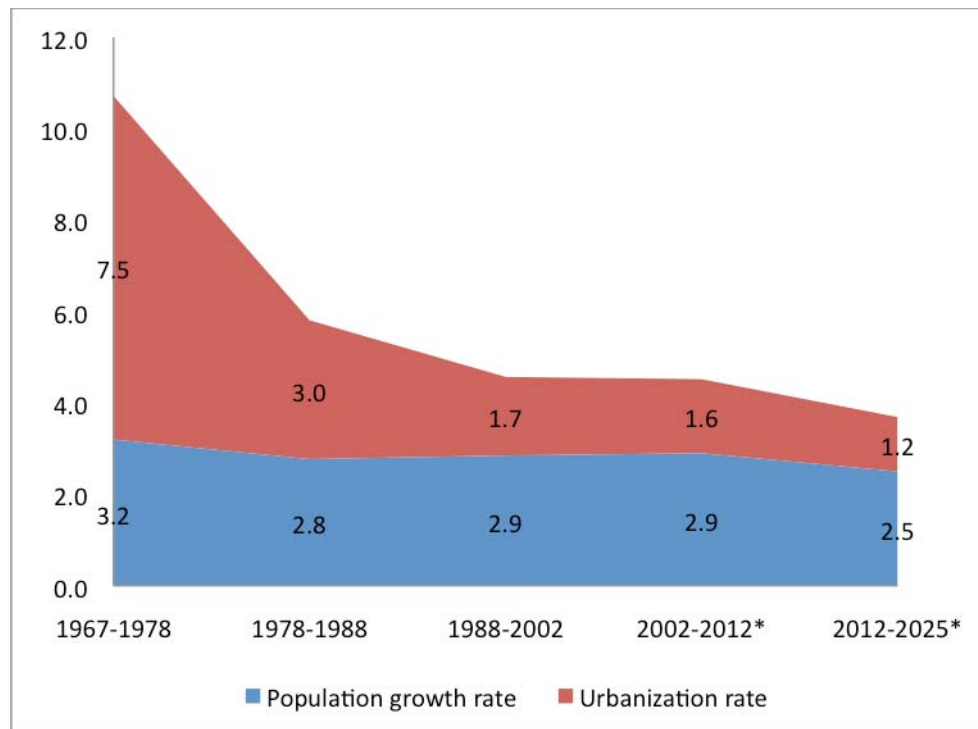
### ***Sources of urban growth***

The first part of this section outlined Tanzania's key urban growth trends. The remainder of the section provides possible explanations for the patterns and trends outlined above. In theory there are two components of urban growth: net in-migration and natural increase. Natural increase is related to demographic trends in fertility and mortality, and it is important to look at how these trends differ in rural and urban areas to understand the impact on urbanisation (Potts 2006). In practice, urban growth is also often fuelled by the absorption of smaller settlements in the growth path of larger cities as well as reclassification of small settlements as population thresholds are passed (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2012). There is some evidence of the latter taking place in Tanzania and Potts argues that urban growth might be exaggerated in the censuses because of redefinitions of urban settlements in the inter-census periods. In addition, Potts argues that many of the enumerated urban areas at the lower end of the urban hierarchy in the most recent inter-census period actually consisted of areas that were rural in their function, but were considered as urban by their size alone (Potts 2006, Potts 2009). This would inflate urban growth figures, and it is not possible to assess how much of urban growth might be attributed to reclassification.

### ***Contribution of migration to urban growth in Tanzania***

Rural-urban migration has historically been an important source of urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa. The difference between the national and the urban population growth rates is the main indicator of rural-urban migration's role in contributing to urban growth and urbanization processes (Van Dijk et al. 2001, Potts 2005). The census data for Tanzania reveals that in all inter-census periods, the urban population growth rate has been considerably higher than the growth rate of the total population. This is more prominent in the first census period 1967-1978 when urban growth was more rapid than national population growth. The annual average growth rate of the whole period from 1967-2002 was 6.8 per cent for the urban population compared to 3 per cent for the total population (NBS Tanzania 2006). Assuming that natural increase rates in rural and urban areas are similar, one can deduct national population growth rate from the urban population growth rate, to produce an urbanization rate. The urbanization rate reflects the share of urban growth that can be attributed to rural-urban migration and reclassification. While the national population growth rate has consistently remained around 3 per cent per annum, the urbanization rate

was very high in the first inter-census period but decreased in the following inter-census periods (see Fig 5 below).



**Fig 5 Population growth rate and urbanization rate, Tanzania, 1967-2025**

Sources: NBS(2006): *Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII. (2002 and onwards are projections)*

Data sources indicate that in-migration has played a vital role in Tanzania’s urban growth and urbanization process. The NBS also attributes part of the urban growth occurring to rural-to-urban migration, particularly young people migrating to urban areas to engage in small scale trading (NBS Tanzania 2006). Potts also categorizes Tanzania as a country where significant net in-migration has been an important component of urban growth (Potts 2006). Yet Muzzini and Lindeboom estimate that in the most recent inter-census period of 1988-2002, migration has contributed to 17 per cent of urban population growth in Tanzania, meaning that 83 per cent of the growth in this period was due to natural growth or re-classification (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008). With regards to the future, Tanzania’s urban growth rate is projected to decrease but remain higher than the national

growth rate. The projections from the 2002-census translate into an average annual growth rate of the urban population of 4 per cent from 2002-2025, compared to a projected growth rate of the total population of 2.7 per cent in the same period (NBS Tanzania 2006). Although not directly comparable, UN projections show a high correspondence. Their projections translate into an average annual growth rate of the urban population of 4.2 per cent in 2000-2025, compared to a growth rate of the total population of 2.3 in the same period (UN-Habitat 2012).

These projections suggest that net in-migration will continue to be a source of urban growth in Tanzania, although the relative importance of rural-urban migration in comparison with natural population growth will decrease. The projections should be taken with caution, as there is uncertainty inherent in projecting future migration patterns. Several scholars have shown that migration patterns can be quite sensitive to economic trends, and there are reports linking decreasing and negative net in-migration in sub-Saharan African cities to economic crises, falling real urban incomes and increasing urban poverty (Ferguson 1999, Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2006, Potts 2009, Potts 2010, Satterthwaite 2010, Potts 2012). Current and future net in-migration to urban areas in Tanzania might decline as a response to economic crisis, but it could also be fuelled by new economic opportunities in the cities, for instance related to rising commodity prices. Furthermore, a decreasing rate of net in-migration does not necessarily mean that fewer migrants will move to cities. It is a statistical inevitability that any given number of in-migrants will translate into a lower growth rate if it is into a larger city. Even if net in-migration remains at the same level in absolute numbers, the rate of growth yielded by in-migration will inevitably decrease (Potts 2006).

### ***Contribution of natural increase to urban growth in Tanzania***

The difference between urban and national population growth rates can only be used as a means to assess the contribution of migration if natural increase is identical in both urban and rural areas. According to Potts, in most of sub-Saharan Africa natural increase in urban areas has for various reasons often been the same as in rural areas (Potts 2005, Potts 2012). However, it is possible that due to variations in fertility and mortality patterns differences will exist, and it is to these two factors that we shall now turn our attention.

## ***Fertility***

Sub-Saharan Africa's rural and urban fertility rates have historically been quite similar. This trend changed in the 1970s, and since the beginning of the 1980s urban fertility has been noticeably lower (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). Despite a rural-urban fertility gap, urban crude birth rates have tended to stay nearly as high as those reported for rural areas, a situation attributed to the concentration of the urban population within youthful fertile age ranges (Potts 2005, Zulu et al. 2011, Potts 2012). Data on fertility in Tanzania are scarce and very scattered, but the few available data point in the direction that Tanzania has largely followed the general trends for sub-Saharan Africa outlined above. This would support the argument that natural increase in urban areas has in fact been similar or at least close to that of rural areas.

The 2002 census shows that Tanzania's total fertility rate has remained high and fairly stable, decreasing only slightly from 6.6 births per woman in 1967 to 6.3 in 2002 (NBS Tanzania 2006). Tabutin and Schoumaker's (2004) data confirm a high fertility rate of 6.7-6.8 births per woman during the 1950s-1980s. From the 1990s onwards, their data show a larger decrease than the census data, to 6.1 in the 1990s and 5.1 in the 2000s (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). In the 2002 census, urban Tanzanian women generally reported lower fertility in comparison to their rural counterparts, a trend that was also observed in relation to previous censuses in 1978 and 1988. In 2002, the child-woman ratio, i.e. the ratio of children aged 5-9 to women aged 20-49, shows a large difference between the rural ratio of 0.885 and the urban ratio of 0.569 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The 2010 Demographic and Health Survey confirm this pattern. In 2010 the total fertility rate had decreased to 5.4 births per woman, but with a rate of 6.1 births per woman in rural areas compared to a much lower rate of 3.7 births per woman in urban areas (NBS Tanzania 2011). This gives a rural-urban difference of more than two children per woman and indicates that urban natural increase might be much lower in the future.

Similarly to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, the rural-urban fertility gap does not necessarily translate into less children being born in urban areas. As mentioned above, this is because a greater proportion of the urban population are within the fertile age range. The 2010 Demographic and Health Survey found that 48.3 per cent of the urban population was 15-44 years of age, compared to 30.7 per cent of the rural population (NBS Tanzania 2011). This is the key reason given for the 2010 Demographic and Health Survey findings, which

show that the general rural and urban crude birth rates are now closer to each other - 35 births per year per 1000 women in urban areas compared to 39 in rural areas (NBS Tanzania 2011). In the 2002 census 52 per cent of the urban population was aged 15-44 years, compared to 40 per cent of the rural population (NBS Tanzania 2006). Unfortunately, the 2002 census only provides data disaggregated on districts, and not on rural-urban differentials. It does reveal that the predominantly urban district of Dar es Salaam had a crude birth rate of 35 births per year per 1,000 women in 2002 in comparison to the national birth rate of 43. In 1988 the crude birth rate of Dar es Salaam was 38 compared to a national rate of 47. In 1978 it was 48 compared to a national rate of 49 and in 1967 it was 33 compared to a national rate of 47 (NBS Tanzania 2006).

### ***Mortality***

Up until the 1980s, many parts of sub-Saharan Africa witnessed a general increase in life expectancy alongside declining mortality rates. However, from the 1990s onwards adult mortality rose, a situation attributed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the resurgence of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis and malaria (Zuberi et al. 2003, Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). The HIV/AIDS pandemic tends to be skewed towards urban areas, because of the youthfulness and sexual practices of urban populations. Recent empirical work has linked urban poverty and slum (informal) dwellings with risky sexual behaviour, such as lower condom usage and promiscuity (Greif et al. 2011, Zulu et al. 2011). Potts predicts that the full demographic impact of HIV/AIDS will not be apparent until the mid to late 21<sup>st</sup> century, and that this period will witness a significant increase in the urban adult mortality rate (Potts 2006).

Data on mortality in Tanzania is scarce and incomplete, but the available mortality indicators suggest that Tanzania has followed the general mortality patterns for sub-Saharan Africa outlined above. This suggests that the natural increase in urban areas has been similar or at least close to that of rural areas. Like the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, Tanzania experienced declining mortality and increasing life expectancy up until the 1980s, but this situation reversed from the 1990s onwards. The crude death rate dropped from 26.2 (per year per 1,000 people) in 1950s to a low-point of 14.4 in the 1980s, and then increased to 18.1 in the early 2000s. Alongside this trend, life expectancy increased from 37 years

during the 1950s, to a high of 51 years in the 1980s. It then decreased considerably to 43.3 in 2000s (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare rural and urban adult mortality using the data available, there is however data on crude death rates. In the 2002 census the reported crude death rate for urban and rural areas were quite similar. Rural areas reported 14.1 deaths per year per 1000 people, whereas urban areas reported 15.1. The crude death rate for all of Tanzania was 14.5 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The crude death rate includes all deaths, which makes it impossible to distinguish between child and adult mortality. The seemingly similar urban and rural death rates may conceal variations e.g. higher infant and child mortalities in rural areas and relatively higher adult mortality in urban areas.

In the 2002 census an estimated 44 per cent of the population were aged 0-14 years (NBS Tanzania 2006) and in the 2010 Demographic and Health Survey an estimated 48 per cent of the population were aged 0-14 years (NBS Tanzania 2011). These figures appear to corroborate Potts' assertion that because children constitute a considerable portion of sub-Saharan Africa's population, it is important to pay attention to infant-child mortality rates. Child mortality in Tanzania decreased considerably between 1950 and 1980, and unlike in some other sub-Saharan African countries it did not increase during the 1990s, rather the mortality rate remained at the 1980 level through to the early 2000s (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). Historically, there has been a considerable rural-urban gap, with much lower infant-child mortality in urban areas (Zuberi et al. 2003, Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). This is one of the reasons why urban and rural natural increase tends to be similar, despite lower urban fertility (Potts 2005, Potts 2012). It is important to note that this conceals variations between rural and urban areas.

