

**A Planet of Cities:  
Urban Land Cover Estimates  
and Projections for All Countries, 2000-2050**

Shlomo Angel, Jason Parent, Daniel Civco,  
Alexander Blei, and David Potere

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## **Abstract**

We created a new data set comprising the universe of all 3,649 named metropolitan agglomerations and cities that had populations in excess of 100,000 in the year 2000, their populations in that year, and their built-up area identified in the MOD500 map, currently the best satellite-based global map of urban land cover. Using this data set, we estimated urban land cover in smaller cities and towns in all countries and calculated total urban land cover in every country in the year 2000. We then employed multiple regression models that could explain more than 90 percent of the variations in urban land cover among countries. Then, using U.N. urban population projections in combination with three realistic density change scenarios based on our previous global and historical study of densities, we projected urban land cover in every country and world region from 2000 to 2050.

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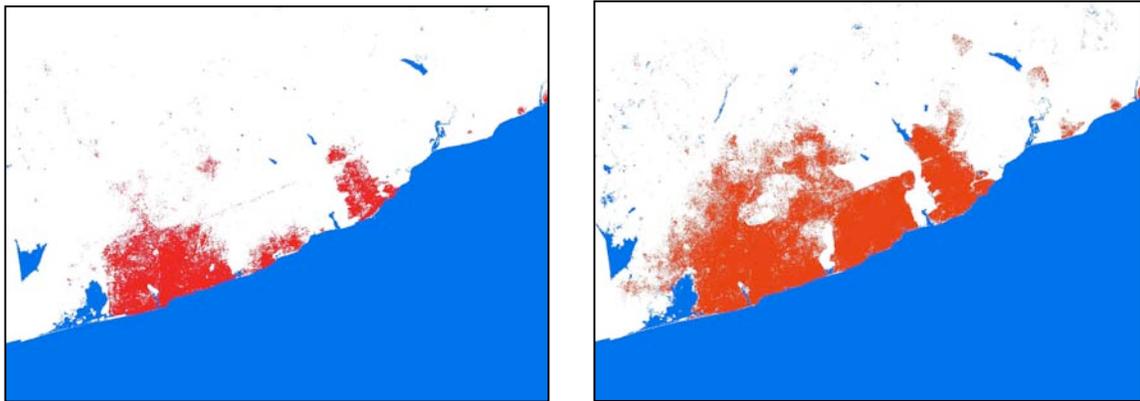
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## A Planet of Cities: Urban Land Cover Estimates and Projections for All Countries, 2000-2050

### I Introduction and Summary

Between 1985 and 2000, the population of Accra, the capital of Ghana, increased from 1.8 to 2.7 million, a 50 percent increase. Its urban land cover increased from 13,000 to 33,000 hectares, a 153 percent increase (see figure 1.1): Urban land cover in Accra grew more than twice as fast as its population.



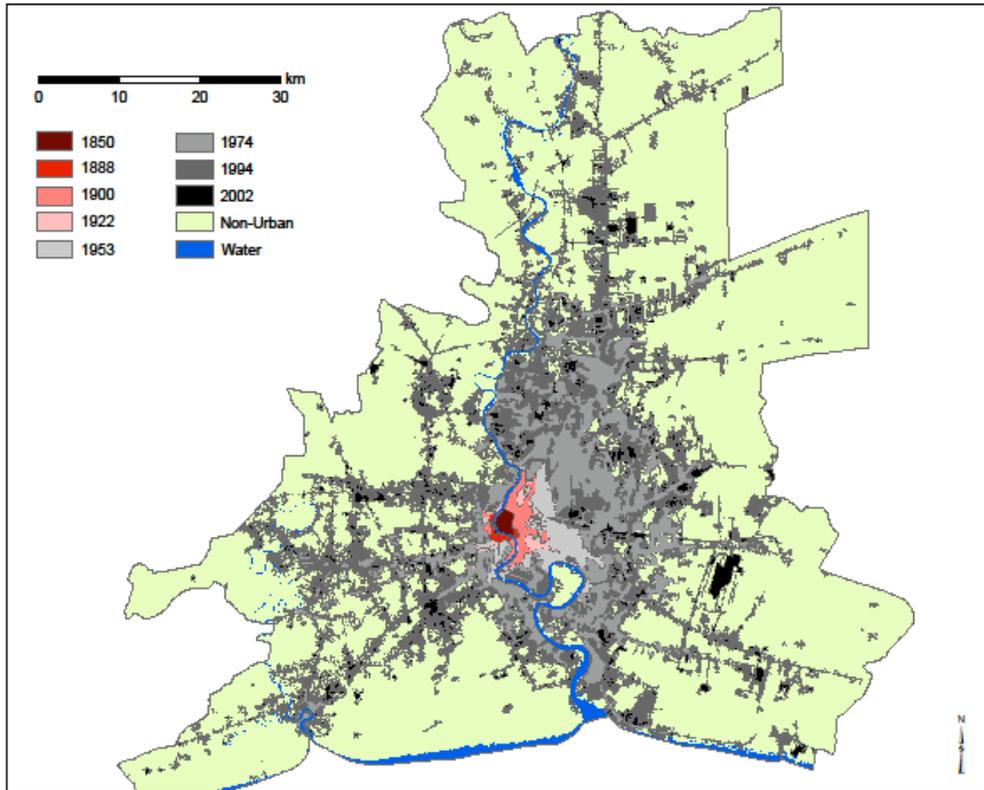
**Figure 1.1: The expansion of the built-up area of Accra, Ghana (shown in red), 1985-2000**

We examined the rate of growth of the urban population and urban land cover in a global sample of 120 cities between 1990 and 2000 (see Angel *et al.*, 2010). The former averaged 1.60 percent per annum and the latter averaged 3.66 percent per annum. The difference between them was  $2.06 \pm 0.32$  percent (sig. 2-tailed=0.000). In other words, as in Accra, urban land cover grew, on average, at *more than double* the rate of growth of the urban population. At these growth rates, the world's urban population will double in 43 years. The world's urban land cover will double in only 19 years.

Urban expansion is by no means a recent phenomenon. The historical expansion of Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, during the past 150 years is illustrated in figure 1.2 below. Bangkok increased its urbanized area from 580 hectares in 1850 to 133,515 in 2002. In 1944, for example, its urbanized area comprised 8,345 hectares, a 14-fold increase of its 1850 area. It then doubled its area in 15 years (1944-1959), then doubled it again in 9 years (1959-1968), then doubled it again in 10 years (1968-1978), and then doubled it yet again in 24 years (1978-2002). In other words, the urbanized area of Bangkok increases 16-fold between 1944 and 2002.

We examined the rate of growth of urban populations and their associated urban land covers in a global historical sample of 30 cities between 1800 and 2000 (see Angel *et al.*, 2010). The rates of urban expansion that we found in Bangkok were not atypical. Twenty-eight of the thirty cities studied increased their areas more than 16-fold during the twentieth century. The only exceptions were London and Paris, the two largest cities in the sample in 1900. These two cities increased their areas 16-fold by the year 2000

since 1874 and 1887 respectively. On average, the thirty cities in this group occupied one-half of their urbanized area circa the year 2000 some  $23.5 \pm 2.1$  years earlier; they occupied only one-quarter of their area some  $38.9 \pm 3.1$  years earlier; they occupied on one-eighth of their area some  $54.1 \pm 3.8$  years earlier; and they occupied only one-sixteenth of their area some  $70.2 \pm 3.9$  years earlier. In other words, these cities doubled their urbanized area, on average, in 16 years (1930-1946), then doubled it again in 15 years (1946-1961), then doubled it again in 15 years (1961-1976), and then doubled it yet again in 23 years (1976-2000).



**Figure 1.2: The expansion of Bangkok, 1850-2002**

The rapid growth in global urban land cover is likely to continue as long as urban populations continue to grow, as long as incomes continue to rise, and as long as urban transport remains relatively cheap and affordable. As we shall show, while considerable urban expansion will still occur in more-developed countries, most of the urban expansion in the coming decades will take place in the developing countries. This article therefore seeks to refocus the attention of planners, policy makers and concerned activists on urban expansion in developing countries and to begin to examine its policy implications.

In this study, we used new information from four data sets, three of them developed by the authors, to estimate the amount of urban land cover in all countries, to explain why it is larger in some countries and cities than in others, to project it into the future, to explore directions for further research, and to discuss the policy options available to manage it in

a realistic manner. We provide the plan of the study and a summary of its main findings before proceeding to the main body of the paper.

## 1. Global urban land cover and the universe of *large* cities

The first part of the paper focuses on the transformation of the *MOD500* global map of urban land cover for the year 2000, the best of the eight global urban land cover maps now available, into a more restricted map of the urban clusters associated with *named* large cities. Large cities, defined as cities that contain more than 100,000 people, are identified from two main sources, the [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de) website (Brinkhoff, 2010) and the U.N.'s *World Urbanization Prospects – the 2007 Revision* (U.N. 2007) The key results of this part are the first-time estimates of urban land cover and of average urban population density in the year 2000 for all large cities in all countries.

Eight global maps of 'urban' land cover in the year 2000 were examined earlier by one of the authors and his colleagues (Potere *et al*, 2009) and the MOD500 map, with a pixel resolution of 463 meters, was selected as the best among them. The MOD500 map, like other remote-sensing maps, considers all impervious surfaces 'urban' and does not distinguish between impervious surfaces in urban and rural areas. The map therefore had to be modified to eliminate impervious surfaces in rural areas by focusing on its identification of the land cover of *large* cities, cities that had more than 100,000 people in the year 2000. Using various sources, we created a new universe of 3,649 *named* large cities. We identified the latitude and longitude of each city on *Google Earth*, its population in 2000, and the urban cluster associated with it in the MOD500 map. The total population in large cities in 2000 amounted to 2.01 billion and constituted 71 percent of the total urban population in that year, 2.83 billion. Total urban land cover in large cities in 2000 amounted to 339,836 km<sup>2</sup> and constituted 52 percent of the total 'urban' area in the MOD500 global land cover map.

## 2. Estimates of urban land cover in small cities

The *MOD500* map could not be relied upon for calculating urban land cover in smaller cities and towns that cannot be easily distinguished from villages. In the second part of the study, we first computed the total urban population in small cities and towns in each country as the difference between the country's total urban population (estimated by the U.N.) and our calculated total population of large cities, both in the year 2000. The reader should note that because these estimates come from different data sources, subtracting them from one another is not without problems.

In the universe of large cities, a doubling of the city population is associated with a 16.0 percent increase in density. We used this density-population factor in generating our estimates. The density metric of interest in estimating urban land cover is *overall density*, defined as the ratio of the total urban population and total urban land cover in a given area. The total population in small cities in every country and every region is known. Total urban land cover in small cities is then calculated as the ratio of the total population to the overall density in small cities. In this section, we estimated the overall density in small cities in every region from information on the overall density in large cities, the

median city population in large cities, the median city population in small cities, and the density-population factor introduced in the previous paragraph. Our general conclusion is that overall densities in small cities are *roughly half* those in large cities. According to our calculations, urban land cover in small cities added 266,039 km<sup>2</sup> to global urban land cover.

### 3. Urban land cover in all countries

In this part of the study we combined our estimates of urban land cover in large cities with urban land cover in small cities to calculate the total urban land cover in all countries and world regions in the year 2000. We present a table of these results as well as summary tables for world regions and global maps showing various measures of urban land cover in different countries.

According to our estimates, total urban land cover for the world as a whole in the year 2000 amounted to 605,875 km<sup>2</sup>. Our estimate of global urban land cover amounted to 93 percent of the total area identified as ‘urban’ in the MOD500 map. Global urban land cover in 2000 was equally divided between developing countries (49.4%) and developed countries (50.6%). There were great variations in urban land cover among countries: The U.S., for example, contained 112,220 km<sup>2</sup> of urban land cover, 18.5 percent of global urban land cover and more than double the urban land cover of the next-highest country, China, 47,169 km<sup>2</sup>. In the world as a whole, urban land cover occupied 0.47 percent of the total land area of countries. Urban areas occupied 0.85 percent of the land area of the countries of Southeast Asia but only 0.12 percent of the land in the countries of in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Among the countries that had large cities in 2000, 10 countries had more than 5 percent of their total land area occupied by cities: Singapore (56.6%), Bahrain (32.2%), Belgium (17.6%), the Palestinian Territories (West Bank and Gaza) (17.0%), the Netherlands (10.7%), Puerto Rico (8.4%), the Czech Republic (6.3%), the United Kingdom (5.7%), Italy (5.6%), and Germany (5.3%). Twenty-two countries had 2-5% of their land areas occupied by cities, among them Japan (4.2%), France (2.8%), and the Philippines (2.1%). Twenty-two additional countries had between 1 and 2 percent of their land area occupied by cities, among them the United States (1.2%), Bangladesh (1.1%), Turkey (1.1%), and India (1.0%). Twenty-eight more countries had between 0.5 and 1 percent of their land areas in urban use, among them Indonesia (0.95%), Pakistan (0.7%), Venezuela (0.7%), and China (0.5%). Twenty-seven countries had between 0.2 and 0.5 percent of their land in urban use, among them Brazil (0.48%), Argentina and Mexico (0.42%), and Egypt (0.26%). Eighteen additional countries had between 0.1 and 0.2 percent of their land in urban use, among them the Russian Federation (0.16%), Saudi Arabia (0.15%), and Australia (0.12%). The remaining 28 countries had less than 0.1 percent of their land in urban use, among them Canada (0.09%), the Democratic Republic of Congo (0.05%), Libya (0.03%), and Mongolia (0.02%).

#### **4. Modeling urban land cover in countries and cities**

The classical economic theory of urban spatial structure predicts that urban land cover will increase with population and income, as well as with a reduction in transport costs. We posited a number of hypotheses that could explain variations in urban land cover among countries based on this theory. We tested these hypotheses using multiple regression models with all variables in logarithmic form. In one set of models, we used total urban land cover in the country in the year 2000 as the dependent variable. The urban population in 2000, income (GDP per capita) in 1990, arable land per capita, the price of gasoline, and the share of the urban population in informal settlements were used as independent variables in the models. The coefficients of all the independent variables in this set of models were all found to be significantly different from 0 at the 95 percent confidence level (sig. 2-sided < 0.05).

The models were able to explain 93-95 percent of the variations in urban land cover among countries. A 10 percent increase in the urban population is associated with a  $9.3 \pm 0.1$  percent increase in urban land cover. A 10 percent increase in GNP per capita is associated with a  $1.8 \pm 0.3$  percent increase in urban land cover. A 10 percent increase in arable land per capita is associated with a  $2.0 \pm 0.0$  percent increase in urban land cover. A 10 percent increase in gasoline prices is associated with a  $2.5 \pm 0.4$  percent decrease in urban land cover. A 10 percent increase in informal settlements is associated with a 0.08 percent decrease in urban land cover. In a second set of models, we obtained similar results using the total land area in large cities in the country in the year 2000 as the dependent variable.

In a third set of models, we used the urban land cover in individual cities in the year 2000 as the dependent variable in the models. These models were able to explain almost 70 percent of the variations in urban land cover in the universe of large cities. City population, GNP per capita and arable land were found to have similar effects on urban land cover in individual cities as those identified for countries. However, the coefficient for gasoline prices was not significantly different from 0 at the 95 confidence level.

All in all, the statistical models were found to be robust and were able to explain a very large amount of the variation in urban land cover among cities and countries. Variations in climate, in cultural traditions, or in the policy environment in different countries may matter less than the fundamental forces giving shape to the spatial structure of cities: population, income, low-cost peripheral land, and inexpensive transport.

#### **5. Projecting urban land cover in countries and regions, 2000-2050**

The United Nations Population Division projects the urban population in every country from 2000 to 2050. In an earlier study (Angel et al, 2010) we found that average density in the built-up areas of a global sample of 120 cities declined at a mean annual rate of 2.0 percent between 1990 and 2000. It declined at 1.9 percent per annum in 20 U.S. cities between 1910 and 2000 and at 1.5 percent in a global sample of 30 cities between 1894 and 2000. We used the results of this study to estimate three realistic density scenarios for projecting urban land cover into the future: (1) a high projection, assuming a projected density decline of 2 percent per annum; (2) a middle projection, assuming a projected

density decline of 1 percent per annum; and (3) a low projection, assuming that densities remain unchanged. We then projected urban land cover for all countries and regions under these three density scenarios.

Projected urban expansion between 2000 and 2050 will be a function of urban population growth and density change. The world urban population is expected to increase from 3 billion in 2000 to 5 billion in 2030 and to 6.4 billion in 2050. The rate of increase of the world urban population is expected to slow down from 2 percent per annum in 2000 to 1.65 in 2030 and to 1.14 percent in 2050. The urban population in less-developed countries will grow at a rate *five times faster* than the urban population in more-developed countries. The urban population of the more-developed countries will stabilize at around 1 billion people. Almost all the growth in the world urban population will take place in less-developed countries: It will increase from 2 billion in 2000 to 4 billion in 2030 and to 5.5 billion in 2050. Among countries in the less-developed regions, the fastest growth in the urban population will occur in Sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South & Central Asia. The projected rate of increase in urban land cover will be higher than the rates of increase of the urban population because urban population densities can be expected to decline.

At constant densities, the world's urban land cover will only double between 2000 and 2050 as the world population doubles. At a one percent annual rate of density decline it will triple. At a two percent annual rate of decline it will increase more than five-fold. Urban land cover in Sub-Saharan Africa will expand at the fastest rate: According to our high projection, urban land cover there will expand *more than 12-fold* between 2000 and 2050.

If densities in more-developed countries remain unchanged (low projection), urban land cover there will grow by only 20 percent between 2000 and 2030 and by 29 percent between 2000 and 2050. Urban land cover there will increase from 305,960 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 368,567 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 395,478 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. Assuming that densities in the more-developed countries decline, on average, by only 1 percent per annum (medium projection), urban land cover there will grow by 63 percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 113 percent between 2000 and 2050. Urban land cover in the more-developed countries will increase from 305,960 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 497,513 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 652,033 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. In other words, at a one percent annual decline in average densities, urban land cover in more-developed countries will double in 50 years. If incomes continue to increase relative to gasoline prices and densities continue to decline at the rate they did in the 1990s, then urban land cover in more-developed countries will more than double between 2000 and 2030, and will triple between 2000 and 2050.

The situation is likely to be even more critical in less-developed countries, where most urban population growth will take place and where urban expansion is likely to continue unabated in the absence of effective urban containment policies. Assuming that densities there decline, on average, by only 1 percent per annum (medium projection), urban land cover will grow by 170 percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 326 percent between 2000 and 2050. In other words, at the medium projection, urban land cover in less-developed countries will grow from 299,915 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 809,162 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 1,277,918 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. Assuming that densities in less-developed countries decline, on average, by 2 percent per annum (high projection), urban land cover will grow by 264

percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 603 percent between 2000 and 2050. In other words, urban land cover in less-developed countries will grow from 299,915 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 1,092,255 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 2,106,930 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050.

## 6. Directions for future research

The availability of better estimates and projections of urban land cover in all countries and regions makes it possible to study the effects of present and future urban land cover on several important global issues: (a) the effect of urban land cover on carbon emissions; (b) the projected loss of arable land, cultivated land, and land in permanent crop production due to urban expansion; and (c) the vulnerability of low-lying coastal cities to the rise in ocean levels. We present our initial findings regarding these three issues without a detailed discussion, leaving their further analysis for future research.

- (a) **The effect of urban land cover on carbon emissions:** We tested the following hypothesis: Other things being equal, the larger the amount of land in urban use in a country, the larger the total volume of its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. We constructed a multiple regression model with total carbon emissions in the country in 2000 as the dependent variable and the country's GDP and total urban land cover as independent variables (all in logarithmic form). Variations in GDP among 148 countries in 2000 explained 84 percent of the variation in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. A 10 percent increase in country GDP is associated with a 9.5 percent increase in total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. A 10 percent increase in urban land cover in the country is associated with an 11.3 percent increase in total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the country. When the two are combined in one single model, a 10 percent increase in GDP and a 10 percent increase in urban land cover are associated with 5 and 6 percent increases in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions respectively. The combined model explains 89 percent of the variations in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions among countries and does not appear to suffer from multi-collinearity problems.
- (b) **The projected loss of arable land due to urban expansion:** In the world at large, the area in urban use amounted to 3.95 percent of the arable land and permanent crop area in the year 2000. Cities thus occupied less than one twenty-fifth of the area occupied by arable land on the planet in 2000. The ratio of urban land to arable land was higher in more-developed countries (5.1%), than in less-developed countries (3.2%). Among world regions, it was highest in Latin America and the Caribbean (5.6%) and in Europe and Japan (5.6%), and lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa (1.5%).

Among the countries that had large cities in 2000, five countries had more land in urban use than arable land: Singapore, Bahrain, Kuwait, Djibouti, and Qatar. Urban land cover in three countries was more than half the arable land cover: Puerto Rico (91%), Iceland (86%), and Belgium (50%). Urban land cover in 12 countries comprised 20 to 50 percent of arable land cover, among them the Netherlands (38%), Japan (31%), and the United Kingdom (23%). Urban land cover in 14 more countries comprised 10 to 20 percent of arable land cover, among them the Republic of Korea (18%), Venezuela (17%) and Germany (15%). Urban land in 29 additional countries comprised five to ten percent of arable land

cover, among them Egypt (8%), the United States (6.3%) and Brazil (6.2%). Urban land cover in 45 more countries comprised 2 to 5 percent of arable land cover, among them Iran (4%), Argentina (4%), and China (3.2%), and the Russian Federation (2.1%). Urban land cover in 35 more countries comprised 1 to 2 percent of arable land cover, among them India (1.8%) and Canada (1.7%). The 12 remaining countries had urban land cover that comprised less than one percent of arable land cover, among them Tanzania (0.9%) and Afghanistan (0.4%).

In a future research project, we plan to use the MOD500 land cover map for the year 2000 as our database for estimating the projected loss of arable land due to urban expansion. This land cover map for 2000 contains information on 16 different types of land cover, including several types of land cover associated with cultivated and permanent crop land. We plan to create equidistant buffers around every one of the 3,649 urban clusters in our universe of large cities that correspond to the projected increase in urban land cover. We will then superimpose these buffers on the MOD500 land cover map to estimate how much cultivated land will be lost to urban expansion in every country in every decade.

**(c) The Vulnerability of Low-Lying Coastal Cities to the Rise in Ocean Levels:**

The available assessments of the amount of urban land cover in low-elevation coastal zones appear to be imprecise, typically over-estimating that amount. The elevation data used in current estimates uses a 10-meter elevation range, too coarse a range in our view for studying vulnerability to the expected rise in ocean levels. We conjecture that our new database can provide a better estimate of urban population and urban land cover in low-lying coastal areas than the currently available estimates. We now estimate that 10 percent of global urban land cover is located within 4 kilometers from the coast, 20 percent within 10 kilometers, 30 percent within 21 kilometers, and 50 percent within 116 kilometers. We estimate a total urban land cover of 222,000 km<sup>2</sup> within 40 kilometers of the coast.

Future research on these three issues may shed important light on the social, economic, and environmental consequences of the projected global urban expansion in the years to come.

## **7. Conclusion: Making Room for a Planet of Cities**

In this paper, we seek to provide, for the first time, the quantitative dimension of future urban expansion, so as to present what we believe to be the minimally necessary information for an intelligent discussion of plans and policies to manage it, whether to reverse it, contain it, guide it, or let it be. The prevailing paradigm guiding urban planning in the recent past has been the ‘smart growth’ paradigm, whose main thrust, for a variety of reasons, has been to *contain* urban expansion in one way or another. Our contention is that this paradigm is ill-suited for countries that are still in the midst of rapid urbanization, a process that has largely come to an end in more mature economies. Our main concern is with the developing countries, where most urban population growth (and most urban expansion) will take place in coming decades. The availability of reliable data regarding the amount of land that is likely to be needed to accommodate the growing population of many cities in the developing countries is clearly necessary for informed

decision-making at the present time. Our paper offers a practical starting point for an alternative urban planning paradigm based on making a realistic assessment of the lands that will be needed to accommodate projected population growth. Given the expected pace of projected urban expansion, it also calls for a type of planning that is minimalist in nature, focused on making the absolute minimum preparations for urban expansion now instead of spending years planning for that expansion while it is actually taking place.

Our recommended strategy for managing urban expansion in the coming decades rejects any planning agenda for cities, especially those in developing countries that are still urbanizing rapidly, that takes the need for urban containment as a given. The refusal to plan for urban expansion at realistic densities as a matter of principle, in the belief that it should not occur, in the hope that it will not occur, or in fear of the ire of those who oppose it, may be a costly mistake. That said, allowing densities in developing-country cities to decline to the very low levels now prevalent in the U.S., for example, may be a detrimental error too. Urban densities in developing-country cities — now averaging more than *four times* those of the U.S. — must remain within a range that can support public transport so as to limit carbon emissions, and that can allow cities to accommodate their expected population growth while keeping housing plentiful and affordable and while conserving land and energy.

We believe that the adoption of the urban containment paradigm in developing countries may be counter-productive at the present time. It may lead to estimates of land needs and infrastructure investments that are insufficient for, say, 20-30 years of planned expansion at realistically projected densities. Cities may thus continue to expand in an unplanned fashion, failing to guide development in more desirable directions, failing to protect even a limited selection of high-priority open spaces from development, creating land supply bottlenecks that keep the cost of land and housing out of reach for the urban poor, and failing to secure the necessary rights-of-way for the arterial roads that can eventually carry public transport and basic infrastructure into newly-inhabited areas. It may indeed be more realistic and more sensible for the rapidly-growing cities in developing countries to refrain from curbing their expansion, to assume instead that densities can continue to decline slowly while remaining sustainable, and to make adequate room for accommodating their expected populations.

\* \* \*

## II Global Urban Land Cover and the Universe of *Large Cities*

### 1. Mapping Urban Land Cover on a Global Scale

Despite great advances in remote sensing and satellite imagery, there is no reliable *global* map as yet that could accurately identify all land in urban use, in other words all land occupied by the built-up areas of towns, cities, and metropolitan areas. As a result, we do not yet have accurate estimates of the amount of land in urban use in different countries. Without such estimates, we cannot explain the variations in urban land cover among countries, nor can we project the amount of land that will be needed in the coming decades to accommodate the burgeoning urban population in many of these countries. Such estimates and projections are important, at the very least, for making the necessary legal, institutional, and infrastructural preparations for urban expansion, for assessing the effects of urban expansion on arable lands and on carbon emissions, or for evaluating the vulnerability of low-lying urban areas to rising sea levels.

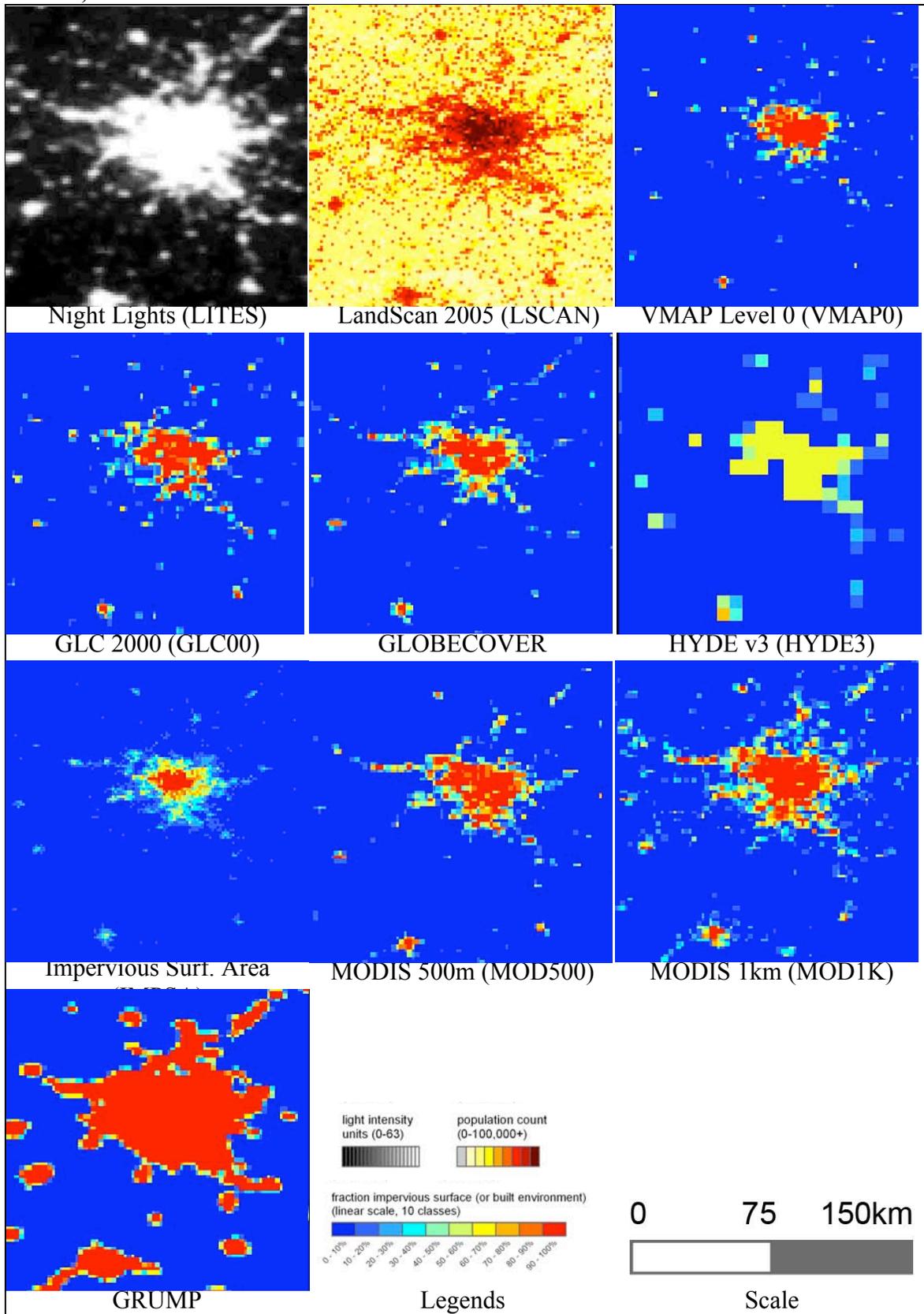
That said, there has been considerable progress in the development of global urban land cover maps. In recent years various academic, governmental, and commercial groups have created no less than *eight* global maps and two related maps of the *built environment*, most of them at a reasonably small scale of 250-meter to 1,000-meter pixel size. The information on these maps is summarized in table 1 below. The eight global urban maps and two urban-related maps for Paris circa 2000 are shown in figure 1 below.

**Table 2.1: Eight global maps and two related maps of the built environment, 1992-2005**

Map and Citation	Label	Source	Resolution	Total Area of Built Environment (km <sup>2</sup> )
Vector Map Level Zero (Danko 1992)	VMAP0	US National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency	1:1 million	276,000
Global Land Cover 2000 v1.1 (Bartholome <i>et al.</i> 2005)	GLC00	European Commission Joint Research Center	988 m.	308,000
GlobCover v2 (Arino <i>et al.</i> 2007; ESA 2008)	GLOBC	European Commission Joint Research Center	309 m.	336,000
History Database of the Global Environment v.3 (Goldewijk 2005)	HYDE3	Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency	9,000 m.	532,000
Global Impervious Surface Area (Elvidge <i>et al.</i> 2007)	IMPISA	US National Geophysical Data Center (US-NOAA)	927 m.	572,000
MODIS Urban Land Cover 500m (Schneider <i>et al.</i> 2009)	MOD500	Univ. of Wisconsin, Boston Univ. (US-NASA)	463 m.	657,000
MODIS Urban Land Cover 1km (Schneider <i>et al.</i> 2003)	MOD1K	Boston University (US-NASA)	927 m.	727,000
Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project, alpha (CIESIN 2004)	GRUMP	Earth Institute at Columbia University	927 m.	3,532,000
Nighttime Lights v2 (Elvidge <i>et al.</i> 2001)	LITES	National Geophysical Data Center (US-NOAA)	927 m.	NA
LandScan 2005 (Bhaduri <i>et al.</i> 2002)	LSCAN	US Oak Ridge National Laboratory (US-DOE)	927 m.	NA

*Source:* Adapted from Potere *et al.*, 2009, table 1.

**Figure 2.1: The eight global urban maps and two urban-related maps for Paris, France, circa 2000**



Source: Adapted from Potere *et al* 2009, Figure 1

These maps identify impervious surfaces — namely pavements, roofs and compacted soils — that are closely associated with the built environment. The built environment identified in these maps consists of three major classes: urban areas (cities and their suburbs), rural areas (villages and farms), and inter-city transport (roads, railways and canals). Remote sensing maps with the pixel sizes mentioned above can typically detect relatively large urban areas that are many pixels in size, but are less reliable in detecting villages and small towns, farms, or inter-city transport. This is the reason that descriptions of these maps in the remote-sensing literature commonly use the terms 'built environment' and 'urban' interchangeably, even though the maps identify as 'urban' many areas that are clearly not parts of cities by any common-sense definition of what constitutes a city.

Apart from the unfortunate confusion between 'built environment' and 'urban', it has been quite difficult to tell how accurate these eight maps are. As table 1 shows, the individual map estimates of the total area of built environment in the world vary by as much as an order of magnitude: from 276,000 km<sup>2</sup> in Vector Map Level 0 (VMAP0) to 3.532 million km<sup>2</sup> in the Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project (GRUMP). Needless to say, these wide variations raise serious questions regarding the accuracy of these maps and render them less than useful for serious analysis.

