### February 2021 PF Evidence Packet

#### Resolved: On balance, the benefits of urbanization in West Africa outweigh the harms.



<https://oecd-development-matters.org/2018/11/22/visualising-urbanisation-how-the-africapolis-platform-sheds-new-light-on-urban-dynamics-in-africa/>

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### Guide

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### Background Information

The information in this section is designed to provide information that is useful inside and outside of the debate round to ground further discussion. Students may want to read the information in this section completely before moving on to ensure they understand the topic.

#### Regions of Africa

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\_of\_regions\_of\_Africa



#### Look at Western Africa

https://saylordotorg.github.io/text\_world-regional-geography-people-places-and-globalization/s10-03-west-africa.html



#### It is useful to note that West Africa is part of Sub-Saharan Africa

https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Location-of-Sub-Saharan-Africa-Source\_fig5\_301223473



#### What is urbanization?

Oyewale Idowu Oyeleye 2013, Faculty of Environmental Sciences. Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomoso, Oyo State, Nigeria, “Challenges of Urbanization and Urban Growth in Nigeria”, American Journal of Sustainable Cities and Society, https://rspublication.com/ajscs/jan%2013/5.pdf

ABSTRACT

An urban centre is an agglomeration of people that are organized around non-agricultural activities, and urban growth is the rate of growth of an urban population. While urbanization is defined as the agglomeration of people in relatively large number at a particular spot of the earth surface. Urbanization in Nigeria and other developing countries has been very alarming over the past ten (10) years. This is as a result of high rate of rural-urban drift, which has resulted to various problems like, unemployment, poverty, floods, squatter settlements, pollution (land, air, noise, water and visual), slums, overpopulation, traffic congestion, crimes, and food insecurity inter alia. There is high rural-urban drift in Nigeria because of the inequalities, in terms of infrastructural facilities, services, social amenities and heterogeneity economic activities in favor of urban centres. The attempt of this paper is to examine the existing challenges, and predict future challenges of urbanization and urban growth in Nigeria, while measures to greatly minimize the challenges are suggested in order to ensure sustainable developments in both the Nigerian urban centres and rural areas.

#### A short history of recent African urbanization

David Kanos and Chris Heitzig 20, David Kanos is an intern with the Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings a research based think tank, Chris Heitzig is a research analyst at the Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings, 7-16-2020, "Figures of the week: Africa’s urbanization dynamics," Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2020/07/16/figures-of-the-week-africas-urbanization-dynamics/#:~:text=The%20pace%20of%20urbanization%20and,Africapolis%2C%20Mapping%20a%20New%20Urban>

The pace of urbanization and urban population growth in Africa has changed significantly across the continent generally as well as within its various regions, says a recent report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), “Africa’s Urbanization Dynamics 2020: Africapolis, Mapping a New Urban Geography.” According to the report, Africa is one of the least urbanized places in the world, and its urbanization rate will continue to grow among the fastest of the world regions in the coming years. Indeed, 1950 Africa’s urban population was 27 million people, a minute fraction of today’s urban population of roughly 567 million people. Notably, the OECD report argues that since 1990, Africa’s rapid growth in urbanization has been driven primarily by high population growth and the reclassification of rural settlements. It also predicts that Africa’s population will double between now and 2050, and two-thirds of this population increase will be absorbed by urban areas.

According to the report, while African countries have vastly urbanized over the last 60 years, urbanization in the region has largely been concentrated in certain subregions (Figure 1). In 1950, most African countries were agrarian societies: Only eight countries had an urbanization level above 20 percent, while 26 countries had an urbanization level under 10 percent. Over time however the rate of urbanization in Africa has grown significantly. As of 2010, 47 Africa countries were over the 20 percent threshold, and the number of countries above 50 percent urbanization more than doubled.

Figure 1. The evolution of urbanization in Africa, 1950-2010



Source: OECD, Africa’s Urbanization Dynamics 2020.

As of 2015, 50 percent of Africa’s population lived in one of 7,617 urban agglomerations. With 78 percent of its citizens in urban areas, North Africa is the most urbanized region. Indeed, according to the report, within North Africa, Egypt and Libya stand out as the most urbanized countries with urbanization levels of 93 and 81 percent, respectively. In contrast Niger (at 17 percent), Burundi (21 percent), and Eritrea (24 percent) have some of the lowest levels of urbanization in the region.

Indeed, the urbanization rates of the African subregions have varied immensely over time (Figure 2). In the period covered by the report, Central and West Africa had the most volatile urban population growth rates, whereas East, Southern, and North Africa have been more consistent in their growth rates. Central Africa urbanized very fast from 1950-1980, but then became among the slowest urbanizing regions in Africa during the period 1980-2000. East Africa has consistently boasted one of the fastest-growing urbanization rates of any region.

Figure 2. Urban population growth and growth in the level of urbanization in Africa by period, 1950–2015



Source: OECD, Africa’s Urbanization Dynamics 2020.

As Africa continues to urbanize at a rapid rate, the report urges policymakers to enact policies that will encourage this city growth to be utilized toward economic development and poverty eradication. The authors emphasize that policymakers consider the heterogenous nature of Africa’s urban environments for better linked local-national policies.

#### A short explanation of urbanization and potential pro’s and con’s

John Vidal 18, John Vidal was the Guardian's environment editor. 3-19-2018, "The 100 million city: is 21st century urbanisation out of control?," Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/mar/19/urban-explosion-kinshasa-el-alto-growth-mexico-city-bangalore-lagos

The 1960 street map of Lagos, Nigeria, shows a small western-style coastal city surrounded by a few semi-rural African villages. Paved roads quickly turn to dirt, and fields to forest. There are few buildings over six floors high and not many cars.

No one foresaw what happened next. In just two generations Lagos grew 100-fold, from under 200,000 people to nearly 20 million. Today one of the world’s 10 largest cities, it sprawls across nearly 1,000 sq km. Vastly wealthy in parts, it is largely chaotic and impoverished. Most residents live in informal settlements, or slums. The great majority are not connected to piped water or a sanitation system. The city’s streets are choked with traffic, its air is full of fumes, and its main dump covers 40 hectares and receives 10,000 metric tons of waste a day.

But new research suggests that the changes Lagos has seen in the last 60 years may be nothing to what might take place in the next 60. If Nigeria’s population continues to grow and people move to cities at the same rate as now, Lagos could become the world’s largest metropolis, home to 85 or 100 million people. By 2100, it is projected to be home to more people than California or Britain today, and to stretch hundreds of miles – with enormous environmental effects.

Hundreds of far smaller cities across Asia and Africa could also grow exponentially, say the Canadian demographers Daniel Hoornweg and Kevin Pope at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. They suggest that Niamey, the barely known capital of Niger – a west African country with the highest birth rate in the world – could explode from a city of fewer than one million people today to be the world’s eighth-largest city, with 46 million people, in 2100. Sleepy Blantyre in southern Malawi could mushroom to the size of New York City today.

Under the researchers’ extreme scenario – where countries are unable to control fertility rates and urbanisation continues apace – within 35 years more than 100 cities will have populations larger than 5.5 million people. By 2100, say the authors, the world’s population centers will have shifted to Asia and Africa, with only 14 of the 101 largest cities in Europe or the Americas.

What happens to those cities over the next 30 years will determine the global environment and the quality of life of the world’s projected 11 billion people. It’s impossible to know how exactly how cities will grow, of course. But the stark fact, according to the United Nations, is that much of humanity is young, fertile and increasingly urban. The median age of Nigeria is just 18, and under 20 across all Africa’s 54 countries; the fertility rate of the continent’s 500 million women is 4.4 births. Elsewhere, half of India’s population is under age 25, and Latin America’s average age is as high as 29.

Latest UN projections expect the world’s population to grow by 2.9 billion – equal to another China and India – in the next 33 years, and possibly by a further three billion by the end of the century. By then, says the UN, humanity is expected to have developed into an almost exclusively urban species with 80-90% of people living in cities.

Whether those cities develop into sprawling, chaotic slums – with unbreathable air, uncontrolled emissions and impoverished populations starved of food and water – or become truly sustainable depends on how they respond. Many economists argue that population growth is needed to create wealth, and that urbanisation significantly reduces humanity’s environmental impact. Other observers fear cities are becoming ungovernable – too unwieldy to adapt to rising temperatures and sea levels, and prone to pollution, water shortages and ill health.

Many cities are already investing in clean transport and water, sewage, renewable energy, planning, wellbeing and good housing for all. Others face what seem like insurmountable problems.

### Pro

#### Urbanization spurs democratization due to quality of life improvements

Amaka Anku and Tochi Eni-Kalu 19, Amaka Anku is Africa Practice Head and a Director at the Eurasia Group, a transnational think tank, and Tochi Eni-Kalu is Africa Associate at the Eurasia Group, 12-16-2019, "Africa’s Slums Aren’t Harbingers of Anarchy—They’re Engines of Democracy," Foreign Affairs, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2019-12-16/africas-slums-arent-harbingers-anarchy-theyre-engines-democracy>

Often overlooked in this debate is the role that electoral politics will play in shaping the future of African cities. As people move from the countryside to the cities, political power will move with them, transforming how the continent’s democracies are governed. Historically, urbanization has spurred demands for political accountability. The U.S. civil rights movement was made possible in part by the migration of black Americans to cities, where denser social networks made it easier to organize protests. The Arab uprisings of 2010–11 coincided with North Africa’s attainment of majority urban status. Sub-Saharan Africa will soon cross the same threshold. The transition will bring a host of social, political, and environmental problems—but it also has the potential to improve governance across the continent.

THE RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE

Urban residents are, on average, better educated than rural dwellers and more exposed to contrasting political views. They also have better access to infrastructure, such as roads, electricity, potable water, and Internet connectivity—even in poorly resourced slums such Ajegunle. (Many Nigerians, particularly in rural parts of the north, have no access to electricity at all.) In part because of these quality-of-life differences, urban voters tend to care more about structural economic and governance issues than their rural counterparts, who are typically more concerned with basic social welfare needs.