The infant mortality according to the 2002 census is 99 deaths per 1,000 live births in rural areas, compared to 78 in urban areas, and the under-five mortality rate was 162 in rural areas compared to 123 in urban areas (NBS Tanzania 2006). This 'urban advantage' is related to the historically disproportionate provision of water, sanitation and health care in urban areas. However, the gap between rural and urban infant-child mortality is decreasing as rural health care provision improves, but also because urban health care provision has stalled and in some cases worsened due to the increasing share of the urban population living in slums and informal settlements without basic water and sanitation facilities (Bocquier et al. 2011, Zulu, Beguy et al. 2011). This may explain why the 2010

Demographic and Health Survey found similar infant and child mortality rates in rural and urban areas, with a substantial decline in both places. The infant mortality rate was 63 in urban areas and 60 for rural areas. The under-five mortality rate was 94 in urban areas and 92 for rural areas (NBS Tanzania 2011).

### ***Sources of urban growth for Dar es Salaam***

The NBS categorizes Dar es Salaam as a district that has experienced rapid population growth, and this situation is attributed to natural increase and rural-urban migration. In all inter-census periods the growth rates of Dar es Salaam have been considerably higher than growth rates for the total population. The average annual growth rate of Dar es Salaam from 1967-2002 was 5.1 per cent, compared to an average national population growth rate of 3 per cent per annum (NBS Tanzania 2006). This suggests that up until 1992, net in-migration significantly contributed to the growth of Dar es Salaam. Potts also estimates that net in-migration accounted for 40 per cent of growth in Dar es Salaam in the inter-census period of 1988-2002 (Potts 2009). Kombe argues that rural-urban migration to Dar es Salaam has not been driven by employment opportunities in traditional urban employment sectors like manufacturing and services, instead population growth has been driven by rural poverty driving migrants to the city (Kombe 2005). Interestingly, Dar es Salaam's population growth projections from 2000 onwards suggest growth will occur, but at a lower rate than the total population. The NBS projections translate into an average annual growth rate of 2.2 per cent for Dar es Salaam in 2002-2025, compared to a national growth rate of 2.7 for the same period.

UN projections for Dar es Salaam offer noticeably different figures to those presented by the NBS. The UN forecasts a 4 per cent average annual growth rate for Dar es Salaam in 2000-2025, considerably higher than the national growth rate of 2.3 per cent. The UN assumes that positive net in-migration into Dar es Salaam will continue, however, the data supporting this assumption are not readily available. The NBS also assumes that the pattern of internal migration found in the 2002-census will prevail for the entire projection period, but the effect of net migration on Dar es Salaam's population is projected to slowly decline from 2.45 per cent in 2003 to 2.17 per cent in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). The NBS attributes the declining growth rate of Dar es Salaam to a declining rate of natural increase, projected to fall from 2.0 per cent in 2003 to only 0.3 per cent in 2025. This is linked to a projected reduction

in Dar es Salaam's fertility rates from 3.8 in 2002 to 2.0 in 2025, and the crude birth rate to decline from 39.7 in 2003 to 22.6 in 2025.

Alongside declines in the fertility rate, Dar es Salaam's mortality rates are also projected to decline. The infant mortality rate is predicted to fall from 69.8 in 2003 to 66.7 to 40.4 in 2025, with the under-five mortality rate predicted to decline from 110.3 in 2003 to 58.1 in 2025. The crude death rate is projected to decline from 9.6 deaths per 1000 people in 2003 to 6.9 in 2025. Life expectancy at birth is projected to rise quite significantly from 58.8 years in 2003 to 66.7 in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). It is important to note that mortality does not appear to have a strong impact on the projected natural increase. This might be linked to the youthfulness of Dar es Salaam's population- 60 per cent aged 15-44 in 2003 (NBS Tanzania 2006). When the population consists of a large share of young fertile people, changes in fertility patterns might have a much stronger impact on natural increase.

### ***Effects of urban population growth on Dar es Salaam***

Dar es Salaam's urban population growth physically manifests itself in the form of spatial expansion, urban sprawl and the growth of informal settlements. The surface area of the city has increased dramatically and Kombe notes that urban population growth in Dar es Salaam translates into complex organic urban structures which expand horizontally (Kombe 2005). In 1969 the maximum distance from the centre to edge was 6-10 km. In the late 1990s the distance had increased to 30 km (Olvera, Plat et al. 2003). Sawio (2008) argues that contemporary figures for the geographical expansion could be as high as 50 km, and that the rapid growth is resulting in waste and sanitation management issues, increasing air pollution and road congestion (Sawio 2008).

Dar es Salaam's spatial expansion during the 1970s and 1980s is often described as constituting a 'star shape', with development taking place from the centre outwards along the major roads, a situation which reflected the transport provision of the time. The growing economic crisis resulted in residents requiring land to produce their own food, and this further fuelled the city's expansion (Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000). Owen (2010) describes how farming in the peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam was initiated by a vanguard of urban professionals as part of an economic diversification strategy in response to the economic crisis. Studies have also found that post 1990, most of the spatial expansion has happened by infill and densification rather than further development along the existing major roads (Briggs



and Mwamfupe 2000, Olvera, Plat et al. 2003). This has been in response to new conditions that emerged and made the peri-urban zone an attractive location for residential and commercial agricultural investment, and an emerging business and political elite which began to see the peri-urban areas as a place to invest their newfound wealth (Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000, Olvera, Plat et al. 2003, Owens 2010). It is this association of political and business elites with real-estate investment that has promulgated the belief that the sector is rife with nepotism and corrupt practices.

A study by Briggs and Yeboah (2001) investigated how structural adjustment programmes facilitated spatial expansion in peri-urban areas in sub Saharan Africa in the 1990s. They argued that alongside the liberalisation of trade and foreign currencies, finance became more readily available through remittances from overseas migrants and windfall trading gains. The bulk of this capital was invested in the housing market and located in peri-urban areas. There are several explanations for this situation. Firstly, a fear of nationalization made investors keen to keep their capital as liquid as possible and spread their investments across a range of activities, of which investing in housing was often considered the safest option. Secondly, it was widely believed that real estate provided a way to conceal funds appropriated via corrupt means. Thirdly, there is a strong cultural attachment to land, and owning a house is associated with social prestige. Finally, in the absence of social security systems and options to attain stock orientated investments, a house was and still is perceived as a safe investment for old age (Briggs and Yeboah 2001).

The deregulation of public transport during the late 1980s is also considered a key factor in peri-urban expansion because it enabled formal and informal operators to provide minibus services along the main roads and into peri-urban zones (Briggs and Yeboah 2001). Olvera et al. (2003) argue that the current transport system is unable to cope with the cities' spatial growth. Rizzo (2002) notes that while it may be true that private operators are now able to meet the demand for transport, deregulation has brought with it a number of other ills. The market is now over-supplied and fierce competition combined with lack of state control and regulation has led to exploitative relations between owners and employers in the minibus sector that manifests itself in severe and often deadly speeding and overloading (Rizzo 2002). This situation affects both rich and poor alike, but it is more severely felt in poorer areas.

The transport system is time-consuming and expensive, therefore, poorer households often face restrictions on their spatial mobility. For example, the minibuses tend to focus on the most profitable routes and clientele, and their services are concentrated along the main 150km of paved roads. This makes it difficult to travel on local unpaved roads, especially in the rainy season where particularly low-income areas can become very difficult to access. A combination of isolation and cost leads poorer residents to limit trips outside their neighbourhoods to the most essential activities. In that sense a lack of access is cumulative: the lack of local services in a neighbourhood is often related with low income levels, and access to more distant services is prevented by inadequate and unaffordable transport (Olvera, Plat et al. 2003).

The bulk of Dar es Salaam's urban growth is happening in informal settlements. A recent UN-Habitat report estimates that in 1963, there were approximately 7000 units in unplanned areas. By 1972 the number of units had grown to 28,000 units, and today the majority of urban households in Dar es Salaam provide shelter for themselves in informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2010). Kombe argues that informal settlements often expand in ill-connected and un-serviced peri-urban areas, where land and housing is more affordable than in the centre (Kombe 2005). Despite the term 'informal', the people who build informal settlements often have a perceived security of tenure, and many build houses with permanent and modern building materials. A unique feature of Tanzanian informal settlements is the phenomenon that mixed socio-economic groups often live side by side (UN-Habitat 2010). Fagerlund (2010) also notes the heterogeneous socio-economic structures of the area. In a study of the peri-urban area of Mbezi Luisi in Dar es Salaam, he found people struggling to survive, living close to people with well-paid jobs and good houses. Fagerlund also noted that although the residents originated from a variety of places, the majority had lived in inner city areas before moving to the peri-urban zone. These residents highlighted that the spacious and green environment, the possibility of farming and access to cheaper housing were the primary benefits associated with living in the peri-urban fringe (Fagerlund 2010).

The expansion of informal settlements is linked to issues surrounding land access and valuation. Tanzanian public policy states that land has no value unless it is developed, and that land should be allocated administratively instead of being sold at market value. The formal system is highly inefficient, subject to malpractice and supplies only a fraction of those who bother to apply. Consequently, the formal land allocation system plays a very marginal

role in the provision of urban land. The majority of urban residents access land through informal channels, most often through purchase (Kironde 2000). In 1990-2001 Dar es Salaam authorities received 243,473 applications for land, whereas only 8,209 lots were surveyed and allocated. If we assume that much of this unmet demand is accommodated through informal land delivery, it is possible that 18-19,000 plots are supplied informally every year – probably more since it is likely that many people do not even apply to the authorities for land.

In the formally planned areas standards are higher, with larger and significantly more expensive plots of land and more space for roads and other communal facilities. Conversely the unplanned areas are often more irregularly developed and lack land for roads and communal facilities. These areas are often developed to very high densities with associated high levels of pollution and environmental degradation (Kironde 2006). Sheuya (2009) argues that this is often because extensions and alterations to informal settlements fail to adhere to official planning standards, and this leads to instances of excessive plot coverage and in-house crowding, which in turn exacerbates already inadequate sanitary conditions. Furthermore, house extensions encroaching on roads and other communal land have a deleterious impact on the wider neighborhood structure (Sheuya 2009).

A lack of basic infrastructure is another major theme in relation to informal settlements. Contrary to the common belief that the absence of infrastructure will restrain growth (Kombe 2005), the expansion of informal areas has often occurred without preexisting basic infrastructure. Even in the formal land allocation system, land is often allocated with minimum or no infrastructure (Kironde 2006). This lack of proactive infrastructure provision drives up the cost of urban infrastructure development, which is problematic in a context where supply is rarely able to keep up with demand. A recent World Bank report draws attention to this problem, particularly the shortfall between the required and actual spending on infrastructure development. The authors estimate that an investment of 1,070 million UDS per annum is needed over the next 30 years (Sarzin and Raich 2012). Problematically, the actual spending on urban infrastructure development only amounts to one-tenth of this, at approximately 111 million USD per year. The central recommendations of the World Bank report are to manage the cost of urban infrastructure expansion by targeting lower average service levels, adopting smaller minimum plot sizes and preparing infrastructure proactively before land is developed, as this is much cheaper than upgrading growing settlements later (Sarzin and Raich 2012).

### ***Sources of urban growth for Arusha***

The NBS also categorizes Arusha as having experienced phenomenal growth rates both in terms of natural increase and migration (NBS Tanzania 2006). Arusha's growth rate has been higher than the total population for all the inter census periods, with an average annual growth rate of 3.7 per cent between 1967 and 2002 compared to the national growth rate of 3 per cent. This indicates that net in-migration has contributed to Arusha's growth, but it is difficult to ascertain how much of this growth has taken place in the rural areas of the region, and how much has taken place in the city of Arusha. Although not directly comparable, the Geopolis figures for the city of Arusha translates into a much higher average annual growth rate of 8.8 per cent in the 1980-2010 period (e-Geopolis 2012). If we compare this figure to a national population growth rate of 3 per cent, it provides a strong indication of the important role net in-migration plays in the growth of Arusha City. Potts (2009) also estimates that net in-migration accounted for 50 per cent of growth in Arusha in the inter-census period 1988-2002.

In the projection for Arusha, the population growth rate is projected to decline, with the average annual growth rate for 2002-2025 forecast to decrease to 2.7 per cent - the same level as the national growth rate for the same period. The majority of this decline is attributed to a fall in net migration, which is projected to decline from 3.47 per cent in 2003 to 1.95 per cent in 2025. Alongside this decline in net migration, the rate of natural increase is projected to fall from an already low level of 0.34 per cent in 2003 to 0.16 per cent in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006). As is also the case in Dar es Salaam, natural increase in Arusha is affected by countervailing forces with a decrease in both fertility and mortality. The total fertility rate is projected to steadily fall from 4.9 in 2003 to 3.1 children per women in 2025, and the crude birth rate is projected to fall from 41.4 in 2003 to 25.8 in 2025. The infant mortality rate is projected to decline from 39.8 in 2003 to 25.4 in 2025, and the under-five mortality rate is projected to decline from 54.9 in 2003 to 32.1 in 2025. The crude death rate is projected to decrease slightly from 6.7 in 2003 to 6.3 in 2025, and the total life expectancy is also predicted to decrease from 66.5 in 2003 to 66.1 in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006).