Potere *et al* (2009) set out to test the accuracy of these global maps with a two-tier assessment. The first-tier assessment compared these maps with a set of 30-meter-resolution maps of cities based on *Landsat* imagery. The second-tier assessment tested the *Landsat*-based maps for accuracy with 10,000 *Google Earth* validation sites.

Two sets of *Landsat*-based city maps were used for comparison with the global urban land cover maps: A global sample of 120 cities studied by Angel *et al* (2005) and a collection of 24 cities studied by Schneider and Woodcock (2008), yielding a total of 140 distinct maps of the built-up areas of cities that had populations in excess of 100,000 in the year 2000. These comparisons made it possible to determine which of the global land cover maps better approximated the *Landsat*-based maps.

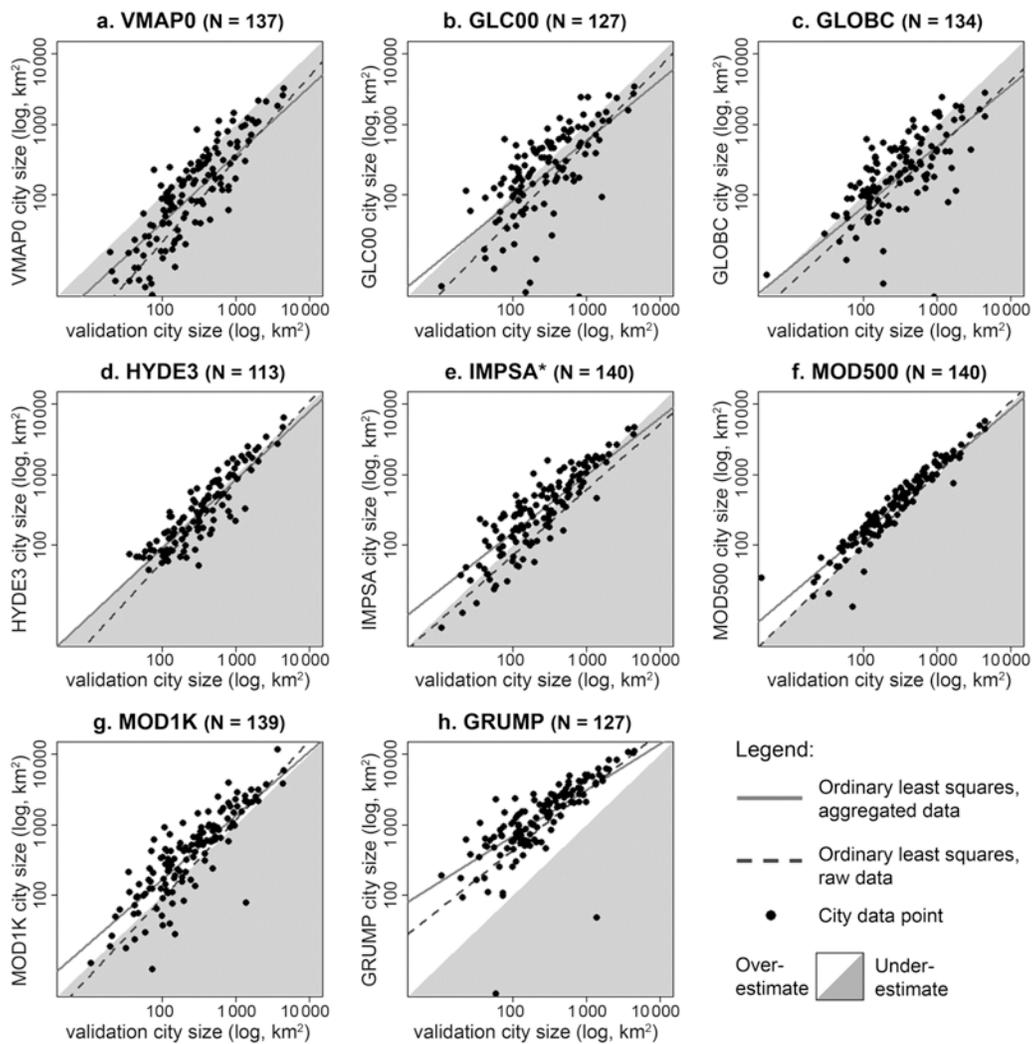
Potere *et al* then tested the accuracy of the detailed *Landsat*-based maps of these 140 cities by expert inspection of 10,000 validation sites using *Google Earth*. Built-up pixels in the maps were indeed built up pixels in *Google Earth* 91.0 percent of the time (user accuracy), and built-up pixels in *Google Earth* were correctly identified as built-up 89.3 percent of the time (producer accuracy). These maps were therefore found to be accurate enough for testing the accuracy of the global maps.

One of the accuracy tests involved checking whether the global maps omitted any of these 140 cities altogether, namely did not have a cluster of some minimum size (5 km<sup>2</sup>) associated with them. For that test, Potere *et al* added 107 cities whose contours were roughly identified in *Google Earth* and their areas were calculated. All global maps were tested for omission of any of the 247 cities on the combined list. Only two global maps, MOD500 and IMPSA, successfully mapped all the 247 cities.

A second accuracy test involved comparing the total built-up area in the *Landsat*-based maps for the 140 cities identified earlier with the area of their associated clusters in the global urban land cover maps. The results of this comparison are summarized in figure 2 below. Figure 2 shows quite clearly that the areas calculated on the MOD500 map most closely approximated the areas calculated on the *Landsat*-based maps. The GRUMP map

clearly overestimated the built-up areas of cities, and the remaining maps either underestimated them or had a high degree of variability in their area calculations. In addition to these two basic accuracy tests, Potere *et al* conducted a number of tests that compared the global maps with the 140 *Landsat*-generated maps on a pixel-by-pixel basis to determine map agreement. The central conclusion of their paper is as follows: “Among the eight maps examined for accuracy (summarized in table 1), the MOD500 map was found to be the most accurate by all three accuracy measures employed: (1) it did not omit any city of a global stratified sample of 247 cities; (2) it had the highest level of agreement ( $R^2 = 0.90$ ) with the urban extent defined by *Landsat*-based maps of 140 cities (previously verified by *Google Earth* imagery in tier one); and (3) it had the highest per-pixel agreement with the aggregated *Landsat*-based maps” (Potere *et al*, 6553).

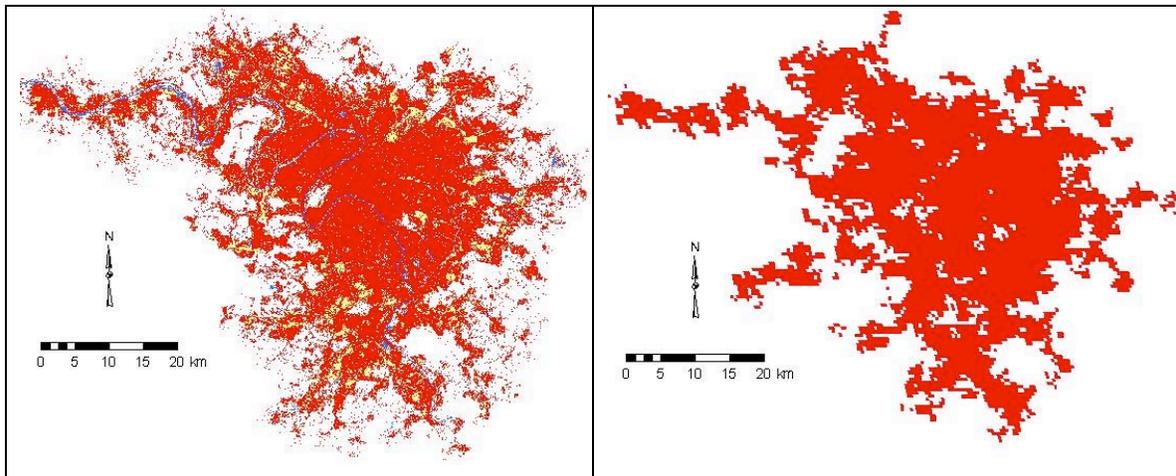
**Figure 2.2: Scatter-plots of validation of city size (in km<sup>2</sup>) as calculated from *LandSat* imagery and as calculated by eight global urban maps (log-log scale).**



Source: Potere *et al*, figure 2.

The close correspondence between the MOD500 map and the higher-resolution *Landsat* maps for Paris, France, is illustrated in figure 2.3 below. The two maps cover approximately the same area, but the *MOD500* map does not identify the smaller built-up pixels that are identified on the urban fringe by the higher-resolution *Landsat* map. Still, there is no question that the *MOD500* map provides a very accurate depiction of the built-up areas of cities, especially *large cities*, defined in this article as cities that with populations of 100,000 people or more. Our estimates of urban land cover, as well as our projections, are therefore based on this *MOD500* map. To the best of our knowledge, this map provides the most reliable and the most realistic estimates of urban land cover at the present time. In the following section, we explain how the MOD500 map was used in this study in a manner that better distinguishes *urban* land cover from *non-urban* impervious surfaces in villages and farms that should not be considered ‘urban’.

**Figure 2.3: Landsat-based (left) and MOD500-based (right) urban land cover in Paris, 2000**



## 2. Population and Urban Land Cover in the Universe of Large Cities

As noted earlier, for purposes of this discussion we define cities with populations of 100,000 or more circa 2000 as *large cities* and cities with populations of less than 100,000 circa 2000 as *small cities*. Large cities are to be distinguished from *mega-cities*, those few metropolitan areas across the globe that may contain, say, 10 million people or more. In the year 2000, for example, there were only 16 such metropolitan areas in the world (U.N. 2008, file 11a), compared to 3,649 cities that contained 100,000 people or more.

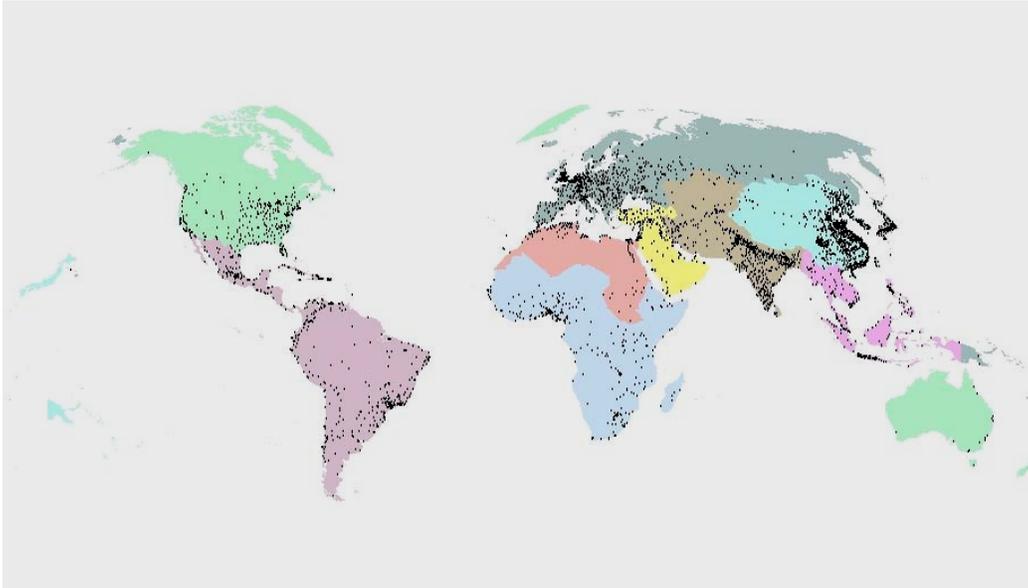
We now have a map of MOD500 contiguous urban clusters with a 463-meter pixel size that are associated with a total of 3,649 *named* large cities and metropolitan areas in all countries. These cities had a total population of 2.01 billion people in 2000, and these population estimates came, for the most part, from Thomas Brinkhoff’s *City Population* website (Brinkhoff, 2010). The estimates are associated with the *name* of the city or metropolitan agglomeration, but are not populations within a well-defined administrative boundary. In the absence of urban population data within specific administrative districts for the world at large, as well as digital maps of these districts, we assume that each

population estimate for an urban agglomeration is associated with a particular MOD500 urban cluster, an assumption that may contain errors. According to our calculations, the urban clusters associated with large cities had a total built-up area of some 340,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The number, the population, and the built-up area of large cities in different world regions are shown in table 2.2. Their locations are shown in figure 2.4.

**Table 2.2: Regional Data on the Number, Population and Built-Up Areas of Large Cities, 2000**

Region	MOD500 Estimate of Total Urban Land Cover, 2000 (km <sup>2</sup> )	Large Cities				
		Number of Cities, 2000	Total Population, 2000	Share of Urban Population, 2000	Total Land Cover, 2000 (km <sup>2</sup> )	Total Land Cover as Pct. of MOD500 Estimate
Eastern Asia & Pacific	91,010	891	458,050,151	89.2%	42,218	46.4%
Southeast Asia South & Central Asia	27,564	196	107,298,112	52.2%	12,883	46.7%
Western Asia	64,876	539	287,046,859	65.9%	29,705	45.8%
Northern Africa	26,848	157	89,553,220	73.6%	12,999	48.4%
Sub-Saharan Africa	12,640	115	53,066,614	61.1%	5,342	42.3%
Latin America & the Caribbean	28,228	256	131,601,450	63.4%	12,778	45.3%
Europe & Japan	93,541	403	258,850,283	66.3%	43,280	46.3%
Land Rich Developed Countries	167,162	799	400,896,460	66.5%	85,871	51.4%
Developing Countries	139,467	293	226,903,357	84.8%	94,759	67.9%
Developed Countries	344,706	2,557	1,385,466,688	70.7%	159,206	46.2%
World	306,630	1,092	627,799,817	72.1%	180,630	58.9%
	651,336	3,649	2,013,266,505	71.1%	339,836	52.2%

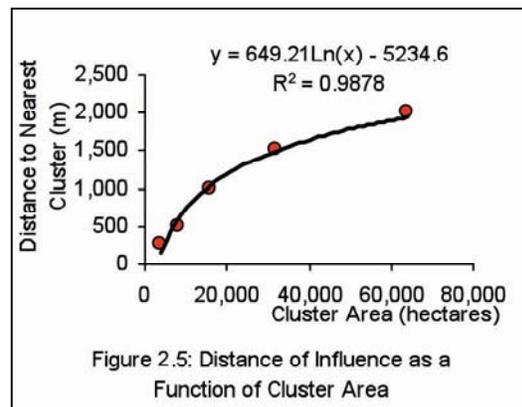
**Figure 2.4: The location of 3,649 large cities in the nine world regions, 2000**



### 3. The Universe of Urban Clusters

The built-up land cover class was extracted from the MOD500 land cover map and clusters of contiguous built-up pixels were converted into polygons. The coarse spatial resolution of urban pixels (463×463 meters) of the MOD500 land cover map could not fully capture the contiguity of metropolitan areas as they were made up of groups of several disconnected, yet close, polygons. The land cover data may not discern roads linking a city to its suburbs through open spaces, for example, even though suburban polygons may belong to the same urban agglomeration. In this study, we assumed that built-up areas belonged to the same urban cluster if the distances between the centroids of their nearest-neighbor pixels were less than a maximum threshold. We assumed this threshold to be a function of the size of the built-up areas – the larger the built-up area, the farther nearby built-up areas were considered part of the same urban cluster. ArcGIS software was used to calculate distances among nearest-neighbor pixels and to determine which polygons belonged to the same urban cluster in the MOD500 land cover map.

The *distance of influence* of a built-up area of a given size was calculated from the figure on the right. The values used to construct figure 2.5 were determined using expert knowledge. An isolated built-up pixel in the MOD500 land cover map whose centroid was more than two kilometers away, for example, from any large city cluster, was assumed to be a rural built-up area and was not added to any cluster

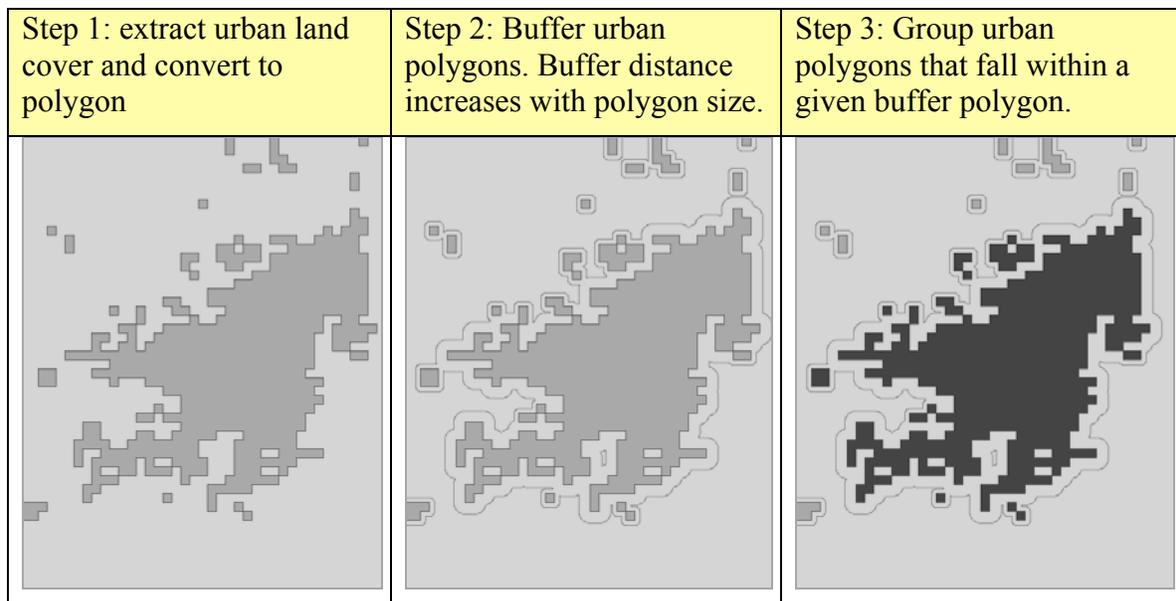


smaller than 64,000 hectares in area. But if the pixel was only one kilometer away, for example, it was added to large cities with areas in excess of 16,000 hectares but not to smaller cities with areas of less than 16,000 hectares.

We created a buffer around each polygon with its width equal to the polygon's distance of influence. Built-up areas with overlapping buffers were then combined into *urban clusters*. The process of creating urban clusters is illustrated in Figure 2.6.

While the MOD500 map identified built-up area clusters globally, it lacked information for the populations within cluster boundaries. The research team undertook the task of matching population figures to clusters by executing a global census of human settlements with populations over 100,000 and associating the latitude-longitude coordinates of these locations to the MOD500 map.

**Figure 2.6: The procedure for creating urban clusters from the MOD500 land cover map**



#### 4. Constructing a Universe of Cities

The construction of our universe of large cities was based on three primary sources: the website [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de), administered by Thomas Brinkhoff and containing census figures for cities, agglomerations, and administrative divisions for 237 countries and territories; the U.N.'s *World Urbanization Prospects—the 2007 Revision*, a United Nations publication listing the populations of urban agglomerations greater than 750,000 by country for the year 2000; and a previously assembled universe of 3,943 cities with populations over 100,000 in the year 2000 (Angel *et al*, 2005).

Angel *et al*'s 2005 universe of cities laid the foundation for a new universe of large cities. Data from Angel *et al*'s list was scrutinized against a list of city names and populations developed from [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de). Following established practice, we employed an exponential interpolation to estimate year 2000 populations where populations figures before and after year 2000 were available. Cities with populations greater than or equal to

100,000 on the [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de) website were determined to comprise a corrected universe of large cities. Subsequently, entries on Angel *et al*'s 2005 universe of cities but not on the website were eliminated in assembling the new universe, while entries on the website but not on Angel *et al*'s 2005 list were added. Populations for entries on Angel *et al*'s 2005 list were corrected to match those from the website. Rather than rely solely on the website for constructing a new large city universe, we retained Angel *et al*'s 2005 list as a skeleton, primarily for the latitude-longitude data it already contained for its cities. This information was necessary for calculating cluster densities at a later stage of our research. Latitude-longitude information for new entries was obtained by creating *Google Earth* placemarks – spatial data points to which we added information on city name and population.

We assumed that Brinkhoff's city population website, replete with government census figures, provided a globally comprehensive and reliable source of information. Eleven countries lacked year 2000 population data on Brinkhoff's website (Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Guinea, Libya, Myanmar, Nigeria, North Korea and Sudan), but these were countries for which comprehensive and reliable year 2000 data is very difficult to find. In general, we favored using Brinkhoff's figure wherever possible, making our approach replicable. Figures from Angel *et al*'s 2005 data set, to our knowledge the best approximations of metropolitan population for these countries, were used in the absence [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de) figures. This procedure yielded a revised universe of cities, but it also revealed vexing issues inherent to the type of population research undertaken in this study. Ultimately, we would have to modify several figures from our new universe so that they conform to the spatial extent of built-up clusters. As noted earlier, this can only be done if all population census data for all countries were associated with digital maps of census districts.

As of yet there is no reliable source for populations in urban agglomerations across the world that are made up of numerous cities. The United Nation's *World Urbanization Prospects* lists population figures for 523 urban agglomerations with populations greater than or equal to 750,000 in the year 2000, and there is no similar list for urban agglomerations of less than 750,000 inhabitants. A number of countries report population at the metropolitan level or by agglomeration for populations between 100,000 and 750,000, yet many do not. In the context of this study, the absence of agglomeration-level or metropolitan-level population figures has proven to be problematic. A potential for error occurs when a large city is surrounded by smaller cities, towns, or villages with populations of less than 100,000. In such cases, the population associated with the cluster would underestimate the true number of inhabitants within the cluster boundaries. More precisely, a cluster would be associated with the population of the large city in the cluster, but not the population of small cities and towns also contained within the cluster. This is admittedly a source of possibly quite serious errors. Revisions to our new list, described below, attempted to address this problem.

The map of Castellón de la Plana (Castellón), Spain, is illustrative (see figure 2.7 below). This figure shows a cluster (in green) identified by the MOD500 and encompassing Castellón. A review of city populations in Spain identified Castellón as having a population 146,263 in the year 2000. Following our procedure, this became the population assigned to the MOD500 cluster. On closer inspection, however, the cluster

was determined to contain at least three distinct administrative areas: Castellón de la Plana, Villarreal, Almazora, and in all likelihood, a handful of outlying villages. Strict reliance on our systematic approach to population would have underestimated the number of inhabitants represented by this particular cluster. It was later determined that approximately 60,000 people reside in Villarreal and Almazora. We resolved that a refined approach to the population of cities was necessary as these examples came to light.

**Figure 2.7: Castellón de la Plana cluster (shown in green, above). Cities within the cluster: Castellón de la Plana, Villarreal, and Almazora (below).**



## 5. Refining the Universe of Cities

We examined the possibility of error in our newly-created universe by carefully observing population differences for cities in both Angel *et al* (2005) and Brinkhoff's *City Population* data. Angel *et al*'s 2005 list was a compilation and revision of two previous lists: a United Nation's Human Settlements Programme (UN Habitat) list of

4,574 metropolitan areas in excess of 100,000 and a list of 2,884 cities with populations over 100,000 for the year 2000 prepared by Professor Vernon Henderson of Brown University. The great disparity in number separating these two lists reflects the difficulties in identifying distinct metropolitan areas on a global scale. We were primarily concerned with cases where the population figures for cities in Angel *et al*'s list were larger than those in Brinkhoff's list, believing that the figures from Brinkhoff's list might correspond to places with small administrative boundaries but large metropolitan areas. We posited that Angel *et al*'s 2005 list may have identified agglomeration populations more accurately, making these figures better suited to our study. Using *Google Earth* to assess the spatial extent of clusters, as well as secondary research focused on populations of individual cities and metropolitan areas, we examined differences between the two lists on a case by case basis. Population figures from Angel *et al* were chosen in favor of [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de) only when clear and compelling evidence suggested that figures culled from the latter poorly reflected the true metropolitan population represented by clusters. Regrettably, perhaps, this exercise highlighted the fact that for now, in the absence of administrative area maps, a systematic effort to report urban populations at the metropolitan level on a global scale was still out of reach.

Additional revisions to our population figures were required after we matched city placemarks to clusters. Many of the larger clusters contained multiple placemarks and had to be tested for double counting. These clusters typically overlaid expansive urban areas that were reported as urban agglomerations with population greater than or equal to 750,000 in the United Nation's *World Urbanization Prospects*. Clusters corresponding to *World Urbanization Prospects* agglomerations were assigned the UN agglomeration figures and additional placemarks corresponding to city names previously within such clusters no longer contributed to the cluster population. As before, investigation into the spatial extent of urban clusters as well as secondary research for individual cities was used to ensure that the population figures matched the clusters to which they would be assigned.

## **6. Matching City Locations and Populations to Urban Clusters**

Following the completion of the new list of city names, their associated population in the year 2000, and their spatial coordinates, we created a map of geographic placemarks for each city: a spatial file with latitude-longitude, city name and population data for each large city in the universe. We then plotted the MOD500 built-up area clusters on the same map. Combining the two maps resulted in one of two scenarios: (1) the placemark fell within a cluster, resulting in a positive match; or (2) the placemark fell more than 1.5 kilometers outside a cluster, resulting in a negative match. Random testing showed that positive matches were accurate, namely that they correctly linked placemark names to clusters associated with an identifiable urban area with that name in *Google Earth*.

The inspection of each negative match showed that two types of error could explain all cases. In the first type, MOD500 failed to detect the built-up area associated with a particular city, and therefore did not associate any cluster with it. While MOD500 is indeed the most accurate global land cover map to-date, it still contains errors of omission. The absence of built-up area clusters in the combined map meant that city

placemarks could not be matched. We sought to address this problem by creating additional built-up area clusters for large cities by drawing contours around identifiable urban areas in *Google Earth*. Using historical *Google Earth* imagery circa 2000, we traced polygons of the built-up area for each large city that had no corresponding cluster in the MOD500 map. 311 such polygons, or 8.5% of the total number of large cities in the universe, were created in this fashion by the research team.

Errors of the second type, where the locations of placemarks fell outside clusters' 1.5 km buffer, could be remedied without major interventions. The existence of a MOD500 cluster associated with a city name was the main difference between the first and second type of error. In these cases, corrected latitude-longitude coordinates were assigned to placemarks in the second group and they were positively matched to clusters in an iterative process.

Placemark names and their associated populations determined the names and populations ascribed to clusters. Several clusters contained more than one placemark, however, and these clusters assumed the name of the city with the largest population. The populations of clusters with multiple placemarks were the summation of all placemark populations within the cluster. Every cluster with multiple placemarks was inspected by the research team for double-counting, and efforts were made to prevent double-counting wherever possible.

Correcting for these two types of error and ensuring that all positive matches were indeed accurate resulted in a matched universe of cities. All city names and their associated populations were now associated with an urban cluster. Using *ArcGIS* software, we then calculated the areas of matched clusters, assigned country names to city clusters, and computed cluster densities based on their populations. We now had the necessary information for analyzing the amount of land in urban use and the population density in large cities in all countries that had large cities.

It is important to note in closing that the MOD500 urban land cover map also contains serious errors of commission: In addition to identifying a large number of the rural built environment as urban, it often creates urban clusters that are much larger than the urban land cover seen in *Google Earth*, for example. Checking all MOD500 clusters against urban land cover in *Google Earth* proved to be too time consuming. We intentionally refrained from correcting commission errors selectively, especially in cities with very low densities, as that will have biased the MOD500 map by eliminating all, or most, of the very low densities in the map. As a result, the calculated built-up area densities of some cities are unreasonably low. In the future, more accurate urban land cover maps coupled with accurate urban population counts associated with mapped administrative districts would certainly yield better results.

### **III Urban Land Cover in Small Cities**

We already noted earlier that we cannot assume that *all* land identified in the MOD500 land cover map is, in fact, in cities and towns. Since the map designates all land with impervious surfaces as 'urban', it must necessarily include considerable amounts of village and farm land as 'urban', since one half of the world's population now lives in

villages and farms. The MOD500 map must therefore contain clusters that correspond to non-urban areas, namely to dense clusters of villages. This is particularly evident in the case of China, for example, where many village clusters are identified by MOD 500 as 'urban' (see figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1: A dense cluster of villages near Beijing, China (left), identified as 'urban' in the MOD500 map (right)**



In this section of the paper, we focus on calculating the amount of land cover in small cities that are not villages. We have already identified all the MOD500 clusters that correspond to named large cities. Since we cannot identify all the tens of thousands of small cities by name, we must limit ourselves to estimating the *total amount of land in urban use in small cities* in each country rather than identifying them individually and calculating their land area.

The method we have chosen to arrive at these estimates for each country proceeds as follows: (a) we calculate the total population in small cities as the difference between the total urban population and the total population of large cities in the country; (b) we estimate the population density in small cities in the country; and (c) we arrive at an estimate of the total urban land cover in small cities and towns as the ratio of their total population and their population density.

### **1. Estimating the total population in small cities in every country**

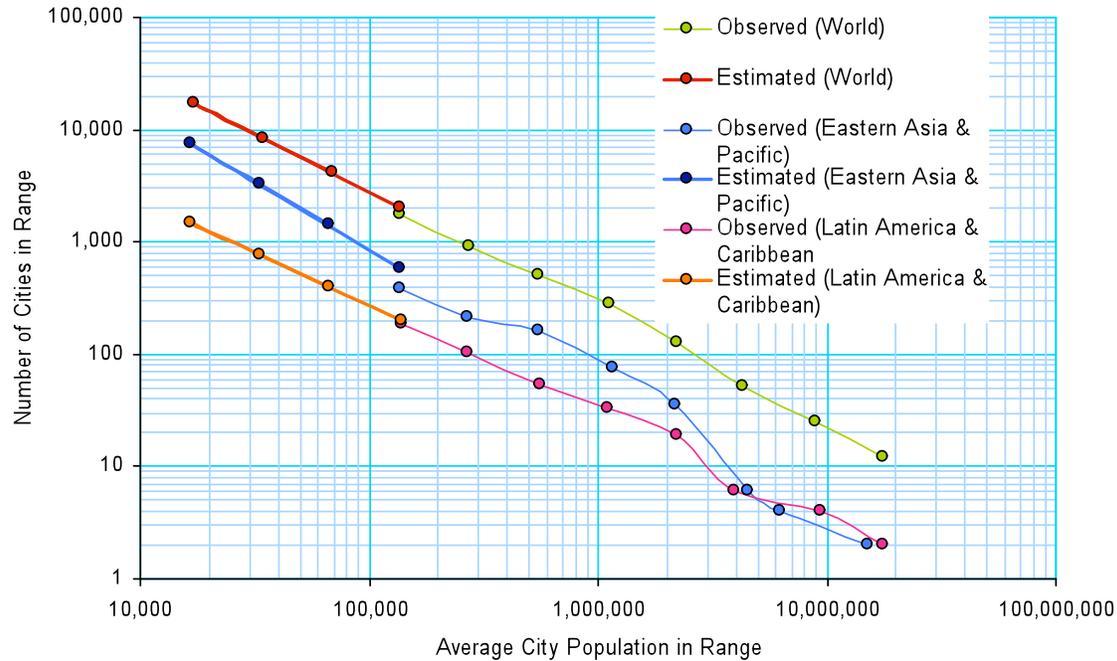
We first discuss our method for estimating the total population of small cities in each country and region. We can see in table 3.1 presented earlier that the shares of the total urban population in large cities in different regions range from 45 to 90 percent with an average of  $69 \pm 4$  percent. For the world at large, large cities account for 71 percent of the urban population. We should expect the respective shares of the urban population in small and large cities in all regions to be quite similar, but this is apparently not the case, a fact that cannot be easily explained. There is no *a priori* theoretical explanation of why the share of large cities in the total urban population should vary among different regions, and in the absence of such an explanation, we should expect it to be the same. Empirical observations, such as those associated with *Zipf's Law* (Zipf, 1949), for example, do suggest that they should be the same or, at the very least, similar.

In fact, when we divide the entire universe of large cities into city population size ranges, so that the upper limit of the size range is simply double the lower limit, we observe two empirical regularities, better known as ‘power laws’ (see, e.g. Claudet *et al*, 2009): (1) The observed average city population in a given range is roughly double that of the range below it; and (2) the observed number of cities in the range is roughly half that of the range below it. These regularities are shown in table 3.1 and figure 3.2 below for the world at large, for Eastern Asia and the Pacific, and for Latin America and the Caribbean. They are similar for all other regions.

**Table 3.1: Observed and estimated numbers of cities and average city populations in different city population size ranges for the world as a whole and for two world regions, 2000**

City Population Size Range		World		Eastern Asia & Pacific		Latin America & Caribbean	
From	To	No. of Cities	Ave. City Size	No. of Cities	Ave. City Size	No. of Cities	Ave. City Size
Observed							
100,000	200,000	1,746	137,791	385	137,619	183	139,313
200,000	400,000	913	275,588	214	271,495	102	269,219
400,000	800,000	498	555,758	161	556,188	54	564,229
800,000	1,600,000	279	1,123,943	75	1,159,605	33	1,108,813
1,600,000	3,200,000	125	2,207,454	35	2,174,378	19	2,214,397
3,200,000	6,400,000	51	4,302,991	6	4,566,812	6	3,942,717
6,400,000	12,800,000	25	8,901,438	4	6,263,982	4	9,402,750
12,800,000+		12	17,712,296	2	15,234,370	2	17,747,839
Estimated							
12,500	25,000	17,261	17,260	7,459	16,676	1,462	16,676
25,000	50,000	8,399	34,519	3,238	33,352	761	33,352
50,000	100,000	4,086	69,038	1,406	66,704	396	66,704
100,000	200,000	1,993	137,791	588	137,619	198	139,313

**Figure 3.2: Observed and estimated numbers of cities and average city populations in different city population size ranges for the world as a whole and for two world regions, 2000**



The above table and figure show that the observed average population in consecutive size ranges roughly doubles while the observed number of cities is halved. Assuming that the log-log relationship between the number of cities and the average city population in every range is linear — namely, that the power law holds in the lower ranges as well — we estimated the number of cities and the average city populations for three lower ranges as shown. It is possible, however, that this relationship is not linear: it may well be that the expected number of cities in the lower ranges in Eastern Asia and the Pacific, for example, does not double as average city population declines. In other words, it may be that, as observed with other phenomena, the power law holds in the middle ranges but fails at both edges of the distribution.