Afrobarometer survey data from South Africa, Nigeria, and Kenya—three of the most populous democracies in sub-Saharan Africa—bear out these trends. The three countries are at quite different stages of urbanization: South Africa (66 percent urban) has long been one of the continent’s most urbanized countries; Nigeria (50 percent urban) achieved rural-urban parity only last year; and Kenya (27 percent urban) is still about three decades away from rural-urban parity. But in all three countries, city dwellers are more likely to identify corruption and economic management as core concerns, whereas people in rural areas are more likely to cite food and water shortages and inadequate infrastructure. Because Africa has long been majority rural (it remains 60 percent rural today despite rapid urbanization over the past 50 years), politicians have historically taken their cues from rural dwellers, promising to meet voters’ immediate, basic needs rather than articulating clear policy visions for the future. But as the share of rural voters across sub-Saharan Africa shrinks, demands for improved governance in the cities will become more and more difficult to ignore.

#### Democratization over the long term outweighs the harms of political turmoil

Amaka Anku and Tochi Eni-Kalu 19, Amaka Anku is Africa Practice Head and a Director at the Eurasia Group, a transnational think tank, and Tochi Eni-Kalu is Africa Associate at the Eurasia Group, 12-16-2019, "Africa’s Slums Aren’t Harbingers of Anarchy—They’re Engines of Democracy," Foreign Affairs, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2019-12-16/africas-slums-arent-harbingers-anarchy-theyre-engines-democracy>

The combined effect of these changes has been to erode the old consensus among political elites, typically focused on uniting the political class against a common enemy such as colonialism, apartheid, or military rule. More than 60 years since the first African countries gained independence and over two decades since military regimes fell out of favor, the unifying power of such “us versus them” narratives has faded. As a result, previously dominant parties have lost their grip on power or succumbed to infighting, opening up space for new political entrants. For example, incumbents in Senegal and Nigeria were voted out of office for the first time in 2012 and 2015, respectively—in both cases after internal disagreements led previously dominant political blocs to splinter. In South Africa, the ruling African National Congress has lost close to 50 parliamentary seats in the 400-seat National Assembly since 2004 amid infighting between feuding factions of the party. Altogether, over 20 sub-Saharan African nations, including those under long-standing authoritarian rule such as Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Sudan, have had a transfer of power, often as a result of a competitive election, in the past four years alone.

Greater competition and accountability are, of course, no panacea. As the Brexit debacle in the United Kingdom; the revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Syria; and the recent turmoil in many other Western countries have driven home, demands for accountability do not always deliver political stability or continuity. The same will be true in sub-Saharan Africa, where more competitive election cycles will exert pressure on the public purse as administrations invest in tangible projects to sway voters and in building or strengthening political coalitions to ward of rivals. At the same time, faster turnover in government could result in greater policy volatility.

In the long term, however, such risks are a small price to pay for the benefits of increased accountability. Urban density will make it easier to mobilize popular support for or against policies, ideas, or regimes in democratic and nondemocratic countries alike, improving both the quality and the responsiveness of governance. In the Yoruba language, Ajegunle roughly translates to “the place where riches dwell.” For most of the slum’s impoverished residents, the name remains an aspiration. But as Nigeria grows more urban, and the concerns of Ajegunle become the concerns of the country, it may well become a reality.

#### Urban innovations solve population challenges

Robert Muggah and Katie Hill 18, Robert Muggah, PhD, is a Political economist focused on security and development in urban spaces. Katie Hill is currently a Senior Advisor to Omidyar Network (impact investment firm with $1.2B deployed) and Dalberg Global Advisors (advisory firm with 9 offices in Africa). 6-27-2018, "African cities will double in population by 2050. Here are 4 ways to make sure they thrive," World Economic Forum, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/06/Africa-urbanization-cities-double-population-2050-4%20ways-thrive/>

Bridge the gaps

The real question is: how will African cities absorb double their population while using just half the resources over the next 20 years? And how can this be done while improving overall quality of life? The good news is that the solutions are potentially closer at hand than many assume. A major part of the answer lies in employing new (and home-grown) technologies, building smarter infrastructure and harnessing the dynamism of the informal sector.

African cities are only just starting to reap the dividends of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Mobile phone penetration is connecting all corners of the continent, and data generated from hundreds of millions of devices and cheap computing power can potentially improve urban living. Technological innovations such as solar photovoltaic systems, battery storage, IoT sensors and even satellites are rapidly falling down the cost curve. To wit, Kenya just became the first sub-Saharan African country to launch a satellite into space.

Despite their many challenges, or perhaps because of them, African cities are dynamic and creative. Most urban services - whether transport, energy, water, waste management, telecoms, housing or public security - are provided by informal private providers. Consider public transit systems: 70-95% of public transit rides in African cities are supplied by informal, independent operators. They provide a vital, albeit sometimes dangerous and costly, service to citizens. Or consider Cambridge Industries in Addis Ababa, which is presiding over Africa’s first waste-to-energy facility. Working with China’s CNEEC and the Ethiopian government, they are supplying 30% of the city’s energy needs from 80% of its rubbish, most of it deposited by local waste collectors.

Urban informality cannot be construed as a problem, but rather an asset and sign of resilience and agility. When exploring innovative financing solutions, the task for city planners and investors is maintaining the virtues of informality (demand responsiveness, job creation and self-sufficiency) while reducing its vices (unsafe conditions, low-quality services, unfair labour practices, and at times inefficiency and high costs for consumers).

#### Urbanization improves economic productivity and manufacturing

Jacques Bughin et al 16, Jacques Bughin is director of the McKinsey Global Institute, the business and research arm of McKinsey dedicated to providing leaders in commercial, public, and social sectors accurate information about the economy and growth, 9-14-2016, "Lions on the move II: Realizing the potential of Africa’s economies," McKinsey &amp; Company, <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/middle-east-and-africa/lions-on-the-move-realizing-the-potential-of-africas-economies>

Many observers are questioning whether Africa’s economic advances are running out of steam. Five years ago, growth was accelerating in almost all of the region’s 30 largest economies, but the recent picture has been more mixed: while growth has sped up in about half of Africa’s economies, it has slowed in the rest.

Between 2010 and 2015, Africa’s overall GDP growth averaged just 3.3 percent, considerably weaker than 4.9 percent a year between 2000 and 2008. But average growth hides a marked divergence, finds a new McKinsey Global Institute report Lions on the move II: Realizing the potential of Africa’s economies. A much less robust economic performance by two groups of African economies dragged that average down—oil exporters hit by the decline in oil prices and countries affected by the political turmoil of the Arab Spring (Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia). For the rest of Africa, growth actually accelerated to 4.4 percent in 2010 to 2015 from 4.1 percent in 2000 to 2010 (exhibit). In addition, long-term fundamentals are strong, and there are substantial market and investment opportunities on the table.

Future growth is likely to be underpinned by factors including the most rapid urbanization rate in the world and, by 2034, a larger working-age population than either China or India. Accelerating technological change is helping to unlock new opportunities for consumers and businesses, and Africa still has abundant resources. The International Monetary Fund projects that Africa will be the world’s second-fastest-growing region in the period to 2020.

Despite recent shocks and challenges, spending by Africa’s consumers and businesses already totals $4 trillion annually, and is growing rapidly. Household consumption is expected to grow at 3.8 percent a year to total $2.1 trillion by 2025. African businesses are an even larger spender. From $2.6 trillion in 2015, business spending is expected to increase to $3.5 trillion by 2025.

Africa could nearly double its manufacturing output to $930 billion in 2025 from $500 billion today, provided countries take decisive action to create an improved environment for manufacturers. Three-quarters of that potential could come from Africa-based companies meeting domestic demand; today, Africa imports one-third of the food, beverages, and other similar processed goods it consumes. The other one-quarter could come from more exports. The rewards of accelerated industrialization would include a step change in productivity and the creation of up to 14 million stable jobs over the next decade.

While the potential that Africa offers is undoubted, the question remains: will it be achieved? Businesses and governments will need to work harder to capture the opportunity. Africa is home to 700 companies with annual revenue of more than $500 million, including 400 with annual revenue above $1 billion, and these companies are growing faster and are more profitable than their global peers. But Africa needs more of them. It has a lower number of large companies—and they are smaller on average—than one would expect given the corporate landscapes of other emerging regions. Corporate Africa needs to step up its performance to make the most of these opportunities. The top 100 African companies have forged their success by building a strong position in their home market before diversifying geographically, adopting a long-term perspective, integrating what they would usually outsource, targeting high-potential sectors with low levels of consolidation, and investing in building and retaining talent.

Governments will need to address the continent’s productivity and drive growth by focusing on six priorities emerging from this research: mobilize more domestic resources, aggressively diversify economies, accelerate infrastructure development, deepen regional integration, create tomorrow’s talent, and ensure healthy urbanization.

Delivering on these six priorities will require a transformation in the quality of Africa’s public leadership and institutions, as well as governance. All these imperatives require the vision and determination to drive far-reaching reforms in many areas of public life, and they require capable public administration with the skill and commitment to implement such reforms. What the past five years have shown is that Africa’s diverse economies—its economic lions—now need to improve their fitness in order to make the most of their undoubted long-term growth potential and to continue their march toward prosperity.

#### West African urbanization increases literacy and female empowerment – the Ivory Coast proves

Michael Bible 2013, biannual journal publishing on critical issues in the lives of the global majority: the more than 80 percent of the world's population living in developing countries. Topics discussed include poverty, population growth, access to safe water, climate change, and agricultural development. All articles are based on research papers written by AU undergraduate students, “The Impacts of Cote d’Ivoire’s Urbanization on its Economy and Populace”, Global Majority E-Journal, , Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2013), pg 94, <https://www.american.edu/cas/economics/ejournal/upload/bible_accessible.pdf>

The West African nation of Côte d’Ivoire (also called Ivory Coast) has, in recent decades, become an increasingly urban nation. Not only that, the population of Côte d’Ivoire has exploded over the past four decades, tripling from 6.7 million in the early 1970s to over 20 million people today. This population eruption has resulted in shifting demographics within the nation and has had both positive and negative effects on the Ivorian population.