### **3 The urban hierarchy and urban system**

African urban systems are known for a high degree of urban primacy and poorly developed urban hierarchies, traits that are often attributed to the practices of previous colonial governments (Bryceson 2006, Myers 2010, Myers 2011). However, alongside examples of urban primacy, contemporary research on urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa has highlighted the presence of rapidly growing small and intermediary cities, which are not being absorbed by larger cities (Bryceson 2006, UN-Habitat 2008). The UN-Habitat considers this trend a result of rural and regional development processes whereby smaller settlements are becoming important nodes, while Bryceson considers the growth of smaller cities a result of poor people's survival strategies during times of economic duress. An underlying sentiment within both positions is that the size and location of these smaller cities makes them ideal sites for combining agriculture with urban-based livelihood strategies (Bryceson 2006).

This section analyses the development of Tanzania's urban hierarchy to assess if the rapid growth of small and intermediary cities taking place in sub-Saharan Africa as mentioned above is occurring. The section addresses four key questions, specifically; what are the definitions/class/classifications of urban settlements and how have they changed over time? How has the urban hierarchy changed over time? What are the links between urban settlements and how have they changed? How has the sphere of influence of urban settlements changed over time? The section begins by highlighting the historical primacy of Dar es Salaam within Tanzania's urban hierarchy. This is followed by an analysis of key trends and patterns within Tanzania's urban system.

#### ***The Primacy of Dar es Salaam***

Tanzania has a high degree of urban primacy and Dar es Salaam is by far the nation's largest city, accounting for a substantial share of the total urban population. According to the most recent census (2002), 31 per cent of Tanzania's total urban population resides in Dar es Salaam. This is a continuation of historical trends, as previous censuses also show Dar es Salaam accounting for a similar share of the urban population, with 32 per cent in 1988 and 35 per cent in 1978. Dar es Salaam urban primacy is receding, as in 1967 it was home to over 50 per cent of the urban population (NBS Tanzania 2006). Geopolis figures largely concur with the NBS, and suggest that Dar es Salaam had around 38 per cent of the total urban

population living in settlements larger than 10,000 inhabitants in 1980, decreasing slowly to 32 per cent in 2010 (e-Geopolis 2012). UN-Habitat figures show that Dar es Salaam had a slightly lower share of 27-29 per cent of the total urban population from 1990-2010 (UN-Habitat 2012). This difference is mainly caused by the UN-Habitat estimates of Dar es Salaam's population being slightly lower than the NBS.

There is some disagreement amongst the key data sources with regards to future projections. Geopolis and UN projections both show that Dar es Salaam's share of the total urban population will remain at the same level in the future. Geopolis projections indicate that Dar es Salaam will account for 33 per cent of the urban population in 2020 (e-Geopolis 2012), whereas UN Habitat projections claim that Dar es Salaam will account for 27 per cent of the urban population in 2025 (UN-Habitat 2012). The NBS on the other hand, project that Dar es Salaam will account for only 21 per cent of the total urban population in 2025 (NBS Tanzania 2006).

### ***The remaining urban hierarchy***

The Geopolis mappings of settlements larger than 10,000 inhabitants are an invaluable source of information on the development of Tanzania's urban hierarchy from 1980 onwards. It shows that the total number of settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants grew from 44 in 1980 to 126 in 2010. The total number of people living in settlements larger than 10,000 grew from 2.1 million people in 1980 to 9.5 million in 2010, which translates into an absolute increase of 7.4 million people and an average annual growth rate of 5.2 per cent in the 30-year period from 1980-2010 (e-Geopolis 2012). During this period a significant number of smaller cities emerged. The number of small cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants grew from 35 in 1980, to 49 in 1990, 73 in 2000 and 107 in 2010. The number of medium-sized cities with 50,000-200,000 inhabitants only grew from 8 in 1980 to 11 in 2010. The number of large cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants grew from only one in 1980 (Dar es Salaam) to 8 in 2010.

Dar es Salaam was by far the largest and most dominant city between 1980 and 2010, and until 2000 there were only a few intermediary cities of significant size. For example, in order to create a list of the top-15 largest cities in Tanzania during the 1980s, five small cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants would have to be included, and only Dar es Salaam could be considered as large city with more than 200,000 inhabitants. If a similar list

was compiled for the 1990, a number of the small cities would now have become medium-sized; so only one small city would be included in the top 15, however Dar es Salaam would still remain the only large city. By the year 2000 a few of the previously medium-sized cities have grown larger than 200,000 inhabitants, and small cities are no longer included in the top 15. By 2010, a few of the intermediary cities had grown larger than 500,000 inhabitants, and all the cities in the top 15 have more than 100,000 inhabitants, yet none of the intermediary cities come anywhere near Dar es Salaam in size. In 2010 the population of Dar es Salaam was still more than four times the size of the population of the second-largest city Arusha (see Table 4 below).

**Table 3 Number of cities according to population size, Tanzania, 1980-2020**

	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020*
+ 1 million inhabitants		1	1	1	1
500,000-1 million inhabitants	1			2	3
200,000-500,000 inhabitants			4	5	6
100,000-200,000 inhabitants	2	6	6	7	5
50,000-100,000 inhabitants	6	7	6	4	12
30,000-50,000 inhabitants	5	3	9	16	20
10,000-30,000 inhabitants	30	46	66	91	79
<b>Total number of cities</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>126</b>

\* = projections. Source: Own counts based on: *E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis."* Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

**Table 4 Top-15 largest cities in Tanzania 1980-2020**

	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2020*</b>
1	Dar es Salaam 790.173	Dar es Salaam 1.216.624	Dar es Salaam 2.056.990	Dar es Salaam 3.066.110	Dar es Salaam 3.922.460
2	Zanzibar 118.153	Mwanza 176.716	Mwanza 336.023	Arusha 727.511	Arusha 925.084
3	Mwanza 109.447	Zanzibar 172.181	Arusha 279.913	Mwanza 575.512	Mwanza 739.013
4	Tabora 83.090	Tanga 127.942	Zanzibar 277.462	Zanzibar 444.325	Zanzibar 551.326
5	Mbeya 79.914	Mbeya 127.236	Mbeya 209.046	Mbeya 348.049	Mbeya 431.283
6	Morogoro 77.652	Morogoro 127.035	Morogoro 191.378	Moshi 317.363	Moshi 350.906
7	Tanga 72.581	Moshi 102.032	Tanga 158.710	Morogoro 272.447	Morogoro 337.622
8	Arusha 58.719	Tabora 96.601	Moshi 135.328	Tanga 234.369	Tanga 265.295
9	Moshi 53.052	Arusha 94.284	Dodoma 135.223	Dodoma 197.307	Dodoma 251.541
10	Dodoma 49.361	Dodoma 81.930	Tabora 120.153	Kigoma 167.960	Kigoma 221.788
11	Sumbawanga 47.198	Musoma 67.906	Kigoma 110.692	Songea 154.606	Songea 189.690
12	Musoma 47.093	Kigoma 58.243	Musoma 96.336	Tabora 152.247	Tabora 175.922
13	Kigoma 38.536	Songea 51.614	Songea 86.070	Bukoba 134.344	Shinyanga 169.030
14	Singida 31.067	Sumbawanga 50.293	Sumbawanga 65.620	Musoma 133.315	Musoma 162.034
15	Songea 28.318	Singida 41.637	Shinyanga 57.560	Shinyanga 131.187	Bukoba 156.400

\* = projections. Source: e-Geopolis. (2012). "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>



The official classification of urban settlements in Tanzania includes cities, municipalities, towns and townships. The first three categories have legal autonomy and are governed by recognised local government authorities. Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Arusha, Mbeya and Tanga all have the official status of ‘cities’. 17 other urban locales are recognized as ‘municipalities’ and 4 are recognized as towns (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008). In Tanzania a town should have a population of at least 30,000 inhabitants, and be self-sustaining in at least 50 per cent of its budget (Lugoe 2008). The Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development recognizes a fourth stratum of smaller urban settlements, and these as mentioned above are known as townships. Unlike the three other classifications, townships have a semi-autonomous status. They have their own elected local council, but they operate under district councils and are unable to set their own budgets (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008). 11,500 rural villages are registered as Townships under the Prime Minister’s Office (Lugoe 2008).

**Table 5 Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development’s list of urban settlements**

<i>Cities</i>	<i>Municipalities</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Townships</i>
1. Dar es Salaam	1. Moshi	1. Kibaha	1. Bagamoyo
2. Mwanza	2. Tabora	2. Babati	2. Kondo
3. Arusha	3. Iringa	3. Korogwe	3. Mpwapwa
4. Mbeya	4. Dodoma	4. Lindi	4. Kongwa
5. Tanga	5. Songea		5. Monduli
	6. Mtwara		6. Karatu
	7. Sumbawanga		7. Kiteto
	8. Singida		8. Mkuu Rombo
	9. Kigoma		9. Mwanza
	10. Bukoba		10. Same
	11. Musoma		11. Bomang’ombe
	12. Arumeru		12. Lushoto
	13. Morogoro		13. Muheza
	14. Shinyanga		14. Pangani
	15. Kinondoni		15. Handeni
	16. Temeke		16. Kilindi
	17. Ilala		17. Kilosa
			18. Kilombero
			19. Mvomero
			20. Kisarawe
			21. Mkuranga
			22. Rufiji
			23. Mafija
			24. Kilwa
			25. Nachingwea
			26. Liwale
			27. Ruangwa
			28. Newala
			29. Masasi
			30. Tandahimba
			31. Tunduru

			32. Mbinga
			33. Namtimbo
			34. Mufi ndi
			35. Makete
			36. Njombe
			37. Ludewa
			38. Kilolo
			39. Chunya
			40. Kyela
			41. Rungwe
			42. Ileje
			43. Mbozi
			44. Mbarali
			45. Kiomboi
			46. Manyoni
			47. Nzega
			48. Igunga
			49. Urambo
			50. Sikonge
			51. Mpanda
			52. Nkasi
			53. Kibondo
			54. Kasulu
			55. Bariadi
			56. Maswa
			57. Kahama
			58. Bukombe
			59. Meatu
			60. Kishapu
			61. Karagwe
			62. Muleba
			63. Ngara
			64. Biharamulo
			65. Magu
			66. Ngudu
			67. Sengerema
			68. Geita
			69. Missungwi
			70. Ilemela
			71. Tarime
			72. Mugumu
			73. Bunda
			74. Hanang
			75. Mbulu
			76. Simanjiro
			77. Kibaya