Still, why the share of the total urban population in large cities varies so much among regions and countries remains a mystery. It may have to do with the assignment of different benchmarks to distinguish ‘urban’ from ‘rural’ in different countries; it may have to do with unreliable census reporting in different countries; it may have to do with errors in the calculation of the total urban populations in every country by the U.N. Population Division; and, as noted above, it may have to do with the failure of the power law at the lower ranges. Finally, it is also possible that there are inherent structural differences between hierarchies of cities in different countries and regions, differences that cannot be explained yet but cannot be ignored either. This problem is left unsolved and open for further investigation by interested researchers.

For now, we have chosen to accept both the U.N. and the [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de) figures without questioning them. The total population in small cities in every country is then taken to be the difference between the total urban population estimated by the U.N. and the total population in large cities estimated by [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de). In the cases of two countries, this difference yields a negative number: In Libya, the population in large cities is 4.67 million and the total urban population is 4.08 million. In Japan, the population in large cities is 84.5 million and the total urban population is 82.7 million. In two additional countries, Singapore and New Caledonia, the difference is small and negative and probably due to different estimates of the total population in single large cities. In all four cases we have equated the total urban population to the total population in large cities, therefore taking the population in small cities to be equal to 0. In all other countries, the difference is positive. The total urban population and the population in large and small cities for all world regions are shown in table 3.2 below.

## 2. Estimating urban population densities in small cities

The relationship between density and city population size was already established in Angel *et al* (2010) in their study of a global sample of 120 cities. They found that, other things being equal, a doubling of the city population is associated with a  $19 \pm 1$  percent increase in density. We repeated their modeling of densities with the new universe of 3,649 cities data set. We found that in the entire universe of large cities, on average, a doubling of the city population is associated with a 16.0 percent increase in density (see table 5.9). We used this newer density-population factor in generating our estimates.

The density metric of interest in estimating urban land cover is *overall density*, defined as the ratio of the total urban population and total urban land cover in a given area. The total population in small cities in every country and every region is known. Total urban land cover in small cities is then calculated as the ratio of the total population to the overall density in small cities. In this section, we estimate the overall density in small cities in every region from information on the overall density in large cities, the median city population in large cities, the median city population in small cities, and the density-population factor introduced in the previous paragraph. Our general conclusion, as we shall show below, is that overall densities in small cities are *roughly half* those in large cities.

**Table 3.2: The total urban population and the population in large and small cities for all world regions, 2000**

Region	Total Urban Population, 2000	Total Population in Large Cities, 2000	Share of Urban Population in Large Cities, 2000	Total Population in Small Cities, 2000	Share of Urban Population in Small Cities, 2000
Eastern Asia & Pacific	513,609,025	458,050,151	89.2%	55,558,874	10.8%
Southeast Asia	205,501,689	107,298,112	52.2%	98,203,577	47.8%
South & Central Asia	435,376,204	287,046,859	65.9%	148,329,345	34.1%
Western Asia	121,319,801	89,553,220	73.6%	31,766,581	26.4%
Northern Africa	86,642,957	53,066,614	61.1%	33,576,343	38.9%
Sub-Saharan Africa	207,570,819	131,601,450	63.4%	75,969,369	36.6%
Latin America & the Caribbean	390,328,849	258,850,283	66.3%	131,478,566	33.7%
Europe & Japan	602,418,651	400,896,460	66.5%	201,522,191	33.5%
Land Rich Developed Countries	267,667,515	226,903,357	84.8%	40,764,158	15.2%
Developing Countries	1,960,349,344	1,385,466,688	70.7%	574,882,656	29.3%
Developed Countries	870,086,166	627,799,817	72.1%	242,286,349	27.9%
World	2,830,435,510	2,013,266,505	71.1%	817,169,005	28.9%

Figure 3.3 below shows the average density, the median density, and the overall density in large cities for all world regions. As the figure shows, the average densities in every region were found to be higher than median and overall densities, yet median and overall densities were found to be quite similar, suggesting that median density is a better measure of the central tendency of densities than average density.

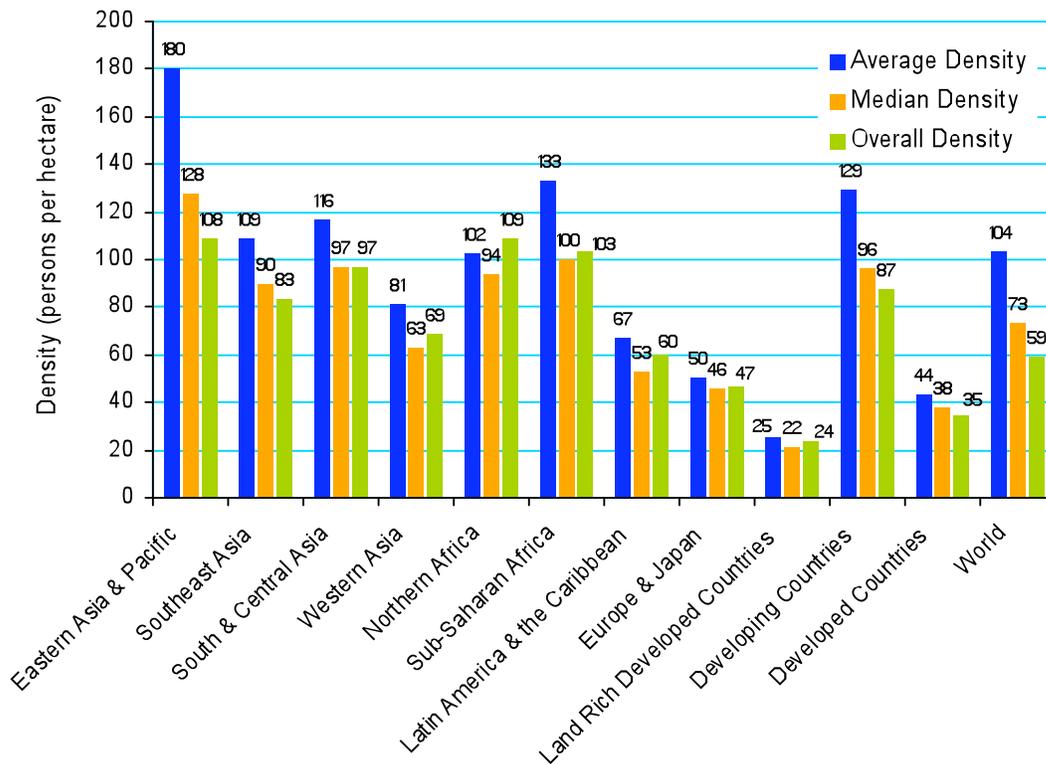
We associate the overall density in large cities in each region with a typical city in the region with a population equal to the median population in large cities in the region. To determine the overall regional density in small cities, we need to decide on the median population size of small cities in the region. From the data on medians calculated during the construction of table 3.1 (not shown), we found that the median population size in each range is  $0.89 \pm 0.01$  of the mid-range population. Namely, for the city population range 200-400,000, for example, the mid-range is 300,000 and the median city population size is  $0.89 \cdot 300,000 = 267,000$ . We used that factor to calculate the median population of

small cities. We assumed that small cities have populations ranging from 10,000 to 100,000. The mid-range population in small cities is therefore 55,000, and the median population is  $0.89 \cdot 55000 = 48,940$ . Using this figure, we could now calculate the overall density in small cities in all regions. For the world at large in the year 2000, for example, the median city population  $N_L$  and the overall density (in persons per hectare, or p/ha)  $\Delta_L$  in large cities in 2000 were 201,329 and 59 p/ha respectively. Given that the median population in small cities  $N_S$  is equal to 48,940, we can calculate the overall density in small cities  $\Delta_S$  as follows:

$$(1) \quad \Delta_S = \Delta_L \cdot e^{-0.16N_L/N_S} = 59 \cdot e^{-0.16 \times 201329 / 48940} = 30 \text{ p/ha.}$$

Given the median population and the overall density in large cities in all regions, we used this formula to calculate the overall density in small cities in all regions. The results are shown in table 3.3 below, together with the data on average and median regional densities used to construct figure 3.3.

**Figure 3.3: A comparison of average density, median density, and overall density in large cities in all world regions.**



**Table 3.3: Density metrics for large cities and estimated overall density in small cities for world regions**

Region	Average Density in Large Cities (p/ha)	Median Density in Large Cities (p/ha)	Overall Density in Large Cities (p/ha)	Median Population in Large Cities	Estimated Overall Density in Small Cities	Regional L-S City Overall Density Ratio
Eastern Asia & Pacific	180	128	108	225,723	52	0.48
Southeast Asia	109	90	83	175,821	47	0.56
South & Central Asia	116	97	97	193,725	51	0.53
Western Asia	81	63	69	232,744	32	0.47
Northern Africa	102	94	109	165,059	63	0.58
Sub-Saharan Africa	133	100	103	209,950	52	0.50
Latin America & the Caribbean	67	53	60	223,492	29	0.48
Europe & Japan	50	46	47	200,638	24	0.52
Land Rich Developed Countries	25	22	24	243,667	11	0.45
Developing Countries	129	96	87	208,895	44	0.51
Developed Countries	44	38	35	211,267	17	0.50
World	104	73	59	209,615	30	0.50

The reader should note that we can only apply the formula in (1) for regions or countries with full city hierarchies, namely with a substantial number of cities in every city population range. In countries with one single primate city, for example, the formula fails to generate realistic overall densities for small cities. Ulan Bator, with a population of 764,000 people and an overall density of 71 persons per hectare is the only large city in Mongolia. Formula (1) yields a density of 7 persons per hectare for small cities there, clearly an unrealistic figure. We have thus opted to use the formula for regions only, and then to apply the regional density ratios (the regional overall density in small cities divided by the regional overall density in large cities) to calculate the overall density in small cities in individual countries. Generally, therefore, as table 3.2 shows, we estimated that overall densities in small cities are *roughly half* those observed in large cities.

We used the estimated total population in small cities and the estimated overall densities in small cities to calculate the total amount of urban land cover in small cities in each region: it is simply the ratio of the two. The results of this calculation for all world regions are shown in table 4.1 in the following section.

#### IV Urban Land Cover in All Countries, 2000

We added our estimates of urban land cover in small cities to our earlier estimates of urban land cover in large cities to obtain estimates of total urban land cover for all countries and regions for the year 2000. This led to the creation of an important new database. This database makes it possible, for the first time, to obtain a clear picture of the actual amount of land in urban use in different countries, to examine urban land cover as a share of the total land area or of the arable land area in different countries, to explain variations in urban land cover among countries (and among large cities), to project urban land cover in different countries into the future, and to begin to examine whether variations in, say, carbon emissions, could be explained by variations in urban land cover. In addition, this new database can now be used by others to study various issues of interest that have so far evaded rigorous research because of the lack of reliable comparative data.

Table 4.1 below summarizes our estimates for total urban land cover in each region, where total urban land cover is shown as the sum of urban land cover in large and small cities. It is useful to compare our estimates of urban land cover in each region with the estimates obtained from the MOD500 'urban' land cover map. This comparison is given in the last two columns of table 4.1 and in figure 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1: Estimated urban land cover in all regions, 2000**

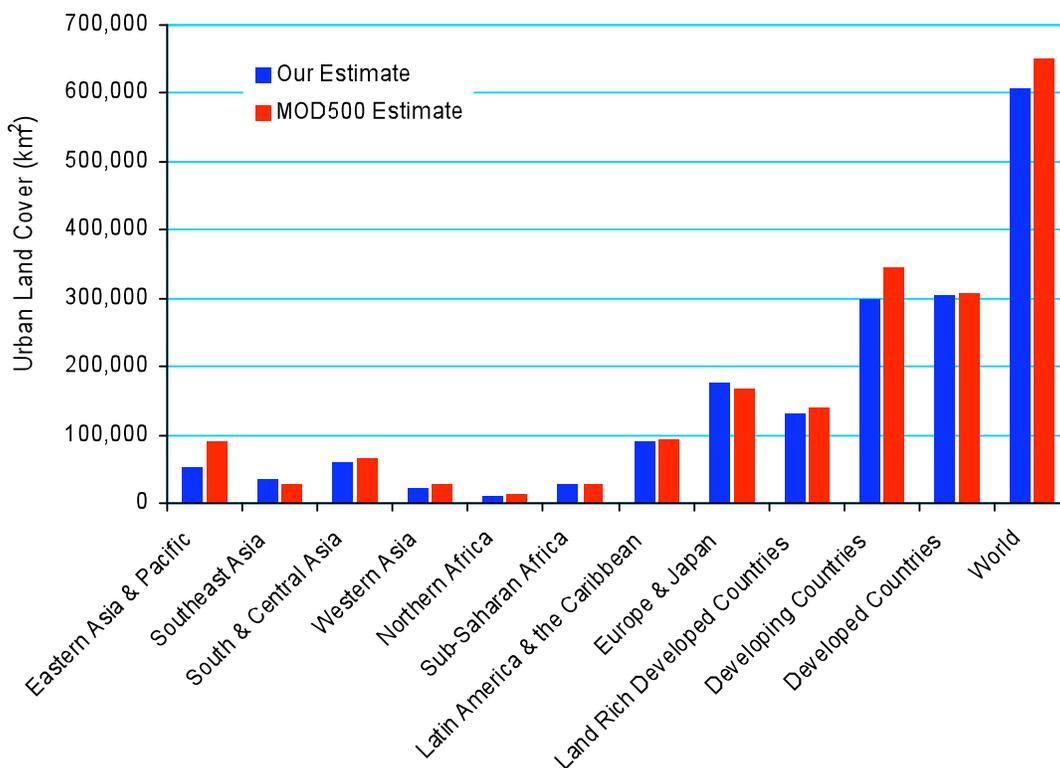
Region	Urban Land Cover in Large Cities, 2000 (km <sup>2</sup> )	Urban Land Cover in Small cities, 2000 (km <sup>2</sup> )	Total Urban Land Cover, 2000 (km <sup>2</sup> )	MOD500 Estimate of Total Urban Land Cover (km <sup>2</sup> )	Estimate as Percent of MOD500 Estimate (%)
Eastern Asia & Pacific	42,218	10,760	52,978	91,010	58.2%
Southeast Asia	12,883	21,565	34,448	27,564	125.0%
South & Central Asia	29,705	30,166	59,872	64,876	92.3%
Western Asia	12,999	9,714	22,714	26,848	84.6%
Northern Africa	5,342	6,775	12,104	12,640	95.8%
Sub-Saharan Africa	12,778	13,721	26,500	28,228	93.9%
Latin America & the Caribbean	43,280	47,952	91,233	93,541	97.5%
Europe & Japan	85,871	88,755	174,581	167,162	104.4%
Land Rich Developed Countries	94,759	36,688	131,447	139,467	94.2%
Developing Countries	159,206	140,655	299,847	344,706	87.0%
Developed Countries	180,630	125,444	306,028	306,630	99.8%
World	339,836	266,099	605,875	651,336	93.0%

All in all, our estimate of the urban land cover for the world as a whole amounts to 93 percent of the MOD500 map estimate, but there are substantial differences between the two estimates in individual regions. Our estimate of urban land cover for Eastern Asia

and the Pacific, for example, is only 58 percent of the MOD500 estimate possibly because of the inclusion of closely-packed villages as part of the ‘urban’ land cover in the latter, as noted earlier. In contrast, our estimate for Southeast Asia is 25 percent higher than the MOD500 estimate. In this region, the MOD500 map may have failed to identify a large number of small cities. We believe that there is no question of not having identified a large number of large cities: to the best of our knowledge, we identified practically *all* large cities by name and location in the MOD500 map, and where a MOD500 cluster was not associated with them we created a new cluster and added it to the map.

We find that the two data sets — the U.N. urban population data set and the MOD500 ‘urban’ land cover data set — are not consistent, and that the differences between them cannot be reconciled without changing one or the other. The reason they cannot be reconciled is because of the intervention of density. This can be illustrated by looking at the numbers for Eastern Asia and the Pacific region in table 3.2 presented earlier. As the table shows, 89 percent of the urban population in this region lives in large cities, but the built-up areas of these cities amount to only 58 percent of the MOD500 ‘urban’ land cover. The two data sets will be consistent only if the overall density in small cities in this region were *one-fifth* of the overall density in large cities and this is clearly not the case. Once we take account of density, it becomes quite clear that we have to abandon or modify the relevant numbers in one or the other of the two data sets.

**Figure 4.1: A Comparison of our estimates of urban land cover and the MOD500 map estimates for all regions, 2000**



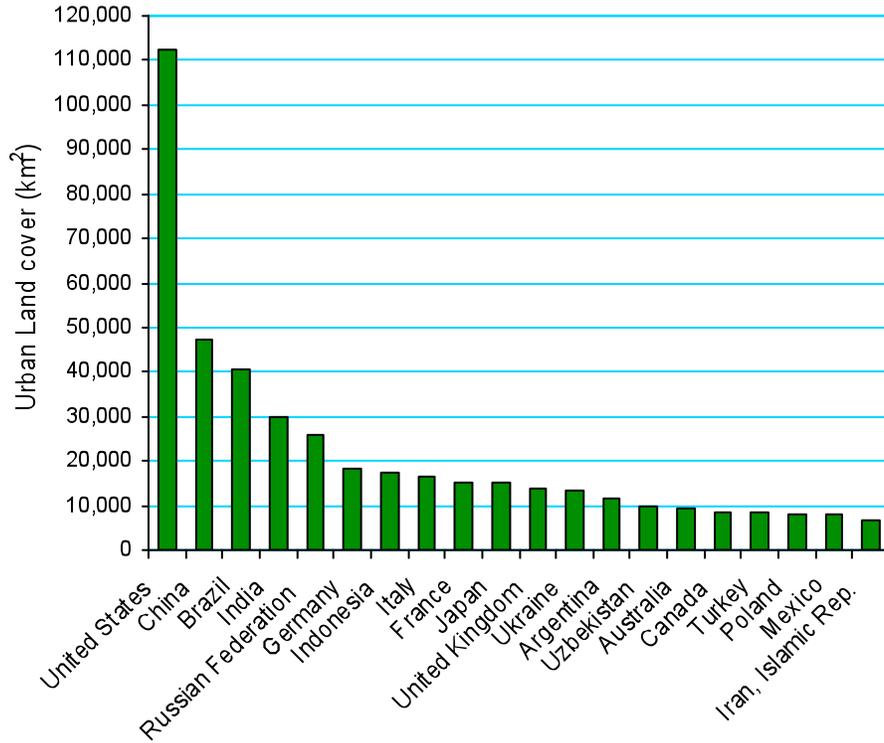
Annex I presents our new urban land cover dataset and table 4.2 below summarizes the results of Annex I for all world regions. For every country, Annex I provides information on the total urban population, number of large cities, their total population and urban land cover, urban land cover in small cities, total urban land cover, urban land cover as a percent of the total land area, and urban land cover as a percent of the total amount of arable land. A discussion of the key results of the table follows.

Annex I shows major differences in urban land cover among countries. The 20 countries with the highest areas of urban land cover are shown in figure 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2: Characteristics of urban land cover in all world regions, 2000**

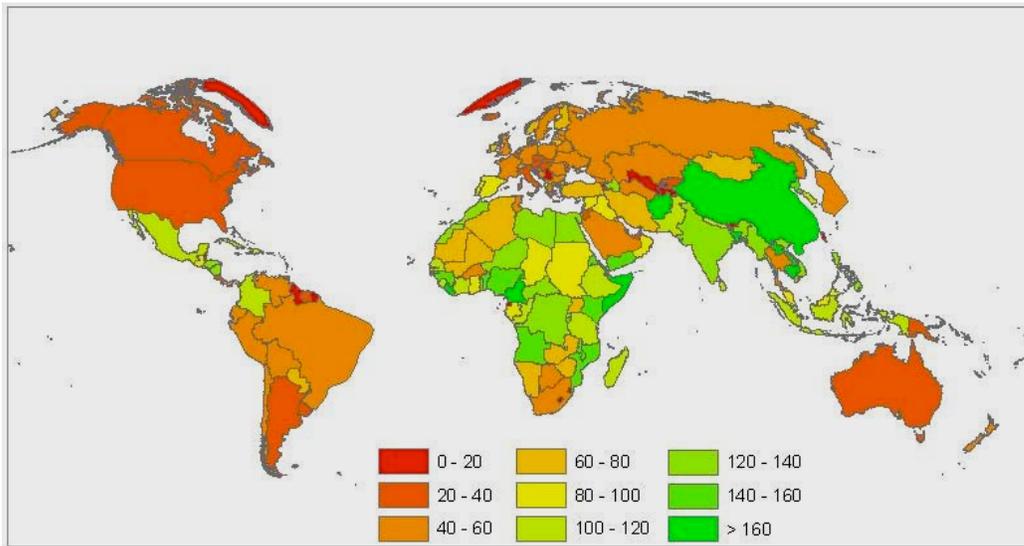
Region	Large Cities			Total Urban Population (Millions)	Total Urban Land cover (km <sup>2</sup> )	Urban Land Cover as	Urban Land Cover as
	Number of Large Cities	Total Population in Large Cities (Millions)	Urban Land Cover in Large Cities (km <sup>2</sup> )			Percent of Total Land Area	Percent of Total Arable Land
Eastern Asia & Pacific	891	458	42,218	514	52,978	0.45%	3.39%
Southeast Asia	196	107	12,883	206	34,448	0.85%	3.64%
South & Central Asia	539	287	29,705	435	59,872	0.58%	2.30%
Western Asia	157	90	12,999	121	22,714	0.49%	4.68%
Northern Africa	115	53	5,342	87	12,104	0.15%	2.69%
Sub-Saharan Africa	256	132	12,778	208	26,500	0.12%	1.54%
Latin America & the Caribbean	403	259	43,280	390	91,233	0.45%	5.63%
Europe & Japan	799	401	85,871	602	174,581	0.76%	5.62%
Land Rich Developed Countries	293	227	94,759	268	131,447	0.50%	4.63%
Developing Countries	2,557	1,385	159,206	1,960	299,847	0.37%	3.20%
Developed Countries	1,092	628	180,630	870	306,028	0.62%	5.14%
World	3,649	2,013	339,836	2,830	605,875	0.47%	3.95%

**Figure 4.2: The 20 Countries with the highest areas of urban land cover, 2000**

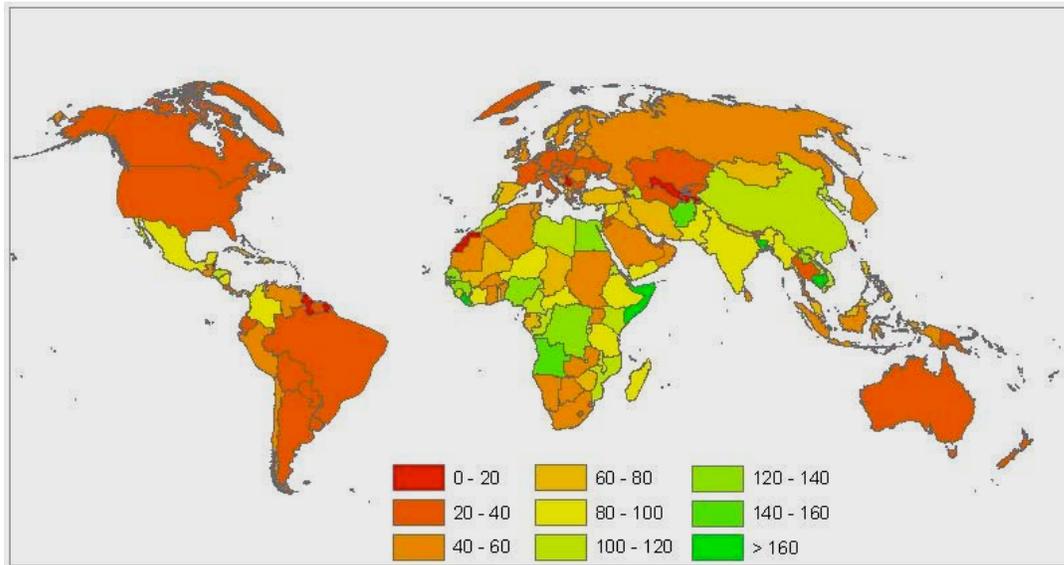


It is clear from inspecting figure 4.2 that urban land cover is not simply a multiple of the urban population in each country, because densities vary considerably among regions, as shown earlier in figure 3.3. The variation in densities among countries is displayed in figure 4.3 and 4.4 below, two global maps that show the average density in large cities in every country and the overall urban population density in every country respectively.

**Figure 4.3: Average density of large cities (in persons per hectare) in all countries, 2000**



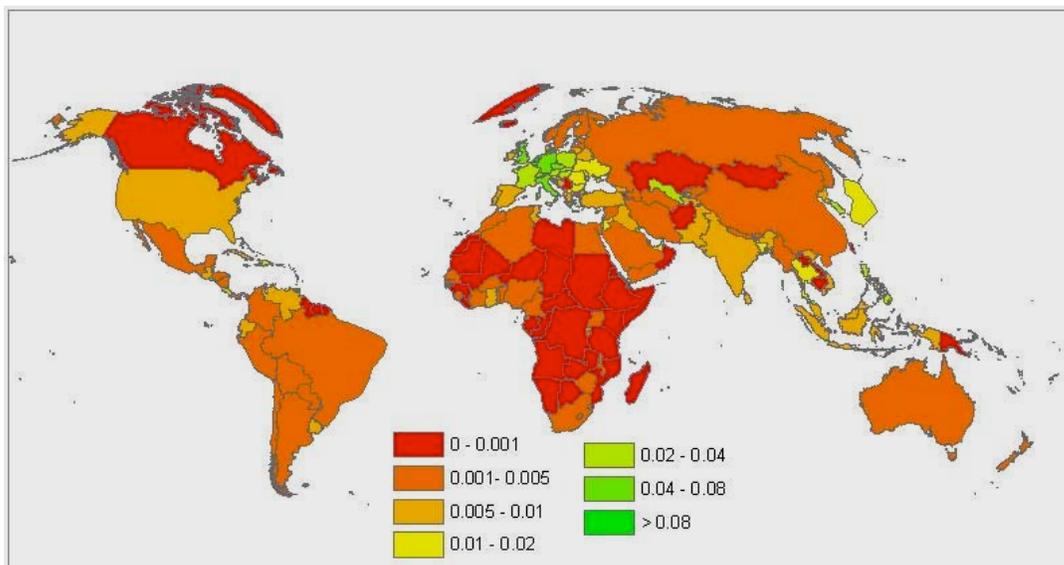
**Figure 4.4: Overall density (in persons per hectare) in all countries, 2000**



The two maps display the regional variations shown earlier in figure 3.3 in more detail. Densities are generally higher in less-developed countries than in more developed ones, or, more specifically in lower-income countries than in higher-income ones. Among more-developed countries, they are higher in Europe and Japan than in the U.S., Canada and Australia. Among less-developed countries, they are higher in Africa and in Asia than in Latin America and the Caribbean.

To conclude this section, we present a global map of urban land cover at the country scale. The map, figure 4.5, shows urban land cover in all countries as a share of their total land areas.

**Figure 4.5: Urban land cover as a share of total land area in all countries, 2000**



In the world as a whole, urban land cover occupied 0.47 percent of the total land area of countries. Urban areas occupied 0.85 percent of the land area of the countries of Southeast Asia but only 0.12 percent of the land in the countries of in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Among the countries that had large cities in 2000, 10 countries had more than 5 percent of their total land area occupied by cities: Singapore (56.6%), Bahrain (32.2%), Belgium (17.6%), the Palestinian Territories (West Bank and Gaza) (17.0%), the Netherlands (10.7%), Puerto Rico (8.4%), the Czech Republic (6.3%), the United Kingdom (5.7%), Italy (5.6%), and Germany (5.3%). Twenty-two countries had 2-5% of their land areas occupied by cities, among them Japan (4.2%), France (2.8%), and the Philippines (2.1%). Twenty-two additional countries had between 1 and 2 percent of their land area occupied by cities, among them the United States (1.2%), Bangladesh (1.1%), Turkey (1.1%), and India (1.0%). Twenty-eight more countries had between 0.5 and 1 percent of their land areas in urban use, among them Indonesia (0.95%), Pakistan (0.7%), Venezuela (0.7%), and China (0.5%). Twenty-seven countries had between 0.2 and 0.5 percent of their land in urban use, among them Brazil (0.48%), Argentina and Mexico (0.42%), and Egypt (0.26%). Eighteen additional countries had between 0.1 and 0.2 percent of their land in urban use, among them the Russian Federation (0.16%), Saudi Arabia (0.15%), and Australia (0.12%). The remaining 28 countries had less than 0.1 percent of their land in urban use, among them Canada (0.09%), the Democratic Republic of Congo (0.05%), Libya (0.03%), and Mongolia (0.02%).

In conclusion we note that the numbers presented here suggest that the common perception of cities taking up a substantial share of the land of countries may be exaggerated. Cities certainly take up land but, on the whole, they are quite conservative in their use of land. Half the population of the world lived in cities in the year 2000 and occupied less than one-half of one percent of the land area of countries. To suggest that we are running out of land for urban expansion may therefore be an exaggeration. In formulating policies that aim to constrain urban expansion it may be useful for governments to compare urban land consumption in their countries with other countries that have higher or lower ratios of urban land cover to total land area. This may provide a 'reality check' for those who become overly concerned when open space is converted to urban use. The ratio of urban land cover to arable land is another matter, as a number of countries are concerned with their food security, seeking to keep enough land in cultivation to feed their entire population. In section VII of this paper we discuss a forthcoming research project that will focus on the effect of future urban expansion on the loss of arable land.

## V Modeling Urban Land Cover in Countries and Cities

### 1. The Classical Economic Theory of Urban Spatial Structure

The differences in urban land cover among countries described in the previous section already suggest three key explanations of why urban land cover varies among countries: urban population matters, income matters, and the availability of plenty of land for urban expansion matters. In general, countries with more people living in cities can be expected to have more urban land cover, countries with higher levels of economic development, measured, say, by GDP per capita, can be expected to have more land cover, and land-rich countries, measured, say, by the amount of arable land per person in the country, can be expected to have more urban land cover. All three propositions make intuitive sense. The more people inhabit cities, the more space they will occupy. The higher the per capita income in the country, the more resources are available for building larger houses, for buying more cars, and for having wider roads, more expansive workplaces and shopping areas, larger gardens and parks, and more extensive public facilities. And the more arable land in the country, the less likely is land to be hoarded, the cheaper it will be to extend cities into agricultural areas, and the less public and official resistance will likely be encountered in efforts to convert rural land to urban use.

The three propositions discussed above are indeed some of the basic theoretical results obtained from the classical economic models of urban spatial structure. The theoretical foundation for the economic analysis of urban spatial structure was laid out by Alonso (1964), Mills (1967) and Muth (1969), refined by Wheaton (1976), and later unified by Brueckner (1987). The evidence presented in this study validates the key results of their theoretical insights and confirms the observation of Mills and Tan that “[t]here are few cases in economics in which such a simple theory leads to so many testable implications” (1980, 314). We introduce the basic elements of this theory here, and we largely use Brueckner’s notation.

The stylized *city* in the classical analysis of urban spatial structure is circular, having a single Central Business district (CBD) where all jobs are concentrated. The CBD is surrounded by  $L$  households that occupy land in concentric circles around it. To simplify the analysis, every household residing at a distance  $x$  from the center has one commuter who travels to work along a radial path, and all households are assumed to have identical annual incomes  $y$  and identical preferences. The annual cost per unit of travel to work is  $t$  and therefore the household’s total cost of commuting is  $t \cdot x$ . Households spend their income on a quantity of housing  $q$ , on commuting  $t \cdot x$ , and on a composite good  $c$  which is assumed to be the same throughout the city. The price of housing  $p$  varies with distance from the center and may thus be denoted  $p(x)$ . The preferences of all households for housing and the composite good are represented by quasi-concave utility function  $v(c, q)$ .

Equilibrium is attained when all households are settled. It requires that a common utility level  $u$  be achieved by a household at any location within the built-up area of the city. Households will select the most preferred combination of the composite good and housing affordable by their income, so that in equilibrium we must have:

$$(1) \quad \max_q v(y - t \cdot x - q \cdot p(x), q) = u$$

for all households. The solution of this equation yields two inequalities:

$$(2) \quad \frac{\partial p}{\partial x} < 0 \text{ and } \frac{\partial q}{\partial x} > 0.$$

Namely, the price of land declines with distance from the city center while the quantity of housing consumed increases with distance from the center.