This article proposes some steps to maximize the benefits of the urban boom in Côte d’Ivoire while curbing its deleterious effects on urban and rural inhabitants alike. Urbanization has been a blessing for individuals who were a part of the move to the cities, while it is a curse for those stuck in rural parts of the country. As a predominately agricultural society, shifting demographics have reduced agricultural output by moving farmers away from their ideal landscape. On the other hand, with urbanization has come a significant increase in literacy/education and female/spousal empowerment and a change in marital and filial duties that more effectively connect families and people.

#### West African urban centers provide proximity benefits – people being close together makes it easier to provide crucial services

José López-Calix, Michel Rogy and Megha Mukim 2018, working group for the World Bank Group, research conducted to support grant and financial projects targeted towards development of underdeveloped parts of the globe, “The Challenges of Urbanization in West Africa”, AFCW3 Economic Update, Pg7, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30042/127145-WP-PUBLIC-TheChallengesOfUrbanizationInWestAfrica.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y>

Cities have many advantages. They allow workers to be closer to jobs, increasing opportunities and fueling productivity. They bring people together physically, facilitating the exchange of ideas and bringing about innovations. High densities make it cheaper to provide services efficiently and equitably. As a result, many of the benefits of urban life – productivity and livability - are associated with proximity within the city. In contrast, fragmented urban development makes cities less productive and less livable.

It is becoming increasingly important to understand how cities can unlock productivity and livability.

This is the goal of this article. As cities grapple with the influx of newcomers, often young people, they face many challenges associated with rapid urbanization, key among which are creating competitive economies and providing adequate urban services. However, urbanization also comes with many opportunities. Building upon city-specific analyses of Bamako (Mali), Niamey (Niger), and Conakry (Guinea), this report aims to clarify the factors underlying urban issues while laying out an assessment of options for coordinated policies and investments. City leaders, policy makers, and researchers, especially those looking at Africa’s urban development, seek to better understand the scale and impact of growth in West African capital cities relative to other capitals in the region but also to other African and Asian comparators.

The capital cities of Bamako, Niamey, and Conakry dominate the urban landscape in their respective country. A central premise of policy-making in cities is that the flexibility, practicality, and focus of local governments make them ideal players to understand and respond to the needs of their citizens. Cities mostly aim their problem-solving at local conditions. In each of the three countries under study, the economic importance of the capital cannot be understated: it is the nerve center of the national economy. If Bamako were to be eliminated, Mali would lose 34% of its GDP, while Guinea and Niger would lose around 27% (Figure 1). Thus, reforms and investments aimed at tackling challenges related to urban development in the capital will have knock-on effects on national economic development.

Yet despite their importance to the national economy, Bamako, Niamey, and Conakry are neither engines of growth nor of service delivery. All three cities need to make more progress on increasing their competitiveness over time or delivering on urban services for their citizens. In all three, labor productivity calculated as gross value added (GVA) per capita is low and has remained stagnant over the last 15 or so years compared to the average for 15 cities in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Figure 2). Even more troubling is that urban service delivery in Mali, Guinea, and Niger as indicated by an index combining quality of access to water, electricity, and sanitation also continues to lag the Sub-Saharan average and shows no signs of catching up (Figure 3). Thus, these cities are failing to reap the benefits usually associated with urban growth.

#### Central planning solves city fragmentation

José López-Calix, Michel Rogy and Megha Mukim 2018, working group for the World Bank Group, research conducted to support grant and financial projects targeted towards development of underdeveloped parts of the globe, “The Challenges of Urbanization in West Africa”, AFCW3 Economic Update, Pg 31, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30042/127145-WP-PUBLIC-TheChallengesOfUrbanizationInWestAfrica.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y>

Clearly, urban fragmentation curtails the potential of West African cities, and institutions, land, and connectivity provide important explanations. Land markets in Bamako, Guinea, and Niamey are dysfunctional, stymying planned urban expansion and investments in infrastructure. Urban infrastructure and policies cannot respond to or keep up with the urban form and demands of these cities. In addition, a lack of adequate decentralization, including control over resources, further limits the scope and capabilities of local governments to intervene.

A focus on planning, connecting, and financing in a coordinated manner should be an important focus for the future. Planning involves charting a course for cities by setting the terms of urbanization, especially policies for using urban land and expanding basic infrastructure and public services. Connecting involves making jobs and services accessible to households, while financing involves finding sources for the capital outlays needed to provide infrastructure and services as cities grows.32

All these functions need to be coordinated to support urbanization. Although coordination between all of these functions is critical, this is particularly true of the relationship between land use planning and infrastructure, including urban connectivity. The matrix below summarizes recommendations for cities in West Africa.

#### West African cities can be productivity centers if invested in now

José López-Calix, Michel Rogy and Megha Mukim 2018, working group for the World Bank Group, research conducted to support grant and financial projects targeted towards development of underdeveloped parts of the globe, “The Challenges of Urbanization in West Africa”, AFCW3 Economic Update, Pg 42, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30042/127145-WP-PUBLIC-TheChallengesOfUrbanizationInWestAfrica.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y

Conclusion

Bamako, Conakry, and Niamey have a narrow window of opportunity to coordinate and invest in reforms, infrastructures, and institutions, with far-reaching consequences in the future. Sunk investments made (or facilitated) by the government can be a signaling mechanism for longer-run coordinated investments in a city. Coordinated reforms and investments such as land use planning supplemented by investments in urban infrastructure can help households and firms respond efficiently to the city’s growth pattern. Bamako must focus on retrofitting existing structures and coordinating land redevelopment alongside infrastructure investments. Conakry must focus on better connectivity within the city and to the periphery. Niamey must lay the ground for future urban development. Getting these choices right, with urbanization in its incipient stages, will be critical.

All three cities – Bamako, Niamey, and Conakry – have the potential to become productive and livable cities. They are currently grappling with the effect of institutions and investments, often a function of past decisions. The cost of correcting the dysfunctions is very high, especially in cities that are growing rapidly. The analyses highlighted in this article build upon in-depth analyses conducted in each of these cities and lay out detailed recommendations for reforms and policies tailored to their individual context. The conclusion, drawn from the commonalities and differences noted, is that all three cities have a narrow window of opportunity to invest in building institutions and infrastructures that will lay the foundations for durable urban development in the future.

#### With investment, African urbanization can maximize new technology use

Somik V. Lall 20, Somik Lall is Global Lead on Territorial Development Solutions and Lead Economist for Sustainable Development in Africa with the World Bank, 1-21-2020, "Prerequisites to getting Africa’s urbanization ‘right’," Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2020/01/21/prerequisites-to-getting-africas-urbanization-right/>

The rapid growth of cities in Africa is presenting the continent with a major opportunity to enhance productivity and living standards. In most parts of the world, rapid city growth has triggered economies of scale and specialization along with knowledge spillovers, thereby boosting productivity. International evidence suggests that doubling of a city’s size boosts income per capita between 3 percent and 8 percent. In fact, countries that are more developed have more urbanization, and countries that switch from slow economic development to rapid economic development also switch from slow urbanization to rapid urbanization.

In contrast, African countries are not making much of the opportunity of urbanization. Only a handful of countries—such as Ghana, Namibia, Rwanda, and Togo—have been relatively successful in translating urbanization into poverty reduction. Notably, the agglomeration of urban economic activity is lower in Africa than elsewhere, while the potential returns in labor productivity growth are the highest. Unfortunately, neither markets nor the policy environment have coordinated decisions that yield satisfactory outcomes in the living or working environment.

Markets for land are generally dysfunctional, product markets are fragmented, and weak city planning and limited finance hobble urban development. In fact, very few large African cities have substantial own-source revenues, and tax mandates are often related to having regional government status: consider Kampala, where per capita revenue was $59 for the 2014 fiscal year, much higher than $26 for the rest of the country.

But more broadly, urbanization has been driven by a lack of opportunity in the countryside as agricultural activity has declined and, without the accumulated savings to make significant investments in housing, the default option has been to build shacks. Consequently, 60 percent of the region’s urban population lives in slums. With Africa’s urban population likely to double over the next 25 years, there is an urgent need to make cities livable, productive, and sustainable.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

To make cities work for development, African policymakers will need to develop urbanization plans built on the following four proposals:

Raise agricultural productivity: It is difficult to visualize vibrant cities without a well-functioning rural sector. Research suggests that invention, adaptation, and dissemination of new technologies to existing farms is likely boost overall productivity and support a more vibrant structural transformation. A good starting point would be to strengthen national agriculture research and development and innovation systems.

Adopt a well-functioning land market: African leaders need to focus more on the structural foundation of their cities by strengthening institutions governing the transfer, valuation, and use of land. For example, Kenya has one of the least efficient property registration systems on the continent: Lack of registration affects 24 percent of land-owning households in Nairobi. At the same time, the difficulty of registering property has contributed to a growing informal housing supply in urban areas. The capital value forgone by not developing Kibera (1,000 acres of land near Nairobi city center) amounts to $1 billion, $466 per person in greater Nairobi, or 70 percent of Kenya’s GDP per capita in 2014. In Tanzania, only 10 percent of land is registered, and it takes 65 days to transfer property. These inefficiencies reduce incentives for formal land development.

Enhance land use planning: Also, better land use planning will enable cities to put in early and coordinated infrastructure investments that allow for well “formed” urban development. As Africa’s cities clarify land rights and strengthen land use planning, they will encourage economic growth. They will also lay the foundations to expand domestic revenue mobilization, as revenues from appreciation in land values can help finance much-needed urban infrastructure.

Embrace the benefits new technologies offer: Disruptive technologies that combine data with automation present an incredible opportunity to reshape notions of density and economic geography. Add to the mix the gig economy (based on flexible, temporary, or freelance jobs) and sharing economy (involving short-term, peer-to-peer transactions), and we can have vibrant communities that do not need lumpy “grid” infrastructure. In fact, Africa’s cities may be able to leapfrog the current development path and be highly livable, productive, and sustainable. However, this accomplishment will require the basics of land management as well as aggressive investment in human capital.