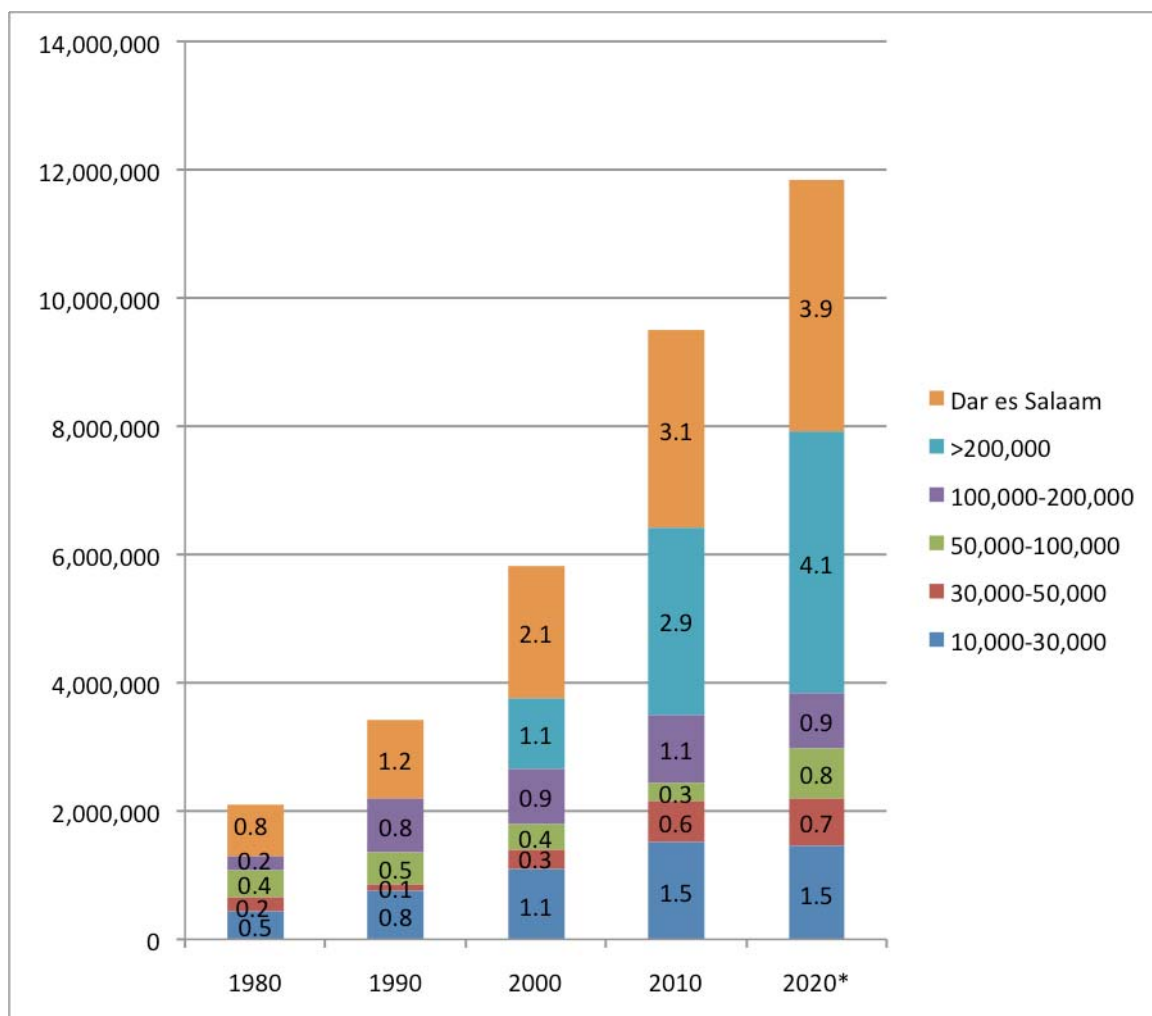
Source: Muzzini, E. and Lindeboom, W. (2008): *The Urban Transition in Tanzania. Building the Empirical Base for Policy Dialogue.*

### ***Population distribution in the urban hierarchy***

When measured in absolute terms, Dar es Salaam has grown from 0.8 million people in 1980 to 3.1 million in 2010 (see Fig 5 below). Until the year 2000 there were no other large cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants, but the turn of the millennium witnessed a growing number of urban dwellers living in what can be described as large cities. Viewing this change within a historical context, it can be seen that in 2000 1.1

million people lived in large cities, and by 2010 3.1 million people lived in large cities. In 1980 0.6 million people lived in medium-sized cities with 50,000-200,000 inhabitants, compared to 1.4 million people in medium-sized cities in 2010. In 1980 0.7 million people lived in small cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants, compared to 2.2 million small-town dwellers in 2010. It is important to note that each city is categorized according to its respective size in the year in question, therefore, the same city might be categorized as medium-sized in one year, but large in another one.

**Fig 6 Urban population according to city size in million people  
Tanzania, 1980-2020**

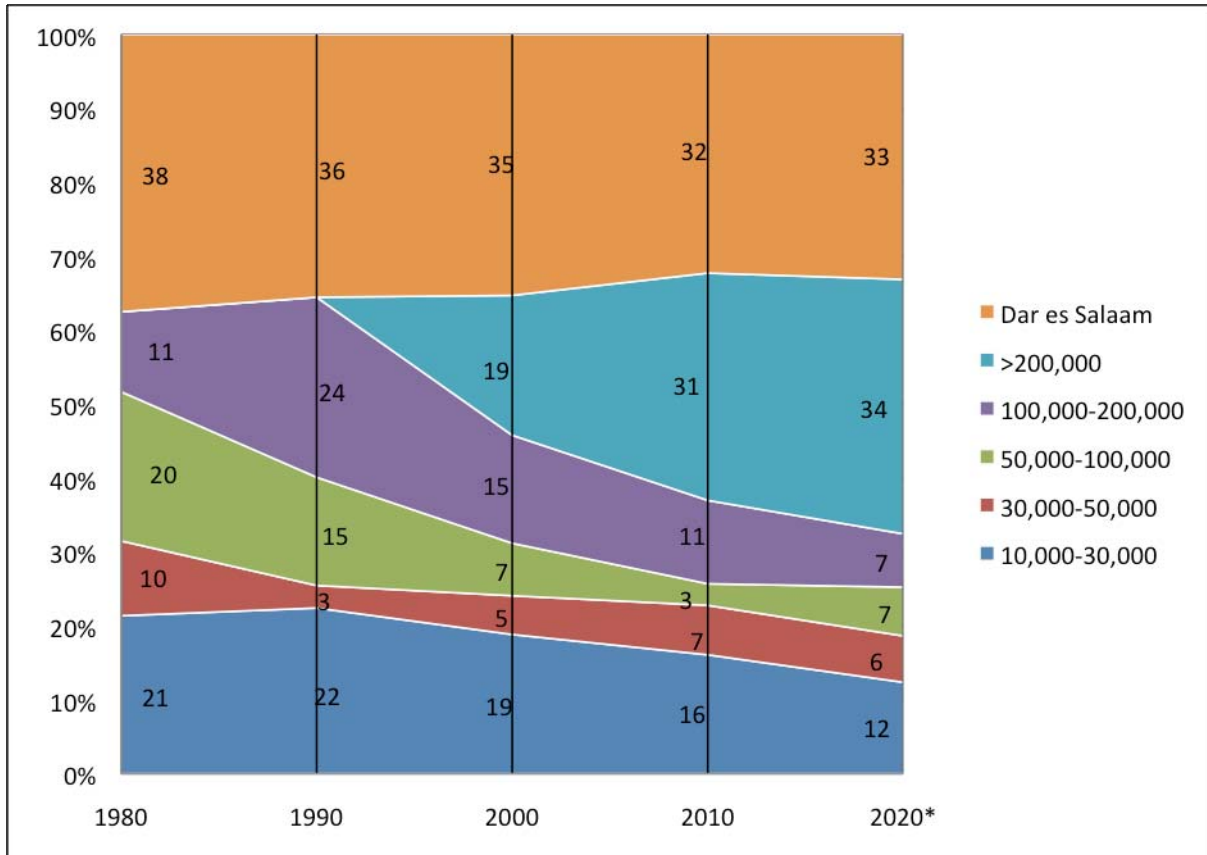


Source: Own calculations based on: e-Geopolis. (2012). "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

When measured in relative terms, small and medium-sized cities have held declining shares of the total urban population between 1980-2010 (see Fig 7 below). Small cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants accounted for 31 per cent of the total urban population in 1980. By 2010 their share had decreased to 23 per cent, and it is projected to decline further to 18 per cent in 2020. Medium-sized cities with 50,000-200,000 inhabitants have declined even more. In 1980 medium-sized cities accounted for 31 per cent of the total urban population; by 2010 their share of the population had declined to 14 per cent in 2010, and it is projected to decrease to 13 per cent in 2020.

The largest cities, on the other hand, have held an increasing share of the total urban population. Dar es Salaam has experienced slightly decreasing shares, with 38 per cent in 1980 falling to 32 per cent in 2010, but the other large cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants have experienced a rapidly increasing share of the urban population, from 19 per cent in 2000 to 31 per cent in 2010. This is because as smaller cities grow larger, they change category, and naturally the larger cities now account for a larger share of the population. The large cities jumped from 0 to 19 per cent of the urban population from 1990-2000, while small and medium-sized decreased significantly. This reflects that many previously small and medium-sized cities had by then crossed the threshold of 200,000 inhabitants.

**Fig 7 Urban population according to city size as share of the urban population, Tanzania, 1980-2020**



Source: Own calculations based on: e-Geopolis. (2012). "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>

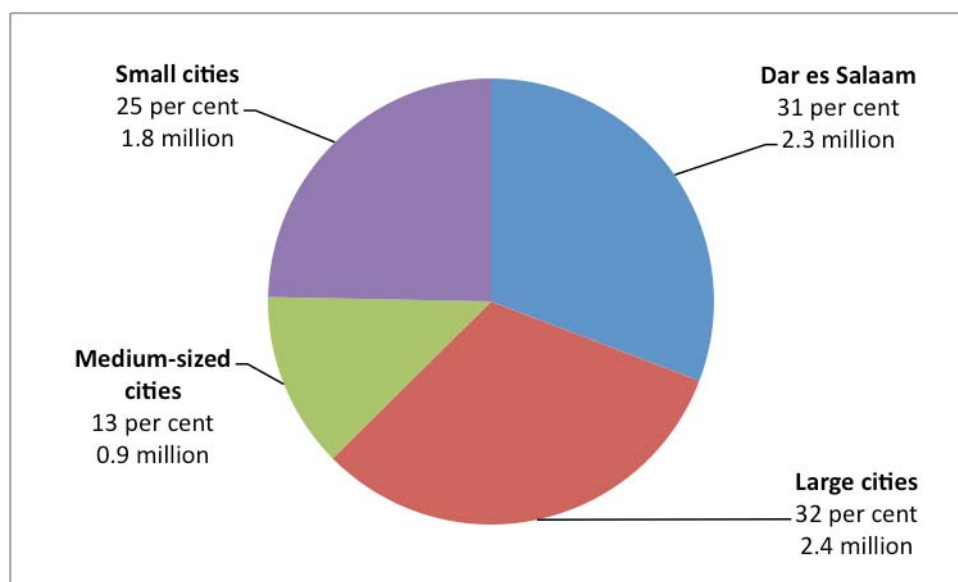
***Population growth in the urban hierarchy***

The number of small cities multiplied between 1980-2010, yet the largest cities have been responsible for most of the urban population growth, whether measuring in absolute or relative terms, and whether looking at long-term growth since 1980 or the more recent period from 2000. Much of the rapid growth seems to be taking place in larger intermediary cities, not exclusively in Dar es Salaam, and there is also some evidence of rapid growth in a few selected small and medium-sized cities. Measured in absolute terms, the total urban population increased by 7.4 million people from 1980 to 2010. Three-quarters of this increase happened in cities that were among the top 15 largest cities in 2010 (e-Geopolis 2012). Dar es Salaam alone was responsible for 31 per cent of the increase, with an absolute increase of 2.3 million people in 1980-2010. Another 32 per cent of the increase happened in other large cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants, with an absolute increase of 2.4 million people. Only 13 per cent of

the increase took place in medium-sized cities with 50-200,000 inhabitants with an absolute increase of 0.9 million people.

A substantial share of the absolute increase took place in smaller cities. This category had an absolute increase of 1.8 million people from 1980-2010 – accounting for 25 per cent of the absolute increase (see Fig 8). It should be noted though, that some of the population increase in the small cities is due to small settlements crossing the threshold of 10,000 inhabitants. In 1980 approximately 300,000 people lived in small settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants, and all these settlements had crossed the threshold by 2010.

**Fig 8 Absolute increase in urban population from 1980-2010, according to city size in 2010, Tanzania**



Source: Own calculations based on: *E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis."* Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

When measured in relative terms, it seems that the largest cities have been growing the fastest. Almost all of the large cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants in 2010 had average annual growth rates above or close to the average annual urban growth rate of 5.2, between 1980 and 2010. With the medium-sized cities approximately half are above or around the average, and half are below, while most of the small cities have growth rates that are below average. There is also evidence of rapid growth amongst a few small and intermediary cities, and with an annual growth

rate of 4.6 per cent Dar es Salaam actually grew slower than the average. When looking at the six fastest growing cities, two of them are large, one is medium-sized and three are small. The small city of Vwawa had the highest growth rate of almost 9 per cent, whereas the larger city of Arusha had the second-highest growth rate of 8.8 per cent. Arusha almost tripled its size in the period 1990-2000, and from 2000-2010 it more than doubled its size and became the second-largest city. The small city of Kitanga has the third-highest growth rate of 8.1. The small city Njombe Mjini and the medium-sized city of Shinyanga both had a growth rate of 6.5 per cent, and the large city of Moshi had a growth rate of 6.1 per cent.