Housing suppliers combine inputs of capital  $N$  and land  $l$  using a concave constant-returns production function  $H(N,l)$  to produce housing. Concavity means that housing production exhibits diminishing marginal productivity of both capital and land. Constant returns to scale and free entry of housing producers are sufficient to determine an equilibrium land rent function  $r(x)$  and a capital-land ratio (floor-area ratio, or building density)  $S(x)$  that depend upon distance  $x$  from the city center and satisfy:

$$(3) \quad \frac{\partial r(x)}{\partial x} < 0 \text{ and } \frac{\partial S(x)}{\partial x} < 0.$$

so that both land rent and building density decline with distance from the city center. Let  $D(x)$  be the population density at distance  $x$  from the center, and assume that all households have only one member. Because houses become larger as distance from the center increases while building density declines, it follows that population density declines with distance too, namely

$$(4) \quad \frac{\partial D}{\partial x} < 0.$$

On the periphery of the city, urban housing producers must outbid agricultural users of land to convert land to urban use. Let the distance to the outer edge of the city be denoted by  $\bar{x}$  and let  $r_a$  be the agricultural rent on the urban periphery. Since  $\frac{\partial r(x)}{\partial x} < 0$ , it follows that urban rent  $r(x) > r_a$  inside the city and that  $r(x) < r_a$  outside the city. In equilibrium, we must therefore have

$$(5) \quad r(\bar{x}, y, t, u) = r_a.$$

In equilibrium, the entire population of the city must also be accommodated inside the circle with the radius  $\bar{x}$ . Let  $\theta$  be an exogenous variable denoting the share of land available for building in a ring  $x$  distance away from the center. In equilibrium, we must have

$$(6) \quad \int_0^{\bar{x}} 2\pi \cdot \theta \cdot x \cdot D(x, t, y, u) dx = L$$

The classical theory thus provides an endogenous solution for the extent of the area that a city occupies,  $A = 2\pi\theta\bar{x}$ , given its population  $L$ , the income of that population  $y$ , the cost of transport  $t$ , the share of buildable land  $\theta$ , and the agricultural rent on the urban periphery  $r_a$ . The following inequalities follow from solving the equilibrium equations (see Brueckner, 831 and 840-844):

$$(7) \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial r_a} < 0, \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial t} < 0, \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial \theta} < 0, \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial L} > 0, \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial y} > 0, \text{ and}$$

$$(8) \quad \frac{\partial S}{\partial L} > 0 \text{ and } \frac{\partial D}{\partial L} > 0.$$

The inequalities in (7) indicate that the outer radius of the city  $\bar{x}$  will shorten if the agricultural rent  $r_a$  increases, if the transport cost  $t$  increases, and if the share of buildable land  $\theta$  increases, and will lengthen if the city population  $L$  increases and if the income  $y$  of that population increases. As a consequence, if the outer edge of the city  $\bar{x}$  increases because the share of buildable land  $\theta$  decreased, then, other things being equal, more income will need to be spent on transport and less on housing, with the result that the area of the city will also decrease.

More generally, it follows that the total area of the city  $A$  will decrease if the agricultural rent  $r_a$  increases, if the transport cost  $t$  increases, and if the share of buildable land  $\theta$  increases, and will increase if the city population  $L$  increases and the income  $y$  of that population increases.

One variable of interest in determining the area of cities is income inequality or the presence of informal settlements in the city where lower-income people reside. Instead of assuming that all households have the same income  $y$ , we can assume that the city has two groups of people, rich people with income  $y_r$  and poor people with income  $y_p$ . When the incomes of the two groups are unequal, we have  $y_r > y_p$  and  $y_r + y_p = 2y$ , so that total income in the city remains the same. What happens to the area of the city  $A$  when income inequality, measured here simply as  $y_r/y_p$ , increases?

Extensions of the classical theory do not offer a clear theoretical answer to this question. Wheaton (1976), for example, shows that if we can assume that the two groups *have different preferences* for consuming housing and transport, then in equilibrium the welfare of both high-income and low-income people will increase when income inequality increases. In other words, in cities where incomes and preferences are identical, every household competes for the same location and the increased competition makes everyone worse off. In more heterogeneous cities, the rich do not compete for locations desired by the poor and vice versa, making it possible for both rich and poor to obtain better locations and better housing: "This reduced competition in turn allows the poor to bid somewhat less, expand their land consumption, and improve their situation" (6). One may surmise, although Wheaton does not discuss this implication directly, that under conditions of greater income inequality, the area of the city  $A$  will be larger because of reduced competition, and hence lower bid prices, for specific locations. Let  $G$  be the Gini Coefficient of income inequality in the city. The inequality implied here is

$$(9) \quad \frac{\partial \bar{x}}{\partial G} > 0.$$

A special case of the rich and poor residents of cities having different locational preferences are cities in developing countries where a substantial share of the urban

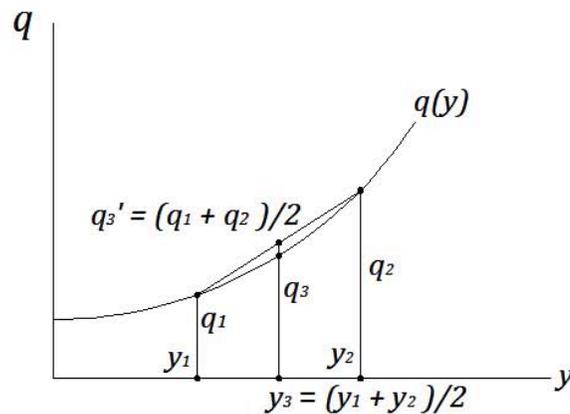
population live in informal settlements: squatter settlements with no legal property rights or informal land subdivisions with questionable property documentation, both with minimal or incomplete infrastructure services. In such cities, we can say that the rich and the poor obtain land in different land markets and that the poor pay less for a unit of land (albeit of lesser quality) in the informal market than the rich pay in the formal one. We would expect the area  $A$  of such cities to be larger and their average density  $\Delta$  to be lower than in cities with no informal land markets.

There is an alternative explanation that associates increased income inequality with a larger city area. We know, for example, that the income elasticity of demand for housing and land is positive, and we have seen earlier that the consumption of land in the city increases with income. It may well be that as income inequality increases, the rich move into luxury properties thereby consuming more land while the poor are pushed into consuming the minimum amount of land necessary for survival. In other words, it may be that the consumption of housing  $q$  increases *at a positive rate of increase*, namely

$$(10) \quad \frac{\partial^2 q}{\partial y^2} > 0.$$

If that were the case, we can show that as income inequality increases housing consumption increases and therefore the average density of the city decreases. This is illustrated in figure 5.1 below.

**Figure 5.1: Housing Demand  $q$  as an Increasing Function of Income  $y$**



In this figure, we have a poor person with income  $y_1$  who consumes  $q_1$  housing, a rich person with income  $y_2$  who consumes  $q_2$  housing, and a middle-income person with income  $y_3$  where  $y_3 = (y_1 + y_2)/2$ , who consumes  $q_3$  housing. Because  $y(q)$  is an increasing function of  $y$ , we can see that the average of  $q_1$  and  $q_2$  is larger than  $q_3$ . Namely,

$$(11) \quad q_3' = (q_1 + q_2)/2 > q_3.$$

It follows that the poor person and rich person together will consume more housing (and land) than two middle-income persons with the same total income. More generally, if the *rate* of housing consumption increases with income then a city with more income

inequality will have a larger area. Unfortunately, there is no theoretical basis for assuming that the rate of consumption of housing increases with income and this explanation is therefore left for further investigation.

Does the empirical evidence from our new universe of cities support the results of the classical model of urban spatial structure and its extensions? As we shall see in the following sections, it does.

## 2. Models that Explain Variation in Urban Land Cover Among Countries, 2000

The theoretical discussion in the previous section yields several testable hypotheses. The first set of such hypotheses focuses on the total urban land cover  $A_j$  in a country  $j$  with  $n$

cities,  $A_j = \sum_{i=1}^n A_{ij}$ , and seeks to explain variations in this total area in the year 2000

among all countries. The hypotheses are stated for individual cities in the country, and are summarized in the following table 5.1. If they are true for individual cities, they should also be true for the sum of all cities in the country.

**Table 5.1: Five testable hypotheses derived from the classical theory of urban spatial structure**

Inequality	Hypothesis	Independent variables Used
$\frac{\partial A}{\partial L} > 0$	1. The higher the population $L$ of the city, the larger its area $A$ .	Population: Total city population, 2000
$\frac{\partial A}{\partial y} > 0$	2. The higher the average per capita income $y$ in the city, the larger its area $A$ .	Income: Per capita gross domestic product in the country (in 2000 US\$), 1990
$\frac{\partial A}{\partial r_a} < 0$	3. The higher the agricultural land rent $r_a$ around the city, the smaller its area $A$ .	Arable Land: Arable land and permanent crop land per capita in the country, 2000 (proxy variable)
$\frac{\partial A}{\partial t} < 0$	4. The higher the cost of transport $t$ in the city, the smaller its area $A$ .	Gasoline Price: Price of 1 liter of super gasoline (in US\$) in 1998
$\frac{\partial A}{\partial G} > 0$	5. The greater the share of informal settlements in the city, the larger its area $A$ .	Informal Settlements: Share of urban population with unimproved water supply and sanitation, 2000 (percent)

We tested these hypotheses using a set of multiple regression models with total urban land cover in the country in 2000 as a dependent variable. Because our estimates of urban land cover in large cities are more robust than our estimates of total urban land cover, we also tested these hypotheses with two additional variables as dependent variables: (a) the total urban land cover in large cities in the country in 2000, and (b) the built-up area of individual large cities worldwide in 2000.

The descriptive statistics for all the variables used in estimating the models to explain variations in urban land cover in countries and in countries with large cities are given in table 5.2 below.

**Sources of Data:** The population of large cities was obtained from Brinkhoff's [www.citypopulation.de](http://www.citypopulation.de). Data on GDP per capita was obtained from the World Bank's *World Development Indicators* website. Data on arable land was obtained from the World Resources Institute's *Earth Trends* website. Data on gasoline prices was obtained from GTZ's *International Fuel Prices - 2005* report. Data on the shares of the urban population with unimproved water and sanitation in 2000 was calculated by averaging the share of those with unimproved water supply and those with unimproved sanitation given in table form in the WHO/UNICEF Joint monitoring Programme (JMP) website (WHO/UNICEF).

**Table 5.2: Data used for multiple regression models with urban land cover in the country and in all the large cities in the country in 2000 as dependent variables**

Variable	No. of Observations	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
Total Area of Large Cities in the Country (hectares)	208	0	8,307,885	163,383	673,952
Total Population in Large Cities in the Country	208	0	412,484,124	9,679,166	35,699,595
Total Urban Land Cover (hectares)	206	203	11,219,686	294,114	965,575
Total Urban Land Cover in Large Cities	208	0	8,307,885	163,383	673,952
Total Urban Population in the Country, 2000	206	4,929	459,132,808	13,739,978	43,520,324
GDP per Capita, 1990 (in 2000 US dollars)	173	129	46,822	5,481	8,242
Arable Land and Permanent Crop Land per Capita (m <sup>2</sup> ), 2000	198	5	26,419	2,829	2,917
Price (US Cents per Liter) of Super Gasoline, 1998	159	1	121	56	27
Informal Settlements: Proportion of Urban Population with Unimproved Water and Sanitation, 2000 (percent)	191	0.01	59.5	15.39	16.94

It is important to know whether the variables to be used in the models as independent variables are correlated with each other. If two or more of the independent variables are highly correlated, a model will suffer from a *collinearity* problem. The coefficients of each of the correlated variables will then no longer be robust: they will change erratically

if one or more of the correlated variables are added to or removed from the model. The Pearson correlations among the variables used in the models for countries for which data was available are shown in table 5.3 below.

**Table 5.3: Pearson Correlations among the Independent Variables Used to Explain Country Urban Land Cover (146-191 countries), 2000**

Variables	GDP per capita	Arable Land per Capita	Informal Settlements	Price of Gasoline
GDP per Capita, 1990 (in 2000 US dollars)	1			
Arable Land per Capita in 2000 (m <sup>2</sup> )	-0.042	1		
Informal Settlements: Proportion of Urban population with unimproved water and sanitation, 2000	-0.498*	-0.003	1	
Price (US Cents per Litre) of super gasoline in 1998	0.502*	-0.048	-0.156	1

*Note:* Values with asterisks are correlated at the 0.01 significance level (2-sided).

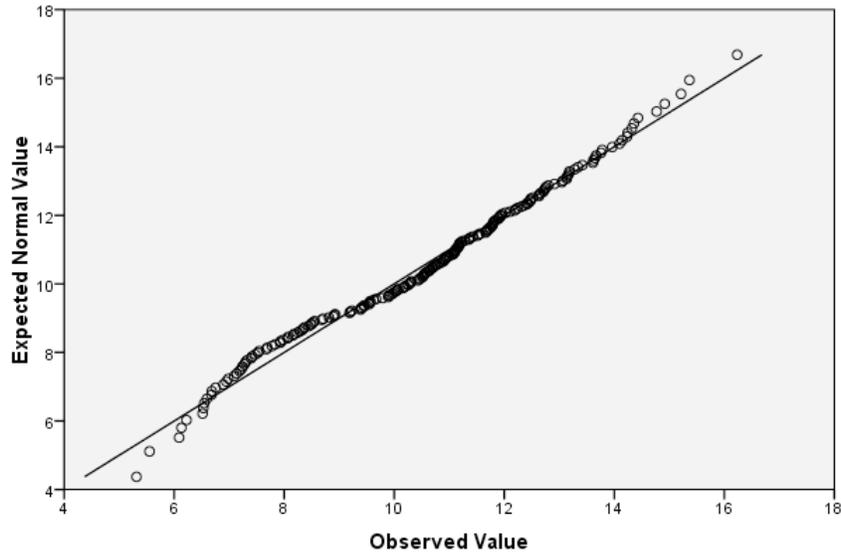
Table 5.3 shows that gasoline prices are higher in richer countries, while the share of the urban population without adequate services is lower. The reader should note that in the presence of multicollinearity among two independent variables, the coefficient of one can vary substantially when the other one is introduced into the model. The robustness of the coefficients in the models presented below suggests that the models do not suffer from multicollinearity problems.

**The Models:** To test each one of the hypotheses outlined in table 5.1 under *ceteris paribus* conditions—namely, all other things being equal—we tested a series of multiple regression models using the statistical software SPSS 16.0 for Windows. These multiple regression models are expected to explain variations in urban land cover among countries in a comprehensive way, seeking to include a complete set of relevant factors and determining the effect of each individual factor on urban land cover given the effects of all other factors. Only when no important independent variables are omitted from a particular model can the model be relied upon to produce correct estimates of the contribution of each independent factor to variations in country urban land cover.

We opted for using both dependent and independent variables in *logarithmic* forms, and we did this for two reasons. First, the logarithmic forms of the country urban land cover variable as well as a host of other independent variables were typically found to be normally distributed: a precondition for using multiple regression models. The results of the Q-Q test for normality of the *Log Country Urban Land Cover* variable, for example, are shown in figure 5.2 below. The fact that the observations for all countries line up along a straight line is a visual confirmation that the variable is indeed normally distributed. Second, the coefficients in the logarithmic models are, in fact, *elasticities*: they indicate the percent change in country urban land cover for a given percent change

in the independent variable. If the coefficient of the *Log Income* variable, for example, is +0.2 it means that a 10 percent increase in income is associated with a 2 percent increase in country urban land cover. This allows for a simple and ready interpretation of the coefficients of the different independent variables in the models.

**Figure 5.2: Normal Q-Q Plot of the log of Country Urban Land Cover in 2000**



The set of the five models tested is shown in table 5.4 below. The dependent variable in all models, as noted above, is *Log Country Urban Land Cover* in 2000.

Model 1, shown in the second column from the left in table 5.4, uses only the total urban population in the country in logarithmic form as an independent variable to explain the variation in Log Urban Land Cover in all 206 countries for which we have data. The  $R^2$  and Adjusted  $R^2$  of the model are 0.93 and 0.93 respectively, indicating that the model explains more than 90 percent of the variation in Log Urban Land Cover. We can say with 99 percent confidence that the coefficient of Log Urban Population is significantly different from zero (significance is shown in italics below each variable). Model 1 therefore accepts Hypothesis 1: Countries with more people living in urban areas can be expected to have higher amounts of urban land cover than countries with fewer people living in urban areas. The coefficient of urban population in the model suggests that a 10 percent increase in the urban population will lead to a 9.5 percent increase in urban land cover. The coefficient of Log Urban Population varies between 0.90 and 0.97 in the five models in table 5.2, suggesting that it is quite robust. A 10 percent increase in the urban population is associated with a  $9.3 \pm 0.1$  percent increase in urban land cover.

**Table 5.4: Multiple Regression Models (in Log Form) with Country Urban Land Cover in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**

Independent Variables	Coefficients and levels of significance				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Total Urban Population, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>0.940</b> 0.000	<b>0.962</b> 0.000	<b>0.947</b> 0.000	<b>0.903</b> 0.000	<b>0.896</b> 0.000
Income: GDP per Capita, 1990 (US\$) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>		<b>0.184</b> 0.000	<b>0.218</b> 0.000	<b>0.229</b> 0.000	<b>0.103</b> 0.021
Arable Land per Capita, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>			<b>0.201</b> 0.000	<b>0.191</b> 0.000	<b>0.206</b> 0.000
Price of 1 Liter of Super Gasoline (US cents) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>				<b>-0.207</b> 0.007	<b>-0.290</b> 0.000
Informal Settlements: Percent of Urban Population with Unimproved Water Supply & Sanitation <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>					<b>-0.083</b> 0.000
Constant <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>-3.013</b> 0.000	<b>-4.696</b> 0.000	<b>-6.258</b> 0.000	<b>-4.749</b> 0.000	<b>-3.424</b> 0.000
No. of Countries	206	173	171	146	143
R-Squared	0.931	0.943	0.950	0.930	0.937
Adjusted R-Squared	0.931	0.943	0.950	0.928	0.934

Model 2 introduces income into the model. This model explains 94 percent of the variation in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Income* is positive and significant, with a value of 0.18, indicating that Hypothesis 2 must be accepted: countries with higher incomes per capita can be expected to have more urban land cover than countries with lower incomes per capita. In other words, the higher the income per capita in a country, the more urban land is likely to be used, on average, by individual urban dwellers. The coefficient of 0.18 indicates that a 10 percent increase in per capita GNP is associated with a 1.8 percent increase in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Income* varies between 0.10 and 0.23 in all models. An increase of 10 percent in GNP per capita is associated with a  $1.8 \pm 0.3$  percent increase in urban land cover.

Model 3 introduces arable land per capita into the model. This model explains 95 percent of the variation in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Arable Land* is positive and significant, with a value of 0.20, indicating that Hypothesis 3 must be accepted: countries with higher amounts of arable land per capita can be expected to have more urban land cover than countries with lower amounts of arable land per capita. In other words, the

higher the amount of arable land per person in the country, the less expensive and the more plentiful it is, and the easier it may be to convert it to urban use. The coefficient of 0.20 indicates that a 10 percent increase in arable land per capita is associated with a 2.0 percent increase in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Arable Land* in all models varies between 0.19 and 2.1. An increase of 10 percent in arable land per capita is associated with a  $2.0 \pm 0.0$  percent increase in urban land cover.

Model 4 introduces the price of gasoline into the model to test the effect of transport costs on urban land cover. This model explains 93 percent of the variation in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Gasoline Price* is negative and significant, with a value of -0.21, indicating that Hypothesis 4 must be accepted: countries with higher transport cost can be expected to have less urban land cover than countries with lower transport costs. In other words, other things being equal, the higher the cost of transport, the more compact cities will be: households and firms will choose to occupy less land in closer proximity to urban centers, so as to save on the cost of travel. The coefficient of -0.21 indicates that a 10 percent increase in the cost of gasoline is associated with a 2.1 percent decrease in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Gasoline Price* in the two models presented here varies between -0.21 and -0.29, suggesting that an increase of 10 percent in gasoline prices may be associated with a  $2.5 \pm 0.4$  percent decrease in urban land cover.

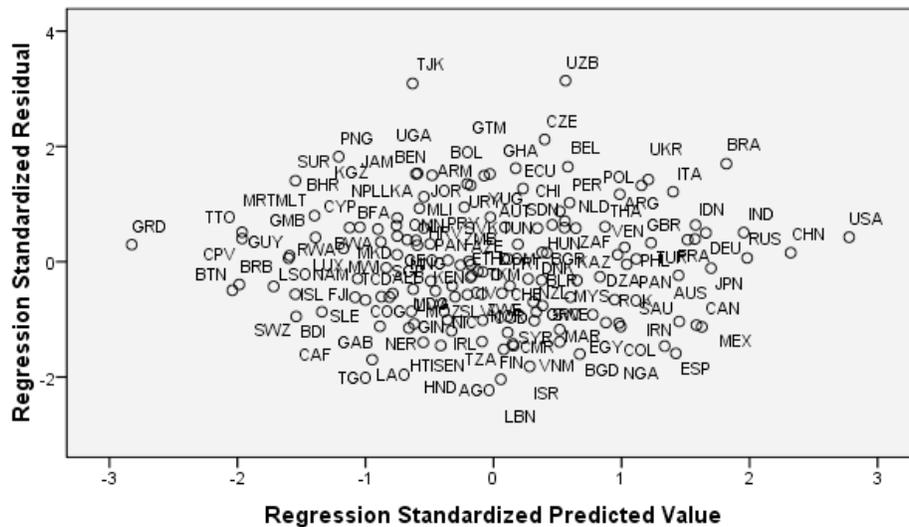
Model 5 introduces informal settlements into the model. This model also explains 93 percent of the variation in urban land cover. The coefficient of *Log Informal Settlements* is negative and significant, with a value of -0.08, indicating that Hypothesis 5 must be *rejected*: Other things being equal, countries with greater shares of their urban populations living in informal settlements can be expected to have less, and not more, urban land cover than countries with fewer people living in informal settlements. In other words, in contrast to our theoretical discussion earlier, the more people live in informal settlements, the more likely they are to be overcrowded, taking up less land. The coefficient of -0.08 is small, indicating that a 10 percent increase in the share of the urban population living in informal settlements is associated with a 0.8 percent increase in urban land cover.

As noted earlier, the robustness of coefficients in the models suggests that they do not suffer from serious collinearity problems. The fact that three of the independent variables are indeed correlated with each other, as we saw in table 5.3 earlier, does not reduce the very high explanatory power of the model, but it does suggest that the independent effects of the individual independent variables may not be accurate, calling for further research into the matter. This is particularly important in determining the effect of gasoline prices on urban land cover. As we shall see later, this effect is statistically insignificant when we look at individual cities, rather than at whole countries, suggesting that more research may be needed to determine exactly how gasoline prices affect urban land cover.

It is important to inquire whether the models presented here suffer from the absence of a key independent variable or, to use a statistical term, from Omitted Variable Bias. If an important independent variable were omitted from the model, then the error term would still include it, and the error term will be correlated with the dependent variable. Conversely, if no important variable were omitted, then the error term will not be correlated with the dependent variable. To test for Omitted Variable Bias we examine the

scatter plots of the residual error of the model for each city in our sample against the predicted value for that city. More specifically, in Model 5, for example, we examine the standardized error in predicting the *Log of Country Urban Land Cover* against the predicted value of *Log of Country Urban Land Cover* for all countries. The scatter plot for Model 5 is shown in figure 5.3, with 3-letter labels for all countries. The values for each country are all within a clearly defined box: from -3 to +3 on the X-axis and from -2 to +2 on the Y-axis; they are also clustered together with no major outliers. This suggests that the error terms in Model 5 are indeed random and we can therefore assume that the model does not suffer from heteroscedasticity or omitted variable bias. Scatter plots for other models are similar and will not be shown here.

**Figure 5.3: Scatter Diagram for Model 5, with Country Urban Land Cover in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**



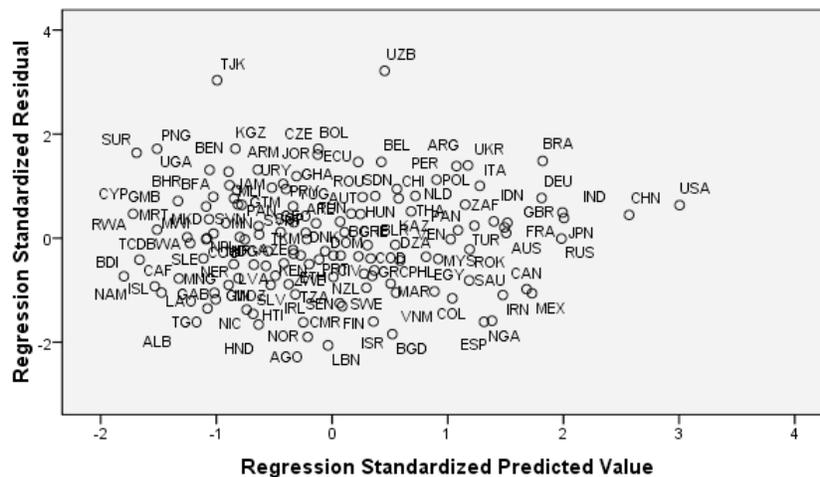
We tested similar models to those shown in table 5.2 with the total land cover in large cities in the country as a dependent variable (in log form) rather than total urban land cover. As the reader may recall, we arrived at estimates of total urban land cover in each country by calculating urban land cover in small cities, rather than by measuring the total ‘urban’ land cover directly in the MOD500 map. We did measure the total amount of urban land cover in large cities in the MOD500 map, and these measurements do not suffer from any bias that our calculations of total urban land cover may suffer.

The multiple regression models using the logarithm of the total land cover in large cities in every country as the dependent variable are summarized in table 5.5 below. The reader may note that the coefficient in the models, the levels of significance, and the percent of variation explained by the models as measured by their  $R^2$  and adjusted  $R^2$  are quite similar to the models using the logarithm of total urban land cover in the country as a dependent variable. There is therefore no need to examine the models of table 5.5 one by one. The scatter diagram for Model 5 in table 5.5 is shown in Figure 5.4. It is also quite similar to the scatter diagram in figure 5.3.

**Table 5.5: Multiple Regression Models (in Log Form) with Total Land Cover in Large Cities in Each Country in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**

Independent Variables	Coefficients and levels of significance				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Total Population in Large Cities, 2000 <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>	<b>1.000</b> 0.000	<b>0.968</b> 0.000	<b>0.953</b> 0.000	<b>0.922</b> 0.000	<b>0.925</b> 0.000
Income: GDP per Capita, 1990 (US\$) <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>		<b>0.213</b> 0.000	<b>0.236</b> 0.000	<b>0.251</b> 0.000	<b>0.133</b> 0.004
Arable Land per Capita, 2000 <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>			<b>0.184</b> 0.000	<b>0.159</b> 0.000	<b>0.178</b> 0.000
Price of 1 Liter of Super Gasoline (US cents) <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>				<b>-0.255</b> 0.001	<b>-0.310</b> 0.000
Informal Settlements: Percent of Urban Population with Unimproved Water Supply & Sanitation <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>					<b>-0.074</b> 0.002
Constant <i>Signif. (2-sided)</i>	<b>-4.275</b> 0.000	<b>-5.356</b> 0.000	<b>-6.699</b> 0.000	<b>-5.147</b> 0.000	<b>-4.156</b> 0.000
No. of Countries	158	141	141	134	132
R-Squared	0.869	0.911	0.924	0.931	0.936
Adjusted R-Squared	0.868	0.909	0.922	0.929	0.934

**Figure 5.4: Scatter Diagram for Model 5, with Total Land Cover in Large Cities in Each Country in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**



### 3. Models that Explain Variations in Land Cover and Density in the Universe of Cities, 2000

To conclude this section, we also examine a similar set of models to those presented earlier using the urban land cover in individual cities (in log form), rather than the total urban land cover in countries, as a dependent variable. We then present similar models with the average population density in the city (also in log form) as the dependent variable. The additional information used to construct the models is presented in table 5.6 below.

**Table 5.6: Data used for multiple regression models with city land cover and average City population density in 2000 as dependent variables**

Variable	No. of Observations	Coefficients and levels of significance			Standard Deviation
		Minimum	Maximum	Mean	
City Population, 2000	3,649	100,000	34,450,000	551,731	1,417,055
City Land Cover, 2000 (hectares)	3,649	85	684,766	9,313	26,757
Average City Population Density (persons per hectare)	3,649	2	1,559	104	114

The models using urban land cover in individual cities (in log form) as a dependent variable are presented in table 5.7 below.

**Table 5.7: Multiple Regression Models (in Log Form) with Land cover of Individual Large Cities in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**

Independent Variables	Coefficients and levels of significance				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
City Population, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>0.849</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.837</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.837</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.838</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.838</b> <i>0.000</i>
Income: GDP per Capita, 1990 (US\$) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>		<b>0.299</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.264</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.217</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.217</b> <i>0.000</i>
Arable Land per Capita, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>			<b>0.268</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.275</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.272</b> <i>0.000</i>
Informal Settlements: Percent of Urban Population with Unimproved Water Supply & Sanitation <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>				<b>-0.028</b> <i>0.001</i>	<b>-0.030</b> <i>0.000</i>
Price of 1 Liter of Super Gasoline (US cents) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>					<b>-0.023</b> <i>0.265</i>
Constant <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>-2.384</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>-4.437</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>-6.221</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>-5.907</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>-5.803</b> <i>0.000</i>
No. of Cities	3,649	3,529	3,529	3,527	3,518
R-Squared	0.476	0.661	0.695	0.696	0.697
Adjusted R-Squared	0.476	0.661	0.695	0.696	0.696

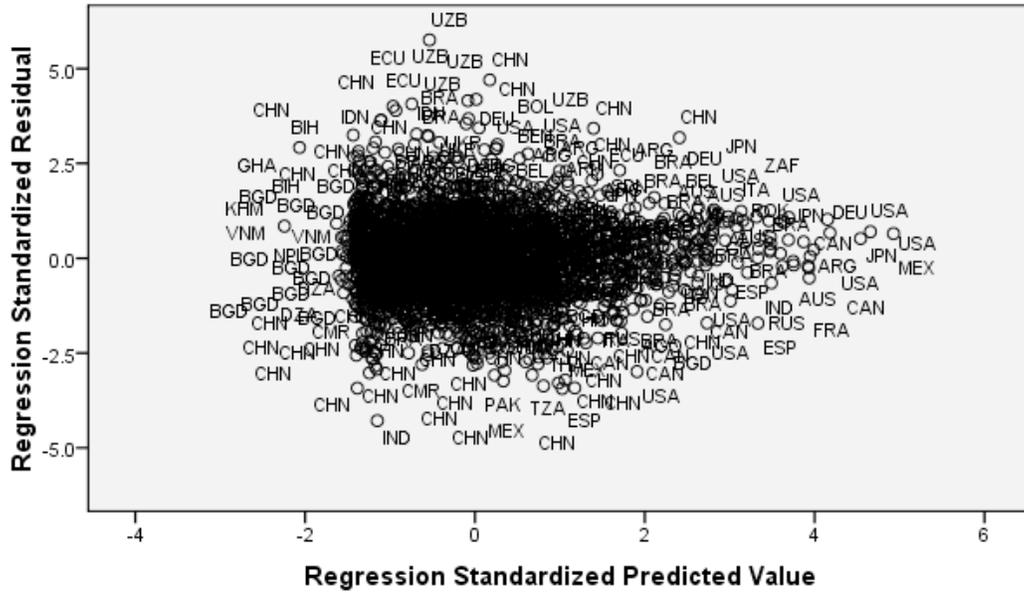
Model 1, shown in the second column from the left in table 5.7, uses only the population of the city in logarithmic form as an independent variable to explain the variation in Log Urban Land Cover in all 3,629 cities for which we have data. The  $R^2$  and Adjusted  $R^2$  of the model are 0.48 and 0.48 respectively, indicating that the model explains half of the variation in the Log Urban Land Cover of individual cities. Model 1 therefore accepts the individual city variation of Hypothesis 1: Cities with more people living in them can be expected to have higher amounts of urban land cover than cities with fewer people living in them. The coefficient of city population in the model suggests that a 10 percent increase in the urban population will lead to an 8.5 percent increase in urban land cover. The coefficient of Log City Population varies between 0.84 and 0.85 in the five models in table 5.6, suggesting that it is quite robust. A 10 percent increase in the city population is associated with an  $8.4 \pm 0.0$  percent increase in urban land cover. The reader should note that while the coefficient is similar to that found for countries in table 5.4, the explanatory power of the city-based model is much weaker: it explains only 48 percent of the variation in urban land cover among cities, while the earlier model explained 93 percent of the variations in total urban land cover among countries.

Models 2 and 3 show similar results to those shown for countries earlier and we need not discuss them further here. Model 4 shows that, other things being equal, cities with a larger share of informal settlements occupy less urban land cover, leading to the rejection of hypothesis 5. However, the coefficient of informal settlements is smaller: A 10 percent increase in the share of informal settlements is associated with a 0.2 percent decrease in urban land cover.

Model 5 introduces gasoline prices. The effect of gasoline prices on urban land cover is no longer significant at the individual city level. We therefore cannot accept or reject hypothesis 3 at the city level: cities in countries with higher gasoline prices may or may not have larger urban land covers than cities in countries with lower gasoline prices.

The scatter plot for Model 3 is shown in figure 5.5, with 3-letter labels for countries in which the individual cities were located, but not for the individual cities themselves. The values for all cities are all within a clearly defined box: from -2 to +4 on the X-axis and from -5 to +5 on the Y-axis; they are also clustered together with no outliers. This suggests that the error terms in Model 4 are indeed random and we can therefore assume that the model does not suffer from heteroscedasticity or omitted variable bias. Scatter plots for other models are similar and will not be shown here.

