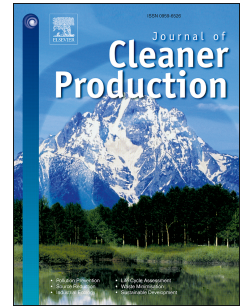


Accepted Manuscript

Urban expansion and form changes across African cities with a global outlook:
Spatiotemporal analysis of urban land densities

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PII: S0959-6526(19)30986-2

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2019.03.276>

Reference: JCLP 16280

To appear in: *Journal of Cleaner Production*

Received Date: 1 January 2019

Revised Date: 17 February 2019

Accepted Date: 25 March 2019

Please cite this article as: Xu G, Dong T, Cobbinah PB, Jiao L, Sumari NS, Chai B, Liu Y, Urban expansion and form changes across African cities with a global outlook: Spatiotemporal analysis of urban land densities, *Journal of Cleaner Production* (2019), doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2019.03.276>.

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1 **Urban Expansion and Form Changes across African Cities with a Global**
2 **Outlook: Spatiotemporal Analysis of Urban Land Densities**

3

4

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25 **Abstract:** Africa has been experiencing rapid urbanization, yet limited studies have
26 systematically investigated urban growth dynamics across African cities. Using 25 cities as
27 cases, we quantified urban growth and form changes in Africa via spatiotemporal analysis of
28 urban land densities in concentric rings over three time points (1990, 2000, and 2014). The
29 results show that African cities have rapidly grown both in population and built-up areas,
30 which increased by about 4% and more than 5% per annum, respectively. Urban land density
31 (defined as the proportion of the built-up area to the buildable area) in each concentric ring
32 decreases from the city center to the urban periphery with diverse patterns among cities.
33 Comparatively, small cities have a lower urban land density and a more dispersed urban form
34 than medium-sized and large cities in Africa. The international comparisons between cities
35 with over one million population in Africa, Asia (e.g., China and India), Europe, and North
36 America (i.e., the United States) reveal that African cities have a relatively less compact
37 urban form. Implications of these findings for the future of African cities are further
38 proffered.

39 **Key words:** urban expansion; population growth; urban land density; urban form; urban
40 sustainability; Africa

41

42 **1 Introduction**

43 As the world continues to urbanize, sustainable development challenges will be
44 increasingly concentrated in cities, particularly in the lower-middle-income countries where
45 the pace of urbanization is rapid and mostly unplanned (Cobbinah et al., 2015; Nagendra et
46 al., 2018). In Africa, a huge number of people are and will continue migrating to cities. The
47 increase in population forces cities to spatially expand, and the impacts of these changes may
48 be considerable (Cobbinah and Darkwah, 2016; Linard et al., 2013). Understanding the
49 characteristics of urban expansion in African cities has the potential to promote sustainable
50 urban development now and into the future. With the United Nations sustainable
51 development goals (SDGs) providing a global development pathway (Anderson et al., 2017;
52 Nilsson et al., 2016), an appreciation of urban expansion dynamics in Africa has become
53 increasingly important and tenable.

54 A number of studies have examined urban expansion and form changes (Chai and Li,
55 2018; Seto et al., 2011; Zeng et al., 2015). With the emergence of remotely sensed imagery,
56 spatial metrics or landscape indices have been widely used to characterize urban dynamics,
57 which are usually combined with the gradient analysis (Ramachandra et al., 2012). Another
58 widely used method is the grid-cell-based analysis, which can unify population growth and
59 urban land expansion and further investigate their correlations (Bagan and Yamagata, 2012;
60 Hou et al., 2016). Spatial modeling in the geographical information system (GIS), like the
61 cellular automata (CA), is able to reconstruct the discontinuous historical time series of the
62 urban land use, supporting the analysis of urban growth and form changes (Basse et al., 2014;
63 Cosentino et al., 2018; Herold et al., 2003; Li and Yeh, 2002; Pontius et al., 2007). As for the
64 urban form, shape and density have proven to be the two most important aspects (Angel et al.,
65 2018; Angel et al., 2010a). The exploration of the urban land density can not only
66 characterize urban expansion, but also distinguish the dispersed pattern from the compact
67 form (Jiao, 2015; Schneider and Woodcock, 2008). Additionally, the emerging big data has
68 raised new methods to understand cities and quantify urban expansion (Jiang, 2018; Long et
69 al., 2018; Song et al., 2018).