**Table 6 Cities of Tanzania according to 1980-2010 average annual growth rate and city size in 2010**

	> 6 per cent	4-6 per cent	2-4 per cent	<2 per cent
<b>Large cities</b> > 200,000 inhabitants	Arusha: 8.8 Moshi: 6.1	Mwanza: 5.7 Mbeya: 5 Dar es Salaam: 4.6 Zanzibar: 4.5 Morogoro: 4.3	Tanga: 4	
<b>Medium cities</b> 50,000-200,000 inhabitants	Shinyanga: 6.5	Songea: 5.8 Bukoba: 5.5 Kigoma: 5 Dodoma: 4.7	Kigamboni: 3.8 Ifakara: 3.8 Musoma: 3.5 Singida: 3.5 Tabora: 2	Sumbawanga: 1.9
<b>Small cities</b> < 50,000 inhabitants	Vwawa: 9 Kitanga: 8.1 Njombe Mjini: 6.5	Bunda: 5.6 Mlimba: 5.6 Bagamoya (Pwani): 5.3 Makambako: 5.1 Misungwi: 5 Kibondo Mjini: 5 Muhaza: 5 Lushoto: 4.8 Kyela Mjini: 4.8 Kahama Mjini: 4.7 Tumbi: 4.7 Mbulu Mjini: 4.6 Iguna: 4.4 Laela: 4.4 Ngudu: 4.4 Mang'ula: 4.3 Kasulu Mjini: 4.2 Mugumu Kjini: 4.2 Nkome: 4.2 Tarime: 4.1	Hedaru: 3.9 Mlandizi: 3.9 Sengerema: 3.8 Katoro: 3.8 Tunduma: 3.8 Namanyere: 3.7 Sikonge: 3.5 Nzega Mjini: 3.5 Nguruka: 3.5 Bagamoyo (Rungwe): 3.5 Kisesa: 3.4 Mbalizi: 3.4 Magu Mjini: 3.3 Masasi: 3.3 Kirando: 3.2 Mikumi: 3 Lindi: 3 Kibiti: 3 Chake Chake: 3 Kitama: 3 Karatu: 2.8	Kalangala (Geita): 1.9 Tandahimba: 1.9 Liwale Mjini: 1.9 Mpawapwa: 1.6 Chanika: 1.6 Mafinga: 1.5 Mnyyuzi: 1.3 Gairo: 1.1 Tundura: 1.1 Ruangwa: 0.9 Nansio: 0.8 Luchingu: -0.4

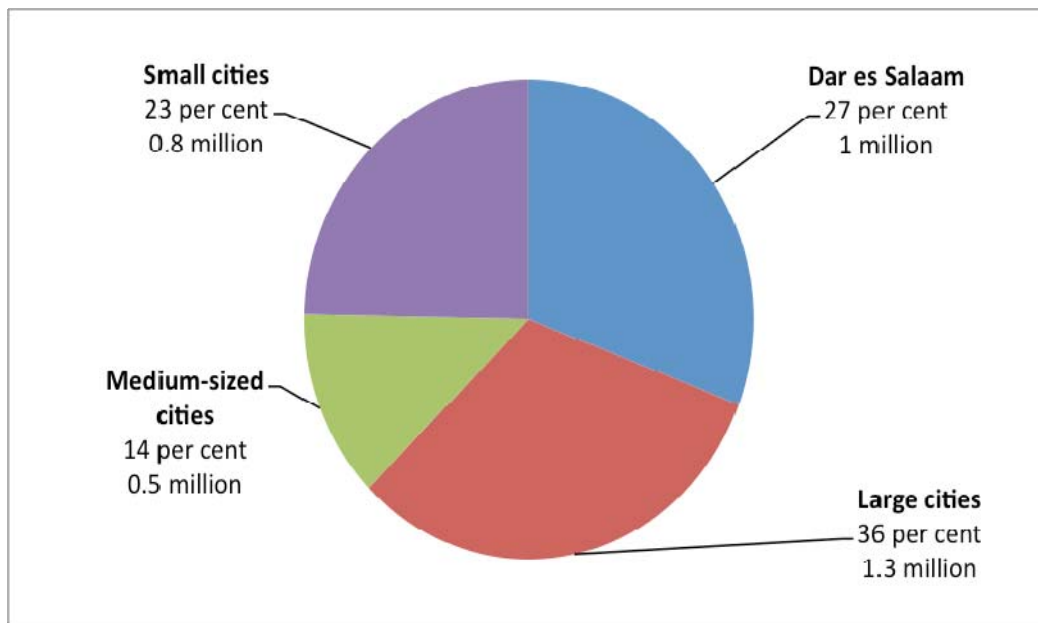
		Babati: 4	Manyoni: 2.8 Itigi: 2.8 Chalinze: 2.8 Masoko (Kilwa): 2.7 Nachingwea: 2.7 Kashaulili (Mapnda): 2.5 Mwanga: 2.5 Wete: 2.4 Kidodi: 2.4 Chala: 2.3 Kasamwa: 2.3 Isagehe: 2.3 Same Mjini: 2.2 Urambo: 2.2 Kilosa: 2.2 Korogwe: 2.2 Kondoa Mjini: 2.1 Kidatu: 2	
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NB: This matrix only includes the 95 cities where population estimates were available for both 1980 and 2010. Source: Own calculations based on: e-Geopolis. (2012). "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

Looking at the most recent period from 2000-2010, it appears that the urban growth that is taking place in small cities is a relatively recent phenomenon, whereas long-term growth has been taking place in large cities (other than Dar es Salaam). The absolute increase in urban population from 2000 to 2010 was 3.7 million people, an increase from 5.8 million in 2000 to 9.5 million in 2010. This translates into an average annual growth rate of 5 per cent (e-Geopolis 2012). Dar es Salaam accounted for 27 per cent of the increase that occurred in 2000-2010, a reduction compared to 31 per cent in 1980-2010. Excluding Dar es Salaam other large cities accounted for 36 per cent of the 2000-2010 increase compared to 32 per cent in 1980-2010. Medium-sized cities accounted for slightly more of the most recent increase, with 14 per cent of the 2000-2010 increase compared to 13 per cent in 1980-2010. Small cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants accounted for 23 per cent of the 2000-2010 increases, compared to 25 per cent in 1980-2010. It should be noted that some of the population increase in the small cities is due to small settlements crossing the threshold of 10,000 inhabitants. In 2000 approximately 160,000 people lived in small settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants, and all these settlements had crossed the threshold by 2010.



**Fig 9 Absolute increase in urban population from 2000-2010, according to city size in 2010, Tanzania**



Source: Own calculations based on: *E-Geopolis (2012): "Africapolis."* Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

The findings above indicate that during the 2000-2010 period, the largest cities were also the fastest growing. This is corroborated by data in Table 7 below. Almost all of the large cities have average annual growth rates above or around the total urban population growth rate of 5 per cent. With regards to the medium-sized cities, about half are above or around average, and half are below. Most of the small cities have growth rates below average. There is evidence of rapid growth among intermediary cities in the most recent period, and of the fastest growing cities two were large and three were medium-sized. None of the small cities show extraordinarily high growth rates, but two of the medium-sized cities have experienced very rapid growth: Bukoba with 9.7 per cent and Shinyanga with 8.6 per cent.

**Table 7 Cities of Tanzania according to 2000-2010 average annual growth rate and city size in 2010**

	> 6 per cent	4-6 per cent	2-4 per cent	<2 per cent
<b>Large cities</b> > 200,000 inhabitants	Arusha: 10.2 Moshi: 8.9	Mwanza: 5.3 Mbeya: 5.2 Dar es Salaam: 4.1 Zanzibar: 4.8 Tanga: 4	Morogoro: 3.6	
<b>Medium cities</b> 50,000-200,000 inhabitants	Bukoba: 9.7 Shinyanga: 8.6 Songea: 6	Kigamboni: 5.3 Singida: 4.7 Kigoma: 4.3	Dodoma: 3.8 Musoma: 3.3 Ifakara: 3 Tabora: 2.4	Sumbawanga: 2.2
<b>Small cities</b> < 50,000 inhabitants		Iringa: 5.7 Kitanga: 5.4 Ushiromba: 5.2 Bagamoya (Pwani): 5.1 Vwawa: 5.1 Bupandwamhela: 4.9 Laela: 4.4 Njombe Mini: 4.3 Tunduma: 4	Nkome: 3.9 Bunda: 2.9 Mbulu Mjini: 3.9 Tumbi: 3.8 Mlimba: 3.8 Mtibwa: 3.8 Makambako: 3.7 Mlandizi: 3.7 Kibondo Mjini: 3.6 Mbinga Mjini: 2.6 Mang'ula: 3.5 Lushoto: 3.5 Kyela Mjini: 3.5 Kirando: 3.5 Kahama Mjini: 3.5 Kitama: 3.4 Sirari: 3.4 Igunga: 3.3 Ngudu: 3.3 Chake Chake: 3.3 Chato: 3.2 Sikonge: 3.2 Mugumu Mjini: 3.2 Muheza: 3.2 Tarime: 3.2 Misungwi: 3.1 Kasulu Mjini: 3.1 Hedaru: 3.1 Mkoma: 3 Mwanga: 3 Mikumi: 2.8 Hai Mjini: 2.8 Kibiti: 2.7 Nzega Mjini: 2.7 Sengerema: 2.6 Bugarama: 2.6 Kisesa: 2.6	Same Mjini: 1.9 Maposeni: 1.9 Urambo: 1.9 Isahege: 1.9 Kashaulili (Mapnda): 1.9 Masasi: 1.9 Korogwe: 1.9 Rujewa: 1.8 Kidatu: 1.8 Nanyamba: 1.7 Nachingwea: 1.7 Kalangala (Geita): 1.7 Wete: 1.7 Chanika: 1.4 Mnyuzi: 1.4 Mafinga: 1.4 Liwale Mjini: 1.3 Mpwapwa: 1.1 Ruangwa: 1.1 Gairo: 1 Tunduru: 0.8 Lindi: 0.8 Kilosa: 0.7 Nansio: 0.2 Luchingu: -0.4

			Nguruka: 2.6 Bagamoyo (Rungwe): 2.6 Kibaigwa: 2.5 Karatu: 2.4 Chalinze: 2.4 Ubaruku: 2.4 Tandahimba: 2.4 Mbalizi: 2.4 Manyoni: 2.3 Masoko (Kilwa): 2.3 Kasamwa: 2.3 Itigi: 2.2 Nyalikungu: 2.2 Namanyere: 2.2 Chala: 2.2 Babati: 2.1 Katoro: 2.1 Kidodi: 2 Kondoa Mjini: 2	
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NB: This matrix only includes the 109 cities where population estimates were available for both 2000 and 2010. Source: Own calculations based on: e-Geopolis. (2012). "Africapolis." Retrieved 6th of December, 2012, from <http://www.e-geopolis.eu/>.

#### 4 Migration

The population of sub-Saharan Africa is well known for being highly mobile, and migration has always formed an integral part of urbanization processes (Van Dijk et al. 2001). Defining and measuring migration is challenging. The simplest definition is a 'change of residence', but this definition is problematic as it raises questions as to how long a person has to stay in a different place to be a migrant, a sojourner or a non-migrant. Often migration is defined in terms of crossing a political or administrative boundary, but this definition also overlooks the movement that takes place within administrative boundaries. There are indications that migration is increasing in sub-Saharan Africa and that patterns are changing. The classic flow of rural-urban migration is slowing down, international migration is more prevalent and refugee streams are growing (Van Dijk, Foeken et al. 2001). There is also increasing evidence of urban-rural migration. This is not a new phenomenon, as historically urban migrants often maintain close relations with relatives in rural villages and return to retire in rural areas. Today, many urban out-migrants are increasingly young and/or urban-born people, who might have lost their jobs and are seeking employment or education in rural areas (Ferguson 1999, Van Dijk et al. 2001, Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2005, UN-Habitat 2008).

Circular migration remains a crucial aspect of urbanization processes in sub-Saharan Africa, but the scale, duration and direction of migration flows have adapted to changes affecting urban populations. Thus declining net in-migration to cities is not necessarily due to less mobility, but rather higher rates of circular migration. The highly circular nature of much rural-urban migration means that there is greater movement between rural and urban locales, particularly amongst young adults in search of employment opportunities (Zulu et al. 2011). This creates a situation whereby reduced net in-migration could be compatible with large and even increasing number of in-migrants to cities – it is the counter-flow of out-migrants that makes the difference. Potts argues that the scale of circular migration is often underappreciated (Potts 2006, Potts 2009, Potts 2010). UN-Habitat also emphasizes the increasing importance of circular migration as an important survival strategy spreading risks and providing access to livelihood opportunities in different localities (UN-Habitat 2008).

Whilst section 2 briefly drew attention to the role of migration in Tanzania's urban growth, this section provides a more detailed analysis of available data on migration within Tanzania, and pays particular attention to its role in shaping urban growth trends. The discussion is framed around addressing four key questions, specifically; who has been migrating to the city? From where are they migrating? Why do people move to cities and have the reasons changed over time? Where in the city have they been moving?

### ***Migration to cities in Tanzania***

The figures for rural-urban migration occurring in African countries can often only be obtained indirectly from changes in the level of urbanisation, i.e. the share of a nation's population living in urban areas (Van Dijk et al. 2001). As discussed in Section 2, the percentage of Tanzania's population living in urban areas increased from 6.4 per cent in 1967 to 23.1 per cent in 2002, and it is projected that the urban share of the population will increase to 27 per cent in 2012 and 31.3 per cent in 2022 (NBS Tanzania 2006). This suggests that rural-urban migration has been contributing to urban growth. The NBS also attributes urban growth to rural-to-urban migration, especially amongst young people. The NBS argues that in recent years young people migrating to urban areas to do 'petty business' are a common feature of all urban areas (NBS Tanzania 2006).