**Figure 5.5: Scatter Diagram for Model 4, with Land Cover in Individual Large Cities in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**



We also tested a fourth set of models using *the average population density in individual cities* in the universe as a dependent variable. These models were necessary to estimate the relationship between density and city size. The classical economic theory of urban spatial structure predicts that the density of a city will increase when its population increases, all other things being equal. The inequalities in equation (8) indicate that building density and population density both increase when the population  $L$  of the city increases. If we define the average population density in the city,  $\Delta$ , as the ratio of its population to its area,  $\Delta = L/A$ , it will also follow that the average density  $\Delta$  in the city will increase if the agricultural rent  $r_a$  increases, if the transport cost  $t$  increases, and if the population  $L$  increases, and will decrease if the income  $y$  increases. This allows us to formulate several hypotheses shown in table 5.8 below.

**Table 5.8: Testable hypotheses concerning the average population density of cities**

Inequality	Hypothesis	Independent variables Used
$\frac{\partial \Delta}{\partial L} > 0$	1. The higher the population $L$ of the city, the higher its average density $\Delta$ .	Population: Total City Population, 2000
$\frac{\partial \Delta}{\partial y} < 0$	2. The higher the average per capita income $y$ in the city, the lower its average density $\Delta$ .	Income: Per Capita Gross Domestic Product (in 2000 US\$), 1990
$\frac{\partial \Delta}{\partial r_a} > 0$	3. The higher the agricultural land rent $r_a$ , the higher its average density $\Delta$ .	Arable Land: Arable land and permanent crop land per capita in the country, 2000 (proxy variable)
$\frac{\partial \Delta}{\partial F} < 0$	4. The greater the share of people in informal settlements $F$ in the city, the lower its average density $\Delta$ .	Informal Settlements: The share of the urban population with unimproved water supply and sanitation in 2000.
$\frac{\partial \Delta}{\partial t} > 0$	5. The higher the cost of transport $t$ in the city, the higher its average density $\Delta$ .	Gas Price: Price of 1 liter of Super Gasoline (in US\$) in 1998

The models of the average population density in an individual city (in log form) as a dependent variable are presented in table 5.9 below. These produce similar results to the three sets of models discussed earlier in this section. Hypotheses 1-4 are accepted, while Hypothesis 5 cannot be accepted or rejected. The models explain more than 40 percent of the variations in average population density in the universe of cities. The dependent variable in the models, Log Density, is also normally distributed (its normal Q-Q graph is not shown). The coefficients of the independent variables are robust, and the models do not appear to suffer from omitted variable bias.

For purposes of this paper, the key result of this set of models is the robust relationship between the city population and its average population density. On average, the models in table 5.9 predict that a doubling of the city population is associated with a  $16.0 \pm 0.0$  percent increase in density. As the reader may recall, this result was used in estimating the average density of small cities in Section III.2 above.

**Table 5.9: Multiple Regression Models (in Log Form) with the Average Population Density of Individual Large Cities in 2000 as a Dependent Variable**

Independent Variables	Coefficients and levels of significance				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
City Population, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>0.151</b> 0.000	<b>0.163</b> 0.000	<b>0.163</b> 0.000	<b>0.162</b> 0.000	<b>0.162</b> 0.000
Income: GDP per Capita, 1990 (US\$) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>		<b>-0.299</b> 0.000	<b>-0.264</b> 0.000	<b>-0.217</b> 0.000	<b>-0.217</b> 0.000
Arable Land per Capita, 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>			<b>-0.268</b> 0.000	<b>-0.275</b> 0.000	<b>-0.272</b> 0.000
Informal Settlements: Percent of Urban Population with Unimproved Water Supply & Sanitation <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>				<b>0.028</b> 0.001	<b>0.030</b> 0.000
Price of 1 Liter of Super Gasoline (US cents) <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>					<b>0.023</b> 0.265
Constant <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>2.384</b> 0.000	<b>4.437</b> 0.000	<b>6.221</b> 0.000	<b>5.907</b> 0.000	<b>5.803</b> 0.000
No. of Cities	3,649	3,529	3,529	3,527	3,518
R-Squared	0.028	0.375	0.437	0.439	0.439
Adjusted R-Squared	0.027	0.374	0.437	0.438	0.438

To conclude, as predicted by the classical economic theory of the spatial structure of cities, their areas are largely a function of their population size: larger cities occupy more land, and countries with large urban populations have larger amounts of urban land cover. The theory also predicts that higher incomes will increase land consumption, and we do find that cities in richer countries consume more land than cities in smaller countries. Urban economic theory also predicts that higher agricultural land prices on the urban periphery will constrain urban expansion. We used the amount of arable land per capita in the country as a proxy for agricultural land prices on the urban periphery, assuming that larger supplies of agricultural land will keep its prices lower everywhere. Again, our empirical results agree with the classical theory: urban land cover in countries with ample arable land is higher than urban land cover in countries with limited supplies of arable land. The classical theory also predicts that higher transport cost will constrain urban expansion: other things being equal, cities with higher transport costs will be smaller in area than cities with lower transport costs. Our empirical findings agree with the theory. We used gasoline prices as a proxy for transport cost, and we found that countries with lower gasoline prices have larger amounts of urban land cover than countries with higher gasoline prices.

While this finding is still preliminary and is limited to our analysis of countries and not to individual large cities, it has two important implications. First, gasoline prices are subject to taxation and can thus be considered to be policy variables. If it is indeed the case that levels of urban expansion can be controlled by taxing gasoline, and if governments decide that limiting urban expansion is in the public interest, then increasing the taxes on gasoline — its popularity with voters aside — may be an effective way to limit urban expansion. Second, if oil supplies decline while demand for oil rises in the future, gasoline prices may increase without government intervention. These increases may naturally lead to more compact cities without the imposition of taxes on gasoline. More generally, the interplay between increases in household income and increases in gasoline prices may determine whether densities continue to decrease in developing-country cities.

Our models also show that, other things being equal, the share of the urban population in informal settlements has a negative, rather than a positive effect on urban land cover as predicted by the classical economic theory. These settlements typically house many low-income people on relatively small amounts of land and may thus reduce overall land consumption in the city. That said, the effect of informal settlements on the overall consumption of land by cities is found to be rather small.

All in all, the models examined here are robust and are able to explain a very large amount of the variation in urban land cover among cities and countries. These variations are explained by very few independent variables, suggesting that variations in climate, in cultural traditions, or in the policy environment in different countries matter less than the fundamental forces giving shape to the spatial structure of cities: population, income, low-cost land on the urban periphery, and inexpensive transport. The more people live in cities, the higher their income, the more land is available for expansion, and the cheaper the cost of transport, the faster cities will expand. For the past two centuries this pattern prevailed: urbanization, economic development, and the invention of various forms of cheap urban transport have led to massive urban expansion. In the following section, we project urban expansion in 10-year intervals to 2050 assuming that the forces shaping cities will continue to effect urban expansion in coming decades in much the same way they did in the past two centuries, before urban population growth slows down to reach a plateau.

## VI Projecting Urban Land Cover in All Countries, 2000-2050

### 7. Historical Increases in Urban Land cover

Urban expansion is ubiquitous. It is concomitant to urbanization, economic development, and increasingly affordable urban transport, three of the most powerful forces shaping human societies in the past two centuries. We assume here that urbanization, economic development, and the availability of inexpensive transport will continue in the coming decades. This necessarily means that urban expansion will continue as it cannot be decoupled from the forces that are shaping it. That said, the future is certainly unpredictable. If people abandon the cities in large numbers, if incomes stagnate or decline for long periods of time, if expansion into peripheral lands is effectively blocked by strict regulation, if more and more people live in crowded conditions in informal settlements, and if transport costs or gasoline prices increase precipitously, cities are likely to become more and more compact. For the purposes of this paper, however, despite increasing concerns with sustainability, we assume that the pattern of urban expansion observed over the last two centuries will not change radically in the next few decades. Our projections of urban land cover from 2000 to 2050 are therefore predicated on assumptions that are largely based on past trends, allowing for possible increases in gasoline prices or in the effectiveness of urban containment policies that may halt or slow down the observed density declines of the past.

The reader may recall that between 1990 and 2000, urban land cover in a global sample of cities was found by the authors to increase at an average rate 3.66 percent per annum, more than twice the rate of urban population growth, 1.66 percent, during this period. At these growth rates, the world's urban land cover will double in only 19 years, while the world's urban population will double in 43 years.

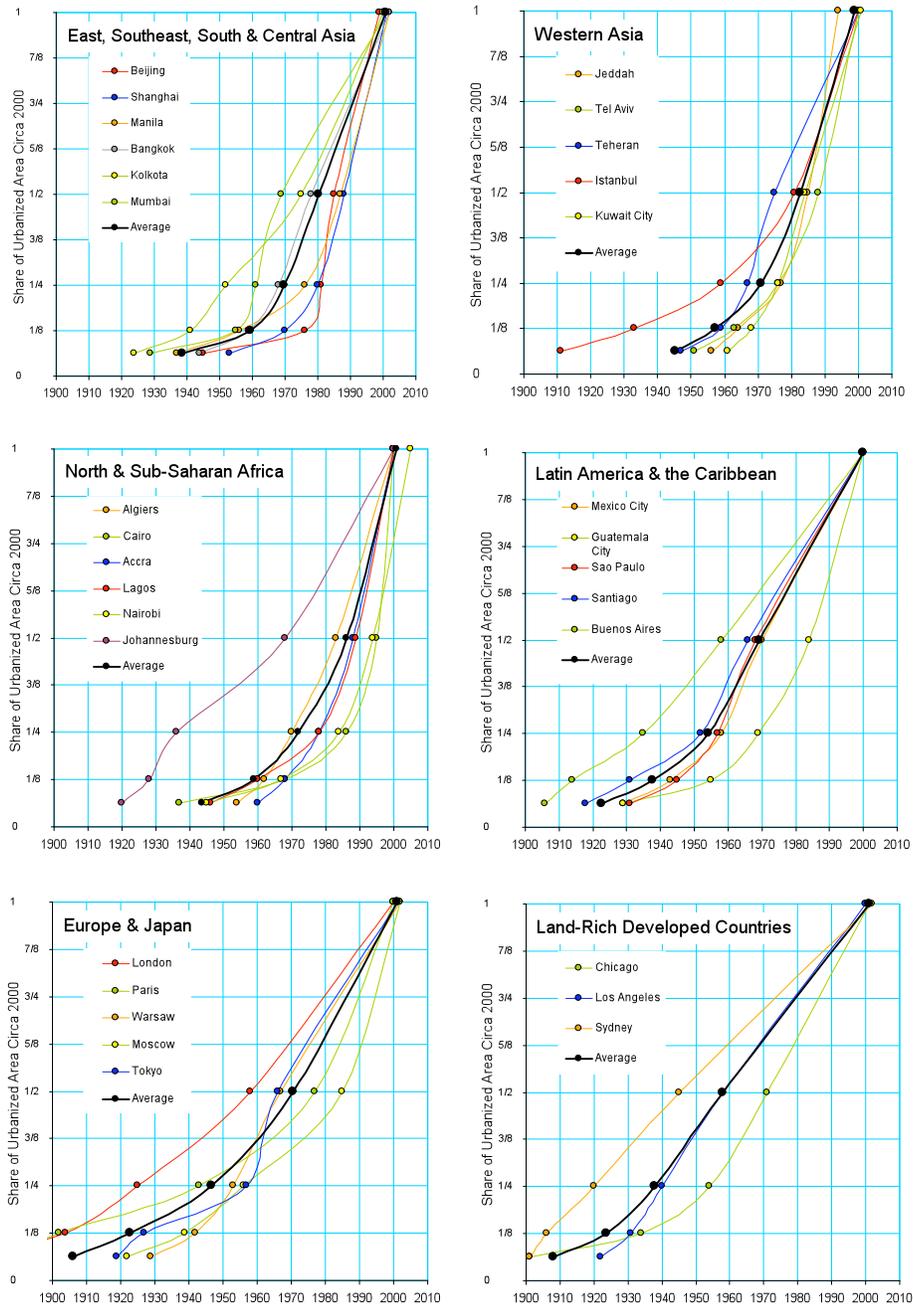
We examined the rate of growth of the urban population and its concomitant urban land cover in a global historical sample of 30 cities between 1800 and 2000 (see Angel *et al*, 2010). 28 of the thirty cities studied increased their areas more than 16-fold during the twentieth century. The remaining two cities, London and Paris, increased their urban land cover by 2000 since 1874 and 1887 respectively. Figure 6.1 shows the pattern of 16-fold urban expansion in cities in six world regions during the past two centuries.

The steeper the curves shown in figure 6.1, the faster cities were expanding. Cities in less-developed regions, particularly in Asia and Africa, were expanding faster than cities in more-developed countries in recent decades. Cities in Latin America and the Caribbean, a highly-urbanized region, are now expanding at slower rates than cities in other, less-urbanized regions. And within regions, some cities are expanding at much slower rates than others in the same region: Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, and Sydney are the prime examples.

These observations suggest that urban land cover can be projected to increase in all cities and countries but not at the same rate. The projected increases are largely due to two main factors: the projected growth in the urban population of countries and the projected decline in urban densities. Clearly, the projected growth of the urban population will continue to be more pronounced in the poorer and less urbanized countries and less pronounced in richer and more urbanized ones. Density decline, as we shall see below, is not significantly different in less-developed and more-developed countries at the present

time, but long-term trends suggest that where densities are already exceptionally low, as in the U.S. for example, the rate of density decline is slowing down and densities are reaching a plateau. Significant *increases* in urban population density have not been registered in any country during the last several decades.

**Figure 6.1: Urban Expansion in a Global Sample of 30 Cities, 1900-2000**

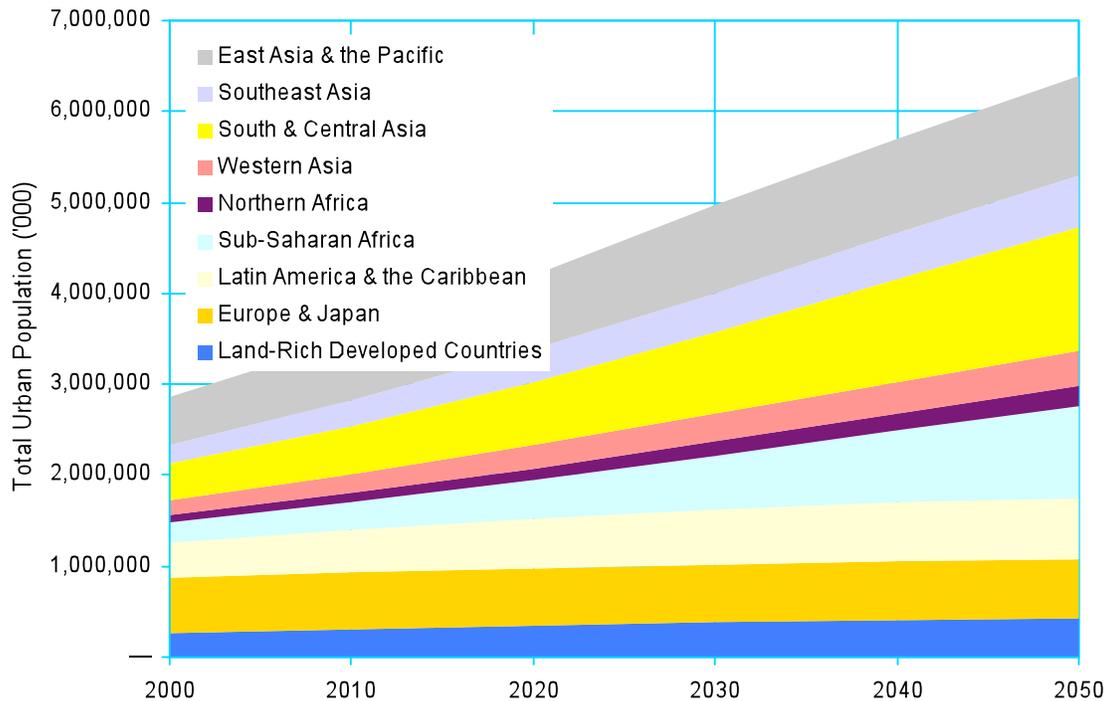


## 2. Urban Population Projections, 2000-2050

We first discuss the projected increases in the urban population in different countries and regions. Two main factors account for this projected increase: natural population growth in the country as a whole and in cities in particular, and the migration of people from the countryside to the cities. The rate of population growth has been shown to decline significantly with economic development: richer families have fewer children.

Urbanization has also gone hand in hand with economic development, with the result that urban families have fewer children than rural ones. Generally, therefore, we can expect more developed countries to be more urbanized, and to experience slower rates of rural-urban migration as well as slower rates of natural population growth in cities. In contrast, less-developed countries can be expected to be less urbanized and to experience faster rates of rural-urban migration as well as higher rates of natural population growth in cities. These trends can be observed in figure 6.2 and table 6.1 below, both of which are based on recent U.N. projections (U.N. 2008, file 3).

**Figure 6.2: Urban Population Projections for Different World Regions, 2000-2050**



*Note:* Urban population totals for each region are shown as cumulative, so that the total world urban population is seen as the sum of all regional populations.

*Source:* U.N.2008. *World Urbanization Prospects: the 2007 Revision*, File 3.

Several patterns can be observed in both figure and table. First, the world urban population is expected to increase: From 3 billion in 2000 to 5 billion in 2030 and to 6.4 billion in 2050. Second, the rate of increase of the world urban population is expected to slow down: From 2 percent per annum in 2000 to 1.65 in 2030 and to 1.14 percent in 2050. Third, the urban population in less-developed countries will grow at a rate *five times faster* than the urban population in more-developed countries. Fourth, the urban

population of the more-developed countries will stabilize at around 1 billion people. Fifth, almost all the growth in the world urban population will take place in less-developed countries: It will increase from 2 billion in 2000 to 4 billion in 2030 and to 5.5 billion in 2050. Sixth, within the less-developed countries the fastest growth in the urban population will occur in Sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South & Central Asia.

**Table 6.1: Urban Population Projections for Different World Regions, 2000-2050**

Region	Urban Population ('000)											
	Ann		Ann		Ann		Ann		Ann			
	ual	Gro	ual	Gro	ual	Gro	ual	Gro	ual	Gro		
	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth	wth		
	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate		
	2000	(%)	2010	(%)	2020	(%)	2030	(%)	2040	(%)	2050	
East Asia & the Pacific	517,80		676,08		829,87		957,03		1,047,7		1,105,2	
	8	2.67	6	2.05	7	1.43	0	0.91	71	0.53	54	
Southeast Asia	206,68		286,57		365,76		439,46		506,48		561,58	
	3	3.27	9	2.44	9	1.84	5	1.42	5	1.03	0	
South & Central Asia	406,15		522,27		685,21		897,25		1,132,0		1,368,2	
	1	2.51	0	2.72	7	2.7	0	2.32	92	1.89	96	
Western Asia	163,08		203,58		249,44		294,92		338,47		377,26	
	7	2.22	7	2.03	5	1.67	0	1.38	6	1.08	5	
Northern Africa			106,87		134,04		163,81		194,34		222,44	
		2.39	7	2.27	7	2.01	5	1.71	0	1.35	2	
Sub-Saharan Africa	210,04		304,09		430,68		593,91		790,09		1,009,6	
	6	3.7	0	3.48	5	3.21	7	2.85	9	2.45	41	
Latin America & the Caribbean	393,20		470,18		541,73		602,25		649,47		681,38	
	8	1.79	7	1.42	7	1.06	6	0.75	7	0.48	3	
Europe & Japan Land-Rich	603,13		615,65		626,19		636,61		641,59		638,84	
	4	0.21	2	0.17	6	0.17	8	0.08	7	-0.04	0	
Developed Countries	269,69		308,94		346,02		378,91		407,47		432,45	
	4	1.36	9	1.13	5	0.91	0	0.73	9	0.59	6	
Less Developed Countries	1,981,149		2,569,675		3,236,777		3,948,653		4,658,742		5,325,861	
		2.6		2.31		1.99		1.65		1.34		61
More Developed Countries	872,829		924,601		972,220		1,015,528		1,049,076		1,071,296	
		0.58		0.5		0.44		0.33		0.21		96
World	2,853,978		3,494,276		4,208,997		4,964,182		5,707,818		6,397,158	
		2.02		1.86		1.65		1.4		1.14		58

### 3. Projecting the Decline in Urban Population Density

Surely, the increases in the urban population will lead to the expansion of urban areas. Cities occupy land and city people use that land. Land in urban use includes all land in residential, commercial, industrial, and office use; land used for transport, parks, and public facilities; protected land, and vacant land. Clearly, the more people there are in cities, the more land is needed to accommodate them. The key metric for estimating *how much* land will be required to accommodate the urban population is the average urban land per capita, or more commonly its reciprocal, the *average population density* in urban areas. This measure is simply the ratio of the urban population and the actual area that the city occupies. If, for example, that density remains unchanged, then the doubling of the urban population will result in the doubling of the area of the city. If density increases, when the population of a city doubles its land area will less than double. And if density declines, when the population of a city doubles its land area will more than double.

In the past, researchers have found it difficult to compare average densities because there was considerable confusion regarding the actual *area* of the city. With the advent of satellite imagery we can now identify the built-up area of a city by its impervious surfaces (pavements, rooftops, and compacted soils). We can then measure the *built-up area density* of a city as the ratio of the population and the built-up area within an administrative boundary that contains that area.

In our previous study of densities (Angel et al, 2010), we have shown that average density in the built-up areas of a global sample of 120 cities *declined* at a mean annual rate of  $2.0 \pm 0.4$  percent between 1990 and 2000. There was no significant difference in the rate of decline between more-developed and less-developed countries. Average urban census tract densities declined at  $1.9 \pm 0.3$  percent per annum in 20 U.S. cities between 1910 and 2000. Urbanized area densities declined at the long-term annual rate of  $1.5 \pm 0.3$  percent in a global sample of 30 cities between 1890 and 2000.

Three figures from our previous study are reproduced here to illustrate the decline in density. Figure 6.3 shows that between 1990 and 2000 average built-up area densities declined in 75 out of the 88 (6 out of 7) developing-country cities, in all 16 cities in land-rich developed countries, and in all 16 cities in Europe and Japan in the global sample (all cities below the 45° line experienced a density decline). As noted earlier, during the 1990s the average rate of decline was  $2.0 \pm 0.4$  percent per annum.

**Figure 6.3: The decline in the average density of the built-up areas in a global sample of 120 cities, 1990-2000**

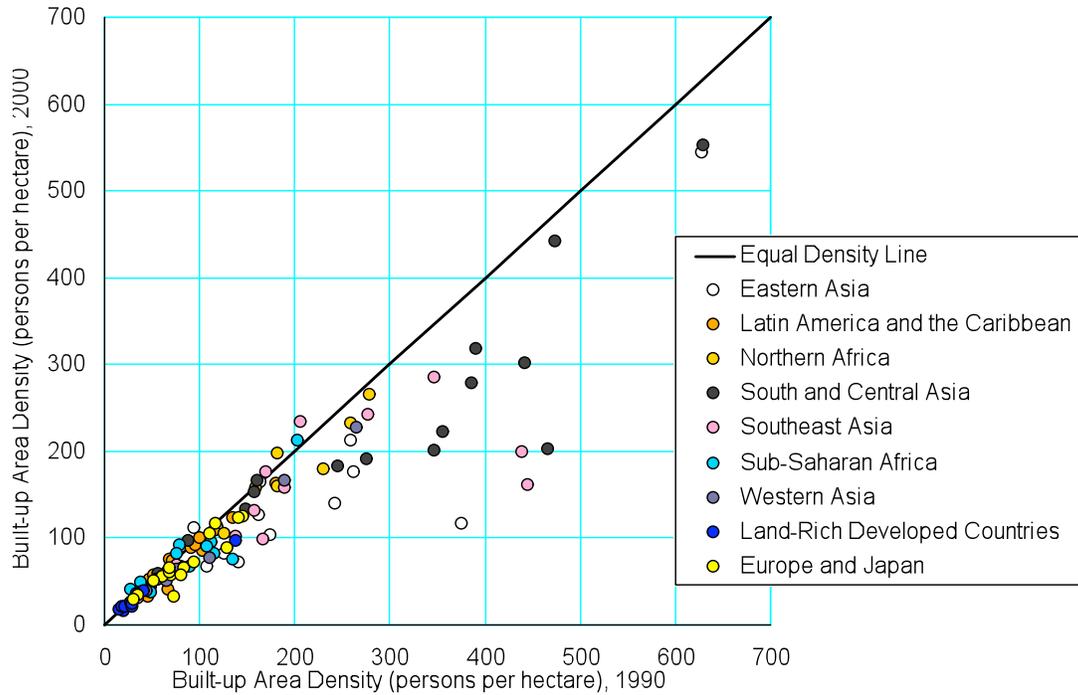


Figure 6.4 summarizes the results of our examination of the density graphs for the global sub-sample of 30 cities. Urban densities peaked, on average, in  $1894 \pm 15$  and then began to decline, and latest city in the sample to attain a density peak was Guatemala City in 1950. The average long-term annual rate of density decline from peak in the twentieth century was  $-1.5 \pm 0.3$  percent per annum.

**Figure 6.4: The decline in average density of urbanized areas in a global historical sample of 30 cities, 1800-2000**

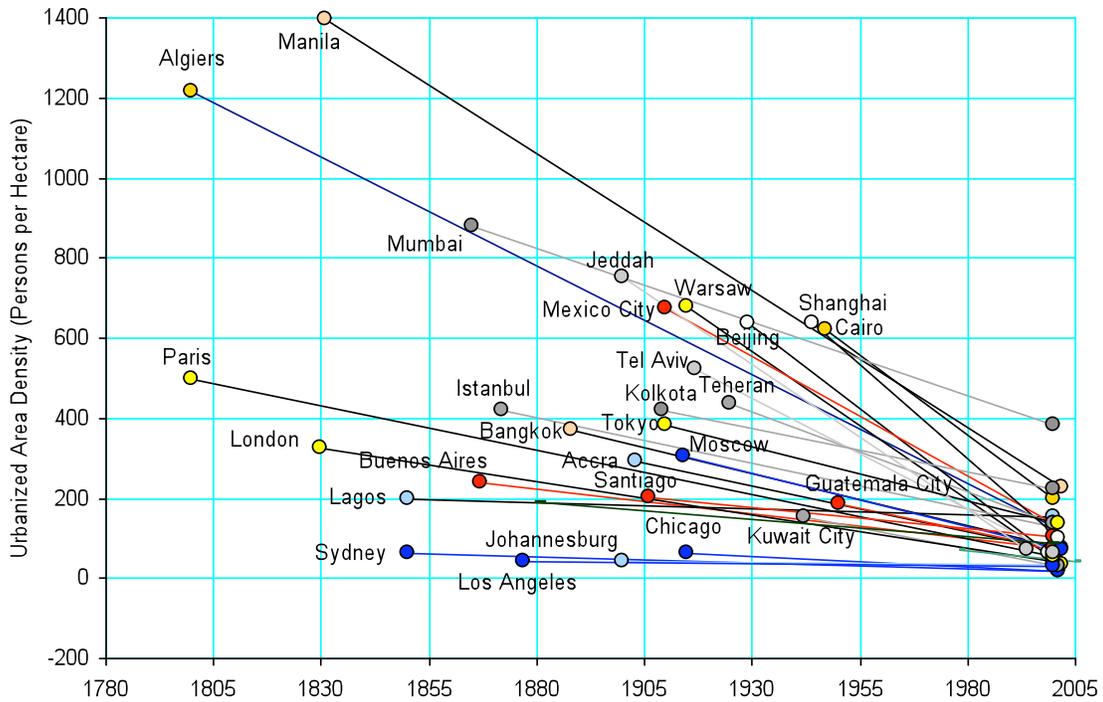
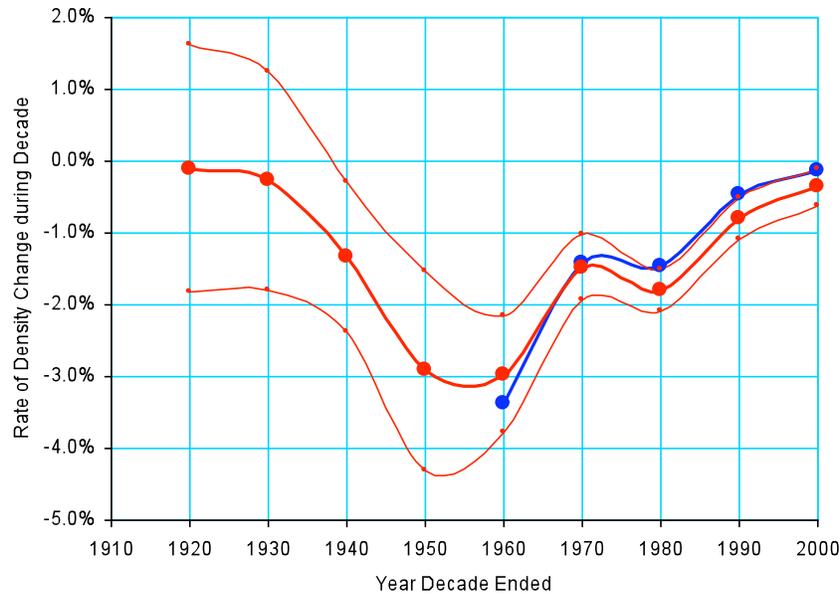


Figure 6.5 below illustrates the changing rate of decline in average tract densities in 20 U.S. cities between 1910 and 2000. Annual rates of decline in average tract density, based on two data points ten years apart, appear to have peaked in 1940s and 1950s, when they averaged 3 percent per annum and are now on the decrease: they averaged only 0.3 percent per annum in the 1990s. In fact, between 1990 and 2000 six out of 20 cities registered a modest increase in average tract density: New York, Washington, Los Angeles, St. Paul, Syracuse, and Nashville. Hence, while average densities in U.S. cities have been in general decline for almost a century, they may slowly be reaching a plateau. The points on the thick lines in figure 6.4 correspond to the average annual rate of change in density, shown on the Y-axis, for the decade ending in the year shown on the X-axis. The thin lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals for these average values. The data shown in red in the graph are for the 20 U.S. cities for which we have data from 1910 to 2000. The data shown in blue is for a larger set of 65 cities and metropolitan areas for which average tract densities could be calculated from 1950 onwards.

**Figure 6.5: Average rate of annual tract density change in 20 cities (red) and 65 cities (blue) in the U.S., 1910-2000**



Note: Thinner lines red indicate 95 percent confidence interval of average values for the 20-city data set. The blue line indicates the values for the larger 65-city data set.

Based on the results of our earlier study, we projected urban land cover in all countries based on three density scenarios:

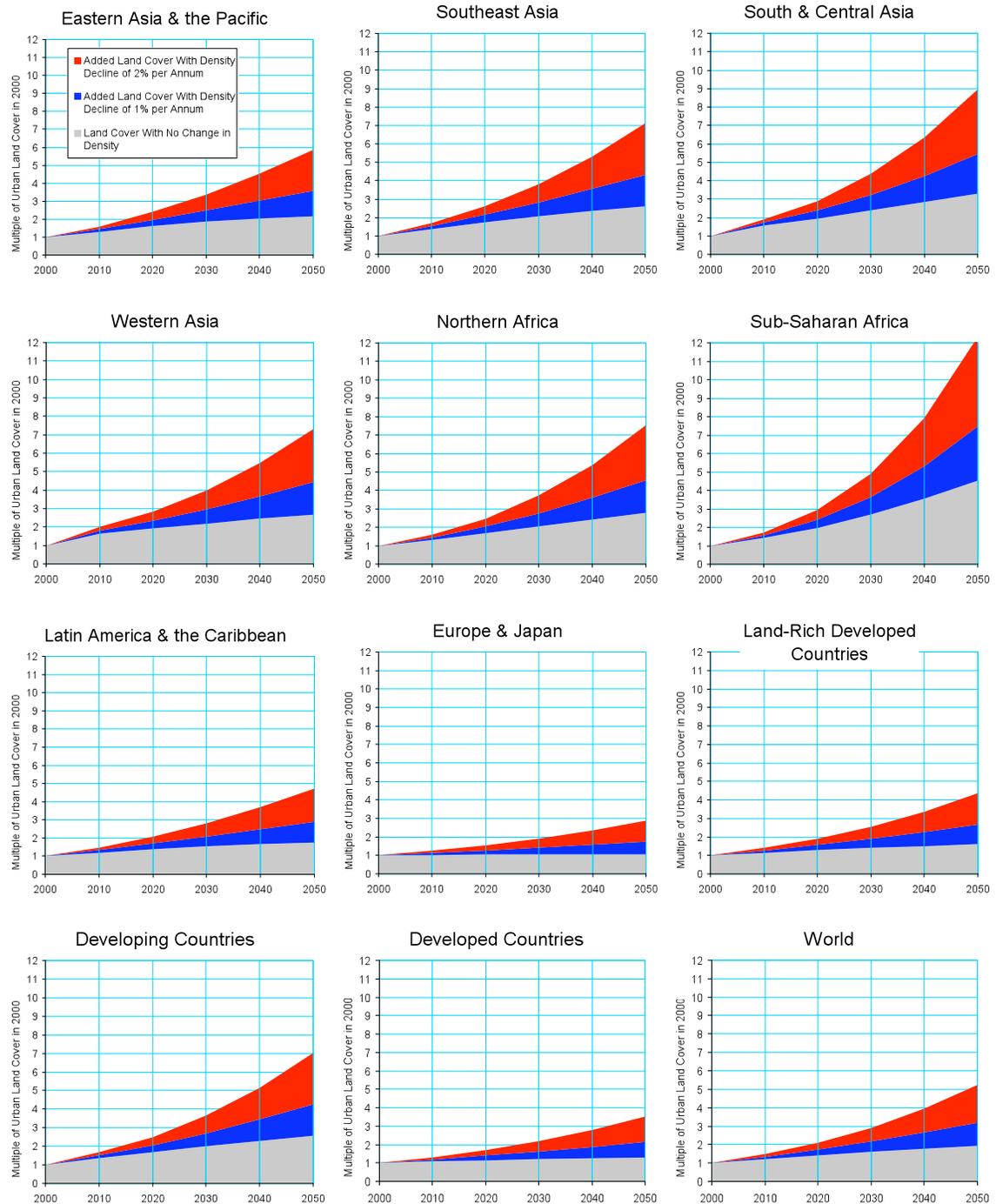
1. **High projection:** assuming a *two percent (2%) annual rate of density decline*, corresponding to the average rate of decline in our global sample of 120 cities, 1990-2000;
2. **Medium projection:** assuming a *one percent (1%) annual rate of density decline*, corresponding to (yet lower than) the long-term rate of density decline in the twentieth century observed in our historical sub-sample of 30 cities; and
3. **Low projection:** assuming constant densities, or a *zero percent (0%) annual rate of density decline*, corresponding to the observed rate of urban tract density decline in the 1990s in U.S. cities.