70 Compared to widespread studies on urban land-use changes and expansion in Europe,
71 North America (e.g., the United States), as well as Asia, particularly in China and India (Liu
72 et al., 2017; Sahana et al., 2018; Schneider and Mertes, 2014; Sumari et al., 2017; Zeng et al.,
73 2017), limited studies have focused on urban development in African cities. Similarly,
74 available studies on urban land-use changes and expansion in Africa do not provide a
75 comprehensive basis for comparison as they focused on a city in detail (Cobbinah and
76 Aboagye, 2017; Coulter et al., 2016; Kleemann et al., 2017; Simwanda and Murayama, 2018)
77 or few cities in some countries (Adhikari and de Beurs, 2017; Hou et al., 2016; Linard et al.,
78 2013). In many cases, these previous studies focused on urban expansion in large cities
79 (Schneider and Woodcock, 2008), neglecting urban dynamics in small and medium-sized
80 cities. Regrettably, urban growth data across African cities are limited, making holistic
81 assessment of urban development dynamics across African cities difficult.

82 In this study, using 25 African cities as cases, we systematically and comprehensively
83 investigate the characteristics and processes of urban expansion and form changes from 1990

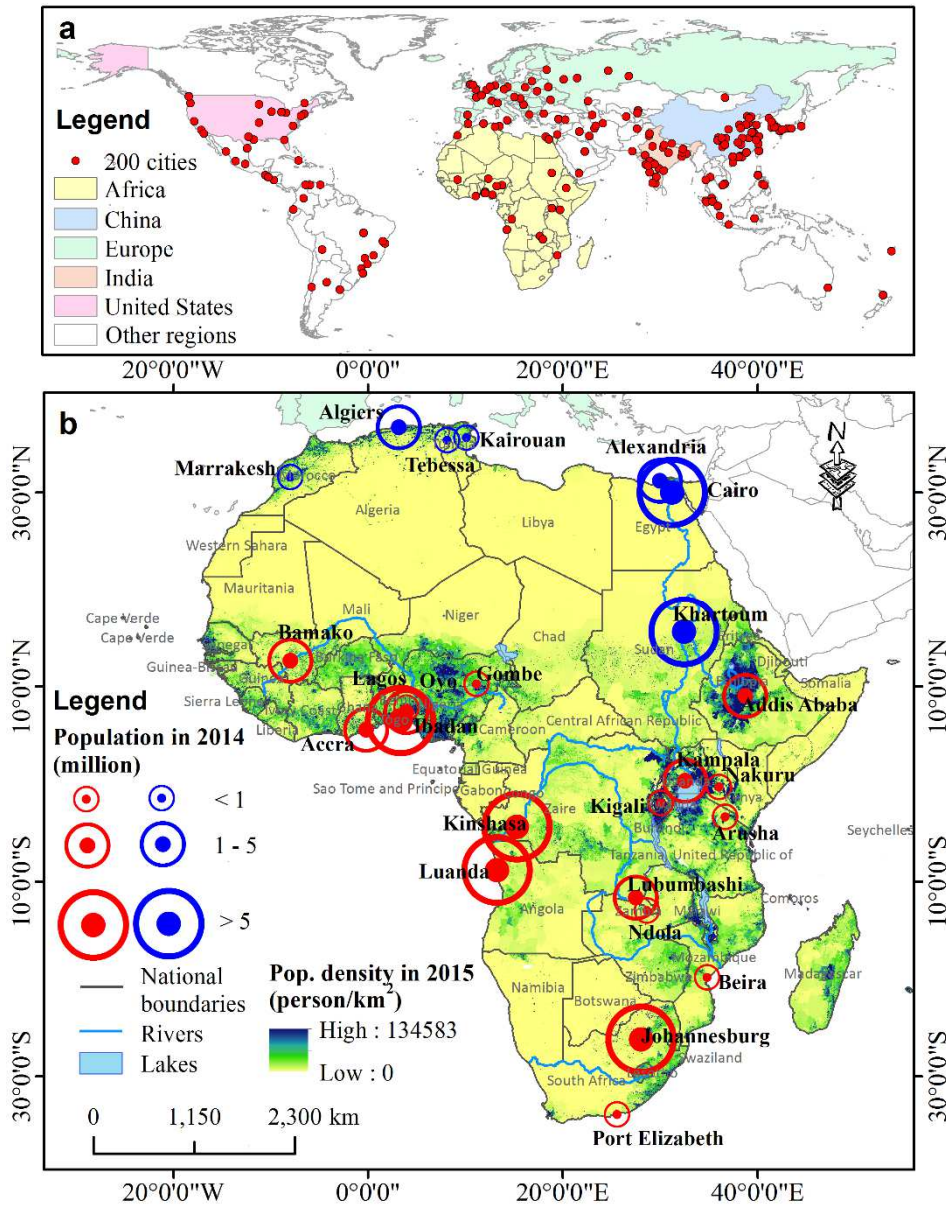
84 to 2014, from the perspective of spatio-temporal analysis of urban land densities. We
85 compare urban expansion and form changes among different sized cities, and further compare
86 them between these African cities and those in Europe, Asia (e.g., India and India) and North
87 America, particularly the United States.