#### Ghana can model urbanization in West Africa

Noah Smith 20, Noah Smith is a Bloomberg Opinion columnist. He was an assistant professor of finance at Stony Brook University. 2-09-2020, "Why Ghana Is Africa’s Top Candidate for an Economic Leap," Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2020-02-10/ghana-is-africa-s-top-candidate-for-economic-development>

Every time a region of the world goes from being poor to being rich one country tends to be responsible for getting the process started. In Europe that was the U.K., which was the first to industrialize. In East Asia it was Japan. In West Africa it could be Ghana.

Ghana has a number of big advantages over other countries in the region in terms of geography, institutions and human capital. It’s on the coast and has plenty of ports that can be used to ship and receive goods. With about 31 million people, it has a large enough population to create a substantial domestic market but small enough that providing jobs and food won’t be too insurmountable of a challenge. Members of the Akan ethnic group make up about half of the population, meaning that Ghana has less of the ethnic fragmentation plaguing many post-colonial states. It scores well on international indicators of governance quality, freedom, democracy, ease of doing business and corruption. Ghana has lower child mortality than its neighbors, indicating a relatively healthy populace. It also has a head start in terms of literacy rates and education:

These advantages have helped to make Ghana one of the fastest-growing countries on the continent. Although its 2019 growth rate ended up being only 7% rather than the world-beating 8.8% forecast by the International Monetary Fund, that is still very solid growth.

But to become the Japan of West Africa, Ghana is going to have to undergo a structural transformation. The country’s main exports are all commodities:

Specializing in commodities is not necessarily a economic death sentence for a nation. Ghana doesn’t have the resource endowment of Norway or Saudi Arabia, but with wise and stable policy it could aspire to the comfortable middle-income status of Namibia, Botswana or perhaps even Chile.

Indeed, Ghana in recent decades has done a good job of moving in this direction. Agricultural productivity has increased, which allowed many Ghanaians to move from farms to cities, where they have been mostly employed in the service sector. This has been a typical pattern in a number of commodity-rich developing countries. In a 2016 paper, economists Douglas Gollin, Remi Jedwab and Dietrich Vollrath found:

In countries that are heavily dependent on resource exports, urbanization appears to be concentrated in “consumption cities” where the economies consist primarily of non-tradable services.

But the service sector isn’t great at creating secure, well-paying jobs. Much of this employment is informal and precarious. And a large share of the gains from the commodity boom have flowed to the wealthy, worsening inequality. Gollin and his co-authors find that the residents of so-called consumption cities do considerably worse than residents of cities with economies based on manufacturing.

Meanwhile, industrialization has proved to be a much more reliable path to national wealth. Manufacturing is less subject to the whims of global price movements than commodities, allowing for a more diversified and complex economy and -- most importantly -- it encourages learning and rapid productivity growth.

But when a country is strong in natural resource industries, it can be hard to ignite the kind of manufacturing boom that countries such as South Korea rode from rags to riches. Strong commodity exports raise the value of a country’s exchange rate, making manufactured exports more expensive. They also make wages in the industrial sector uncompetitive.

This helps explain why Ghana’s laudable efforts to switch to manufacturing haven’t yet borne fruit. The country tried establishing export-oriented special economic zones similar to those of China. But these ended up specializing in commodities rather than manufacturing.

Ghana needs to keep trying. One idea is to provide subsidies specifically to manufactured exports. If these subsidies were stable, reliable, large and long-lasting, they might tilt the balance of comparative advantage. This could include subsidizing wages for workers in export-oriented manufacturing; that would allow workers to earn a decent living while factory investors save on costs. It could also mean providing export-oriented factories with cheap dedicated sources of electric power, because generation has been a problem in Ghana. That would help make the country more attractive to investors from China, as well as a place where domestic entrepreneurs can flourish. Taking in skilled immigrants, especially from nearby Nigeria or the African diaspora, could also help build a pool of expertise that makes the country an attractive destination for investment.

The raw materials for a Ghanaian manufacturing boom are there. The country has entrepreneurial and innovative talent, as demonstrated by the introduction a few years ago of the first Ghana-made car. And both China and other industrialized nations are clearly interested in Ghana as a production base for the burgeoning West African market. To get there, the country’s leaders will simply have to refuse to be satisfied with the recent boom driven by commodities and urbanization. Ghana has enjoyed great success; sustaining that progress will require a new model.

#### Urbanization and health improvements come together – fertility decreases in urban areas in West Africa prove

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URBANIZATION THROUGH HEALTH IMPROVEMENTS

In addition to natural resource extraction and politics, urbanization in developing countries is also driven by the discovery and dissemination of health technologies. Historically, moving to cities required a trade-off between better economic opportunities, but lower life expectancy. For example, large cities in the U.S. experienced very high death rates from infectious disease and lower overall life expectancy compared to rural areas until the 1940s. The threat of industrial pollution persisted even later with the Great London Fog of 1952-1953 contributing to 12,000 excess deaths.

However, rapidly decreasing mortality rates in developing nations after World War II shifted the balance of forces driving city growth. Instead of the “killer cities” of the past, improved health care allowed for higher population density for a given income level. A recent study compares mortality by city size in late-1800s England to modern day China and found that larger English cities were more deadly than smaller ones, while bigger Chinese cities today experience lower mortality than their smaller counterparts. In addition, the study explores the relationship between industrial pollution and mortality, finding that the association between pollution and deaths was much stronger in industrial England than contemporary China. Moreover, data from 73 developing nations mostly in sub-Saharan Africa shows that child health is better in urban slums than rural areas (although substantially worse than formal settlements in urban areas).

Since 2000, a remarkable health transition has transformed mortality in sub-Saharan Africa. Infant mortality in the region has declined by 40 percent, while the dissemination of antiretroviral therapy reduced HIV-related mortality in the region by 48 percent between 2004 and 2014. Meanwhile, malaria control efforts such as distribution of insecticide-treated bed nets, indoor residual spraying, and malaria drug prophylaxis have decreased malaria-related mortality by over 50 percent.

Over the same period, the World Bank estimates that sub-Saharan Africa’s total fertility rate has decreased by 14 percent. Urban fertility rates in the region are 1-3 children per woman lower than in rural areas, but still double replacement in eastern and western Africa. Southern Africa and select nations in east Africa exhibit urban fertility rates trending toward replacement, but the fertility transition has progressed slowly overall. In the past, mortality decline has played an important role in decreasing fertility, as parents adjust their desired fertility to fewer infant deaths. Thus, the recent mortality declines without an equivalent fertility transition have increased city population growth, pressured rural economies, and spurred rural to urban migration.

#### New policies can solve the cons to urbanization

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Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced an unprecedented period of health improvement in the last 15 years. This success has shifted African settlement toward cities, raising the possibility of permanently poor slums, but creating unprecedented opportunities for economic transformation as well. We outline the following five policy recommendations to maximize the likelihood that Africa’s urbanization will produce lasting economic gains, while mitigating the demons of density caused by rapid urbanization.

1. Encourage productive cities: Of the above-listed mechanisms driving African urbanization, only improved health represents an opportunity for macroeconomic growth, but these human capital investments must be coupled with structural transformation to be sustainable. This can be achieved by encouraging shifts away from the informal sector and toward higher productivity services. Currently, cities in developing nations are far less functionally differentiated than their rich-world counterparts. To encourage location-specific specialization, favorable lending and tax incentives to promote business clustering as well as stronger transportation links would raise productivity.
2. Strengthen secondary cities: Currently much policy discussion is focused on whether to promote either rural or urban development. This debate should shift to the type of urban development. Rural poverty alleviation more frequently occurs through movement to the rural non-farm economy or migrating to nearby smaller secondary towns. This trend allows workers to enter the formal economy and bear the risks of migration without losing access to informal support networks. Greater decentralization of power and economic activity in sub-Saharan Africa represents an important tool for further development. With greater political autonomy and access to capital, secondary cities will be better able to provide high quality services.
3. Continued investments in demographic transition: No nation has developed without going through a demographic transition that began with reduced mortality. Ensuring that the recent large mortality declines and shift to cities in Africa continues to reduce fertility is essential for economic transformation. In addition to sustained health investments, since returns to schooling at all levels are higher in sub-Saharan Africa and higher still for girls, greater access to schooling for girls and women would also speed this transition.
4. Promote in situ upgrading of slum housing: Given the high level of slum dwelling in Africa’s cities, policies to upgrade settlements will improve welfare, raise labor demand, and promote demographic transition through better child health.
5. Take advantage of new data sources. Weak data collection systems limit our knowledge of African urbanization and poverty. New data sources such as satellite images of night lights, daytime satellite pictures, Google Street View, and mobile phone networks can increasingly be used to measure migration, city size, and economic growth in order to better target funding and rapidly measure policy effectiveness.

#### Concerns about urbanization are outweighed by technological potential

John Campbell 19, John Campbell is the Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC, 8-22-2019, "Home to Over Half the Population, Nigeria's Cities Continue to Boom," Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/home-over-half-population-nigerias-cities-continue-boom>

In an article for Bloomberg, Judd Devremont and Todd Moss highlight the rapid urbanization of Africa, arguing that the success or failure of Africa in the global economy will depend on its cities. In Nigeria, this can be seen most clearly in Lagos.

At independence in 1960, Lagos had an estimated population of 763,000; today it is about 13 million. Together with Lagos state, the population reaches 21 million. While Lagos is by far the largest city in Nigeria, security concerns, rural poverty, and hopes for greater economic opportunity are driving people to cities all over the country. In the decade between 2007 and 2017, Nigeria’s urban dwellers increased from 41 percent of the population to about 50 percent. In 2019, there were 7 cities with a population of one million or more, 80 with a population ranging between one hundred thousand and one million, and 248 with a population between ten thousand and one hundred thousand.