We have selected these three projections as the most realistic ones. Surely, it may be argued that in the future effective policies will be found for increasing urban densities, resulting in reductions of the projected urban land cover. However, no such policies have been identified in any country at the present time. On the whole, there are very few cities in the world where densities are increasing and, to the best of our knowledge, no city where densities are increasing as a result of conscious policies. We therefore urge the reader to consider our three projections as the most realistic projections at the present time. In some countries, in China and India, for example, the high projections may prove to be more appropriate, while in others, say in the United States for example, the low projection may prove to be more realistic. Low projections may also be associated with the increase in gasoline prices, because of monopolistic pricing practices, declining





**Figure 6.9: Projections of Urban Land Cover for World Regions, 2000-2050**



*Note:* The projections of urban land cover are shown as multiples of the regional urban land cover in 2000. The grey area projects urban land cover assuming average country densities remain unchanged. The blue and red areas project the added urban land cover assuming a 1% and 2% annual decline in average country densities respectively.

**Table 6.2: Projections of Urban Land Cover for World Regions, 2000-2050**

Region	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (Km <sup>2</sup> )				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
East Asia & the Pacific	52,978	0	69,225	85,086	98,329	107,916	114,154
		1	76,505	103,925	132,730	160,991	188,208
		2	84,552	126,934	179,167	240,170	310,302
Southeast Asia	34,448	0	47,520	60,166	71,641	81,848	89,952
		1	52,518	73,487	96,705	122,103	148,306
		2	58,041	89,758	130,538	182,156	244,516
South & Central Asia	59,872	0	93,434	116,653	143,282	171,123	197,324
		1	103,261	142,480	193,410	255,286	325,332
		2	114,121	174,026	261,076	380,842	536,382
Western Asia	22,714	0	37,127	43,418	49,931	55,933	61,041
		1	41,032	53,031	67,400	83,442	100,639
		2	45,347	64,772	90,981	124,480	165,926
Northern Africa	12,104	0	15,782	20,093	24,676	29,277	33,519
		1	17,441	24,542	33,309	43,677	55,263
		2	19,276	29,975	44,962	65,158	91,113
Sub-Saharan Africa	26,500	0	37,568	52,304	71,375	94,325	120,182
		1	41,519	63,884	96,347	140,716	198,147
		2	45,886	78,028	130,054	209,924	326,689
Latin America & the Caribbean	91,300	0	109,552	126,218	140,209	151,227	158,925
		1	121,074	154,164	189,262	225,605	262,023
		2	133,807	188,296	255,477	336,563	432,002
Europe & Japan	174,514	0	177,635	180,569	183,661	185,162	184,439
		1	196,318	220,547	247,917	276,230	304,089
		2	216,964	269,377	334,653	412,086	501,358
Land-Rich Developed Countries	131,447	0	150,691	168,848	184,906	198,850	211,039
		1	166,539	206,232	249,597	296,649	347,944
		2	184,054	251,892	336,920	442,549	573,663
Less Developed Countries	299,915	0	410,208	503,939	599,442	691,649	775,096
		1	453,350	615,512	809,163	1,031,819	1,277,918
		2	501,029	751,788	1,092,255	1,539,294	2,106,931
More Developed Countries	305,961	0	328,326	349,417	368,567	384,012	395,478
		1	362,856	426,779	497,513	572,879	652,033
		2	401,018	521,269	671,573	854,635	1,075,021
World	605,875	0	738,534	853,355	968,009	1,075,661	1,170,575
		1	816,206	1,042,291	1,306,676	1,604,698	1,929,951
		2	902,048	1,273,057	1,763,828	2,393,929	3,181,952

*Note:* Urban land cover in the year 2000 is taken from table 3.1 above.

To conclude this section, we note that less-developed countries are likely to experience much higher levels of urban expansion than the more-developed countries. It may be reasonable to assume that urban expansion in land-rich developed countries will be

slower, given that urban densities there are already lower and density declines may be reaching a plateau. We do note that between 1990 and 2000 densities in both land-rich developed countries and in Europe and Japan declined at the rate of 2.0 percent per annum.

If we assume that urban containment strategies in more-developed countries become much more effective in the coming decades and that densities in more-developed countries remain unchanged (low projection), urban land cover there will grow by only 20 percent between 2000 and 2030 and by 29 percent between 2000 and 2050. Urban land cover there will increase from 305,960 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 368,567 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 395,478 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. Assuming that densities in the more-developed countries decline, on average, by only 1 percent per annum (medium projection), urban land cover there will grow by 63 percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 113 percent between 2000 and 2050. Urban land cover in the more-developed countries will increase from 305,960 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 497,513 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 652,033 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. In other words, at a one percent annual decline in average densities, urban land cover in more-developed countries will double in 50 years. If incomes continue to increase relative to gasoline prices and densities continue to decline at the rate they did in the 1990s, then urban land cover in more-developed countries will more than double between 2000 and 2030, and will triple between 2000 and 2050.

The situation is likely to be even more critical in less-developed countries, where most urban population growth will take place and where urban expansion is likely to continue unabated in the absence of effective urban containment policies. Assuming that densities there decline, on average, by only 1 percent per annum (medium projection), urban land cover will grow by 170 percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 326 percent between 2000 and 2050. In other words, at the medium projection, urban land cover in less-developed countries will grow from 299,915 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 809,162 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 1,277,918 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050. Assuming that densities in less-developed countries decline, on average, by 2 percent per annum (high projection), urban land cover will grow by 264 percent between 2000 and 2030, and by 603 percent between 2000 and 2050. In other words, urban land cover in less-developed countries will grow from 299,915 km<sup>2</sup> in 2000 to 1,092,255 km<sup>2</sup> in 2030 and to 2,106,930 km<sup>2</sup> in 2050.

The implications of this massive expansion will be explored in the concluding section of this paper.

## **VII Directions for Future Research**

The availability of a new universe of named large cities and better estimates and projections of urban land cover in all countries and regions makes it possible to explore the effects of present and future urbanization and urban land cover on several important global issues. Three such issues have been identified for further study: (1) the effect of urban land cover on carbon emissions; (2) the projected loss of arable land due to urban expansion; and (3) the vulnerability of low-lying coastal cities to the rise in ocean levels. We briefly discuss the present state of our investigations into these research topics in this section.

## 1. The Effect of Urban Land Cover on Carbon Emissions

We are interested in testing the following Hypothesis:

Other things being equal, the larger the amount of land in urban use in a country, the larger the total volume of its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

It has been noted that urban areas generate intra-urban travel and the more spread out they are, the greater the number of vehicle miles traveled, and the greater the amount of carbon dioxide emissions. It has also been observed that multi-story buildings emit less carbon than single-story ones (see Dodman, 2009, for a recent review of the literature). If we can accept the above hypothesis, then we can conclude that urban land cover is a significant contributor to CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. In other words — other things being equal — the larger the amount of land in urban use in a given country, the greater the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in that country.

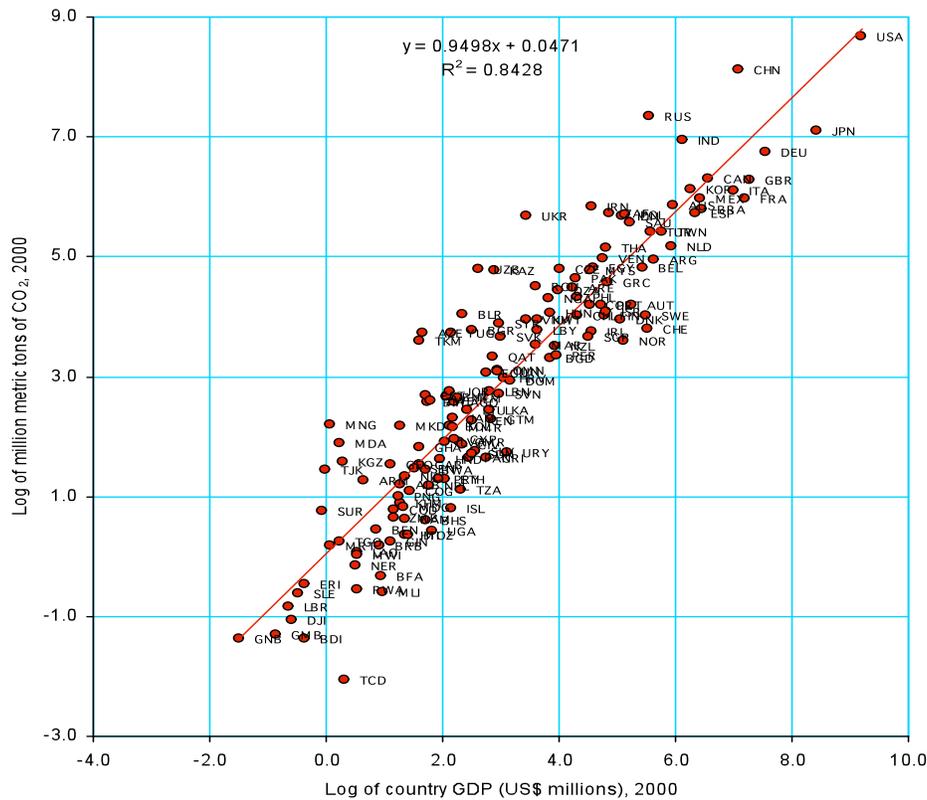
If the above hypothesis is true, then the emerging concerns with global warming and the recognized need to slow it down call for discouraging fragmented urban expansion at low densities, encouraging infill development, removing regulatory barriers to higher-density urbanization, and preparing adequate lands for urban expansion at densities that can sustain public transport.

For the first time, our research team now has estimates of the amount of land cover in each country, as well as for land cover in large cities in the year 2000. We also have data on the total amount of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the year 2000 from the World Resources Institute's website (accessed March 2010). And we can use these data, together with IMF data on the GDP of countries in the year 2000 (IMF website accessed March 2010) to test the above hypothesis.

We know that countries that are richer in terms of per capita income also have a larger share of their population in urban areas, and we should expect urban areas to use more resources per capita and therefore to generate higher levels of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per capita than rural areas. We also know from the models presented in Section V that cities in high-income countries consume more land per person than cities in low-income countries.

Before turning our attention to the effect of urban land cover on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in a given country, we can safely assert that the total volume of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from all sources is largely a function of the total volume of resource use in the country — i.e. the more resources used, the higher the level of emissions. We should therefore expect the volume of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions to be largely dependent, first and foremost, on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. This is indeed the case. Variations in GDP among 148 countries in 2000, measured in US\$, explained 84 percent of the variation in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. This is shown in figure 7.1 below and in model 1 in table 7.1 below. Model 1 suggests that a 10 percent increase in country GDP is associated with a 9.5 percent increase in total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

**Figure 7.1: CO<sub>2</sub> Emissions as a function of country GDP (in log form), 2000**



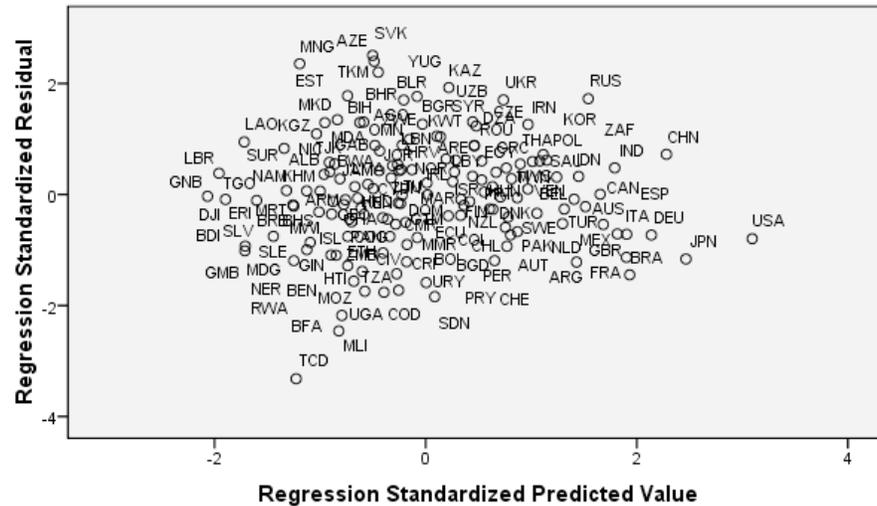
Variations in urban land cover among 152 countries in the year 2000, measured in square kilometers of the built-up areas of large cities in logarithmic form, explained 78 percent of the variations in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. This is shown in figure 7.2 below and in model 2 in table 7.1. The data suggests that a 10 percent increase in urban land cover in the country is associated with an 11.3 percent increase in total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the country.

**Table 7.1: Regression Models with Log of Total Country CO<sub>2</sub> Emissions, 2000, as a Dependent Variable**

Independent Variables	Coefficients and levels of significance		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Log of GDP (US\$ billions), 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>0.950</b> <i>0.000</i>	-	<b>0.604</b> <i>0.000</i>
Log of Urban Land Cover in Large Cities (km <sup>2</sup> ), 2000 <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	-	<b>1.126</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>0.499</b> <i>0.000</i>
Constant <i>Signif.(2-sided)</i>	<b>0.047</b> <i>0.705</i>	<b>-3.955</b> <i>0.000</i>	<b>-1.949</b> <i>0.000</i>
No. of Observations (Countries)	148	152	148
R-Squared	0.843	0.781	0.887
Adjusted R-Squared	0.842	0.779	0.885



**Figure 7.3: Scatter plot of model 3 with carbon emissions in the country as a dependent variable (in Log form)**



Model 3 needed to be checked for a multicollinearity problem because, as noted earlier, GDP and urban land cover are known to be correlated. The SPSS statistical program used to test the model indicates that the *tolerance* of the logarithm of urban land cover is 0.283 and therefore that its *variance inflation factor* (VIF), the reciprocal of tolerance, is 3.534. Several analysts suggest that a VIF value less than 4 is acceptable and indicates that there may not be a severe multicollinearity problem in the model (See, for example, Andrews, n.d.) Collinearity diagnostics in SPSS further show that no variable has a *condition index* greater than 15, also suggesting that there is no serious multicollinearity problem with model 3. This leads us to conclude with a 95 percent level of confidence that the coefficient of the logarithm of urban land cover in model 3 is significantly different from 0.

If we can be satisfied that the model presented here has no serious multicollinearity problem, then the hypothesis stated earlier must be accepted, and we must conclude that, other things being equal, the larger the urban land cover in a given country, the greater the total amount of carbon dioxide emissions in the country is likely to be.

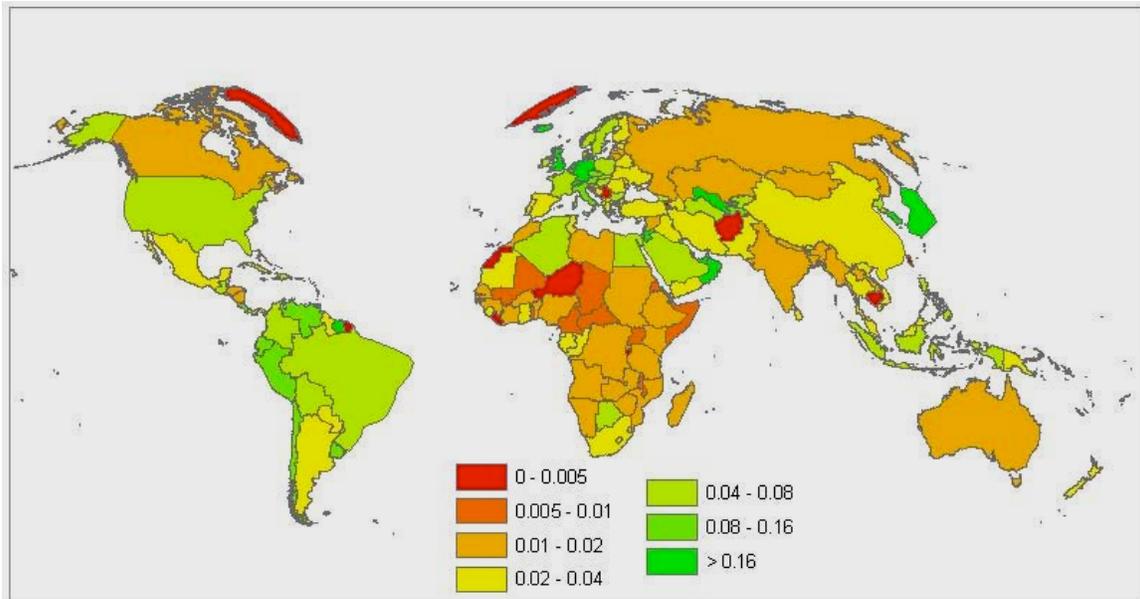
This finding, if it can be supported by further research along the lines suggested here, has serious policy implications: it suggests that, in the interest of slowing down global warming, there may be value in discouraging fragmented urban expansion at low densities, in encouraging infill development, in removing regulatory barriers to higher-density urbanization, and in preparing adequate lands for urban expansion at densities that can sustain public transport.

## **2. The Projected Loss of Arable Land Due to Urban Expansion**

Figure 7.4 below shows urban land cover as a share of the arable and permanent crop land in all countries. In the world at large, the area in urban use amounted to 3.95 percent of the arable land and permanent crop area in the year 2000. Cities thus occupied less than one twenty-fifth of the area occupied by arable land on the planet in 2000. The ratio of urban land to arable land was higher in more-developed countries (5.1%), than in less-developed countries (3.2%). Among world regions, it was highest in Latin America and

the Caribbean (5.6%) and in Europe and Japan (5.6%), and lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa (1.5%).

**Figure 7.4: Urban land cover as a share of arable land in all countries, 2000**



A visual comparison of the two maps in figure 3.6 with figure 3.5 presented earlier suggests that urban land as a share of *arable* land in a given country is correlated with urban land as a share of the *total* land area in that country. This is indeed the case: A linear regression model with the former as an independent variable and the latter as a dependent one explains more than half the variation in the latter ( $R^2=0.52$ ).

Data on the urban land as a share of arable land in all countries is presented in Annex 1. The Annex shows that among the countries that had large cities in 2000, five countries had more land in urban use than arable land: Singapore, Bahrain, Kuwait, Djibouti, and Qatar. Urban land cover in three countries was more than half the arable land cover: Puerto Rico (91%), Iceland (86%), and Belgium (50%). Urban land cover in 12 countries comprised 20 to 50 percent of arable land cover, among them the Netherlands (38%), Japan (31%), and the United Kingdom (23%). Urban land cover in 14 more countries comprised 10 to 20 percent of arable land cover, among them the Republic of Korea (18%), Venezuela (17%) and Germany (15%). Urban land in 29 additional countries comprised five to ten percent of arable land cover, among them Egypt (8%), the United States (6.3%) and Brazil (6.2%). Urban land cover in 45 more countries comprised 2 to 5 percent of arable land cover, among them Iran (4%), Argentina (4%), China (3.2%), and the Russian Federation (2.1%). Urban land cover in 35 more countries comprised 1 to 2 percent of arable land cover, among them India (1.8%) and Canada (1.7%). The 12 remaining countries had urban land cover that comprised less than one percent of arable land cover, among them Tanzania (0.9%) and Afghanistan (0.4%).

We note that the numbers presented here suggest that the common perception of cities taking up a substantial share of the arable land of countries may be exaggerated. Cities occupied less than one twenty-fifth of the area occupied by arable land on the planet in 2000. But that said, the future expansion of cities into arable lands remains a cause for

concern, particularly in countries like China that are worried about food security, i.e. producing enough food themselves to feed their own populations without relying on food imports. More generally, if massive global urban expansion is to take place in the coming decades, we must ask ourselves how much of it will displace cultivated land. The displacement of cultivated land by urban land cover will require bringing new land into cultivation where possible as well as increasing land productivity. Both will be necessary, in fact, to produce the increased amount of food that will be required to feed a growing global population, a population that is also likely to have more resources that can be spent on better foods, on more varied foods, and on foods that require a lot of land to produce them (e.g. beef).

In this paper, we projected urban land cover into the future, but we do not know how much of the projected urban expansion will displace cultivated land. We should certainly not assume that *all* the projected expansion will displace cultivated land, but since cities are often located in farming regions and are often surrounded by farmland, we can suspect that considerable amounts of farmland will be lost to urban expansion.

In our proposed research, we plan to use the MOD500 land cover map for the year 2000 as our database. This land cover map contains information on 16 different types of land cover, including several types of land cover associated with cultivated and permanent crop land. We can create equidistant buffers around every one of the 3,649 urban clusters in our universe of large cities, buffers that correspond to the projected increase in urban land cover in each cluster in every decade from 2000 to 2050, assuming that cities will expand evenly in all directions. We can then superimpose these buffers on the MOD500 land cover map to determine how much cultivated land will be lost to urban expansion in every decade, given our low, medium and high projections of the growth in urban land cover in the country. This will make it possible to obtain a first estimate of how much cultivated land will be lost in every country in every decade given our projections of urban expansion.

The projected losses of cultivated land may or may not be a cause for alarm, depending on the projected increases in population, on the projected extension of cultivation to new areas, on the loss of arable lands to desertification, flooding or abandonment, and on the increases in agricultural land productivity. The results of this proposed research will provide the quantitative data necessary for more rigorous assessments of the effects of urban expansion on the loss of farmland, a subject that often generates heated yet ill-informed debate.

### **3. The Vulnerability of Low-Lying Coastal Cities to the Rise in Ocean Levels**

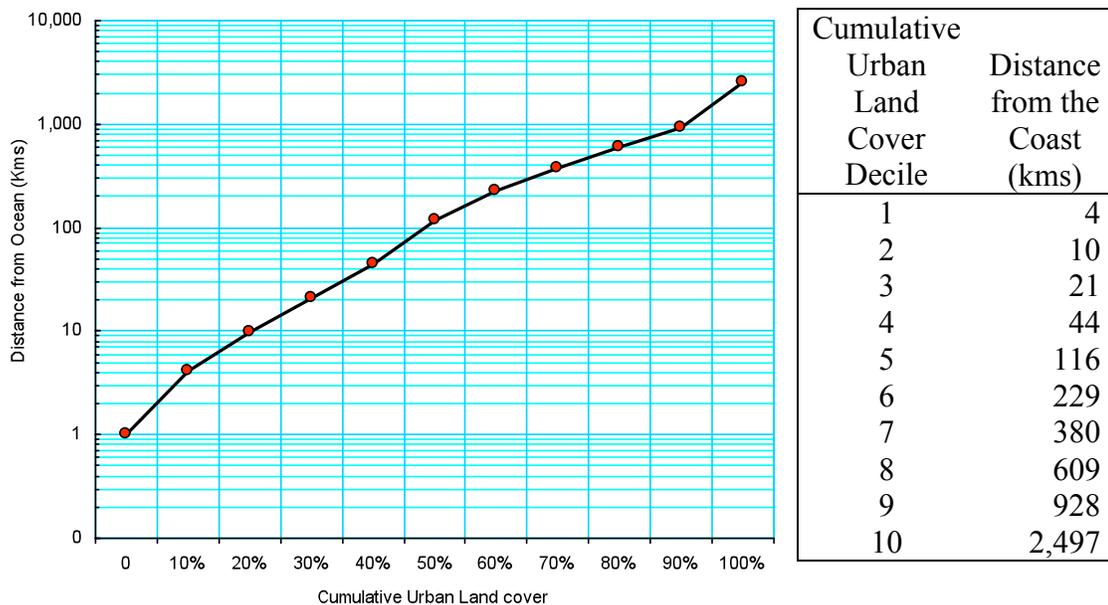
The most reliable assessment to-date of the amount of land in urban use that is located in the Low Elevation Coastal Zone (LE CZ) is the work of McGranahan, Balk and Anderson (2007). The authors define the zone as “land area contiguous with the coastline up to a 10-metre rise in elevation” (21). They estimate urban land cover in the zone in the year 2000 to be of the order of 279,000 km<sup>2</sup>, and the cities in the zone to house some 360 million people (table 1, 24). They use the GRUMP urban land cover map discussed earlier in Section I to estimate urban land cover. They use the *Shuttle Radar Topography Mission* (SRTM) elevation dataset (NASA, 2003) to distinguish a 10-meter rise in elevation above sea level. They do acknowledge that “[s]ea-level rise is not expected to

reach anything like 10 metres above the current mid-tide elevations, at least in the foreseeable future”, and that “the principal reason for choosing this elevation is that estimates based on elevations below 10 metres could not be considered globally reliable.” (2007, 21-22). As noted earlier in our paper, Potere *et al* found the GRUMP map, which is based on night lights, to be quite inaccurate. Its estimation of global ‘urban’ land cover, 3,532,000 km<sup>2</sup> is more than five times the estimate of the MOD500 map, 657,000 km<sup>2</sup>. We consider both the 10-meter elevation bracket and the GRUMP global urban map to be insufficiently accurate for assessing the vulnerability of low-lying coastal cities to rising ocean levels in a rigorous manner.

Our global urban land cover map identifies 3,649 named large cities and associates each one with its population and its urban land cover. We conjecture that it can provide a better estimate of the population and urban land cover in low-lying coastal areas than the GRUMP map. It is more difficult to determine the elevation of low-lying cities so as to assess their vulnerability to the rise of ocean levels. This requires the employment of the SRTM elevation model in a more sensitive manner to determine the elevation of cities with the accuracy of one meter or less. We believe that it is possible to assemble better elevation data if we can restrict it to the smaller, well-defined areas of named large cities.

For now, we can easily determine the distance of the centroids of named large cities from the coast to inquire how much urban land cover is located at what distance from the ocean. The total urban land cover of large cities in 2000 was 339,840 km<sup>2</sup> (table 3.1). We have calculated the cumulative land cover in deciles in the following figure 7.5.

**Figure 7.5: Cumulative Urban Land Cover as a Function of Distance from the Ocean, 2000**



The figure shows that 10 percent of global urban land cover in large cities is located within 4 kilometers from the coast, 20 percent within 10 kilometers, 30 percent within 21 kilometers, and 50 percent within 116 kilometers. Even though low-lying lands in river deltas often extend more than 100 kilometers from the coast, we can assume that most low-lying cities will be closer than 40 kilometers from the ocean. In terms of orders of

magnitude, we expect the urban land cover in large cities that are closer than 40 kilometers from the coast to be of the order of 136,000 km<sup>2</sup>. We can add an estimated 86,000 km<sup>2</sup> of land cover for small cities within 40 kilometers of the coast using the model described in Section II, to obtain an estimated total urban land cover of 222,000 km<sup>2</sup> within 40 kilometers of the coast. In a future research project, we aim to use our new global map of urban land cover and a better elevation dataset to assess more accurately how much of the urban land cover identified in the year 2000 is vulnerable to the projected increases in ocean levels between 2000 and 2050.

To conclude, our new urban land cover map of 3,649 named large cities and our new estimates of urban land cover in all countries and world regions provides us with a research instrument for investigating a set of issues that are directly related to urban land cover, its consequences, and its implications. As the next stage of our investigation, we intend to pursue these issues further. They may shed important light on the social, economic, and environmental consequences of the projected global urban expansion in the years to come. For now, we can only speculate on what these consequences might be and ponder the policy implications of the coming transformation of our world into a planet of cities. We now turn to the outline of these policy implications in the concluding section of this paper.

### **VIII Conclusion: Making Room for a Planet of Cities**

The forces driving global urban expansion — population growth, urbanization, rising per capita incomes, cheap agricultural lands, efficient transport, and the proliferation of informal settlements — are formidable. Accordingly, absent a highly effective policy intervention or a very steep increase in gasoline prices, there is little reason for urban expansion at declining densities to come to a halt anytime soon.

In this paper, we have sought to provide a quantitative dimension to future urban expansion, so as to present what we believe to be the necessary information for an intelligent discussion of plans and policies to manage urban expansion, whether to reverse it, contain it, guide it, or let it be. Our main concern is with the developing countries, where most urban population growth (and most urban expansion) will take place in coming decades. The availability of reliable information regarding the amount of land that is likely to be needed to accommodate the growing population of many cities in the developing countries is clearly necessary for informed decision-making at the present time.

Our paper offers a practical starting point for an urban planning strategy based on making a realistic assessment of the lands that will be needed to accommodate projected population growth. Given the rapid pace of urban growth, it also calls for a type of planning that is minimalist in nature, focused on making the absolute minimum preparations for urban expansion now instead of spending years planning for that expansion while it is taking place.

Such minimal preparation calls for plans that have three simple components (see Angel 2008): (1) designating the areas for the planned expansion of the city or metropolitan agglomeration, areas that make available at least 20 years and preferably 30 years of land

supply, given realistic population and density projections; (2) planning the arterial road (and infrastructure) grid into the expansion area with approximately one-kilometer between parallel roads of 25-30 meter width that can carry public transport, and acquiring the right-of-way for these roads now through regulatory takings or eminent domain); and (3) identifying high-priority open spaces in the expansion area that need to be protected aggressively from urban development and creating the institutional and financial mechanisms for ensuring that they remain open in the face of pressure, be it by the formal or the informal sector, to occupy them.

Our recommended strategy thus rejects any planning agenda for cities, especially those in developing countries, that takes the need for urban containment as a given. The refusal to plan for urban expansion at realistic densities as a matter of principle, in the belief that it should not occur, in the hope that it will not occur, or in fear of the ire of those who oppose it, may be a costly mistake.

That said, allowing densities in developing-country cities to decline to the very low levels now prevalent in the U.S., for example, may be a detrimental error too. Urban densities in developing-country cities — now averaging more than *four times* those of the U.S. — must remain within a range that can support public transport so as to limit carbon emissions, and that can allow cities to accommodate their expected population growth while keeping housing plentiful and affordable and while conserving land and energy. This may sometimes call for densification and sometimes for decongestion. Our main concern is that densification, as a goal, as a trend, or as a hope, should not be *assumed*. In fact, given the preponderance of evidence to the contrary, planning for urban expansion in developing countries assuming that density decline will persist for some time may be more realistic and more appropriate. Average urban densities in developing-countries are typically much higher than those in U.S. and European cities, and increasing their densities by containing urban expansion may incur substantial social costs:

What is the sense, it is frequently asked, of further densification given that densities are already high and associated with a range of problems including infrastructure overload, overcrowding, congestion, air pollution, severe health hazards, lack of public and green space and environmental degradation? (18).

Indeed, densities in poor parts of many developing-country cities are as high, or even higher, than those existing in the overcrowded cities in Europe and the U.S. in the late 19th century, where lower densities were strongly advocated in the name of public health and safety. That said, in most parts of developing-country cities densities are not stifling but certainly high enough to support public transport (i.e. more than 30 p/ha within walking distance of stations, see Pushkarev and Zupan, 1982), a key threshold for making cities more sustainable.

We believe that the adoption of the urban containment ideology in developing countries may be counter-productive at the present time. It may lead to estimates of land needs and infrastructure investments that are insufficient for, say, 20-30 years of planned expansion at realistically projected densities. Cities may thus continue to expand in an unplanned fashion, failing to guide development in more desirable directions, failing to protect even a limited selection of high-priority open spaces from development, creating land supply

bottlenecks that keep the cost of land and housing out of reach for the urban poor, and failing to secure the necessary rights-of-way for the arterial roads that can eventually carry public transport into newly-inhabited areas. It may indeed be more realistic and more sensible for the rapidly-growing cities in developing countries to refrain from curbing sprawl, to assume instead that densities can continue to decline slowly while remaining sustainable, and to make adequate room for their projected expansion.

Surely, the containment of urban expansion may yet occur. Cities cannot and will not expand indefinitely and are likely to continue to occupy a very small share of total land cover, now of the order of less than one-half-of-one-percent. The search for cost-effective and politically-acceptable infrastructure strategies, regulations, and tax regimes that can lead to the significant containment of low-density cities, so as to make them more sustainable, must continue. In parallel, appropriate strategies for managing urban expansion at sustainable densities in rapidly-growing developing-country cities must be identified and effectively employed. No matter how we choose to act, however, we should remain aware that conscious and conscientious efforts to contain urban expansion in developing countries where the population of cities is still growing at rapid rates and where densities are still sustainable may be both unrealistic and counterproductive at the present time.