88 **2 Study Area and Data**

89 **2.1 Study area**

90 *The Atlas of Urban Expansion (2016 Edition)* program was published online, including
91 urban population and built-up areas in 200 global cities in 1990, 2000, and 2014 (Angel,
92 2016). The 200 global cities were constructed with three strata, world regions, city population
93 sizes, and the number of cities in their countries. Cities were selected at random from eight
94 world regions in proportion to the urban population in each region (United Nations, 2015).
95 Finally, a sample of 200 cities was chosen from the entire 4,231 cities and metropolitan areas
96 that had 100,000 people or more in 2010. The spatial distribution of 200 sample cities is
97 presented in Figure 1a.

98 There are 25 African cities in this dataset, with seven cities in North Africa and eighteen
99 cities in Sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 1b). The city sizes vary across the 25 cities, including
100 large ones, such as Cairo (Egypt) and Johannesburg (South Africa), as well as small cities
101 with only 100 thousand people. According to their population in 2014, we divided sample
102 cities into three groups: large cities (> 5 million people in 2014), medium-sized cities (1-5
103 million people), and small cities (< 1 million people), shown in Table A1. The group of large
104 cities includes three megacities, Cairo (Egypt), Lagos (Nigeria), Kinshasa (Congo Dem.
105 Rep.), which have more than 10 million people in 2014.