The census provides another source of information on migration, although censuses are generally unable to capture temporary migration and return migration (Van Dijk et al. 2001). The NBS has tried to capture some aspects of migration in the 2002-census by using 'change of residence' as a proxy indicator for migration. They distinguish between recent migrants and lifetime migrants. Recent migrants are defined as people who stated that they lived in a district other than their current district of residence a year before enumeration took place (NBS Tanzania 2006). The census counted 1.1 million recent migrants in 2002, accounting for 3.2 per cent of the total population. Lifetime migrants are defined as people who stated that they were born in another district than their current district of residence. The census counted 5.3 million lifetime migrants, accounting for 15.4 per cent of the population (NBS Tanzania 2006). It is however highly probable that these categories overlap, in the sense that the same person can count both as a recent and as a lifetime migrant.

Census data can, therefore, provide an indication of mobility within the Tanzanian population, but for a variety of reasons this is likely to be an underestimate. Indicators derived from census questions on place of birth and previous place of residence only refer to the stock of migrants and not to migration flows. The census counts are unable to capture the complexity of migration streams and account for temporary migration, circular migration or short-term fluctuations (Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). The level of mobility is probably higher than the census data suggest, as the data covers only inter-regional migration and fails to capture migrations within the same region as well as international out-migration. There are also significant shares of short-term circular migration that the census data fails to capture. It is possible that a significant proportion of people who are currently living in the same region as they were born, but who have lived and worked temporarily in other places, might also plan to do so in the future.

Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008) have given the most recent census data a closer examination. They find that the relatively low net migration to the cities in the most recent inter-census period from 1988-2002 conceals a much higher turnover level. They also find that urban-urban migration is almost as important as rural-urban migration, although it does not directly contribute to urban population growth. The vast majority of migrants to urban areas join existing households and have similar educational backgrounds as non-migrants. Furthermore, urban households with at least

one migrant have on average better access to services than households with no migrants, although they are more likely to suffer from overcrowding. Based on these findings they argue that migration is unlikely to put pressure on the receiving urban economies in relation to housing and services, and they are likely to be absorbed in the urban economy (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008).

### ***Migration to Dar es Salaam***

Dar es Salaam dominates internal migration in Tanzania. This situation is linked to the fact the district contains the nation's primary city, Dar es Salaam, which contains a huge industrial and commercial base that attracts migration flows from all over Tanzania. The only other district that comes close to matching Dar es Salaam's statistics on internal migration is Urban West, where Zanzibar town is located (NBS Tanzania 2006). Dar es Salaam region was the largest receiver of lifetime migrants in 2002. 1.2 million people were counted as lifetime migrants in 2002, accounting for 49 per cent of the total population of Dar es Salaam, and making Dar es Salaam the recipient of 23 per cent of Tanzania's lifetime migrants. In comparison, Dar es Salaam only accounted for 7.2 per cent of the total population in 2002 (NBS Tanzania 2006). Dar es Salaam also had the highest net lifetime migration of +971,000 people, as lifetime in-migrants to Dar es Salaam considerably outnumbered lifetime out-migrants. For example, 237,000 lifetime migrants living in other regions were born in Dar es Salaam, accounting for only 4 per cent of the country's lifetime migrants (NBS Tanzania 2006).

On the subject of recent migrants, Dar es Salaam district is by far Tanzania's largest recipient. 149,000 recent in-migrants were counted in Dar es Salaam, amounting to 6 per cent of the total population, and 13.5 per cent of all recent migrants in Tanzania. However, an additional 131,000 recent migrants living in other regions had lived in Dar es Salaam a year before the enumeration, accounting for 12 per cent of all recent migrants. The census data also reveals a very high level of mobility among the inhabitants of Dar es Salaam. There is both a high share of recent migrants as well as a large share of lifetime in-migrants, indicating that many migrants chose to stay in Dar es Salaam for longer periods of time, although it is not known whether the people counted as lifetime migrants are in fact intending to stay in Dar es Salaam their entire life. The assumed lifetime migrants might have lived in Dar es Salaam for more than a year in 2002, but this does not rule out that they have lived various other places before or

engaged in circular migration of longer duration. They may also choose to return to their home district or move elsewhere at some point in the future. Either way, it seems fair to conclude that Dar es Salaam is a key destination for both short-term and long-term migrants.

The 2002 census offers partial insight as to where in-migrants are coming from, and where out-migrants have gone. Unfortunately, around 40 per cent of migration streams to and from Dar es Salaam are left un-accounted for in the census report, but it is still possible to do some preliminary analysis. The available data reveals that most exchanges takes places within districts close to Dar es Salaam, most notably; Zanzibar- the island to the east of Dar es Salaam, Pwani, Tanga, Morogoro, Lindi, Dodoma and Kilimanjaro. When all the available data from these districts close to Dar es Salaam are summarized, they account for half or more than half of each of the migration streams, probably more since data is not available on all streams for each district (NBS Tanzania 2006).

There is also evidence of some long distance migration. Mwanza and Shinyanga districts are destination areas of out-migrants from Dar es Salaam. These streams are probably related to goldmines located in both districts. Mara is a sending district of in-migrants to Dar es Salaam. Mara is generally a sending district of migrants with a high negative net migration of -191.000 people, amounting to 14 per cent of the total population of the district (NBS Tanzania 2006).

**Table 8 Migration streams in and out of Dar es Salaam, 2002**

	<i>Recent migrants</i>		<i>Lifetime migrants</i>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
Pwani	15.0	18.6	16.7	21.7
Morogoro	9.9	11.3	8.1	11.5
Tanga	9.1	8.3	9.2	5.2
Lindi	-	-	7.4	3.7
Zanzibar Urban West	0.7	3.5	0.7	5.3
Zanzibar rural districts	2.5	6.6	-	-
Dodoma	13.7	5.7	6.1	4.4
Kilimanjaro	-	-	8.6	4.0
Mwanza	5.5	3.2	-	-
Shinyanga	5.1	7.1	-	-
Mara	-	-	6.0	2.1
Other districts	38.5	35.6	37.3	42.0

*Source: Own calculations based on figures from NBS (2006): Census 2002 Analytical Report Vol. X. + Regional and District Projections Vol. XII.*

### **Migration to Arusha**

Arusha is categorized as a region with positive net migration in the 2002 census. The reasons given for the attraction of the area are plentiful land and the existence of large plantations (NBS Tanzania 2006). 265,000 people were counted as lifetime migrants, accounting for 21 per cent of the Arusha district population. Arusha was also the departure point for 183,000 lifetime migrants. This gives a net result of +82,000 lifetime migrants, and approximately 6.3 per cent of the total population of Arusha. Arusha received 5 per cent of all lifetime in-migrants and was the departure point for 3.5 per cent of all lifetime out-migrants in Tanzania. In comparison, Arusha accounts for 3.7 per cent of the total population (NBS Tanzania 2006). A slightly different scenario emerges if short-term and more recent migration trends are examined, and it appears that the Arusha district is sending more migrants than it receives. 71,000 recent migrants living in other regions had lived in Arusha district a year before the enumeration. However, only 34,000 recent migrants were counted in Arusha in 2002, accounting for 2.6 per cent of the total population of Arusha. Therefore the net recent migration in Arusha was -37,000 people. Arusha district accounted for 3 per cent of all recent in-migrants and 6.4 per cent of all recent out-migrants in Tanzania (NBS Tanzania 2006).

The census reveals that Arusha is a district of high mobility, both sending and receiving larger shares of Tanzania's migrants than its relative size would suggest. The city of Arusha accounts for 31 per cent of the district's population, which masks whether the migration streams flow to and from the city of Arusha or the district's surrounding rural areas. This creates possibilities for a number of scenarios, including one where all out-migrants are leaving the rural areas and all in-migrants are moving to the city. In-migrant flows might not appear that large in the statistics compared to the population size of the whole district, but if all are directed at the city of Arusha, they have a much larger effect on the city. As highlighted in the previous sections of this report, the Geopolis figures for Arusha city indicate a very high average annual growth rate of 8.8 per cent in 1980-2010 (e-Geopolis 2012).



Arusha city appears to be a much larger destination of migrants than the district figures suggest. Furthermore, the census data does not capture intraregional migration, so it may also be possible that the city of Arusha is attracting large migrant flows from the district's rural areas. Unfortunately the census report does not provide detailed data on all migration streams to and from Arusha, but it reveals that there is intensive interregional migration between Arusha and the neighbouring districts of Kilimanjaro, Manyara and Singida. In Arusha 65 per cent (174,000) of in-migrants were from these close-by northern regions, and 54 per cent (99,000) of out-migrants from Arusha had settled in the same three regions (NBS Tanzania 2006).

## **5 Urban livelihoods**

The weak performance of African urban economies in the aftermath of structural adjustment programmes is argued to have led to stagnating urban growth and decreasing net migration to urban areas (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2006, Potts 2009, Potts 2010, Satterthwaite 2010, Potts 2012). An alternative view, is that rapid urban growth has continued despite falling real wages and increasing urban unemployment, leading to massive expansion of slums and deepening of urban poverty (Davis 2006, UN-Habitat 2008). The latter position implies that a parallel process of industrialisation and economic growth is not underpinning urban livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa. Bryceson argues that Eastern and Southern African cities rarely meet the requirements of a vibrant city economy. They are large population concentrations in strategic locations but they do not represent large concentrations of capital as observed in cities in the rest of the world (Bryceson 2006). This implies that African urban economies offer relatively few traditionally 'urban' jobs in the formal manufacturing and service sector.

This section examines urban livelihoods in Tanzania. Four key questions are addressed: what are the main sources of urban livelihoods and how have these changed? In which ways does mobility form part of urban livelihood strategies? Which links do urban residents have to rural areas? The section begins by highlighting literature concerning urban livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa more generally. The remainder of the section addresses urban livelihoods in Tanzania, particularly the disparity between official statistics and the challenges facing the populations residing in urban locales.

### ***Urban livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa***

The implementation of structural adjustment programmes in the latter period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted in a massive expansion of sub-Saharan Africa's informal sector, increasing economic insecurity, casualization of labour and erosion of proper wages that families can live off. In addition, women were increasingly required to assist household production by joining the labour force, and school enrolment amongst children and youth declined (Bryceson 2006, Potts 2012). Bank argues that a key outcome of this situation is that the traditional African urban working class has been replaced by a 'precariat' of people without social organisation and secure wage labour (Bank 2011). Simone argues that those at the bottom are left to eke out a livelihood through a series of 'part-time service jobs, hustles and schemes' (Simone 2011).

Davis (2006) argues that African cities have become dumping grounds for a surplus population forced to work in unskilled, unprotected and low-wage informal service industries and petty trade. He refers to this situation as 'informal survivalism', and argues that this has become the primary mode of livelihood for those residing in African cities. Thus Davis warns against the tendency to view the informal sector as a realm of dynamic micro-entrepreneurs. There are entrepreneurs, but the informal sector primarily consists of poor, residual and under-employed labourers. The informal sector rarely generates new jobs, but rather fragments existing jobs by subdividing incomes. The informal sector is home to widespread inequality, petty exploitation, fierce competition and a potentially infinite labour supply, which creates a conflict-prone environment. A 'semifeudal realm of kickbacks, bribes, tribal loyalties and ethnic exclusions' fills the political vacuum of formal labour regulation (Davis 2006).

The difficulty of surviving on a typical urban wage in sub-Saharan Africa is well documented. That people are even able to do so is 'testimony to their, ingenuity determination and hard work' (Owuor 2007). Urban dwellers have developed a wide range of coping strategies. Research has found that many of sub-Saharan Africa's urban out-migrants are increasingly young and/or urban-born people, who might have lost their jobs and are seeking employment or education in rural areas (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2005, UN-Habitat 2008). Multi-spatial households are also becoming more prevalent, as some households split up with for instance the women living in rural areas and the men working in towns and cities. Offspring may return to villages to attend school and young

people who have failed or performed poorly in their studies sent home by their hosts (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Davis 2006, Owuor 2007, UN-Habitat 2010). Thus many households cannot be defined as either urban or rural; they are multi-spatial with some members in rural areas and some in urban, and sometimes also some members who have migrated internationally (Gough et al. 2010).

This is not to suggest that all livelihood strategies involving mobility and rural links are necessarily poverty-driven coping strategies. Research has also found that mobility and rural links also form part of accumulation and social mobility strategies, as well as various socio-cultural conceptions of the good and successful life (Andersson 2001, Englund 2002, Langevang and Gough 2009). Moreover, circular migration has always been a crucial part of urbanization processes in sub-Saharan Africa. It is however increasing in importance as livelihoods in cities are becoming more and more insecure. For many urban dwellers links to rural areas provide a safety net during periods urban unemployment, disease or retirement. Potts argue that decreasing net in-migration to urban areas is not necessarily related to decreasing levels of mobility, but rather to higher rates of circular migration (Potts 2009, Potts 2010, Potts 2011). UN-Habitat also emphasizes the increasing importance of circular migration as an important survival strategy spreading risks and providing access to livelihood opportunities in different localities (UN-Habitat 2008).