But much of this urbanization is unplanned and chaotic. According to a World Bank report about African cities, "Africa’s cities feel crowded precisely because they are not dense with economic activity, infrastructure, or housing and commercial structures." They lack "formal housing in reach of jobs, and without transport systems to connect people living farther away," forcing residents to "forgo services and amenities to live in cramped quarters near their work." The realities of life in Nigerian cities are hard. In Lagos, about two of every three people live in a slum. Less than 10 percent of residents have access to piped water (for those that do, it is often riddled with sediment and unsafe to drink), forcing urban households to purchase water from vendors at up to three times the normal price charged by Lagos state. Only six percent of urban households have a flushing toilet that is connected to a sewage system.

But life goes on. For all its shortcomings, Lagos is the center of much of what is dynamic and vibrant about Nigeria, a point Judd and Todd stress about African cities in general. The informal economy provides employment incompletely captured by statistics. In Lagos, there are few beggars; everyone has a hustle. Vendors working the city’s ubiquitous traffic jams (“go slows”) sell everything from mops and buckets to juju materials to the complete works of Shakespeare. Others provide services, such as washing the feet of market ladies several times a day. It is the home of Nollywood, a home-grown film industry that is widely influential in Africa and spreading around the world. It is the center of Nigerian telecommunications, and cell phone use is ubiquitous. The Nigerian Communications Commission stated that Internet users in Nigeria numbered 116 million in March 2019—well over half of the country’s estimated population. The most modern of financial and other services are available to clients in the Lagos-Ibadan corridor, the capital Abuja, and sporadically elsewhere. Information technology and sophisticated financial services are starting to power the modern sectors of the economy, though not to the same extent as in South Africa or Kenya, though the economy of Lagos state is larger than that of Kenya. Hence, as Judd and Todd argue, they require attention for their enormous potential, both good and bad.

#### City driven planning solves resilience to natural disasters and fragmentation

Salim Rouhana and Ivan Bruce 16, Salim Rouhana is a Senior Urban Development and Resilience Specialist and Task Team Leader at the World Bank, where he has worked on the Middle East and North Africa, and East Asia regions, Ivan Dharma Bruce is an urban resilience and disaster risk management consultant supporting various lending operations in West Africa for the World Bank's Urban, Disaster Risk Management, Resilience, and Land Global Practice, 11-3-2016, "Urbanization in Nigeria: Planning for the Unplanned," World Bank Blogs, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/africacan/urbanization-in-nigeria-planning-for-the-unplanned>

Ibadan, the third largest metropolitan area in Nigeria after Lagos and Kano, has organically grown from around 60,000 inhabitants in the early 1800’s to more than three million today, and is projected to reach 5.6 million by 2033. The city’s urban footprint continues to sprawl due to weak land use planning that leads to the proliferation of informal settlements in flood prone areas.

Ibadan has been hit by numerous floods in its history, with the latest in 2011 killing more than 100 people and causing considerable damage to properties and infrastructure. At that time, the Oyo State government requested World Bank support to build the city’s long-term resilience. The Ibadan Urban Flood Management Project (IUFMP) adopted a planning-to-investing methodology that will ensure effectiveness of interventions and their long-term benefit for the population of the city.

In this context, the state government recently commissioned the first, city-wide masterplan to guide the development of the city to 2036. This is a historic opportunity for Ibadan to undertake a holistic analysis of the current socio-economic and physical situation, and identify opportunities, which will enable the city to better respond to the needs of its citizens and to build long-term resilience to natural disasters, especially flooding. In addition, further strategic masterplans focusing on drainage and solid waste management are yet to be launched, highlighting the adaptability of masterplans, able to perform across several thematic areas with the added flexibility to react to a variety of scales.

The benefits of undertaking masterplans are multi-faceted; they set out a clear vision, goals and aspirations of stakeholders, residents, and government. Not only will this process help Ibadan, other Nigerian cities facing similar challenges will be able to glean key lessons from its use. In many instances in Nigeria, the lack of accurate data impacts the analysis of current conditions of infrastructure, including maintenance schedules and financial expenditure, impedes prioritization of investments. Adopting tools such as masterplans can help identify and prioritize interventions, including reducing the infrastructure gap, especially as the rate of rapid urbanization will see an additional two billion people move to cities by 2030, with around 50% headed to cities in Africa.

About half of Nigeria’s total 150 million population now lives in cities compared to 35% in 1990, generating 60% of the country’s gross domestic product (GDP). Rapid urbanization that is largely unplanned and uncoordinated, has deepened the deficit of services in many Nigerian cities, which includes access to land and housing, basic services, solid waste and waste water management, among others. Those pressuring trends, coupled with weak institutional settings, especially at the local level, is limiting Nigeria’s potential to reap positive benefit from urbanization.

#### Urbanization is overall positive – it causes better healthcare and education

Ellen Wulfhorst 18, Ellen is Chief Correspondent in the Americas for the Thomson Reuters Foundation, a major news organization, 5-16-2018, "World's urban growth will surge most in India, China and Nigeria," U.S., https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-population-cities/worlds-urban-growth-will-surge-most-in-india-china-and-nigeria-un-idUSKCN1IH2RO

Two-thirds of people in the world will be living in cities by 2050, and the boom will be concentrated in three countries - India, China and Nigeria, according to United Nations estimates released on Wednesday.

The world’s rural population will peak in a few years then decline by 2050, according to the report on urbanization by the Population Division of the U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA).

The findings of urbanization advancing so dramatically due to population growth and to migration can help cities design policies and practices to prepare for the influx, said John Wilmoth, director of the Population Division.

“When urban growth is rapid, insuring access to housing, water, sanitation, electricity, public transport, education and health care for all is especially challenging,” Wilmoth said at a U.N. news conference.

“Managing urban growth to insure that it is sustainable has become one of the most important development challenges of the current century,” he said.

Tokyo with 37 million people is the world’s largest city but it is due to be overtaken by Delhi around 2028, the report said.

At about the same time, India is expected to surpass China as the country with the world’s largest total population.

As of today, 55 percent of the world population lives in urban areas, increasing to 68 percent by 2050, the report said.

By 2050, India, China and Nigeria will account for more than a third of the projected growth in the world’s urban population, it said.

Overall, urbanization can be seen as positive, Wilmoth said.

“The increasing concentration of people in cities provides a way of more economically providing services,” he said. “We find that urban populations have better access to health care and education.”

The concentration of population also may help minimize humans’ environmental impact on the planet, he said.

“However, the challenge is that in many countries it’s taking place so rapidly ... and large slum areas have developed that are not maybe achieving the goals of sustainable development the way that we would like.”

Among other findings, the report said in 1990 there were just ten megacities with populations of 10 million or more.

As of 2018, there are 33 megacities and by 2030, 43 megacities are projected, mostly in developing countries.

UN DESA’s Population Division said it has been issuing reports on urbanization since 1988.

### Con

#### Urbanization causes slums, which will be destroyed by floods, killing economic assets

Jamal Saghir and Jena Santoro 18, Jamal Saghir is a senior associate with the Project on Prosperity and Development at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. He is an expert in infrastructure, energy, water international finance, economic development, and policy with over 25 years of experience at the World Bank. Jena Santoro is associate director of the CSIS Project on Prosperity and Development, 4-12-2018, "Urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa," CSIS, https://www.csis.org/analysis/urbanization-sub-saharan-africa

\*SSA= Sub-Saharan Africa

Disaster Risk in Urban Settlements

Urban centers lacking access to adequate infrastructure and basic services are more likely to be impacted by natural disasters. Basic services include safe drinking water, proper sanitation and drainage, and health care access. This is increasingly pertinent as it relates to the threats that arise from, or are exacerbated by, the impacts of climate change. Cities are increasingly exposed to both water scarcity and intense flooding due to extreme changes in weather patterns across the globe. In coastal areas, cities must consider the impact of rising sea levels as well. The World Bank’s 2013 Open Data for Resilience Initiative suggests that by 2050, the urban population exposed to cyclones will increase from 310 million to 680 million . In Dakar, the World Bank estimates the value of “flood-vulnerable” assets at around €40 billion, double Senegal’s GDP. There are other coastal countries in SSA whose cities are deemed high impact risk from climate variability. The chart below indicates the countries that have a significant percentage of their population residing in elevation below 5 meters.

Source: World Bank 2010 indicators: “percentage of population living below 5 meters”; “Sub-Saharan Africa.”

Subsets of urban centers across the developing world deemed “development deficit” are at increased risk of disaster impact. These areas, also referred to as informal settlements or “slums,” are often reliant on nonexistent or incompetent risk-reduction services. Incompetent governing bodies or a general failure to incorporate disaster risk reduction into urban planning or land-use policy is to blame for this. As of 2014, 55 percent of the SSA urban population were living in slums. With current trends, the growth rate of these areas substantially exceeds attempts at “urban upgrading” government investment of basic needs of these communities. Cities and municipalities cannot properly manage urbanization or disaster risk without first containing the expansion of these settlements. Pikine Irrégulier Sud is a low-income informal settlement of 240,000 inhabitants living in extreme poverty and unsanitary conditions in Dakar, Senegal. This neighborhood consists of roughly 10 percent of the city’s population. Rising sea levels pose a severe threat for Dakar, but the risks to this area are exacerbated by its underserved infrastructure and lacking resilient resources.

Many governments in Africa, in collaboration with international financial institutions, have made strides toward implementing projects to address flooding risks and associated consequences in urban areas, particularly in informal settlements. In 2012, the Senegalese government instituted the Ten-Year Flood Management Plan (PDGI), which aims to establish proper storm-water drainage and wastewater treatment systems, build capacity in the National Sanitation Office (ONSO), and institute a resettlement plan for high-risk residents. In addition to this, the government established a ministerial department for the restructuring and future planning of flood risk areas. The World Bank, continuing these efforts, established the Storm-water Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project (PROGEP) in 2013 to improve drainage and flood prevention systems in Dakar.