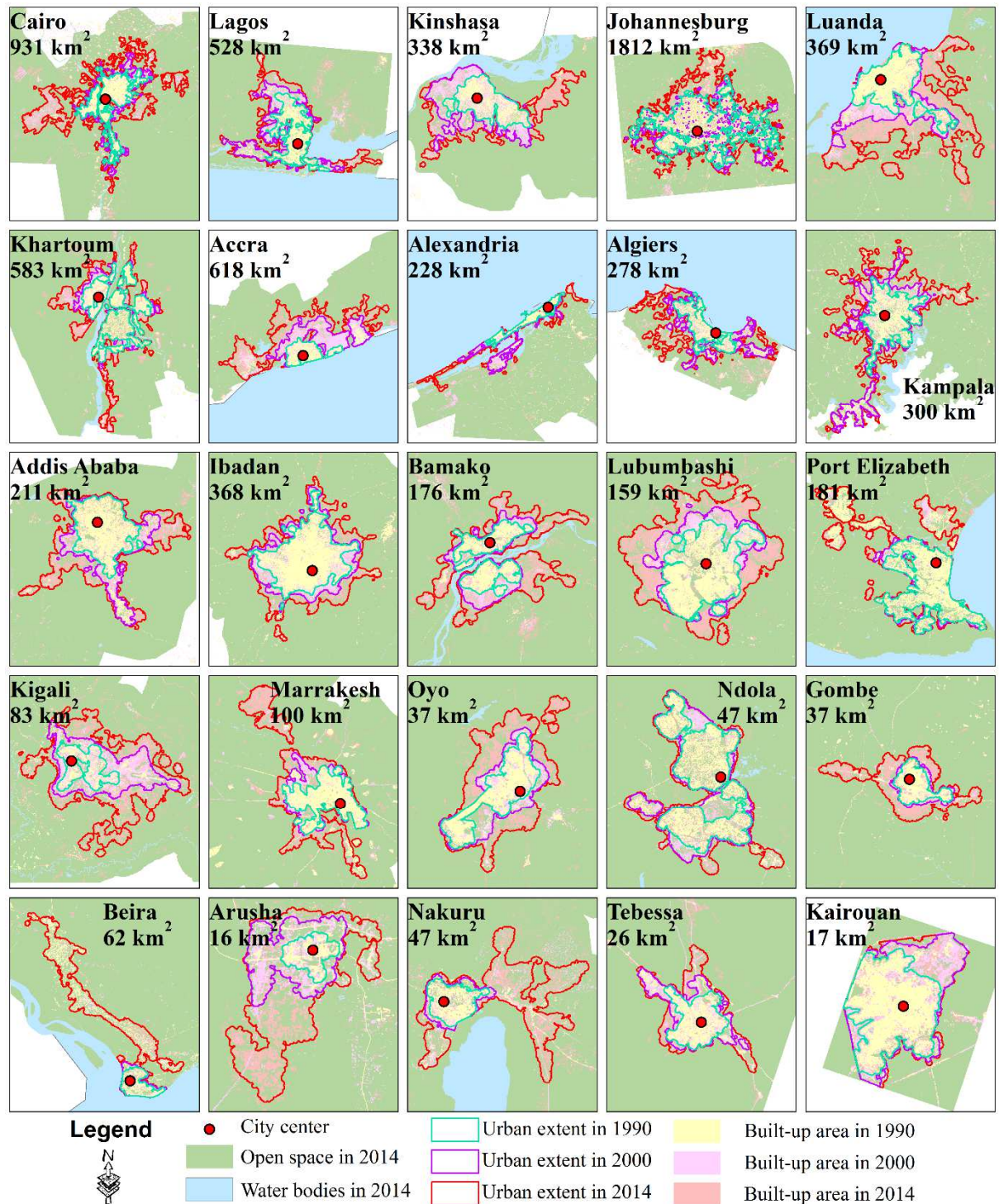
106

107 **Figure 1. Spatial distribution of 200 global cities (a) and 25 African cities and their population**
 108 **sizes in 2014 (b).** Seven cities located in North Africa are in blue and eighteen cities located in
 109 Sub-Saharan Africa are in red. According to their population in 2014, these 25 cities are divided into
 110 three groups: small cities, medium-sized cities, and large cities. The base map of population density in
 111 Africa comes from the world pop (<http://www.worldpop.org.uk/>).

112 2.2 Data source

113 The data used in this study were generated from *The Atlas of Urban Expansion (2016*
 114 *Edition)* (<http://www.atlasofurbanexpansion.org>), including population data and land use
 115 maps at three time points (circa 1990, 2000, and 2014, hereinafter T1, T2, and T3). The
 116 population estimates are constructed from available census data. They used the unsupervised
 117 classification method to classify the Landsat imagery (spatial resolution: 30 m) into three
 118 classes: built-up, open space, and water bodies (Angel, 2016). They define the urban cluster
 119 as built-up areas together with the urbanized open space. The largest urban cluster in a given
 120 study area is recognized as the main city. The main city and surrounding urban clusters make

121 up the urban extent of the city. The spatial distribution of urban land and urban extent in three
 122 years (circa 1990, 2000, and 2014) and open space and water bodies in 2014 in each city is
 123 presented in Figure 2. See Angel et al. (2016) for detailed explanations for data acquiring and
 124 processing and detailed land use classification procedures can be found in Hurd (2015).