\* \* \*

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## Annex I: Urban Land Cover in All Countries and Regions, 2000

Country/ Region	Label	Large Cities			Total Urban Population	Total Urban Land cover (Hectares)	Urban Land Cover as Percent of Total Land Area	Urban Land Cover as Percent of Total Arable Land
		Number of Large Cities	Total Population in Large Cities	Urban Land Cover in Large Cities (Hectares)				
Eastern Asia & Pacific	EAP	891	458,050,151	4,221,754	513,609,025	5,297,771	0.45%	3.39%
American Samoa	ASM	0	0	0	51,100	985	4.93%	19.70%
China	CHN	830	412,484,124	3,814,557	459,132,808	4,716,891	0.51%	3.17%
Fiji	FJI	0	0	0	385,858	7,439	0.41%	2.61%
French Polynesia	PYF	0	0	0	123,729	2,385	0.65%	10.37%
Guam	GUM	0	0	0	144,450	2,785	5.16%	23.21%
Kiribati	KIR	0	0	0	36,129	697	0.86%	1.88%
Korea, Dem. Rep.	PRK	24	8,462,587	65,620	13,813,603	152,408	1.27%	5.44%
Korea, Rep.	ROK	33	35,850,754	317,933	37,418,368	347,011	3.51%	18.09%
Marshall Islands	MHL	0	0	0	35,081	676	3.76%	6.76%
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	FSM	0	0	0	23,882	460	0.66%	1.28%
Mongolia	MNG	1	764,000	10,822	1,357,268	28,398	0.02%	2.41%
New Caledonia	NCL	1	133,686	3,206	133,686	3,206	0.18%	32.06%
Northern Mariana Islands	NMI	0	0	0	62,214	1,199	2.61%	
Palau	PLW	0	0	0	13,371	258	0.56%	4.30%
Papua New Guinea	PNG	2	355,000	9,617	710,321	29,750	0.07%	3.48%
Samoa	WSM	0	0	0	37,893	731	0.26%	0.58%
Solomon Islands	SLB	0	0	0	65,222	1,257	0.04%	1.70%
Tonga	TON	0	0	0	22,872	441	0.61%	1.70%
Vanuatu	VUT	0	0	0	41,170	794	0.07%	0.76%
Southeast Asia	SEA	196	107,298,112	1,288,295	205,501,689	3,444,829	0.85%	3.64%
Brunei Darussalam	BRN	0	0	0	237,096	5,058	0.96%	38.91%
Cambodia	KHM	2	1,247,964	5,572	2,159,747	12,806	0.07%	0.34%
Indonesia	IDN	77	39,896,940	557,895	86,631,300	1,719,044	0.95%	5.12%
Lao PDR	LAO	3	903,100	6,325	1,188,718	9,879	0.04%	1.03%

Malaysia	MYS	24	12,793,034	190,786	14,429,641	234,152	0.71%	3.08%
Myanmar	MMR	15	6,508,800	51,737	12,847,522	141,260	0.21%	1.35%
Philippines	PHL	31	17,656,929	164,159	45,448,281	623,249	2.09%	5.85%
Singapore	SGP	1	4,106,000	37,886	4,106,000	37,886	56.55%	1894.30%
Thailand	THA	17	9,750,212	193,136	19,389,862	532,408	1.04%	2.77%
Timor-Leste	TMP	0	0	0	198,120	4,227	0.28%	2.26%
Vietnam	VNM	26	14,435,133	80,800	18,865,402	124,861	4.01%	1.53%
<b>South &amp; Central Asia</b>								
Afghanistan	AFG	12	4,361,209	28,950	4,413,250	29,600	0.05%	0.37%
Bangladesh	BGD	20	17,528,374	54,821	33,220,991	147,282	1.13%	1.74%
Bhutan	BTN	0	0	0	142,538	2,779	0.06%	1.74%
India	IND	337	187,637,190	1,550,107	281,410,671	3,009,533	1.01%	1.77%
Iran, Islamic Rep.	IRN	61	27,351,088	346,684	41,048,611	673,769	0.41%	4.13%
Kazakhstan	KAZ	19	5,298,397	118,176	8,379,467	247,639	0.09%	1.14%
Kyrgyz Republic	KGZ	2	977,520	28,441	1,740,016	70,236	0.37%	5.05%
Maldives	MDV	0	0	0	75,615	1,474	4.91%	16.38%
Nepal	NPL	4	1,121,680	9,057	3,272,186	41,771	0.29%	1.72%
Pakistan	PAN	56	33,796,439	316,760	45,842,560	529,459	0.69%	2.41%
Sri Lanka	LKA	4	1,529,118	20,718	2,938,053	56,682	0.88%	2.97%
Tajikistan	TJK	2	711,000	38,596	1,635,816	133,173	0.95%	12.59%
Turkmenistan	TKM	5	1,273,050	36,466	2,061,980	79,040	0.17%	4.13%
Uzbekistan	UZB	17	5,461,794	421,738	9,194,450	964,718	2.27%	19.99%
<b>Western Asia</b>								
Armenia	ARM	3	1,361,799	32,615	2,002,353	65,449	2.32%	11.69%
Azerbaijan	AZE	3	2,360,100	27,581	4,120,850	71,620	0.87%	3.58%
Bahrain	BHR	1	400,000	11,833	574,671	22,891	32.24%	381.52%
Cyprus	CYP	2	366,386	14,156	539,429	28,466	3.08%	20.33%
Georgia	GEO	5	1,664,782	26,828	2,487,472	55,202	0.79%	5.20%
Iraq	IRQ	22	13,694,054	172,305	16,992,574	261,132	0.60%	4.50%
Israel	ISR	8	4,634,250	46,707	5,748,146	70,734	3.27%	16.68%
Jordan	JOR	2	1,922,435	41,285	3,756,442	125,581	1.42%	31.47%
Kuwait	KWT	2	2,063,900	36,079	2,150,580	39,322	2.21%	327.68%
Lebanon	LBN	4	2,107,100	20,551	3,244,163	44,287	4.33%	13.34%
Oman	OMN	3	984,743	14,710	1,719,964	38,215	0.12%	47.77%
Qatar	QAT	1	500,000	26,763	585,359	36,542	3.32%	174.01%
Saudi Arabia	SAU	21	14,790,842	245,732	16,487,241	306,052	0.15%	8.09%
Syrian Arab Republic	SYR	10	6,683,781	66,669	8,519,604	105,861	0.58%	1.98%
Turkey	TUR	55	28,759,289	411,953	42,999,347	848,511	1.10%	3.22%
United Arab Emirates	ARE	4	2,390,741	66,600	2,526,336	74,684	0.89%	30.24%
West Bank and Gaza	WBG	4	1,864,567	8,154	2,083,474	10,203	16.95%	4.42%
Yemen, Rep.	YEM	7	3,004,450	29,394	4,781,796	66,610	0.13%	3.99%
<b>Northern Africa</b>								
Algeria	DZA	33	8,251,392	111,024	18,242,620	341,628	4.17%	0.14%

Egypt, Arab Rep.	EGY	27	19,763,413	138,851	29,894,036	260,941	7.93%	0.26%
Libya	LBY	14	4,670,480	44,089	4,670,480	44,089	2.05%	0.03%
Morocco	MAR	20	10,790,401	80,720	15,172,229	136,949	1.42%	0.31%
Sudan	SDN	14	6,784,955	111,012	12,600,333	274,226	1.65%	0.12%
Tunisia	TUN	6	2,632,758	47,159	6,063,259	152,564	3.06%	0.98%
Western Sahara	WBG	1	173,214	1,377		0	0.00%	0.00%
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	<b>SSA</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>131,601,450</b>	<b>1,277,827</b>	<b>207,570,819</b>	<b>2,649,953</b>	<b>0.12%</b>	<b>1.49%</b>
Angola	AGO	5	3,125,568	16,624	6,996,964	57,528	0.05%	1.74%
Benin	BEN	3	1,018,122	21,426	2,550,524	85,489	0.77%	3.23%
Botswana	BWA	2	383,850	7,100	919,760	26,790	0.05%	7.05%
Burkina Faso	BFA	2	1,355,457	19,470	1,972,374	37,074	0.14%	0.90%
Burundi	BDI	1	315,000	2,151	537,228	5,167	0.20%	0.39%
Cameroon	CMR	14	5,358,800	34,464	7,914,528	67,115	0.14%	0.94%
Cape Verde	CPV	0	0	0	240,768	4,649	1.15%	9.89%
<b>Central African Republic</b>	<b>CAF</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>584,024</b>	<b>4,518</b>	<b>1,452,758</b>	<b>17,868</b>	<b>0.03%</b>	<b>0.88%</b>
Chad	TCO	2	747,700	7,030	1,980,911	30,062	0.02%	0.85%
Comoros	COM	0	0	0	151,832	2,932	1.58%	2.26%
Congo, Dem. Rep.	COD	23	11,600,482	75,174	15,105,239	120,291	0.05%	1.54%
Congo, Rep.	COG	2	1,491,600	15,447	1,769,701	21,168	0.06%	3.92%
Cote d'Ivoire	CIV	9	5,239,416	46,104	7,517,443	85,926	0.27%	1.26%
Djibouti	DJI	1	464,047	1,355	607,870	2,190	0.09%	218.99%
<b>Equatorial Guinea</b>	<b>GNQ</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>205,206</b>	<b>3,962</b>	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>1.72%</b>
Eritrea	ERI	1	480,681	3,421	655,805	5,896	0.06%	1.05%
Ethiopia	ETH	4	2,981,230	21,806	9,761,679	120,328	0.12%	1.13%
Gabon	GAB	2	628,238	6,562	987,961	14,026	0.05%	2.83%
Gambia, The	GMB	1	322,000	4,066	639,188	12,023	1.20%	4.15%
Ghana	GHA	5	2,861,038	52,824	8,592,894	263,057	1.16%	4.31%
Guinea	GIN	3	1,582,005	10,327	2,598,902	23,513	0.10%	1.47%
Guinea-Bissau	GNB	1	274,257	1,958	387,218	3,560	0.13%	0.65%
Kenya	KEN	5	3,607,134	26,935	6,156,617	64,754	0.11%	1.28%
Lesotho	LSO	0	0	0	377,102	7,281	0.24%	2.18%
Liberia	LBR	1	693,877	1,119	1,533,664	3,808	0.04%	0.64%
Madagascar	MDG	6	2,124,396	16,665	4,139,623	48,071	0.08%	1.37%
Malawi	MWI	2	991,800	9,254	1,766,752	23,618	0.25%	1.05%
Mali	MLI	4	1,476,500	18,671	2,791,173	51,697	0.04%	1.11%
Mauritania	MRT	1	604,721	8,390	1,026,461	20,015	0.02%	4.00%
Mauritius	MUS	0	0	0	506,795	9,785	4.82%	9.23%
Mozambique	MOZ	9	2,705,495	17,541	5,585,618	54,635	0.07%	1.32%
Namibia	NAM	1	233,529	3,033	608,944	12,721	0.02%	1.55%
Niger	NER	3	1,070,592	8,520	1,802,080	20,083	0.02%	0.14%
Nigeria	NGA	60	33,464,929	214,773	53,028,358	464,192	0.51%	1.50%
Rwanda	RWA	1	523,232	4,970	1,098,176	15,818	0.64%	1.38%
Sao Tome and Principe	STP	0	0	0	74,830	1,445	1.51%	2.83%

Sao Tome and Principe	STP	0	0	0	74,830	1,445	1.51%	2.83%
Senegal	SEN	7	2,943,703	19,649	4,020,126	33,922	0.18%	1.41%
Seychelles	SYC	0	0	0	41,377	799	1.74%	11.41%
Sierra Leone	SLE	3	1,031,909	7,465	1,501,003	14,207	0.20%	2.58%
Somalia	SOM	7	2,259,558	11,130	2,342,285	11,940	0.02%	1.12%
South Africa	ZAF	37	23,019,165	431,530	25,036,000	506,638	0.42%	3.22%
Swaziland	SWZ	0	0	0	251,568	4,857	0.28%	2.54%
Tanzania	TZA	13	6,922,130	38,683	7,611,283	46,334	0.05%	0.93%
Togo	TGO	1	730,000	5,249	1,915,332	22,182	0.41%	0.84%
Uganda	UGA	1	1,111,000	16,738	2,956,374	71,967	0.37%	1.01%
Zambia	ZMB	7	2,607,612	34,964	3,642,613	62,532	0.08%	1.18%
Zimbabwe	ZWE	5	2,666,653	30,720	4,209,912	66,038	0.17%	1.97%
<b>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</b>								
	LAC	403	258,850,283	4,328,029	390,328,849	9,123,262	0.45%	5.63%
Antigua and Barbuda	ATG	0	0	0	24,647	856	1.94%	8.56%
Argentina	ARG	28	23,348,097	616,783	33,243,037	1,159,555	0.42%	4.03%
Aruba	ABW	0	0	0	42,337	1,373	7.63%	68.63%
Bahamas, The	BHS	1	210,832	3,141	248,583	4,309	0.43%	39.17%
Barbados	BRB	0	0	0	91,351	3,172	7.38%	18.66%
Belize	BLZ	0	0	0	119,404	4,146	0.18%	4.19%
Bermuda	BMU	0	0	0	62,131	2,157	43.14%	215.71%
Bolivia	BOL	7	3,635,538	89,390	5,139,688	166,186	0.15%	5.31%
Brazil	BRA	127	88,221,523	1,796,758	141,429,651	4,046,935	0.48%	6.21%
Cayman Islands	CYM	0	0	0	40,200	1,396	5.37%	139.57%
Chile	CHI	18	9,437,057	180,660	13,238,762	331,781	0.44%	14.44%
Colombia	COL	26	20,513,520	167,982	28,682,101	306,880	0.28%	6.75%
Costa Rica	CRI	2	1,115,004	27,215	2,317,990	88,185	1.73%	16.80%
Cuba	CUB	12	4,416,417	40,415	8,423,401	116,556	1.06%	2.91%
Dominica	DMA	0	0	0	50,713	1,761	2.35%	9.27%
Dominican Republic	DOM	8	3,148,573	36,626	5,456,245	92,366	1.91%	5.79%
Ecuador	ECU	14	5,385,050	139,072	7,420,243	248,212	0.90%	8.33%
El Salvador	SLV	4	1,762,459	15,225	3,472,065	45,892	2.21%	5.16%
Grenada	GRD	0	0	0	31,127	1,081	3.18%	9.82%
Guatemala	GTM	2	1,020,267	19,621	5,064,462	181,115	1.67%	9.22%
Guyana	GUY	0	0	0	216,290	7,509	0.04%	1.47%
Haiti	HTI	2	1,880,459	9,445	3,051,930	21,662	0.79%	1.97%
Honduras	HND	3	1,459,402	9,336	2,750,848	26,491	0.24%	1.86%
Jamaica	JAM	2	866,983	18,588	1,341,303	39,704	3.67%	13.98%
Mexico	MEX	82	57,809,811	526,204	73,180,602	816,721	0.42%	2.99%
Nicaragua	NIC	2	1,162,200	8,933	2,794,190	34,980	0.29%	1.63%
Panama	PAN	3	1,165,969	20,847	1,941,066	49,623	0.67%	7.21%
Paraguay	PRY	2	1,732,000	41,135	2,956,486	101,521	0.26%	3.46%
Peru	PER	18	11,928,757	190,721	18,384,943	405,061	0.32%	9.45%
Puerto Rico	PRI	7	3,313,968	63,079	3,608,435	74,717	8.42%	91.12%
St. Kitts and Nevis	SKN	0	0	0	1,000	1,000	0.00%	0.00%

St. Lucia	LCA	0	0	0	43,679	1,516	2.49%	8.42%
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	VCT	0	0	0	47,889	1,663	4.26%	11.88%
Suriname	SUR	1	225,000	7,014	336,824	14,251	0.09%	21.27%
Trinidad and Tobago	TTO	0	0	0	140,459	4,877	0.95%	4.00%
Uruguay	URY	1	1,285,000	34,229	3,013,674	129,843	0.74%	9.18%
Venezuela, RB	VEN	31	13,806,397	265,611	21,806,967	585,214	0.66%	17.19%
Virgin Islands (U.S.)	VIR	0	0	0	100,600	3,493	99.79%	116.42%
Europe & Japan	EJ	799	400,896,460	8,587,123	602,418,651	17,458,129	0.76%	5.45%
Albania	ALB	1	343,078	3,163	1,279,171	19,790	0.72%	2.83%
Andorra	AND	0	0	0	61,404	2,535	5.39%	253.51%
Austria	AUT	5	2,823,802	82,872	5,271,607	221,299	2.68%	15.05%
Belarus	BLR	15	4,663,387	80,277	6,993,495	157,570	0.76%	2.52%
Belgium	BEL	11	5,278,608	191,646	9,954,692	518,789	17.16%	58.75%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	BIH	2	557,786	9,079	1,595,626	41,630	0.81%	3.78%
Bulgaria	BGR	9	2,594,382	64,951	5,553,340	207,696	1.88%	5.50%
Channel Islands	CNL	0	0	0	44,748	1,847	9.72%	0.00%
Croatia	HRV	3	1,024,218	19,367	2,460,856	71,714	1.28%	4.52%
Czech Republic	CZE	6	2,241,782	84,507	7,602,242	473,887	6.13%	14.28%
Denmark	DNK	4	1,580,375	42,533	4,542,080	196,130	4.62%	8.57%
Estonia	EST	2	501,624	9,509	950,442	25,904	0.61%	3.03%
Faeroe Islands	FRO	0	0	0	16,607	686	0.49%	0.00%
Finland	FIN	7	2,095,558	34,022	3,162,657	67,406	0.22%	3.08%
France	FRA	50	26,640,456	666,380	44,642,802	1,534,108	2.79%	7.83%
Germany	DEU	73	49,475,305	1,308,317	60,095,510	1,849,484	5.30%	15.39%
Greece	GRC	6	4,555,343	71,921	6,517,748	131,624	1.02%	3.42%
Greenland	GNL	0	0	0	45,859	1,893	0.00%	0.00%
Hungary	HUN	9	2,975,232	93,865	6,596,287	314,003	3.50%	6.54%
Iceland	ISL	1	171,792	3,055	259,082	6,046	0.06%	86.37%
Ireland	IRL	2	1,175,400	19,836	2,248,991	54,748	0.79%	5.07%
Isle of Man	IOM	0	0	0	39,674	1,638	2.87%	0.00%
Italy	ITA	43	20,376,028	614,672	38,269,459	1,654,811	5.63%	14.67%
Japan	JPN	103	84,524,753	1,513,145	84,524,753	1,513,145	4.15%	31.33%
Kosovo	KOS	2	302,322	4,539		0	0.00%	0.00%
Latvia	LVA	2	876,265	14,242	1,615,332	37,390	0.60%	2.00%
Liechtenstein	LIE	0	0	0	4,929	203	1.27%	5.09%
Lithuania	LTU	5	1,367,816	22,288	2,344,683	52,962	0.84%	1.77%
Luxembourg	LUX	0	0	0	365,619	15,095	5.83%	23.96%
Macedonia, FYR	MKD	2	602,673	11,123	1,263,827	34,636	1.36%	5.78%
Malta	MLT	0	0	0	360,360	13,990	43.72%	155.45%
Moldova	MDA	4	1,016,359	23,558	1,828,715	59,841	1.82%	2.78%
Monaco	MNO	0	0	0	32,009	1,322	0.00%	0.00%

Montenegro	MGO	1	130,875	2,560	386,467	12,195	0.88%	0.00%
Netherlands	NLD	19	9,488,207	232,480	12,230,731	361,966	10.68%	38.34%
Netherlands Antilles	ANT	0	0	0	162,960	6,728	8.41%	84.10%
Norway	NOR	5	1,362,667	17,616	3,417,651	68,808	0.23%	7.79%
Poland	POL	33	14,131,727	355,432	23,725,968	820,424	2.70%	5.73%
Portugal	PRT	6	3,690,582	50,871	5,562,837	100,602	1.10%	4.00%
Romania	ROU	25	6,742,471	133,451	12,007,005	334,239	1.46%	3.37%
Russian Federation	RUS	160	68,282,067	1,234,228	107,386,402	2,596,262	0.16%	2.06%
San Marino	SMR	0	0	0	25,179	1,040	17.33%	103.95%
Serbia	YUG	5	1,736,400	39,414	3,840,853	131,460	1.49%	3.52%
Slovak Republic	SVK	2	693,300	19,621	3,033,861	147,261	3.06%	9.34%
Slovenia	SVN	2	391,500	10,520	1,010,412	42,568	2.11%	20.87%
Spain	ESP	43	19,576,750	242,096	30,720,822	507,657	1.02%	2.77%
Sweden	SWE	10	3,174,383	55,807	7,449,960	200,651	0.49%	7.41%
Switzerland	CHE	10	3,380,947	64,735	5,266,035	134,287	3.36%	30.73%
Ukraine	UKR	45	18,408,455	522,918	32,996,994	1,321,468	2.28%	3.95%
United Kingdom	GBR	66	31,941,786	616,508	52,649,908	1,386,691	5.73%	23.39%
Land Rich Developed								
Countries	LRD	293	226,903,357	9,475,875	267,667,515	13,144,682	0.49%	4.53%
Australia	AUS	13	13,287,588	602,433	16,701,416	945,733	0.12%	1.87%
Canada	CAN	29	18,535,138	505,002	24,461,912	863,168	0.09%	1.65%
New Zealand	NZL	6	2,338,936	60,554	3,306,135	116,094	0.43%	3.47%
United States	USA	245	192,741,695	8,307,885	223,198,052	11,219,686	1.22%	6.30%
Developing								
Countries	DGC	2,557	1,385,466,688	15,920,569	1,960,349,344	29,984,733	0.37%	3.20%
Developed								
Countries	DDC	1,092	627,799,817	18,062,997	870,086,166	30,602,811	0.62%	5.14%
World	WLD	3,649	2,013,266,505	33,983,567	2,830,435,510	60,587,544	0.47%	3.95%

## Annex II: Projections of Urban Land Cover for All countries, 2000-2050

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
<b>Eastern Asia &amp; the Pacific</b>							
American Samoa	985	0	1,281	1,540	1,783	1,976	2,120
		1	1,415	1,881	2,407	2,948	3,496
		2	1,564	2,297	3,249	4,398	5,764
China	4,716,891	0	6,303,867	7,851,827	9,134,463	10,063,014	10,664,688
		1	6,966,850	9,590,243	12,330,235	15,012,253	17,583,097
		2	7,699,560	11,713,549	16,644,076	22,395,649	28,989,626
Fiji	7,439	0	8,757	10,019	11,349	12,414	13,026
		1	9,678	12,238	15,320	18,520	21,476
		2	10,696	14,947	20,680	27,628	35,408
French Polynesia	2,385	0	2,717	3,171	3,741	4,290	4,764
		1	3,003	3,873	5,050	6,399	7,855
		2	3,319	4,730	6,817	9,547	12,951
Guam	2,785	0	3,231	3,633	4,001	4,269	4,445
		1	3,571	4,437	5,400	6,368	7,328
		2	3,946	5,419	7,290	9,500	12,082
Kiribati	697	0	846	1,043	1,317	1,610	1,886
		1	935	1,273	1,778	2,401	3,109
		2	1,033	1,555	2,400	3,582	5,126
Korea, Dem. Rep.	152,408	0	167,972	185,965	203,131	212,840	218,160
		1	185,637	227,138	274,198	317,521	359,685
		2	205,161	277,427	370,129	473,685	593,020
Korea, Rep.	347,011	0	371,553	385,963	389,053	377,356	353,999
		1	410,630	471,416	525,166	562,949	583,646
		2	453,816	575,789	708,900	839,820	962,269
Marshall Islands	676	0	863	1,070	1,235	1,389	1,482
		1	954	1,307	1,667	2,072	2,444
		2	1,054	1,596	2,250	3,091	4,029
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	460	0	491	581	752	955	1,147
		1	543	710	1,015	1,425	1,890
		2	600	867	1,371	2,125	3,117
Mongolia	28,398	0	31,615	36,986	42,770	47,775	51,489
		1	34,939	45,174	57,734	71,272	84,891
		2	38,614	55,176	77,932	106,325	139,962
New Caledonia	3,206	0	3,989	4,799	5,607	6,352	6,996
		1	4,408	5,861	7,569	9,476	11,534
		2	4,872	7,159	10,217	14,136	19,017
Northern Mariana Islands	1,199	0	1,558	1,845	2,142	2,449	2,773
		1	1,722	2,254	2,891	3,653	4,572
		2	1,903	2,753	3,903	5,450	7,538
Palau	258	0	325	375	424	451	467
		1	359	458	573	673	770
		2	397	560	773	1,005	1,270
Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050

Papua New Guinea	29,750	0	35,182	46,837	69,887	100,961	138,950
		1	38,882	57,206	94,338	150,616	229,090
		2	42,972	69,872	127,342	224,692	377,706
Samoa	731	0	845	1,039	1,354	1,682	1,937
		1	934	1,269	1,827	2,510	3,193
		2	1,032	1,550	2,466	3,744	5,264
Solomon Islands	1,257	0	1,897	2,864	4,287	6,087	8,155
		1	2,096	3,498	5,787	9,081	13,445
		2	2,317	4,273	7,812	13,548	22,167
Tonga	441	0	501	630	826	1,034	1,233
		1	554	770	1,115	1,543	2,032
		2	612	940	1,505	2,301	3,350
Vanuatu	794	0	1,196	1,787	2,606	3,594	4,686
		1	1,321	2,183	3,518	5,362	7,725
		2	1,460	2,666	4,749	7,999	12,737
<b>Southeast Asia</b>							
Brunei Darussalam	5,058	0	6,681	8,302	9,850	11,334	12,657
		1	7,384	10,140	13,296	16,909	20,867
		2	8,160	12,385	17,948	25,225	34,405
Cambodia	12,806	0	20,569	31,737	45,507	61,552	79,248
		1	22,732	38,764	61,427	91,824	130,658
		2	25,123	47,347	82,918	136,986	215,419
Indonesia	1,719,044	0	2,486,865	3,167,687	3,727,465	4,209,268	4,559,842
		1	2,748,410	3,869,021	5,031,551	6,279,489	7,517,908
		2	3,037,463	4,725,633	6,791,883	9,367,897	12,394,935
Lao PDR	9,879	0	17,626	27,471	37,187	46,036	54,389
		1	19,480	33,553	50,198	68,678	89,672
		2	21,528	40,981	67,760	102,456	147,844
Malaysia	234,152	0	327,098	407,948	470,671	523,379	565,179
		1	361,500	498,269	635,340	780,790	931,823
		2	399,519	608,587	857,619	1,164,802	1,536,316
Myanmar	141,260	0	186,449	241,942	301,279	358,117	407,196
		1	206,058	295,508	406,684	534,248	671,353
		2	227,729	360,935	548,966	797,004	1,106,874
Philippines	623,249	0	862,225	1,097,772	1,310,984	1,494,615	1,645,833
		1	952,906	1,340,822	1,769,643	2,229,703	2,713,519
		2	1,053,124	1,637,684	2,388,768	3,326,326	4,473,837
Singapore	37,886	0	43,306	46,818	49,053	49,031	47,395
		1	47,860	57,184	66,215	73,145	78,141
		2	52,893	69,845	89,381	109,120	128,832
Thailand	532,408	0	623,278	745,523	892,786	1,028,128	1,138,332
		1	688,828	910,584	1,205,135	1,533,787	1,876,793
		2	761,273	1,112,190	1,626,762	2,288,141	3,094,308
Timor-Leste	4,227	0	7,608	12,377	19,388	28,778	40,470
		1	8,408	15,117	26,171	42,932	66,724
		2	9,292	18,464	35,327	64,048	110,010
Vietnam	124,861	0	170,290	229,060	299,889	374,556	444,689
		1	188,199	279,775	404,808	558,772	733,168
		2	207,992	341,718	546,433	833,589	1,208,790
<b>Country</b>	<b>Urban Land Cover, 2000</b>	<b>Annual Density Decline (%)</b>	<b>Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)</b>				

Country	Urban Land Cover (hectares)	Annual Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
<b>South &amp; Central Asia</b>							
Afghanistan	29,600	0	50,521	81,580	129,407	194,575	274,232
		1	55,834	99,642	174,682	290,271	452,132
		2	61,706	121,704	235,796	433,034	745,440
Bangladesh	147,282	0	209,418	293,384	400,514	520,226	641,719
		1	231,443	358,340	540,637	776,085	1,058,016
		2	255,784	437,677	729,784	1,157,783	1,744,374
Bhutan	2,779	0	4,935	7,275	9,362	11,186	12,862
		1	5,454	8,886	12,637	16,688	21,206
		2	6,027	10,853	17,059	24,895	34,963
India	3,009,533	0	3,814,536	4,913,612	6,357,313	7,942,972	9,512,870
		1	4,215,714	6,001,500	8,581,474	11,849,521	15,684,071
		2	4,659,085	7,330,248	11,583,779	17,677,409	25,858,661
Iran, Islamic Rep.	55,202	0	67,124	81,109	92,287	102,134	109,575
		1	74,183	99,067	124,575	152,366	180,659
		2	81,985	121,001	168,158	227,304	297,856
Kazakhstan	673,769	0	738,122	833,814	917,234	994,714	1,051,473
		1	815,751	1,018,423	1,238,137	1,483,939	1,733,587
		2	901,544	1,243,904	1,671,310	2,213,777	2,858,201
Kyrgyz Republic	247,639	0	284,880	342,077	414,061	489,809	554,296
		1	314,841	417,813	558,924	730,709	913,879
		2	347,953	510,318	754,468	1,090,089	1,506,732
Maldives	70,236	0	121,217	185,562	244,806	298,358	348,497
		1	133,966	226,646	330,453	445,098	574,575
		2	148,055	276,826	446,065	664,009	947,314
Nepal	1,474	0	2,449	3,857	5,743	8,094	10,807
		1	2,706	4,711	7,752	12,074	17,818
		2	2,991	5,754	10,464	18,012	29,378
Pakistan	41,771	0	55,997	77,699	104,377	133,190	162,271
		1	61,887	94,902	140,895	198,696	267,540
		2	68,395	115,913	190,188	296,420	441,099
Sri Lanka	529,459	0	533,463	615,689	780,338	964,769	1,145,003
		1	589,568	752,004	1,053,346	1,439,266	1,887,791
		2	651,574	918,499	1,421,869	2,147,133	3,112,442
Tajikistan	56,682	0	64,946	83,324	111,557	145,006	179,958
		1	71,776	101,772	150,586	216,324	296,700
		2	79,325	124,304	203,270	322,717	489,176
Turkmenistan	133,173	0	164,922	204,638	244,488	281,685	313,196
		1	182,267	249,946	330,024	420,225	516,373
		2	201,437	305,284	445,486	626,902	851,356
Uzbekistan	79,040	0	90,585	111,483	139,381	168,743	195,313
		1	100,111	136,165	188,144	251,734	322,016
		2	110,640	166,312	253,968	375,543	530,915
<b>Western Asia</b>							
Armenia	964,718	0	914,938	926,161	942,620	937,822	907,121
		1	1,011,163	1,131,216	1,272,404	1,399,066	1,495,589
		2	1,117,508	1,381,670	1,717,565	2,087,162	2,465,810
Azerbaijan	65,449	0	71,048	80,520	90,492	98,578	104,180

	1	78,520	98,347	122,151	147,062	171,764
	2	86,778	120,121	164,887	219,390	283,190

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Bahrain	71,620	0	87,546	102,191	115,785	127,256	135,645
		1	96,754	124,816	156,294	189,844	223,641
		2	106,929	152,451	210,975	283,214	368,721
Cyprus	22,891	0	26,274	30,173	34,229	37,976	41,435
		1	29,037	36,853	46,205	56,654	68,314
		2	32,091	45,013	62,370	84,517	112,631
Georgia	28,466	0	26,071	25,826	26,228	26,169	25,321
		1	28,813	31,544	35,404	39,040	41,747
		2	31,844	38,528	47,791	58,241	68,830
Iraq	261,132	0	313,117	404,753	513,096	628,266	740,166
		1	346,048	494,366	692,606	937,263	1,220,328
		2	382,442	603,820	934,921	1,398,232	2,011,981
Israel	70,734	0	84,804	96,966	108,377	118,690	126,590
		1	93,723	118,435	146,294	177,065	208,711
		2	103,580	144,657	197,476	264,150	344,107
Jordan	125,581	0	169,448	199,254	234,471	266,228	292,289
		1	187,269	243,369	316,503	397,165	481,903
		2	206,965	297,252	427,235	592,501	794,524
Kuwait	39,322	0	53,936	65,357	75,797	85,391	93,214
		1	59,608	79,827	102,315	127,389	153,685
		2	65,877	97,501	138,111	190,042	253,383
Lebanon	44,287	0	50,345	55,851	60,542	63,850	65,879
		1	55,640	68,216	81,723	95,254	108,616
		2	61,492	83,320	110,314	142,102	179,078
Oman	38,215	0	44,108	54,445	65,587	75,805	84,855
		1	48,747	66,500	88,534	113,088	139,902
		2	53,874	81,223	119,508	168,707	230,659
Qatar	36,542	0	52,901	62,635	70,229	76,683	81,220
		1	58,465	76,503	94,799	114,398	133,910
		2	64,614	93,441	127,965	170,661	220,780
Saudi Arabia	306,052	0	399,395	497,795	592,784	674,865	744,080
		1	441,399	608,009	800,175	1,006,781	1,226,781
		2	487,822	742,623	1,080,123	1,501,940	2,022,620
Syrian Arab Republic	105,861	0	145,984	187,282	232,812	278,303	320,112
		1	161,338	228,747	314,264	415,180	527,776
		2	178,306	279,392	424,211	619,375	870,156
Turkey	848,511	0	1,040,666	1,224,085	1,382,063	1,508,728	1,598,311
		1	1,150,114	1,495,101	1,865,589	2,250,757	2,635,169
		2	1,271,072	1,826,121	2,518,282	3,357,735	4,344,660
United Arab Emirates	74,684	0	109,148	136,476	164,547	192,630	218,235
		1	120,628	166,692	222,115	287,370	359,809
		2	133,314	203,599	299,824	428,706	593,224
West Bank and Gaza	10,203	0	14,401	19,495	25,623	32,154	38,618
		1	15,916	23,811	34,587	47,967	63,671