It is well documented that rural households often benefit from remittances from urban kin, yet recent research has also found the reverse to be true. With increasing economic insecurity and increased costs of living in cities, food transfers from rural to urban areas have become more important, and remittances from urban to rural areas have decreased. Access to rural food through kin or rural land ownership has become a crucial resource in the livelihoods of many urban dwellers (Foeken and Owuor 2001, Owuor 2007). Urban agriculture is also a well-known response to economic hardship in the cities, especially in the peri-urban fringe where residents can combine urban-based livelihoods with agriculture (Foeken and Owuor 2001, Bryceson 2006, Bryceson 2006).

### ***Urban livelihoods in Tanzania***

There is a severe lack of statistical data on economic activity in African cities (Bryceson 2006) including Tanzania. Data on urban livelihoods are scarce, scattered and not easily comparable. A small proportion of the population depend on formal employment in

comparison to the larger informal sector, which by its very nature is largely unregistered and unmonitored. In addition, livelihood strategies of multi-spatial households, circular migration, rural-urban migration, urban agriculture and rural links are not easily captured in statistics. As result of these factors, urban livelihoods are not easily measured. This section will however attempt to offer an analysis of the available data on employment, unemployment and poverty in urban Tanzania, while acknowledging that this data is unable to provide a complete picture of how urban Tanzanians are actually constructing their livelihoods and making ends meet.

### ***Employment***

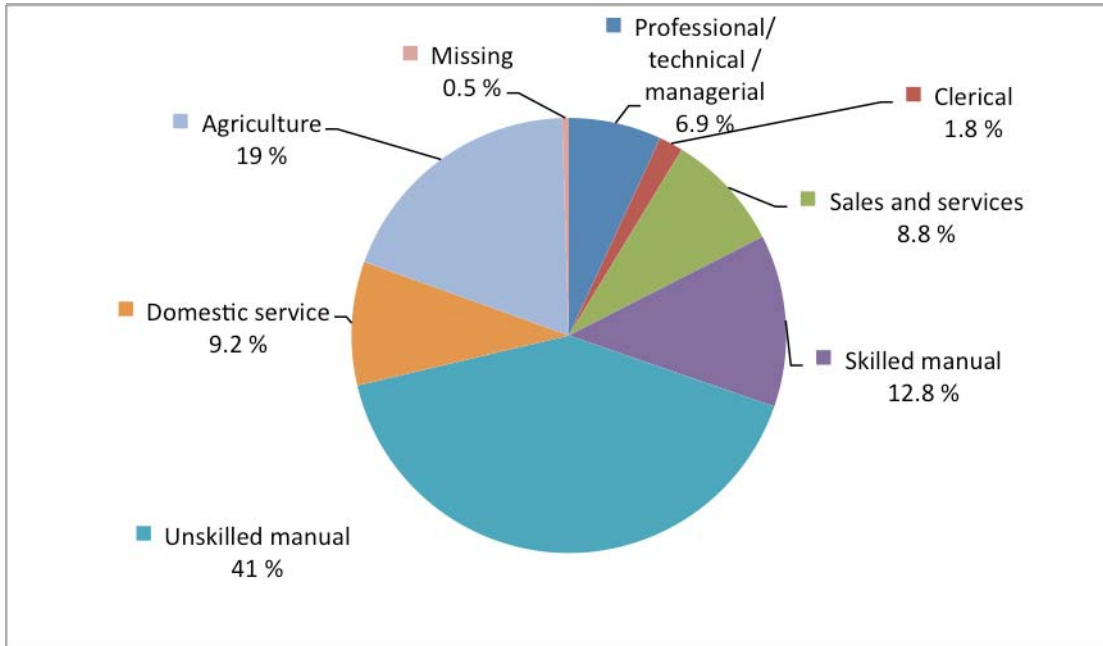
The 2008/09 and 2010/11 Tanzania panel survey shows a generally high level of labour force participation. Labour force participation increased from 77.5 per cent in 2008/09 to 82.6 per cent in 2010/11. This was generally lower in urban areas compared to rural areas, however the most significant increase occurred in urban areas from 67.1 per cent in 2008/09 to 73.9 per cent in 2010/11 (NBS Tanzania 2012). The 2002 census showed that 67.9 per cent of the population were categorized as 'economically active', and the data corroborates the panel survey findings that a larger share of the rural population is economically active compared to the urban population. This was found to contain a gender dimension, as rural women were found to be more economically active than urban women (NBS Tanzania 2006). It is important to note that these figures may mask considerable underemployment, because the definitions of employment are quite broad and inclusive. For example, respondents in the panel survey were considered employed if they had worked just one hour within the last seven days for wages, profits, barter or in the family business. The category of employed people may also include a very broad range of job situations, ranging from full-time formal jobs to irregular informal piecework.

The 2010 Demographic and Health Survey also provides insight on the occupations of Tanzania urban dwellers (see Fig 10 and 11 below). The survey reveals that the majority of employed urban residents are engaged in skilled and unskilled manual occupations, and that more women are engaged in unskilled manual occupations compared to their male counterparts, who are often engaged in skilled manual occupations. A significant share of both urban men and women are engaged in professional/technical/managerial occupations, and this situation is attributable to the

concentration of key administrative, political and financial services in urban locales. It is, therefore, perhaps unsurprising that as the nation's primary city, Dar es Salaam has a higher share of the employed population working in professional/technical/managerial occupations compared to the total urban population. Dar es Salaam also has a higher share of employed people engaged in domestic services and skilled and unskilled manual occupations (NBS Tanzania 2011).

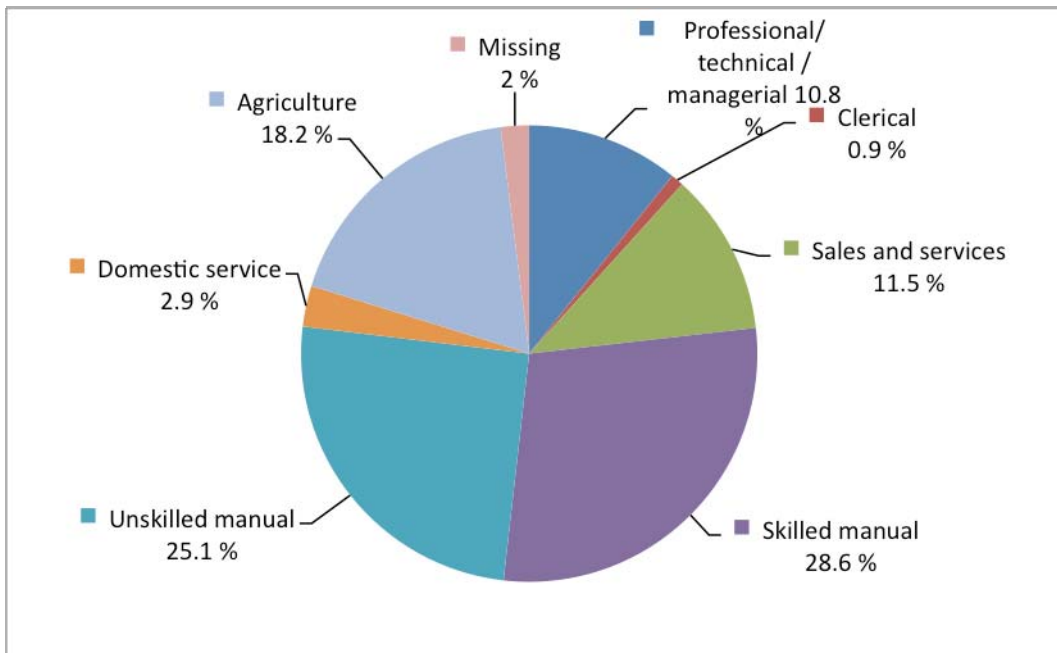
In the rural areas, an overwhelming majority of the population are involved in agriculture, but surprisingly enough a significant share of the urban population is also involved in agriculture. 19 per cent of urban women and 18.2 per cent of men state agriculture as their occupation. Smaller shares of Dar es Salaam's population are engaged in agriculture, though still 3.6 per cent of women and 6.8 per cent of men have agriculture as their occupation (NBS Tanzania 2011). This high share of urban residents with agriculture as their occupation can be related to urban farming, peri-urban farming as well as farming in rural plots away from the cities. In Dar es Salaam, though, urban farming has not been easy because of lack of land (Bryceson 2006). It could also be related to the issue of reclassification of urban areas. Potts argue that many of the enumerated urban areas at the lower end of the hierarchy in Tanzania in the most recent inter-census period actually consist of areas that were rural in their function, but were considered as urban by their size alone (Potts 2006, Potts 2009).

**Fig 10 Occupation of urban women, 2010, Tanzania**



Source: NBS Tanzania, N. (2011). Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2010

**Fig 11 Occupation of urban men, 2010, Tanzania**



Source: NBS Tanzania, N. (2011). Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2010

## ***Unemployment***

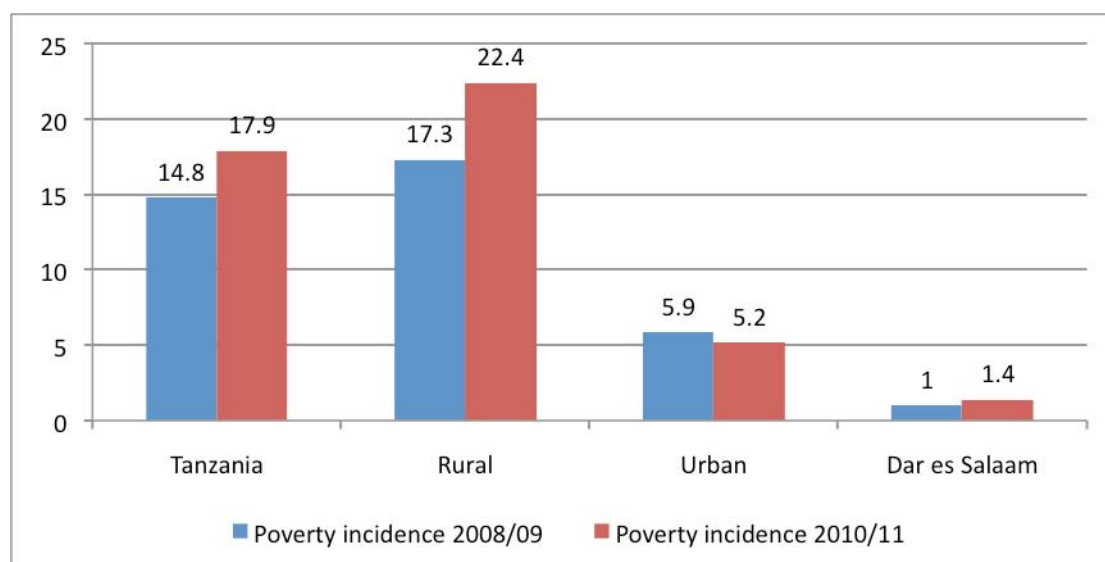
The latest panel survey shows a very low level of unemployment of 2.5 per cent in 2008/09 and 3.5 per cent in 2010/11 (NBS Tanzania 2012). The 2002 census also recorded a low level of unemployment, with 3.7 per cent of the total population recorded as being currently unemployed, compared to 2.7 per cent who were recorded as usually unemployed (NBS Tanzania 2006). Unemployment was found to be higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. The panel survey shows that urban unemployment was 8.5 per cent in 2008/09 and 7.7 per cent in 2010/11. Unemployment was especially high in Dar es Salaam with 16 per cent in 2008/09 and 13.7 per cent in 2010/11. Unemployment was higher among women compared to men, and much higher among youths in the age of 15-24 compared to all other age groups (NBS Tanzania 2012). The 2002 census also shows that unemployment was much higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. 9.2 per cent of the urban population were recorded as being currently unemployed, compared to 2.1 per cent of the rural population. 8.3 per cent of urban population were recorded as usually unemployed, compared to 1.2 per cent of the rural population (NBS Tanzania 2006). Statistical data therefore appear to suggest that unemployment is very low in Tanzania, but as explained above, this is could be the result of using very broad and inclusive definitions of employment.

The 2010 Demographic and Health Survey does not measure unemployment directly, but the survey figures on employment levels do corroborate some of the patterns found in the panel survey and the 2002 census. The Demographic and Health Survey shows a lower level of employment in urban areas compared to rural areas. In urban areas 69.1 per cent of the women and 80.2 per cent of the men were categorized as employed, compared to 84.8 per cent of women and 87.4 per cent of men in rural areas. The remaining population shares for the unemployed include both actually unemployed people as well as people who for various reasons are not economically active, hence they are not comparable with the unemployment figures above. The Demographic and Health Survey also shows that youth aged 15-24 are generally less 'employable' in comparison to all other age groups. Interestingly, the survey also found that employment is negatively correlated with having a secondary or higher education, and being in the most wealthy quintile of the population (NBS Tanzania 2011).