125

126 **Figure 2. Spatial distribution of land use and urban extent in 25 African cities at three time**
 127 **points (1990, 2000, and 2014).** Cities are organized in descending order of population in 2014.
 128 Sub-plots are under different scales and sizes of urban extents can be compared by their built-up areas
 129 in 2014 shown in sub-plots.

130 3 Methods

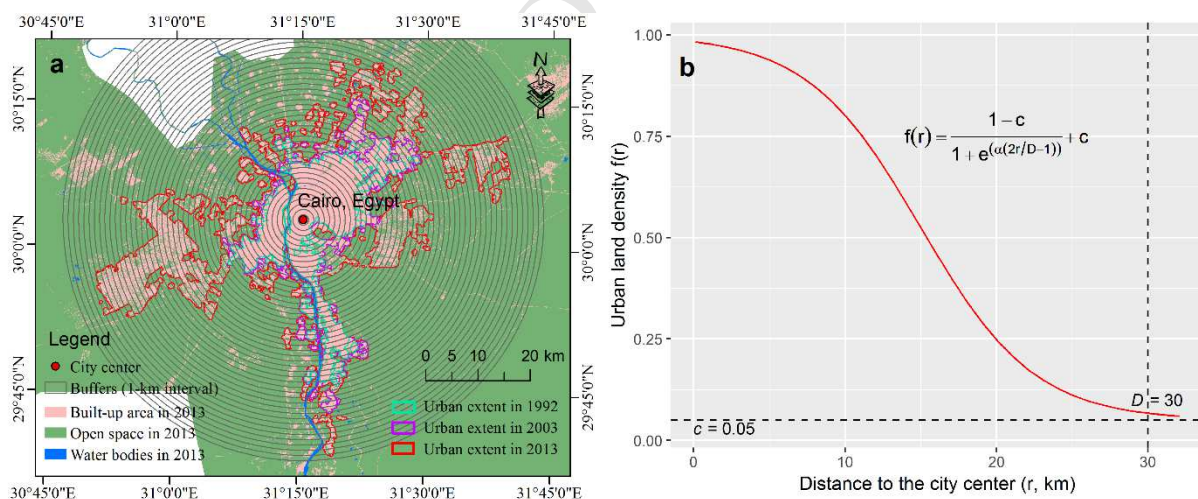
131 3.1 Concentric rings analysis

132 The concentric rings analysis divides urban areas into series of concentric rings from the
 133 city center (Jiao et al., 2017b; Schneider and Woodcock, 2008). It is of significance as to
 134 where the city center is defined, usually, this is taken as the birthplace of the city or the
 135 central business district (CBD) of the city. *The Atlas of Urban Expansion (2016 Edition)*
 136 provides CBD locations in each city. We inspect and verify these CBD locations using
 137 Google high-resolution imagery. We first generate a series of equidistant concentric rings
 138 from the city center until the outmost ring covers the entire urban extent in T3 (2014). Taking
 139 Cairo (Egypt) as an example, the series of 1-km equidistant buffer rings is shown in Figure
 140 3a.

141 The urban land density in concentric rings is defined as the proportion of urban land to
 142 buildable areas. The buildable area refers to the land that is, and has the potential to be
 143 converted into, the urban land. Among the three land use types (built-up, open space, and
 144 water bodies) obtained from Landsat imagery, water bodies are usually protected and are
 145 considered not to be converted into the urban land. Finally, the urban land density in each
 146 ring is calculated using formula (1):

$$Dens = \frac{S_{urban\ land}}{S - S_{water}} \quad (1)$$

147 where $Dens$ is the density of urban land (built-up area). S is the total land area in a ring,
 148 excluding areas without land cover in a ring. $S_{urban\ land}$ and S_{water} are the areas of built-up areas
 149 and water bodies in a ring, respectively.