	2	17,590	29,083	46,688	71,559	104,975
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Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Yemen, Rep.	66,610	0	108,568	172,538	257,847	363,873	486,798
		1	119,986	210,739	348,057	542,834	802,594
		2	132,605	257,397	469,828	809,814	1,323,254
<b>Northern Africa</b>							
Algeria	341,628	0	441,035	546,608	638,411	713,574	775,619
		1	487,419	667,628	861,765	1,064,527	1,278,779
		2	538,681	815,443	1,163,260	1,588,088	2,108,350
Egypt, Arab Rep.	260,941	0	313,174	383,490	477,936	589,404	695,724
		1	346,111	468,396	645,146	879,287	1,147,055
		2	382,512	572,100	870,856	1,311,743	1,891,174
Libya	44,089	0	54,925	66,388	75,603	83,939	91,218
		1	60,702	81,087	102,054	125,222	150,394
		2	67,086	99,040	137,758	186,809	247,958
Morocco	136,949	0	163,665	196,566	230,548	260,808	285,860
		1	180,878	240,086	311,208	389,080	471,303
		2	199,901	293,241	420,086	580,439	777,047
Sudan	274,226	0	424,902	606,435	808,233	1,022,544	1,231,588
		1	469,590	740,701	1,091,000	1,525,456	2,030,545
		2	518,977	904,694	1,472,696	2,275,714	3,347,803
Tunisia	152,564	0	180,457	209,809	236,835	257,475	271,858
		1	199,436	256,261	319,694	384,108	448,218
		2	220,411	312,998	431,542	573,021	738,986
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>							
Angola	57,528	0	91,210	134,553	185,074	241,941	302,589
		1	100,803	164,344	249,823	360,933	498,885
		2	111,404	200,730	337,226	538,449	822,522
Benin	85,489	0	128,085	187,638	266,593	360,180	462,223
		1	141,555	229,181	359,862	537,325	762,077
		2	156,443	279,922	485,764	801,595	1,256,452
Botswana	26,790	0	34,759	42,611	49,907	56,885	63,795
		1	38,414	52,046	67,367	84,862	105,180
		2	42,455	63,569	90,937	126,599	173,412
Burkina Faso	37,074	0	61,811	102,022	162,496	242,880	341,133
		1	68,311	124,611	219,347	362,334	562,433
		2	75,496	152,200	296,087	540,539	927,296
Burundi	5,167	0	9,838	18,065	31,931	54,718	88,414
		1	10,873	22,065	43,103	81,630	145,771
		2	12,016	26,950	58,183	121,778	240,335
Cameroon	67,115	0	97,449	129,754	162,017	194,254	224,689
		1	107,698	158,482	218,701	289,793	370,450
		2	119,025	193,570	295,215	432,321	610,768
Cape Verde	4,649	0	6,684	8,981	11,317	13,605	15,638
		1	7,387	10,970	15,276	20,297	25,782
		2	8,164	13,399	20,620	30,279	42,508
Central African Republic	17,868	0	21,973	28,358	36,979	47,030	57,590
		1	24,284	34,636	49,916	70,161	94,950

	2	26,838	42,305	67,380	104,667	156,546
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Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Chad	30,062	0	49,160	79,029	124,033	182,673	253,365
		1	54,330	96,527	167,427	272,516	417,729
		2	60,044	117,898	226,002	406,546	688,718
Comoros	2,932	0	3,798	5,122	7,224	9,958	12,983
		1	4,198	6,256	9,751	14,856	21,405
		2	4,639	7,641	13,163	22,163	35,292
Congo, Dem. Rep.	120,291	0	193,283	312,105	479,821	693,986	939,523
		1	213,610	381,205	647,690	1,035,305	1,549,012
		2	236,076	465,605	874,290	1,544,493	2,553,888
Congo, Rep.	21,168	0	28,237	36,895	46,775	57,330	67,682
		1	31,207	45,064	63,140	85,526	111,589
		2	34,489	55,041	85,230	127,590	183,979
Cote d'Ivoire	85,926	0	118,266	159,400	204,093	250,415	295,922
		1	130,704	194,691	275,497	373,576	487,893
		2	144,450	237,796	371,882	557,309	804,400
Djibouti	2,190	0	2,783	3,351	3,964	4,525	5,020
		1	3,075	4,093	5,352	6,751	8,276
		2	3,399	4,999	7,224	10,071	13,645
Equatorial Guinea	3,962	0	5,133	7,113	10,013	13,531	17,490
		1	5,673	8,688	13,516	20,186	28,836
		2	6,269	10,612	18,245	30,114	47,542
Eritrea	5,896	0	10,339	17,148	26,104	37,822	51,711
		1	11,426	20,945	35,236	56,424	85,257
		2	12,628	25,582	47,564	84,175	140,565
Ethiopia	120,328	0	182,980	283,614	436,250	642,808	898,806
		1	202,224	346,406	588,876	958,957	1,481,881
		2	223,492	423,102	794,899	1,430,596	2,443,209
Gabon	14,026	0	17,697	21,007	24,027	26,650	28,807
		1	19,558	25,659	32,432	39,757	47,495
		2	21,615	31,339	43,779	59,310	78,306
Gambia, The	12,023	0	18,977	26,473	34,804	43,615	52,260
		1	20,972	32,335	46,980	65,066	86,163
		2	23,178	39,494	63,417	97,067	142,058
Ghana	263,057	0	380,554	514,953	657,802	803,391	940,988
		1	420,577	628,965	887,939	1,198,518	1,551,427
		2	464,809	768,220	1,198,593	1,787,979	2,557,871
Guinea	23,513	0	32,738	49,606	72,620	100,525	131,951
		1	36,181	60,589	98,027	149,966	217,550
		2	39,987	74,004	132,323	223,723	358,679
Guinea-Bissau	3,560	0	4,863	7,216	11,341	17,243	24,558
		1	5,375	8,813	15,309	25,723	40,490
		2	5,940	10,765	20,665	38,375	66,756
Kenya	64,754	0	94,668	144,226	217,780	314,218	428,415
		1	104,624	176,159	293,973	468,758	706,337
		2	115,628	215,161	396,821	699,305	1,164,552

Lesotho	7,281	0	10,626	14,448	18,440	22,465	26,446
		1	11,744	17,647	24,892	33,514	43,603
		2	12,979	21,554	33,600	49,998	71,889

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Liberia	3,808	0	6,062	9,080	13,134	18,134	23,661
		1	6,699	11,090	17,729	27,053	39,010
		2	7,404	13,545	23,932	40,358	64,317
Madagascar	48,071	0	70,409	103,064	149,236	207,187	272,945
		1	77,814	125,883	201,447	309,086	450,011
		2	85,998	153,754	271,925	461,102	741,942
Malawi	23,618	0	39,800	65,427	102,214	149,706	207,317
		1	43,985	79,912	137,974	223,334	341,809
		2	48,611	97,605	186,246	333,176	563,547
Mali	51,697	0	83,518	133,665	204,423	292,810	395,634
		1	92,302	163,258	275,942	436,821	652,291
		2	102,010	199,404	372,483	651,661	1,075,446
Mauritania	20,015	0	27,176	36,806	49,869	64,742	79,913
		1	30,034	44,955	67,316	96,584	131,755
		2	33,192	54,908	90,867	144,086	217,227
Mauritius	9,785	0	10,625	12,060	14,117	16,092	17,735
		1	11,743	14,730	19,056	24,006	29,240
		2	12,978	17,991	25,723	35,813	48,209
Mozambique	54,635	0	85,118	121,366	163,476	209,632	257,906
		1	94,070	148,236	220,669	312,734	425,216
		2	103,964	181,056	297,872	466,545	701,062
Namibia	12,721	0	17,127	22,542	28,826	35,194	41,546
		1	18,928	27,533	38,911	52,503	68,498
		2	20,919	33,629	52,525	78,325	112,934
Niger	20,083	0	29,366	46,937	81,439	138,385	219,781
		1	32,455	57,329	109,931	206,446	362,358
		2	35,868	70,021	148,391	307,981	597,427
Nigeria	464,192	0	689,925	960,546	1,262,215	1,584,014	1,905,194
		1	762,485	1,173,214	1,703,812	2,363,071	3,141,135
		2	842,677	1,432,967	2,299,905	3,525,288	5,178,855
Rwanda	15,818	0	28,077	43,617	66,068	97,284	136,454
		1	31,030	53,274	89,182	145,131	224,974
		2	34,294	65,069	120,384	216,510	370,919
Sao Tome and Principe	1,445	0	1,986	2,631	3,339	4,045	4,687
		1	2,195	3,213	4,508	6,035	7,727
		2	2,426	3,925	6,085	9,003	12,739
Senegal	33,922	0	46,122	62,546	84,029	108,764	134,058
		1	50,972	76,394	113,428	162,256	221,024
		2	56,333	93,308	153,111	242,058	364,408
Seychelles	799	0	935	1,083	1,238	1,371	1,465
		1	1,034	1,322	1,671	2,046	2,416
		2	1,142	1,615	2,256	3,052	3,983
Sierra Leone	14,207	0	21,017	29,363	41,616	57,157	74,731
		1	23,227	35,864	56,176	85,269	123,211

		2	25,670	43,805	75,830	127,206	203,140
Somalia	11,940	0	18,083	26,915	38,563	52,643	68,225
		1	19,985	32,874	52,055	78,534	112,484
		2	22,087	40,153	70,267	117,159	185,455

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
South Africa	506,638	0	596,440	669,589	744,816	810,855	867,722
		1	659,169	817,838	1,005,396	1,209,653	1,430,632
		2	728,494	998,910	1,357,143	1,804,591	2,358,713
Swaziland	4,857	0	5,823	7,257	9,220	11,448	13,905
		1	6,436	8,864	12,446	17,079	22,926
		2	7,113	10,826	16,800	25,479	37,799
Tanzania	46,334	0	70,486	106,250	155,425	215,895	281,922
		1	77,899	129,774	209,801	322,078	464,811
		2	86,092	158,506	283,202	480,484	766,343
Togo	22,182	0	34,774	50,956	69,909	90,352	110,292
		1	38,431	62,238	94,367	134,789	181,840
		2	42,473	76,018	127,382	201,082	299,804
Uganda	71,967	0	109,182	179,721	305,275	493,629	751,611
		1	120,665	219,512	412,078	736,407	1,239,197
		2	133,356	268,113	556,247	1,098,590	2,043,090
Zambia	62,532	0	77,495	101,659	137,363	181,231	229,437
		1	85,645	124,167	185,421	270,365	378,277
		2	94,652	151,658	250,292	403,337	623,673
Zimbabwe	66,038	0	81,361	103,587	130,324	159,287	190,073
		1	89,918	126,522	175,919	237,629	313,377
		2	99,374	154,534	237,466	354,501	516,672
<b>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</b>							
Antigua and Barbuda	856	0	926	1,092	1,383	1,700	2,001
		1	1,024	1,334	1,867	2,536	3,299
		2	1,131	1,629	2,521	3,783	5,439
Argentina	1,159,555	0	1,312,541	1,455,025	1,568,866	1,655,295	1,719,320
		1	1,450,582	1,777,172	2,117,748	2,469,410	2,834,680
		2	1,603,141	2,170,642	2,858,661	3,683,927	4,673,597
Aruba	1,373	0	1,570	1,687	1,840	2,016	2,152
		1	1,735	2,061	2,484	3,008	3,548
		2	1,917	2,517	3,353	4,487	5,849
Bahamas, The	4,309	0	5,002	5,678	6,277	6,744	7,071
		1	5,528	6,935	8,473	10,060	11,657
		2	6,110	8,470	11,437	15,008	19,220
Barbados	3,172	0	3,686	4,298	4,906	5,316	5,512
		1	4,074	5,249	6,622	7,930	9,088
		2	4,502	6,412	8,939	11,831	14,984
Belize	4,146	0	5,715	7,470	9,336	11,130	12,780
		1	6,317	9,124	12,602	16,604	21,071
		2	6,981	11,144	17,011	24,770	34,740
Bermuda	2,157	0	2,230	2,259	2,260	2,219	2,151
		1	2,465	2,760	3,051	3,310	3,546
		2	2,724	3,371	4,119	4,938	5,846

Bolivia	166,186	0	215,713	267,102	316,664	360,553	396,225
		1	238,400	326,240	427,451	537,882	653,265
		2	263,473	398,470	576,999	802,425	1,077,051
Brazil	4,046,935	0	4,927,630	5,635,089	6,167,287	6,556,035	6,804,321
		1	5,445,873	6,882,713	8,324,967	9,780,456	11,218,429
		2	6,018,621	8,406,565	11,237,530	14,590,725	18,496,063
Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Cayman Islands	1,396	0	1,705	1,858	1,978	2,044	2,059
		1	1,885	2,269	2,670	3,049	3,395
		2	2,083	2,772	3,604	4,549	5,598
Chile	331,781	0	381,984	424,759	457,007	477,563	487,430
		1	422,157	518,802	616,895	712,441	803,636
		2	466,556	633,666	832,722	1,062,837	1,324,972
Colombia	306,880	0	367,232	424,418	476,114	516,317	543,293
		1	405,854	518,385	642,686	770,254	895,739
		2	448,538	633,157	867,536	1,149,084	1,476,824
Costa Rica	88,185	0	114,155	139,059	162,717	183,254	199,185
		1	126,160	169,848	219,644	273,383	328,401
		2	139,429	207,452	296,489	407,840	541,441
Cuba	116,556	0	117,968	119,786	122,157	120,920	115,784
		1	130,375	146,306	164,895	180,391	190,896
		2	144,087	178,699	222,585	269,112	314,734
Dominica	1,761	0	1,805	1,909	2,042	2,096	2,109
		1	1,995	2,332	2,756	3,126	3,476
		2	2,205	2,848	3,720	4,664	5,732
Dominican Republic	92,366	0	121,523	148,922	172,091	190,464	203,459
		1	134,304	181,894	232,298	284,138	335,447
		2	148,429	222,166	313,570	423,885	553,059
Ecuador	248,212	0	308,490	373,070	428,610	472,486	503,220
		1	340,935	455,669	578,562	704,866	829,669
		2	376,791	556,556	780,978	1,051,536	1,367,893
El Salvador	45,892	0	55,526	66,612	78,712	90,000	99,084
		1	61,366	81,360	106,250	134,264	163,362
		2	67,820	99,374	143,423	200,299	269,338
Grenada	1,081	0	1,130	1,269	1,504	1,682	1,793
		1	1,249	1,550	2,030	2,509	2,956
		2	1,381	1,893	2,740	3,743	4,873
Guatemala	181,115	0	254,142	353,577	470,068	591,029	705,237
		1	280,870	431,861	634,525	881,712	1,162,739
		2	310,410	527,476	856,520	1,315,359	1,917,033
Guyana	7,509	0	7,444	7,795	8,726	9,126	8,713
		1	8,227	9,521	11,779	13,614	14,365
		2	9,093	11,629	15,899	20,310	23,685
Haiti	21,662	0	35,402	49,874	62,694	74,691	85,503
		1	39,126	60,916	84,628	111,425	140,970
		2	43,240	74,403	114,237	166,227	232,420
Honduras	26,491	0	35,473	47,093	59,905	72,223	83,492
		1	39,204	57,520	80,863	107,744	137,655
		2	43,327	70,255	109,154	160,735	226,954

Jamaica	39,704	0	43,827	48,636	53,917	57,703	59,247
		1	48,436	59,404	72,780	86,082	97,681
		2	53,530	72,557	98,243	128,420	161,049
Mexico	816,721	0	940,719	1,065,943	1,169,224	1,240,326	1,270,338
		1	1,039,655	1,301,945	1,578,288	1,850,350	2,094,434
		2	1,148,997	1,590,200	2,130,466	2,760,397	3,453,137

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Netherlands Antilles	6,728	0	7,668	8,093	8,107	7,854	7,429
		1	8,474	9,885	10,944	11,717	12,248
		2	9,366	12,074	14,772	17,480	20,193
Nicaragua	34,980	0	41,822	51,115	60,961	69,941	76,759
		1	46,221	62,433	82,289	104,340	126,554
		2	51,082	76,255	111,078	155,656	208,653
Panama	49,623	0	67,106	82,675	95,933	107,096	115,521
		1	74,164	100,979	129,496	159,768	190,463
		2	81,964	123,336	174,801	238,346	314,020
Paraguay	101,521	0	136,265	173,246	209,328	242,572	271,427
		1	150,596	211,603	282,563	361,875	447,507
		2	166,434	258,453	381,420	539,854	737,814
Peru	405,061	0	462,221	534,657	607,774	671,764	719,499
		1	510,833	653,032	820,409	1,002,154	1,186,254
		2	564,558	797,615	1,107,436	1,495,038	1,955,802
Puerto Rico	74,717	0	82,493	87,075	89,868	90,812	90,786
		1	91,169	106,353	121,310	135,476	149,682
		2	100,757	129,900	163,751	202,106	246,783
St. Kitts and Nevis	504	0	567	694	885	1,087	1,281
		1	627	848	1,194	1,621	2,112
		2	693	1,035	1,612	2,419	3,482
St. Lucia	1,516	0	1,694	2,044	2,582	3,229	3,871
		1	1,872	2,497	3,485	4,817	6,383
		2	2,069	3,050	4,705	7,187	10,523
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1,663	0	1,883	2,128	2,339	2,449	2,404
		1	2,081	2,599	3,157	3,654	3,964
		2	2,300	3,174	4,261	5,451	6,535
Suriname	14,251	0	15,948	17,194	17,863	17,761	16,792
		1	17,626	21,001	24,113	26,496	27,685
		2	19,479	25,650	32,549	39,527	45,645
Trinidad and Tobago	4,877	0	6,477	8,726	11,505	14,528	17,555
		1	7,158	10,658	15,530	21,673	28,943
		2	7,911	13,018	20,963	32,332	47,719
Uruguay	129,843	0	133,739	140,021	145,082	148,243	149,154
		1	147,804	171,022	195,841	221,152	245,914
		2	163,349	208,887	264,357	329,921	405,443
Venezuela, RB	585,214	0	730,192	856,302	958,946	1,039,363	1,095,786
		1	806,987	1,045,890	1,294,442	1,550,547	1,806,645
		2	891,858	1,277,453	1,747,314	2,313,144	2,978,654
Virgin Islands (U.S.)	3,493	0	3,616	3,590	3,425	3,105	2,738
		1	3,997	4,385	4,623	4,632	4,514

		2	4,417	5,356	6,240	6,911	7,442
<b>Europe &amp; Japan</b>							
Albania	19,790	0	23,958	28,690	32,847	36,092	38,319
		1	26,478	35,042	44,339	53,843	63,177
		2	29,263	42,800	59,851	80,324	104,162
Andorra	2,535	0	2,718	2,631	2,577	2,519	2,377
		1	3,004	3,214	3,479	3,758	3,919
		2	3,320	3,926	4,696	5,606	6,461
	<b>Urban Land Cover, 2000</b>	<b>Annual Density Decline (%)</b>	<b>Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)</b>				
<b>Country</b>	<b>(Hectares)</b>		<b>2010</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>2030</b>	<b>2040</b>	<b>2050</b>
Austria	221,299	0	236,457	249,932	264,379	276,097	284,351
		1	261,325	305,268	356,875	411,888	468,816
		2	288,809	372,855	481,730	614,464	772,946
Belarus	157,570	0	158,615	156,911	151,823	144,231	134,522
		1	175,296	191,651	204,940	215,168	221,788
		2	193,733	234,084	276,640	320,993	365,667
Belgium	518,789	0	537,257	547,142	553,507	553,891	548,880
		1	593,761	668,281	747,156	826,308	904,950
		2	656,207	816,240	1,008,555	1,232,707	1,492,010
Bosnia and Herzegovina	41,630	0	48,731	53,774	57,279	58,992	58,913
		1	53,856	65,680	77,319	88,005	97,131
		2	59,520	80,222	104,370	131,288	160,141
Bulgaria	207,696	0	201,895	193,880	183,359	170,900	156,688
		1	223,129	236,806	247,508	254,953	258,334
		2	246,595	289,235	334,101	380,344	425,921
Channel Islands	1,847	0	1,949	2,143	2,447	2,824	3,164
		1	2,154	2,617	3,303	4,213	5,216
		2	2,380	3,197	4,459	6,286	8,600
Croatia	71,714	0	74,940	76,986	79,410	80,272	79,997
		1	82,821	94,031	107,193	119,751	131,892
		2	91,531	114,849	144,695	178,648	217,454
Czech Republic	473,887	0	468,931	472,203	475,296	470,128	461,015
		1	518,249	576,750	641,582	701,349	760,085
		2	572,754	704,444	866,045	1,046,290	1,253,168
Denmark	196,130	0	206,132	213,876	219,821	222,204	222,337
		1	227,811	261,229	296,728	331,489	366,572
		2	251,770	319,066	400,541	494,523	604,376
Estonia	25,904	0	25,018	24,678	24,604	24,694	24,709
		1	27,649	30,141	33,211	36,839	40,739
		2	30,557	36,815	44,831	54,958	67,167
Faeroe Islands	686	0	863	1,042	1,236	1,422	1,595
		1	953	1,273	1,668	2,122	2,630
		2	1,053	1,554	2,251	3,165	4,336
Finland	67,406	0	72,489	78,237	83,660	87,590	90,804
		1	80,112	95,559	112,929	130,668	149,711
		2	88,538	116,716	152,438	194,934	246,831
France	1,534,108	0	1,663,382	1,779,826	1,888,525	1,977,567	2,039,296
		1	1,838,321	2,173,884	2,549,243	2,950,183	3,362,230
		2	2,031,659	2,655,188	3,441,118	4,401,156	5,543,380
Germany	1,849,484	0	1,870,552	1,887,771	1,911,667	1,919,739	1,909,490

		1	2,067,279	2,305,729	2,580,480	2,863,914	3,148,217
		2	2,284,697	2,816,224	3,483,284	4,272,458	5,190,532
Greece	131,624	0	138,284	146,578	155,528	163,088	168,298
		1	152,828	179,030	209,941	243,299	277,477
		2	168,901	218,668	283,391	362,959	457,483
Greenland	1,893	0	2,051	2,223	2,335	2,379	2,405
		1	2,267	2,715	3,153	3,549	3,966
		2	2,505	3,316	4,256	5,294	6,538

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Hungary	314,003	0	323,261	331,043	335,403	335,118	332,961
		1	357,259	404,337	452,747	499,938	548,961
		2	394,832	493,859	611,144	745,819	905,083
Iceland	6,046	0	6,640	7,117	7,490	7,736	7,841
		1	7,338	8,693	10,110	11,541	12,928
		2	8,110	10,618	13,647	17,217	21,314
Ireland	54,748	0	68,228	80,586	92,970	105,628	117,245
		1	75,404	98,427	125,496	157,579	193,305
		2	83,334	120,220	169,403	235,080	318,706
Isle of Man	1,638	0	1,641	1,657	1,727	1,829	1,934
		1	1,813	2,024	2,331	2,729	3,188
		2	2,004	2,472	3,146	4,071	5,256
Italy	1,654,811	0	1,721,909	1,773,264	1,829,721	1,874,309	1,891,997
		1	1,903,003	2,165,869	2,469,865	2,796,141	3,119,375
		2	2,103,144	2,645,399	3,333,969	4,171,352	5,142,980
Japan	1,513,145	0	1,559,506	1,578,409	1,576,292	1,550,420	1,499,245
		1	1,723,521	1,927,873	2,127,772	2,312,954	2,471,837
		2	1,904,785	2,354,709	2,872,192	3,450,522	4,075,370
Latvia	37,390	0	35,313	34,386	33,898	33,300	32,586
		1	39,027	41,999	45,757	49,678	53,725
		2	43,131	51,298	61,765	74,110	88,577
Liechtenstein	203	0	210	242	317	428	559
		1	232	296	428	638	922
		2	257	361	578	952	1,520
Lithuania	52,962	0	50,563	49,790	49,460	48,865	47,669
		1	55,881	60,813	66,764	72,898	78,593
		2	61,758	74,277	90,122	108,750	129,578
Luxembourg	15,095	0	16,395	18,296	20,852	23,527	26,129
		1	18,119	22,347	28,147	35,099	43,080
		2	20,025	27,294	37,995	52,361	71,027
Macedonia, FYR	34,636	0	37,959	40,203	41,286	41,124	39,985
		1	41,951	49,104	55,730	61,349	65,924
		2	46,363	59,976	75,228	91,522	108,690
Malta	13,990	0	15,167	15,941	16,329	16,329	16,262
		1	16,762	19,470	22,042	24,360	26,812
		2	18,525	23,781	29,754	36,341	44,206
Moldova	59,841	0	49,492	48,284	50,735	53,300	54,669
		1	54,697	58,975	68,485	79,514	90,133
		2	60,449	72,032	92,446	118,622	148,604

Monaco	1,322	0	1,364	1,423	1,478	1,509	1,542
		1	1,508	1,738	1,995	2,251	2,542
		2	1,666	2,122	2,693	3,358	4,191
Montenegro	12,195	0	11,090	11,171	11,823	12,638	13,292
		1	12,257	13,644	15,959	18,854	21,914
		2	13,546	16,665	21,542	28,127	36,131
Netherlands	361,966	0	404,723	428,947	449,428	462,556	468,365
		1	447,288	523,917	606,664	690,052	772,203
		2	494,329	639,914	818,911	1,029,436	1,273,147

Country	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Norway	68,808	0	74,840	80,875	87,951	94,115	99,257
		1	82,711	98,781	118,721	140,402	163,647
		2	91,410	120,652	160,257	209,456	269,809
Poland	820,424	0	801,680	800,407	807,676	803,163	780,804
		1	885,994	977,619	1,090,249	1,198,179	1,287,329
		2	979,175	1,194,066	1,471,682	1,787,473	2,122,446
Portugal	100,602	0	117,719	129,538	136,997	142,061	144,340
		1	130,100	158,218	184,926	211,930	237,977
		2	143,782	193,248	249,625	316,162	392,358
Romania	334,239	0	326,189	329,033	336,076	336,784	328,364
		1	360,495	401,882	453,655	502,422	541,380
		2	398,409	490,860	612,371	749,525	892,585
Russian Federation	2,596,262	0	2,452,650	2,346,735	2,273,333	2,209,010	2,128,527
		1	2,710,597	2,866,308	3,068,679	3,295,456	3,509,348
		2	2,995,673	3,500,917	4,142,283	4,916,242	5,785,937
San Marino	1,040	0	1,225	1,284	1,310	1,317	1,302
		1	1,354	1,568	1,769	1,965	2,146
		2	1,497	1,915	2,388	2,931	3,539
Serbia	131,460	0	131,969	141,495	154,001	165,630	175,029
		1	145,848	172,823	207,879	247,090	288,574
		2	161,188	211,086	280,608	368,615	475,778
Slovak Republic	147,261	0	148,896	155,881	164,034	167,809	167,695
		1	164,555	190,393	221,423	250,342	276,482
		2	181,862	232,547	298,889	373,466	455,842
Slovenia	42,568	0	40,566	39,922	41,675	43,960	45,220
		1	44,832	48,761	56,256	65,580	74,555
		2	49,547	59,557	75,938	97,834	122,920
Spain	507,657	0	577,685	609,936	632,792	652,710	663,911
		1	638,441	744,978	854,179	973,728	1,094,604
		2	705,586	909,918	1,153,022	1,452,632	1,804,696
Sweden	200,651	0	210,743	223,001	235,452	245,140	254,954
		1	232,907	272,374	317,827	365,707	420,349
		2	257,403	332,679	429,021	545,570	693,038
Switzerland	134,287	0	140,464	148,624	159,122	168,663	177,408
		1	155,237	181,529	214,793	251,616	292,496
		2	171,563	221,720	289,940	375,367	482,244
Ukraine	1,321,468	0	1,239,387	1,172,920	1,118,741	1,063,635	995,429
		1	1,369,734	1,432,608	1,510,142	1,586,758	1,641,185

		2	1,513,790	1,749,792	2,038,478	2,367,164	2,705,857
United Kingdom	1,386,691	0	1,461,853	1,537,936	1,607,457	1,658,998	1,702,242
		1	1,615,597	1,878,439	2,169,841	2,474,934	2,806,522
		2	1,785,511	2,294,331	2,928,979	3,692,168	4,627,172
<b>Land-Rich Developed Countries</b>							
Australia	945,733	0	1,079,135	1,203,320	1,316,794	1,410,434	1,491,683
		1	1,192,629	1,469,738	1,777,486	2,104,120	2,459,370
		2	1,318,058	1,795,143	2,399,356	3,138,979	4,054,816
Canada	863,168	0	962,495	1,061,849	1,162,454	1,250,868	1,330,033
		1	1,063,722	1,296,945	1,569,148	1,866,075	2,192,853
		2	1,175,595	1,584,092	2,118,129	2,783,857	3,615,404
New Zealand	116,094	0	130,726	142,908	154,017	162,508	168,487
		1	144,475	174,549	207,901	242,433	277,787
		2	159,669	213,194	280,637	361,667	457,994
United States	11,219,686	0	12,896,700	14,476,740	15,857,301	17,061,182	18,113,694
		1	14,253,058	17,681,930	21,405,118	25,452,293	29,864,432
		2	15,752,065	21,596,758	28,893,887	37,970,359	49,238,125
<b>World Regions</b>							
Region	Urban Land Cover, 2000 (Hectares)	Annual Density Decline (%)	Urban Land Cover Projections (hectares)				
			2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
East Asia & the Pacific	5,297,771	0	6,922,496	8,508,638	9,832,882	10,791,550	11,415,385
		1	7,650,542	10,392,474	13,273,002	16,099,101	18,820,788
		2	8,455,156	12,693,397	17,916,678	24,017,037	31,030,233
Southeast Asia	3,444,829	0	4,751,993	6,016,637	7,164,059	8,184,794	8,995,230
		1	5,251,765	7,348,737	9,670,468	12,210,277	14,830,626
		2	5,804,098	8,975,768	13,053,767	18,215,593	24,451,569
South & Central Asia	5,987,157	0	9,343,414	11,665,283	14,328,181	17,112,324	19,732,403
		1	10,326,069	14,248,009	19,341,021	25,528,587	32,533,232
		2	11,412,071	17,402,558	26,107,648	38,084,177	53,638,231
Western Asia	2,271,361	0	3,712,700	4,341,805	4,993,129	5,593,269	6,104,070
		1	4,103,168	5,303,092	6,740,020	8,344,176	10,063,909
		2	4,534,702	6,477,212	9,098,075	12,448,048	16,592,581
Northern Africa	1,210,398	0	1,578,159	2,009,295	2,467,566	2,927,743	3,351,866
		1	1,744,135	2,454,159	3,330,866	4,367,680	5,526,293
		2	1,927,567	2,997,516	4,496,199	6,515,813	9,111,317
Sub-Saharan Africa	2,649,953	0	3,756,818	5,230,358	7,137,538	9,432,506	12,018,214
		1	4,151,926	6,388,374	9,634,668	14,071,646	19,814,685
		2	4,588,588	7,802,777	13,005,442	20,992,428	32,668,892
Latin America & the Caribbean	9,129,990	0	10,955,230	12,621,844	14,020,883	15,122,734	15,892,480
		1	12,107,402	15,416,355	18,926,212	22,560,468	26,202,269
		2	13,380,748	18,829,578	25,547,714	33,656,263	43,200,239
Europe & Japan	17,451,401	0	17,763,548	18,056,869	18,366,127	18,516,237	18,443,921
		1	19,631,757	22,054,709	24,791,678	27,622,980	30,408,884
		2	21,696,447	26,937,683	33,465,265	41,208,644	50,135,774
Land-Rich Developed Countries	13,144,682	0	15,069,057	16,884,817	18,490,566	19,884,991	21,103,897
		1	16,653,883	20,623,162	24,959,654	29,664,921	34,794,443
		2	18,405,387	25,189,187	33,692,008	44,254,862	57,366,339
Less Developed Countries	29,991,461	0	41,020,810	50,393,860	59,944,238	69,164,920	77,509,646
		1	45,335,007	61,551,200	80,916,257	103,181,935	127,791,802
		2	50,102,931	75,178,806	109,225,523	153,929,360	210,693,063

More Developed Countries	30,596,083	0	32,832,605	34,941,686	36,856,693	38,401,228	39,547,817
		1	36,285,640	42,677,871	49,751,332	57,287,901	65,203,327
		2	40,101,834	52,126,870	67,157,274	85,463,505	107,502,113
World	60,587,544	0	73,853,415	85,335,546	96,800,931	107,566,148	117,057,463
		1	81,620,647	104,229,072	130,667,589	160,469,836	192,995,130
		2	90,204,765	127,305,675	176,382,796	239,392,865	318,195,176