## Poverty

The latest Tanzanian panel surveys appear to suggest that poverty is primarily a rural phenomenon. In 2008/09, 17.3 per cent of the rural population were considered poor, compared to 5.9 per cent of the urban population and only 1 per cent of Dar es Salaam's population. In 2010/11 22.4 per cent of the rural population were considered poor, compared to 5.2 per cent of the urban population and only 1.4 per cent of the population in Dar es Salaam (see Fig 12 below). The survey found that poorer households are generally larger and with higher shares of dependent children and elders. Education is also strongly associated with poverty dynamics, with data suggesting that the more educated the household head is, the less chance of the household being categorised as poor. Furthermore, poverty was also strongly associated with the primary sector. If the household head worked in agriculture, livestock and fishery, it was more likely to be a poor household. A household head working in a non-agricultural job strongly reduced the chance of being poor (NBS Tanzania 2012).

**Fig 12 Poverty incidences in different population strata, Tanzania, 2008/09 and 2010/11**



*NBS Tanzania, N. (2012). Tanzania National Panel Survey Report - Wave 2, 2010-2011. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.*

Satterthwaite (2010) warns that statistics on urban poverty should be read with great care. He argues that poverty headcounts derived from poverty lines often overlook the actual cost of non-food necessities such as schools, health care, transport,



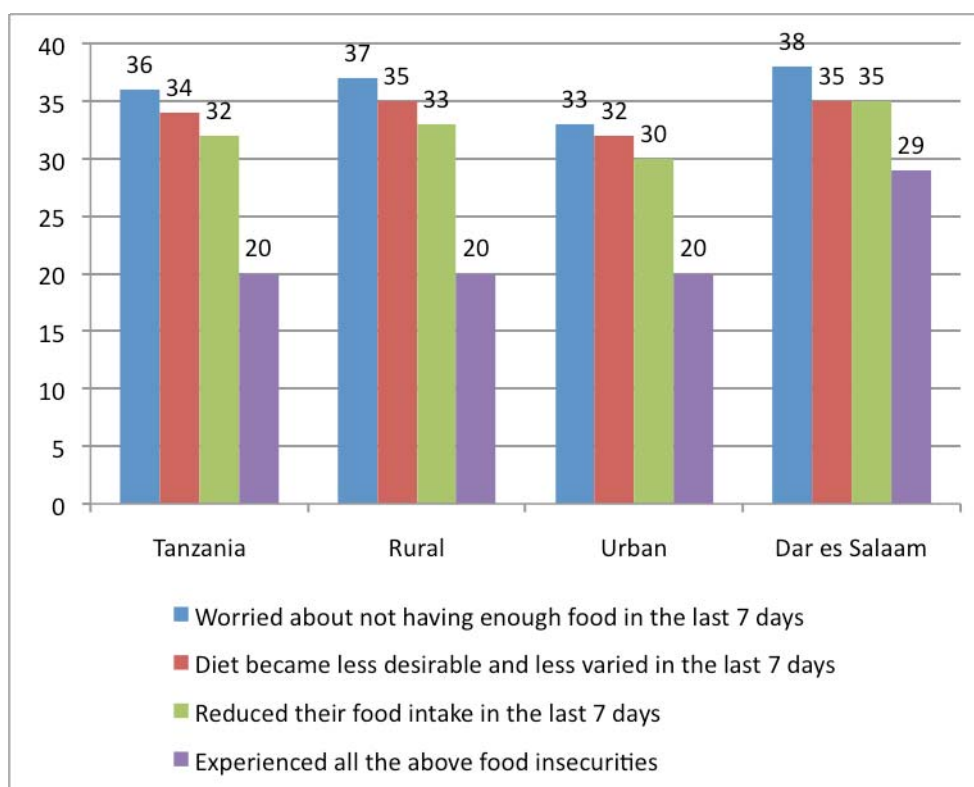
water, sanitation and housing in urban areas (Satterthwaite 2010). The panel survey does in fact show that there is a huge difference between urban and rural costs of living. When the national average is set to an index of 100, rural living costs were index 93 in both rounds, whereas urban living costs were index 112 in 2008/09 and 109 in 2010/11. Dar es Salaam living costs were index 116 in 2008/09 and 114 in 2010/11 (NBS Tanzania 2012). Satterthwaite also questions whether data gatherers actually survey people living in informal slum settlements in the cities, as there is typically no map or no data on the residents of the settlements and because of security issues (Satterthwaite 2010). In a recent study of selected urban centres in Tanzania, Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008) found that a third of urban centres have poverty rates higher than the surrounding rural areas. Even in urban centres that were on average better off than their surroundings, a significant share of the population still lived in wards with high poverty rates. These findings indicate that it cannot be assumed that urban areas are pockets of wealth in comparison with rural areas (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008).

It is clear that despite official statistics, there is considerable urban poverty in Tanzania when very basic needs such as food and housing are taken into account. According to UN-Habitat, in 2007 65 per cent of the urban population lived in slum settlements, meaning that they lacked durable housing, sufficient living space, easy access to safe water, access to adequate sanitation or security of tenure. The share of the urban population living in slums has decreased from 77 per cent in 1990 and 70 per cent in 2000 but is still high. The situation is compounded by an inability to access decent affordable housing and the share of the urban population lacking 'decent' housing has actually increased. In 2004, 72 per cent of the urban population lacked access to durable housing, compared to 53 per cent in 1992. In 2004, 84 per cent of the urban population were considered not to have sufficient living area according to UN standards, compared to 78 per cent in 1992 (UN-Habitat 2012).

When it comes to inequality, Tanzania stands out as one of the more equal countries in sub-Saharan Africa with a Gini coefficient on consumption of 0.36 in 2008/09 and 0.37 in 2010/11. Inequality is generally higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. In both rounds, the Gini coefficient for urban areas was 0.35, compared to 0.31 for rural areas. Dar es Salaam was inbetween with 0.34 in 2008/09 and 0.32 in 2010/11 (NBS Tanzania 2012). According to UN-Habitat, Dar es Salaam stands out as one of the more equal cities of sub-Saharan Africa with relatively low Gini coefficients

(UN-Habitat 2010). However, Tanzania’s low Gini coefficient in combination with low poverty figures for urban areas in the latest panel survey masks the widespread food insecurity facing urban areas. In 2010/2011, 41 per cent of the urban population experienced some type of food insecurity (see Fig 12 below).

**Fig 13 Food insecurities in different population strata, Tanzania, 2010/11**



Source: NBS Tanzania, N. (2012). Tanzania National Panel Survey Report - Wave 2, 2010-2011. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. NB: Data on food insecurity were only collected in the second wave of interviews in 2010/11.

As indicated in Fig 13 above, in the 7 days prior to being interviewed, respondents confessed to be worried about not having enough food, reducing their food intake or experiencing a less desirable and varied diet. The share of the urban population experiencing food insecurity is slightly lower than the share of the total population, which was estimated as 46 per cent. The share of households experiencing all three types of food insecurity is the same for both rural and urban areas (20 per cent). Interestingly, Dar es Salaam stands out as the stratum where the largest share of the population, 29 per cent, experienced all three food insecurities (NBS Tanzania 2012).

## **6 Conclusion**

This report has provided an analysis of urbanisation processes and patterns in Tanzania. In the case of Tanzania, there is a strong correlation between national census data and UN data, and the two sources indicate that Tanzania faces rapid urban population growth. Tanzania's population grew at an average annual rate of 3 per cent from 1967-2002, while the urban population grew at an average rate of 6.8 per cent during the same period. Forecasts suggest that this trend is unlikely to change and that urbanization will continue to take place, there is however less certainty surrounding the rate of the urbanisation process. These findings appear to corroborate UN projections depicting high levels of urban growth in Africa in the future, both in terms of absolute population growth and in terms of the urban share of the population relative to the rural, i.e. the level of urbanization. According to UN Habitat, by 2030 almost half of the African population will be living in urban areas, and this share is projected to increase to well over 60 per cent by 2050 (UN-Habitat 2010). However, as documented throughout this report, more reliable and consistent data is required to improve the accuracy of sub-Saharan Africa's urban growth forecasts.

The report has examined data capable of explaining Tanzania's urban growth trends. Net in-migration and natural increase are the two key factors typically underpinning urban growth. In practice, urban growth often also entails the assimilation of smaller settlements by larger cities, as well as reclassification of small settlements as population thresholds are passed (Beauchemin and Bocquier 2004, Potts 2012). There is evidence of the latter taking place in Tanzania, and Potts suggestion that urban growth is being exaggerated in the censuses as result of urban settlement reclassification appears to have some merit. In the inter-census periods between 1967 and 2002, data sources indicate that in-migration has played a vital role in Tanzania's urban growth and urbanization process. However, Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008) estimate that in the most recent inter-census period of 1988-2002, migration has contributed to 17 per cent of urban population growth in Tanzania, meaning that 83 per cent of the growth in this period was due to natural growth or re-classification. These projections suggest that while net in-migration will continue to be a source of urban growth in Tanzania, the relative importance of rural-urban migration in comparison to natural population growth will decrease.

Tanzania was found to have a high degree of urban primacy, and Dar es Salaam is by far the nation's largest city, accounting for a substantial share of the total urban population. The most recently available census (2002) that found that 31 per cent of Tanzania's total urban population resides in Dar es Salaam. The Geopolis mappings of settlements larger than 10,000 inhabitants proved an invaluable source of information for looking beyond Dar es Salaam's dominance, and better understanding the development of Tanzania's urban hierarchy post 1980. The total number of settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants was found to have grown from 44 in 1980 to 126 in 2010. The number of small cities multiplied between 1980-2010, yet the largest cities have been responsible for most of the urban population growth, whether measured in absolute or relative terms, and whether looking at long-term growth since 1980 or the more recent period from 2000.

Drawing on NBS data alongside existing studies, such as Muzzini and Lindeboom (2008), the report examined the role of migration in Tanzania's urban growth. Problematically, while Census data can provide an indication of mobility within the Tanzanian population, the report highlighted that census counts are unable to capture the complexity of migration streams and account for temporary migration, circular migration or short-term fluctuations (see also Tabutin and Schoumaker 2004). Mobility may be considerably higher than census data suggests, as this data only covers inter-regional migration and fails to capture migration within the same region or internationally. Moreover, urban-urban migration was found to be more significant than is often acknowledged, due in part to historical fascinations with rural-urban migration—although it must be noted that urban-urban migration does not directly contribute to urban population growth. Hence the relatively low net migration to the cities in the most recent inter-census period from 1988-2002 may obscure a much higher turnover level.

Data and literature on Tanzanian urban livelihoods are scarce, scattered and not easily comparable. The available statistical data indicated that unemployment is very low in Tanzania. The 2008/09 and 2010/11 Tanzania panel survey shows a generally high level of labour force participation. Labour force participation increased from 77.5 per cent in 2008/09 to 82.6 per cent in 2010/11. This was generally lower in urban areas compared to rural areas. As explained above, these high figures are possibly due to the very broad and inclusive definitions of employment used by those collecting

the data. The difficulty facing researchers of urban livelihoods is that only a small proportion of the population currently undertake formal employment in comparison to the larger informal sector, which by its very nature is largely unregistered, unmonitored and harder to document empirically. Findings indicate that the majority of employed urban residents are engaged in skilled and unskilled manual occupations, and that more women are engaged in unskilled manual occupations compared to their male counterparts, who are often employed in skilled manual occupations. A significant share of Tanzania's urban men and women are engaged in professional/technical/managerial occupations; this situation is attributable to the concentration of key administrative, political and financial services in urban locales.

A final and key finding, is that the challenging employment circumstances and widespread food insecurity facing Tanzania's urban residents are not fully apparent in light of Tanzania's low Gini coefficient and the poverty figures for urban areas in the latest panel survey. More problematically, data sources appear to provide conflicting messages to the extent of and nature of issues facing urban residents. For example, the latest Tanzanian panel surveys appear to suggest that poverty is primarily a rural phenomenon; this could prove problematic at a policy level, given that other studies have found that a third of Tanzania's urban centres have poverty rates higher than the surrounding rural areas (Muzzini and Lindeboom 2008). Data also indicates that the share of the urban population living in slums decreased from 77 per cent in 1990 to 65 per cent in 2010, yet this is still a significant proportion of Tanzanian society living without durable housing, sufficient living space, easy access to safe water, access to adequate sanitation or security of tenure. Moreover, although the share of the urban population living in slum dwellings decreased, the share of the urban population lacking decent housing has actually increased, and in 2010/2011, 41 per cent of the urban population experienced some type of food insecurity.

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