150 **Figure 3.** A series of concentric rings with a 1-km interval until the outmost ring covering the entire
 151 urban extent in 2013 in Cairo, Egypt (a) and a graph of the urban land density function with $\alpha = 4$, $c =$
 152 0.05 , and $D = 30$ (b).

154 3.2 Urban land density function

155 By calculating urban land densities in series concentric rings in Chinese cities, Jiao
 156 (2015) found that the urban land density decreases slowly with increasing distance from the
 157 city center in the urban core area, decreases relatively quickly in the inner urban and

158 suburban areas, and then decreases slowly again in the urban fringe and periphery, presenting
 159 an inverse S-shape. Inspired by the S-shape of sigmoid function ($f(x) = 1/(1+e^{-x})$), Jiao (2015)
 160 proposes a modified function (*urban land density function*) with an inverse S-shape to
 161 characterize the distance decay of urban land density within a city. The urban land density
 162 function with an inverse S-shape is defined in formula (2):

$$f(r) = \frac{1 - c}{1 + e^{\alpha(2r/D-1)}} + c \quad (2)$$

163 where f is the urban land density calculated using formula (1), r is the radius from the city
 164 center to a concentric ring, e is Euler's number, and α , c and D are parameters. A graph of the
 165 urban land density function is shown in Figure 3b with $\alpha = 4$, $c = 0.05$, and $D = 30$.

166 The significant scientific value of urban land density function is not only that the
 167 function can fit the spatial variation of the urban land density in a city very well, but also the
 168 function can generate indicators to characterize urban form and dynamics of urban expansion
 169 (Jiao, 2015). The parameter c represents the background density of urban land in the
 170 hinterland of a city and the parameter D denotes the urban extent, an approximate of the
 171 boundary between the urban fringe and the hinterland. The parameter α is negatively
 172 correlated with the proportion of the rapidly decreasing part of the curve, i.e., the part
 173 denoting the inner urban and suburban areas (Jiao, 2015). A compact city has a narrow area
 174 for the rapidly decreasing part, resulting in a higher α . Thus, a higher value of α indicates a
 175 more compact urban form (see detailed explanations in Jiao (2015)).