#### West African cities do not improve economic growth and cause urban instability

José López-Calix, Michel Rogy and Megha Mukim 2018, working group for the World Bank Group, research conducted to support grant and financial projects targeted towards development of underdeveloped parts of the globe, “The Challenges of Urbanization in West Africa”, AFCW3 Economic Update, Pg 4-5, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30042/127145-WP-PUBLIC-TheChallengesOfUrbanizationInWestAfrica.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y>

The main article in the present volume is devoted to the pressing challenges presented by urbanization in the Sahel, with a special focus on Guinea, Mali, and Niger. The Sahel is experiencing rapid and disorderly urbanization. The capital cities of Bamako, Conakry, and Niamey dominate the urban landscape in their respective countries. In each of these three countries, the economic importance of the capital city is enormous. For instance, Bamako represents about 34 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), whereas Conakry and Niamey each represent about 27 percent of GDP in their respective countries. Furthermore, as their populations are increasing at a faster rate than anywhere else in the world, the attendant youth bulge could turn into either a demographic dividend, whereby cities take advantage of a temporary boom in the working age population to productively employ young people, or a demographic disaster, accompanied by urban instability if cities do not meet these aspirations.

Despite their importance to their national economies, Bamako, Conakry, and Niamey are neither engines of growth nor of effective service delivery. All three are failing to make progress in increasing their competitiveness or in delivering on urban services for their citizens. Labor productivity in these cities is low compared to the average for 15 cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, and has remained stagnant over the past 15 or so years. Even more troubling is the fact that urban service delivery in Guinea, Mali, and Niger continues to lag the Sub-Saharan average and is showing no signs of catching up with comparator countries. Although Niamey is reasonably well concentrated around its city center, Bamako displays a highly fragmented urban form, and Conakry remains highly constrained by its geographical location on the Kaloum peninsula, which leads to linear expansion, with high concentration at the extreme point of the peninsula. Cities with fragmented urban form tend to limit opportunities for interactions, leading to costlier delivery of urban infrastructure and services. Thus, these cities are failing to reap the benefits usually associated with urban growth.

#### West African urbanization causes corruption, resource shortages, and political instability

John Campbell 18, John Campbell is a Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, a research based think tank, and writes the blog Africa in Transition, September 12, 2018, 9-12-2018, "Africa is the Fastest Urbanizing Place on the Planet," Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/africa-fastest-urbanizing-place-planet>

Sub-Saharan Africa is urbanizing at the fastest rate in the world. Western commentators, notably McKinsey in its 2016 report “Lions on the Move II,” see rapid urbanization as increasing the continent’s productivity. McKinsey states, “urbanization has a strong correlation with the rate of real GDP growth,” and that “productivity in cities is more than double that in the countryside.” Other observers, however, question whether urban infrastructure—especially water and education—can meet the needs of an exploding population.

The Financial Times recently published a balanced report on the pros and cons of rapid African urbanization. It focuses on Bamako, Mali, as an example of the continent-wide phenomenon. It cites a World Bank estimate that Bamako’s population today, at 3.5 million, is 10 times larger than it was at independence in 1960. A professor at the University of Bamako comments that that the city’s growth is a “catastrophe foretold,” that “Bamako is a time-bomb.” Among other shortcomings, the professor notes that the city lacks a land registry even as real estate booms. The exploding population growth translates into high land prices that encourage corruption. Peppered through the Financial Times piece are arresting statistical notes. For example, a World Bank economist observes that Africa is now 40 percent urban with a per capita GDP of $1,100. By the time Asia reached that level of urbanization, its per capita GDP was $3,500.

Statistics about Africa are generally weak, but for frequent travelers to Africa, the explosion of the urban population is obvious. So, too, are the slums, the lack of schools, water shortages, and unpaved roads. Unemployed male youth are ubiquitous and do, indeed, constitute a potential time bomb with respect to political instability. Experience shows that urbanization cannot be reversed, as few residents are willing to return to the countryside unless compelled to do so, as occurred in Chairman Mao’s China or Pol Pot’s Cambodia. But no African state has comparable means of repression should it wish to reduce its urban population. African urbanization will continue and public authorities having few tools with which to manage it.

#### West African urbanization increases CO2 emissions and wastewater runoff

Michael Bible 2013, biannual journal publishing on critical issues in the lives of the global majority: the more than 80 percent of the world's population living in developing countries. Topics discussed include poverty, population growth, access to safe water, climate change, and agricultural development. All articles are based on research papers written by AU undergraduate students, “The Impacts of Cote d’Ivoire’s Urbanization on its Economy and Populace”, Global Majority E-Journal, , Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2013), pgs 101-103, <https://www.american.edu/cas/economics/ejournal/upload/bible_accessible.pdf>

IV.4. Increasing Carbon Dioxide (CO2) Emissions and other Environmental Issues

While CO2 emissions are not typical of agriculture, they are very typical of industrial production. Heightened CO2 emissions are also indicative of an urbanized state in that industry and other carbon dioxide producing activities concentrate in urban centers. It is clear in comparing figures 5 and 8 that there is a correlation between urbanization and the carbon dioxide emission of Côte d’Ivoire. It can be assumed that the increasing carbon footprint of Côte d’Ivoire has resulted from the increase in industry, vehicular transportation, and fuel/power use associated with urban centers.

In recent studies conducted in Abidjan, Obrist et al. (2006) found that the interconnectedness of the wealthier and more impoverished areas has dramatically impacted the environments of both areas. In one of the municipalities studied by this group, they found that a substantial proportion of the population of Abidjan was living on over seventy settlements on illegal or non-residential land. These settlements, designated quartiers précaires, were hazardous areas but the government has shown little interest in intervention. The slums of Abidjan are located right next to approved, safe, “modern” housing and the uncleanliness of the slum environment has an impact on these surrounding regions.

Some of the most significant environmental hazards emerge from the wastewater generated by the slums of Abidjan. Even settlements miles from the city feel the impact of poor waste management. Waterways carry wastewater and garbage from the city to rural populations who suffer from the contaminants. There is little understanding of the impact that individuals have on their

environment and, therefore, they perpetually dispose of waste in an irresponsible manner.

Not only are populations outside of the city affected by this poor management of human-generated waste but also other sections of the city population suffer on account of poor means of disposal. Drainage channels in particular pose the greatest threat to the environment in that for years they have served as an irresponsible means of disposing of waste. Open drainage channels throughout the city are heaped with human waste and other garbage creating a noxious smell and severe health hazards. In fact, the Ebrié Lagoon, just outside of Abidjan has been overwhelmed by pollutants though recent efforts have been put in place to recover its natural purity. The great majority of this poor waste management stems from the fact that so many city-dwellers actually live in illegal slums in hazardous locations. More government intervention is needed to curb these unhealthy settlements and increase the availability of real homes within the city.

#### West African urbanization causes pollution – Cote d’Ivoire proves

Michael Bible 2013, biannual journal publishing on critical issues in the lives of the global majority: the more than 80 percent of the world's population living in developing countries. Topics discussed include poverty, population growth, access to safe water, climate change, and agricultural development. All articles are based on research papers written by AU undergraduate students, “The Impacts of Cote d’Ivoire’s Urbanization on its Economy and Populace”, Global Majority E-Journal, , Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2013), pg 104, <https://www.american.edu/cas/economics/ejournal/upload/bible_accessible.pdf>

While urbanization in Côte d’Ivoire has been shown to be linked to increased life expectancy and higher literacy rates amongst the population of urban areas, there are also negative implications inherent to the idea of urbanization. It is true that Côte d’Ivoire is a predominately agricultural society and that a major reason for urbanization in the country was the cocoa boom. This, unfortunately, hardly improves anyone’s condition within the nation. I feel that the government of Côte d’Ivoire should discourage simply exporting goods but should encourage the refinement of those goods within the nation. This would create jobs, increase the income from exports, and would help to truly industrialize the nation’s urban centers. It is also possible, given that a green revolution has yet to occur in Côte d’Ivoire, the government should encourage more productive means of harvesting goods (coffee, cocoa, palm oil) so as to increase profitability from exports. These are two simple ways in which the population of Côte d’Ivoire might escape the negative effects of the natural resource revolution occurring there.

Pollution is another major policy issue that needs to be addressed in urban areas. Urban living conditions need to be improved so that hundreds of thousands are not living in hazardous slums. This means that the government ought to institute greater waste education throughout the population and needs to create a more dedicated waste management organization prepared to handle sanitation issues within cities and their outskirts. The government must also lose its apathy towards illegal home locations, thereby curbing the creation of unsafe slum areas in the first place. It is important that policy makers ensure that the safety of city-dwellers is a higher priority by increasing the availability of more modern homes made of safer materials. It is important that the environment be taken care of so as to prevent serious health hazards and to ensure the continued availability of safe water. It must be made clear to the public that contaminating water supplies is simply unacceptable.

These are only a few, very simple steps that can be taken to curb the negative effects of urbanization. Urbanization presents a unique opportunity and challenge to policy-makers and a country’s population. On the one hand, there are significant benefits to urbanization (i.e. increased life expectancy, increased education, and increased access to infrastructure) but on the other, there are a number of negative consequences (health hazards, pollution, increased poverty). Ultimately, it is up to the government of Côte d’Ivoire to continue efforts to make its urbanization a more beneficial experience. Projects to increase infrastructure must remain a priority, and educating the public and preventing environmental damage must become a greater concern if Côte d’Ivoire is to be a more successful nation in the modern world.

#### Urbanization doesn’t provide any benefits – there is no economic capacity to invest in public infrastructure

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About 40 percent of the population in sub-Saharan Africa, or nearly 1 billion people, live in an urban area today. Over the next 25 years, that number is expected to double, raising unprecedented challenges for the region. The confluence of this rising urban population, relatively low income per capita, and a lack of infrastructure are serious causes for concern. As the region already confronts critical deficits in infrastructure and related funding, the looming crisis in the provision of urban infrastructure, especially transport, requires particular attention.

Projecting the level of infrastructure funding required for urban Africa is fraught with complexities. The continent requires an annual $93 billion to fund infrastructure needs, a large share of which is for urban areas. In fact, a 2016 African Development Bank study states that “two-thirds of the investments in urban infrastructure to 2050 have yet to be made.”

The infrastructure gap is notably reflected in the inadequacy of transport infrastructure in African cities. Compared with access to electricity, water and sanitation, and telecommunications, defining a target for urban transport access is not clear-cut. Yet, it is evident that African cities are physically fragmented and dispersed with a lack of connective infrastructure. Compared with Paris, for instance, much of the area surrounding the central business districts of many of Africa’s largest cities are without paved roads (Figure 2.7). This poor infrastructure leaves people and firms disconnected, constraining their accessibility to economic opportunity. Such inefficiencies in the design of the city can make urban living costs burdensome and jeopardize the potential benefits of agglomeration.

Africa’s scope for public capital investment is well under what it ought to be if we compare it to other developing regions. Urban income levels in Africa are well below the levels witnessed in other regions when those regions reached an urbanization rate of 40 percent (Figure 2.8). When combined with the relatively high cost of living in African cities (Figure 2.9), there are very limited resources for public investment. This dearth is part of the reason that capital investment in Africa over the past 40 years has only averaged about 20 percent of GDP. In contrast, between 1980 and 2011, rapidly urbanizing countries in East Asia averaged capital investment above 40 percent of GDP, bringing many economic boons to the region and its cities.

Without a substantive revenue source and ability to pay, there are limited options to fund and finance urban transport. Concessional resources from the donor community have traditionally shied away from urban capital investments nor are they of sufficient scale. More recent efforts to attract private capital are more difficult in urban transport because of the lack of a revenue stream. Private participation in infrastructure in Africa has been more directed at information and communications technology and, to a more limited degree, to energy and transport in terms of sectoral and country coverage.

If Africa is to avoid the perfect storm that these trends imply, it will need “out-of-the-box” thinking particular to its unique context. While there are various opportunities and initiatives to finance equitable and sustainable urban growth in Africa, at the center of any effective effort is the issue of land in terms of the efficiency of transport provision as well as a source for funding. Getting land policy right and resolving the range of issues unique to African land will be key to supporting private sector growth, ensuring ample and affordable housing, and securing resources for infrastructure and other urban development needs.

#### Urbanization is bad – there is no safe drinking water and waste management fails

Nicolas Pinault 19, Nicholas Pinault is a journalist writing for Voices of America, 5-20-2019, "Rapid Urbanization Presents New Problems for Africa," Voice of America, <https://www.voanews.com/africa/rapid-urbanization-presents-new-problems-africa>

Africa has become the world's most rapidly urbanizing continent.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the urban population has doubled since the mid-1990s, and reached 400 million people in 2016. According to experts, 40 percent of the region's total population resides in cities, compared to 31 percent in 2000.

During the next 15 years, the United Nations predicts the world's 10 fastest-growing cities will be in Africa.

However, the development of infrastructure and industries has not kept pace with the growth in urban population.

Sixty percent of city dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa live in slums, and only 25 percent have access to safe drinking water.

Poor sewage systems and weak flood control present another challenge.

Kouman Kossia Tamia, a traditional queen from Ivory Coast, fears the floods that come with each rainy season. When the rainy season comes, she said, she cannot do anything because everything is blocked.

Amadou Diarra, mayor of North Pikine, a suburb of Senegal's capital, Dakar, sees human waste management as a growing problem.

Waste is buried, he said, because there are not plants to deal with it. Instead, there is only one site that receives all the household waste in the Dakar region. The challenge in moving toward sustainability, he said, is to transform waste next to where it is produced, rather than bury it underground.

Most of Africa's urban growth is in small and mid-sized cities, with slightly more than half of African urban dwellers living in cities with populations of less than 250,000.

Maggie Chazal, founder of the NGO Urbanists Without Borders, said these intermediate cities are important to Africa's future because they help connect large cities and rural areas. Without them, she added, rural areas have neither equipment nor jobs, which would lead to an intensifying rural exodus by young people. She says large cities only concentrate economic and social problems, such as slums.

But Africa already has many large cities, and those cities are getting larger. Lagos, in Nigeria, is projected to become the largest city in the world, with an estimated population of 88.3 million people by the year 2100, according to the World Economic Forum.

#### Urbanization in West Africa causes disease outbreaks

WHO 2005, World Health Organization, renowned global organization known for identifying and researching global health risks, "Increased risk of urban yellow fever outbreaks in Africa," World Health Organization Emergencies Preparedness, response, https://www.who.int/csr/disease/yellowfev/urbanoutbreaks/en/

The risk of large and uncontrollable outbreaks in urban areas in Africa is more likely than ever. Accelerated urbanization has concentrated a non-immune population in settings where, high vector and population density, the main factors contributing to increased virus transmission are present.

While 62.1% of the African population is still rural, urban growth rates at nearly 4% a year are the most rapid in the world, and nearly twice the global average1. Not only are more people living in cities, but the cities themselves are becoming larger and more numerous. There are now 43 cities in Africa with more than one million people, a figure which is expected to increase to almost 70 by 20152.

Data from 2000, shows that the population of Lagos, Nigeria increased at a rate of 21 persons per hour; between 1994 and 2004, urban population growth rates in West African cities ranged from between 10% and 39%, with an average of 18%. By 2020, the proportion of urban population to rural population will reach 63% in sub-Saharan Africa.3

Many African cities now have an increasing number of overcrowded, informal settlements, or 'shanty towns', characterized by low-grade housing, poor roads, inadequate water supplies, sanitation and waste management services. Most people who live here have no access to running water and store drinking water in containers which often serve as breeding sites for the mosquito Aedes aegypti, the primary vector of urban yellow fever. In addition, the lack of public sanitation services in many large cities prevent the removal of other artificial breeding sites such as metal cans, tires or derelict vehicles.

As a result of the increased virus circulation in West Africa and intense population migration from infected forest areas to urban settings, five large cities have already faced yellow fever epidemics in the past four years. Many smaller cities are still exposed to the disease.

Over the last 10 years, there has been an increase in the number of countries reporting yellow fever to WHO, especially in West Africa where 93 % of the countries notified cases in the past 4 years, a 30% increase compared to the period 1995-1999. This reveals a worrying increase in the circulation of the virus in a non-immune human population. The geographical spread of the virus is also disconcerting. Indeed, multiple outbreaks may occur simultaneously in several different places, stressing the response capacity of the country as well as the support capabilities of the international community.

Historically, when yellow fever vaccine was not available, small outbreaks of yellow fever that occurred in a non-immune population in densely populated cities were often forerunners of large urban epidemics.

Today, 12 countries with large non-immune populations are at high risk, and immunization needs to be intensified now. For example, the last yellow fever outbreak in Nigeria occurred 14 years ago, but it took 10 years to control the transmission of the virus in the population. Given the low vaccine coverage of children under 14 years old, the number of children at risk in Nigeria has been estimated at 23 million, for those children in urban areas only. Immunizing the urban populations in these high-risk countries would require vaccinating approximately 100 million people.

High levels of resources are needed to control an urban outbreak, depriving countries of scarce resources to control other diseases and to improve health services. In 2001, during the yellow fever epidemic in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, 2.61 million people were vaccinated in 12 days. During the same period a cholera outbreak occurred, resulting in 3250 cases and 59 deaths. Most of the national and international support went to controlling yellow fever, with few resources left to combat the cholera outbreak.

With the rise of rapid, global transport and communication links, the risk of international spread of yellow fever from African cities has grown. Although the virus circulation has remained within historically endemic areas for now, the virus could spread quickly to those areas with a high density of vectors.

The potential for a major urban outbreak of yellow fever in Africa is already present. It is critical that a sustained response start today.

#### Urbanization in West Africa will cause an urban housing crunch, which leads to the spread of disease and violence

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Africa’s urban housing crunch is already a serious problem, and without significant investments and policy interventions, it’s likely to get far worse in the decade ahead. As the continent’s booming youth population flocks to cities in search of work, many will struggle to find a place to call their own.

The looming menace of major housing shortfalls in many African cities threatens urban health and safety. Infectious diseases are especially hard to contain in densely populated, informal settlements where residents may not have access to clean water, sanitation, adequate ventilation, and emergency health care when they become sick. In a region where respiratory infections, diarrheal diseases, and vector-borne infections are already among the leading causes of death, the prospect of persistent health crises in Africa’s growing cities is a serious challenge for the future. For Africa’s coastal cities, rising sea levels and climate change resilience imperatives add complexity to planning for future housing needs.

Moreover, the urban housing crunch can fuel powerful social frustration, the psychological impact of butting up against social status ceilings. When young people find themselves priced out of their housing markets, they can become trapped in sociocultural limbo because they cannot attain the expected signifiers of adulthood. In the best-case scenarios, that frustration will find effective political expression in demands for more responsive and accountable governance aimed at improving urban conditions and expanding opportunities. But when popular demands go unmet, or are repressed by heavy-handed authorities, more violent confrontations are possible.

Of course, the challenges are not insurmountable. The continent’s changing demographics present appealing commercial opportunities to those equipped to help build the urban infrastructure of the future. It’s no accident that the 28th Africa-France Summit taking place this June is focusing on sustainable cities; France sees attractive economic opportunities in Africa’s rapidly expanding cities.

For decades, China has been the dominant force in building all kinds of African infrastructure, well before the formal launch of the Belt and Road Initiative. But affordable housing has not been a priority of Chinese investors, despite the high degree of Chinese penetration in the construction and real estate sectors on the continent.

For all the evidence of booming construction in Africa’s growing cities, affordable housing needs remain difficult to meet because of the pace of migration, the difficult economics, the complex risk involved in providing housing for the poorest urban newcomers, and the host of land tenure laws (which govern how land is owned, transferred, and used) and regulatory restrictions that constrain rapid construction of sustainable housing solutions. These last constraints can be taken up urgently by African technocrats to remove legal and zoning barriers to urban housing development, paving the way for the substantial investments required to address the housing shortfall and keep up with projected demand. The simple necessity of addressing the looming crisis may stimulate innovative approaches to financing urban housing development. That will only happen, however, if leaders set the stage for success.

#### Urbanization is accelerating now and will cause unemployment and exacerbate the effects of climate change

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Africans are moving to the city. Already home to the world’s youngest and fastest-growing population, the continent is urbanizing more rapidly than any other part of the planet. Africa’s 1.1 billion citizens will likely double in number by 2050, and more than 80% of that increase will occur in cities, especially slums. The implications of this turbo-charged growth are hard to fathom. Consider how Lagos - already Africa’s largest city - is predicted to expand by an astonishing 77 people every hour between now and 2030.

Africa is not prepared for this urban explosion. By 2025, there will be 100 African cities with more than one million inhabitants, according to McKinsey. That's twice as many as in Latin America. Runaway urbanization and a growing youth bulge, with most young people lacking meaningful job prospects, is a time bomb. Already some 70% of Africans are under 30. Youngsters account for roughly 20% of the population, 40% of the workforce and 60% of the unemployed.

Africa is suffering from a major urban infrastructure gap. Annual national public spending on infrastructure is exceedingly low: an average of 2% of GDP in 2009-2015, compared to 5.2% in India and 8.8% in China. Not surprisingly, African cities often succumb to fragility. Sixty percent of all urbanites live in over-crowded and under-serviced slums. Around 25-45% walk to work due to lack of affordable transport. With turbo-urbanization, these appalling conditions could easily deteriorate.

Another looming problem is that African cities are set to expand during a period of unprecedented climate stress. Africa’s urban areas are likely to suffer disproportionately from climate change, as the region as a whole is warming up 1.5 times faster than the global average. The strain on basic services and natural resource endowments, as Cape Town’s water crisis shows, is set to increase. If Africa does not find a way to build sustainable cities with greater access to private capital, then they risk becoming both unlivable and indebted.

Make no mistake - Africa’s future is urban. But in the next two decades, African cities will need to do much more, with much less. While national governments will need to step up and implement regulations to raise public finance, African mayors, city residents and businesses cannot afford to wait. A new mindset is urgently required. But this first requires facing up to the scale of the challenge.

#### Urbanization displaces Nigerian fishing populations

Neil Munshi 19, Neil Munshi is the West Africa correspondent at the Financial Times, a major news organization, 9-12-2019, "How urbanisation displaces Lagos’s fishing families," Financial Times, https://www.ft.com/content/48cd5b3c-b796-11e9-8a88-aa6628ac896c

Urbanisation is often considered from a western perspective, with young professionals crammed into megacities, living in pods in ever-taller skyscrapers made from sustainable materials.

But it is Africa that will drive global population growth over the next 30 years — and how urbanisation affects people there now informs how the greatest chunk of humanity will live in 2050.

The story of Ms Huntontor’s family of Egun fishermen, like that of many of the urban poor in Lagos and megacities across the continent, is one of displacement.

The population of Sub-Saharan Africa is set to double to more than 2bn by 2050. The continent is already 43 per cent urban, a figure that is set to soar as young jobseekers migrate to the cities that are the continent’s economic engines. In Nigeria, the average age is about 18 and more than 40 per cent of people are under 14.

The UN predicts the country will add 189m urban dwellers by 2050. Estimates suggest that 10m more people will flood into Lagos between 2020 and 2035 — roughly 10 times the number of people who will become Londoners in the same period.

Urbanisation is accompanied by real estate speculation, as booming populations crowd into limited land and developers force out often non-paying informal tenants to chase bigger potential profits.

For Ms Huntontor’s family, the effects of population growth and rapid urbanisation have been devastating: their children’s education has been disrupted, community ties severed, a home they spent years saving for destroyed, and small businesses crushed.

Her mother, five of her 11 siblings and their children arrived at Ms Huntontor’s in 2017 after they were forcibly evicted from their ancestral home in Otodo Gbame, another informal waterfront community in Lagos. About 30,000 Lagosians were removed from the area, often violently, as police and paid thugs razed their homes.

Like many others, they were forced into a sort of multigenerational living — a trend that is also gaining traction in the west as households pool resources. In Nigeria where the population is much younger — and more than half of people aged 15 to 35 are unemployed or underemployed — families that join together also share resources, but there are much fewer to go round.

“Before, things were OK, but since they [the family] all joined up, it’s very difficult to feed everyone with the little that comes from the market,” says Ms Huntontor.

Her brothers head out into the lagoon each day on rickety tosihuns (dugout canoes) to fish, or hustle for manual labour; their wives help Ms Huntontor smoke and clean the catch, which she sells along with other fish she buys at the wholesale market.

The family shares everything, from childcare to food and drink. The courtyard is a gathering place, kitchen, fish processing plant and playground; the lean-to porch is a dining room and tailoring studio for the grandson who wants to train in the trade.

“The biggest priority for all of us is the children,” Ms Huntontor says through an interpreter in the dusty yard between her home and the corrugated metal shack in which her family lives. The children range in age from her late brother’s newborn to teenaged graduates who are unable to find work.

Two months ago, Ms Huntontor became the family’s primary — and often sole — breadwinner after her eldest brother was shot and killed in front of her home. Peter died in July during a weeks-long turf war between local gangs, known as “area boys”, who were fighting on behalf of the big men dredging sand from the lagoon for construction projects in the city.

#### Urbanization causes forced evictions

Neil Munshi 19, Neil Munshi is the West Africa correspondent at the Financial Times, a major news organization, 9-12-2019, "How urbanisation displaces Lagos’s fishing families," Financial Times, https://www.ft.com/content/48cd5b3c-b796-11e9-8a88-aa6628ac896c

How to manage urbanisation

Experts suggest that the way things are going at the moment does not bode well for family life in 2050.

“Urbanisation, if poorly planned, almost certainly will result in additional forced evictions and disruptions,” says Judd Devermont, Africa director for the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, a non-profit research organisation.

“Most African cities are not configured for such explosive growth,” he adds. “With more forethought about urban population and spatial growth, the region’s governments could reduce — or at least minimise — the negative consequences of forced evictions.”

But in Lagos, there has thus far been little focus on urban planning, or easing the effects of the city’s incredible growth.

“[Forced eviction] continues with impunity and the forces that are driving urbanisation and growing land values in the city and luxury real estate development continue to make this happen and suggest that it’s not likely to end,” says Megan Chapman, co-founder of Justice and Empowerment Initiatives, an organisation that fights forced evictions.

Often that displacement results in little more than ruined lives, she says.

Two years on from when Ms Huntontor’s family was evicted, cows sometimes graze on the razed remains of their old community, which is overgrown and floods in the rainy season. There’s a banner nearby advertising detached houses with a 20 per cent discount and a flexible payment plan.

Now there are rumours that the community next door to Ms Huntontor’s home, a cluster of ramshackle huts on stilts over the water, is going to be destroyed to make way for another dredging operation.

“You see what’s happening,” says Ms Huntontor, waving her hand dismissively toward the dump trucks trudging in and out. “We’ll probably be kicked out of here one day, too — and if the whole family weren’t here, I would leave right now.”

Her mother, Mary Kunnu, 78, has tribal markings tattooed on her skin, faded and stretched with age. She wonders where the family would go. Ms Kunnu’s sister — who raised Tinu — moved in with family in another community when she was evicted from Otodo Gbame, but that household now numbers about 30.

“I have faith [that] whenever god intervenes, things change — and I hope he does,” says Ms Kunnu. “But we’re never safe.”

#### Urbanization cannot solve economic growth

Nirav Patel 19, Nirav Patel is a former Research Analyst for Brookings Global Economy and Development program, 5-9-2019, "Figures of the week: Unique challenges facing African urbanization," Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2019/05/09/figures-of-the-week-unique-challenges-facing-african-urbanization/>

The World Bank’s recent report, “Which Way to Livable and Productive Cities? A Road Map for Sub-Saharan Africa,” unearths the complexity and challenges unique to sub-Saharan Africa’s urbanization journey. For starters, urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa, as the report posits, has simply not provided the same economic growth experienced by other regions of the world.

Figure 1 below demonstrates this polarity. While there was a consistent pattern of growth in GDP per capita for East Asian countries as their share of urban population grew between 1990 and 2016, the sub-Saharan African story is a mixed bag: There’s no clear pattern. On one side, countries like Nigeria and Ghana have seen strong growth in GDP along with higher shares of urban populations, and on the other, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, and Guinea-Bissau have experienced a decline in GDP while also experiencing increases in urban population.

The authors attribute this phenomenon in part to most sub-Saharan African countries failing to reallocate economic activity from the agricultural sector toward the more productive industrial and service sectors, resulting in urbanization without growth.

#### Urbanization concentrates populations in areas that are more susceptible to negative effects from climate change

Nirav Patel 19, Nirav Patel is a former Research Analyst for Brookings Global Economy and Development program, 5-9-2019, "Figures of the week: Unique challenges facing African urbanization," Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2019/05/09/figures-of-the-week-unique-challenges-facing-african-urbanization/>

Another challenging element of African urbanization presented in the report is the increasing vulnerability of the urban population to climate change. Specifically, the report establishes that fast-growing urban areas in low-elevation coastal zones (LECZs) are particularly at risk from climate change. For example, the densely populated Niger Delta is precariously exposed to sea level rise, storm surges, erosion, and land subsidence. Seasonal cyclones and tropical storms regularly affect cities along the southeastern coast of the Indian Ocean, most recently impacting Madagascar and Mozambique, causing severe damage and losses.

Figure 2 shows a sustained increase in the number of people living in these vulnerable zones over time. According to the report, the population living in LECZs will increase from 4 million in 2000 to an estimated 26 million by 2030 and then 110 million by 2060.

The report offers three recommendations for mitigating the above and additional challenges presented in the report. First, governments should empower land markets to drive urban economic growth and promote economic density. Second, cities should strengthen urban planning and regulation to make market-driven growth and coordinated investments possible. Third, there should be a focus on financing public assets and infrastructure investments to promote urban agglomeration effects from improved efficiency and connectivity while guarding against mitigating vulnerabilities and negative externalities.