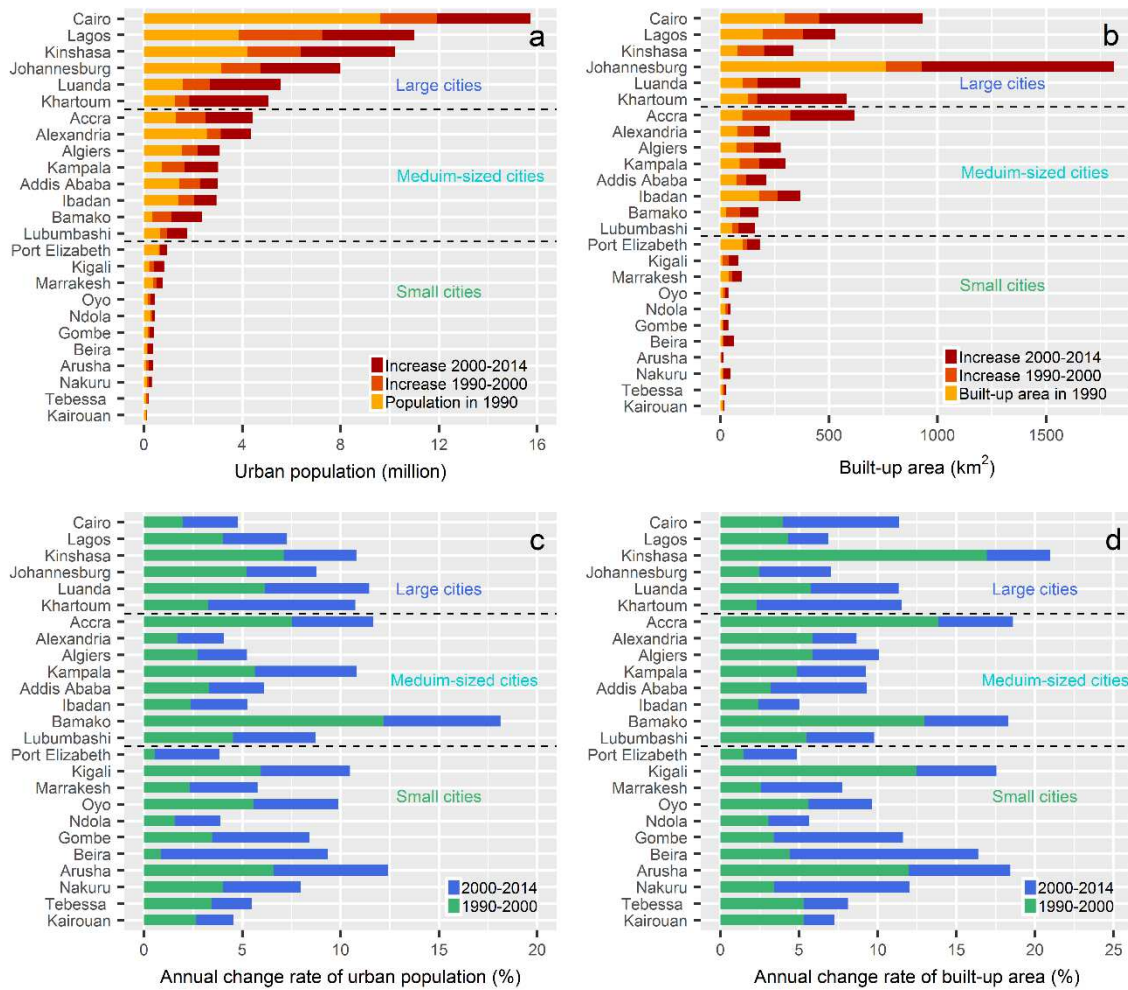
176 4 Results

177 4.1 Urban population growth and land expansion

178 The population and built-up areas of the 25 African cities at three time points (1990,
 179 2000, and 2014), and their annual change rates (geometric growth rate) during two periods
 180 (1990-2000, 2000-2014) are presented in Figure 4. City sizes vary considerably among the 25
 181 cities, both from the perspective of population and built-up areas. Cairo (Egypt) has the
 182 largest population in 2014, which is more than 100 times greater than the smallest city,
 183 Kairouan (Tunisia). The biggest size in terms of built-up area is Johannesburg (South Africa).
 184 All cities have been growing both in population and built-up areas. The average population of
 185 25 cities increased from 1.44 million in 1990 to 3.43 million in 2014, suggesting an increase
 186 of 2.4 times in the past 24 years. The average built-up areas of 25 cities increased from 99
 187 km² in 1990 to 302 km² in 2014, which is a 3.1 fold increase from the initial size.

188 On average, the urban population grew by 4.19% per year and urban land expanded by
 189 5.97% per year from 1990 to 2000. During 2000-2014, the average annual growth rates of
 190 population and built-up area are 4.04% and 5.13%, respectively. In terms of the disparities
 191 among different sized cities, the average annual growth rates of population in small,
 192 medium-sized, and large cities are 3.74%, 4.28%, and 4.35%, respectively, during 1990-2014.
 193 Correspondingly, the average annual growth rates of the built-up areas in 1990-2014 are
 194 5.41%, 5.28%, and 5.42% in small, medium-sized, and large cities, respectively. The
 195 faster-growing of urban land than that of population results in a widespread decline in urban
 196 population densities (Angel et al., 2010b; Xu et al., 2019b). For instance, the average urban

197 population densities of the 25 cities decreased from 17273 person/km² (1990) to 11949
 198 person/km² (2014).

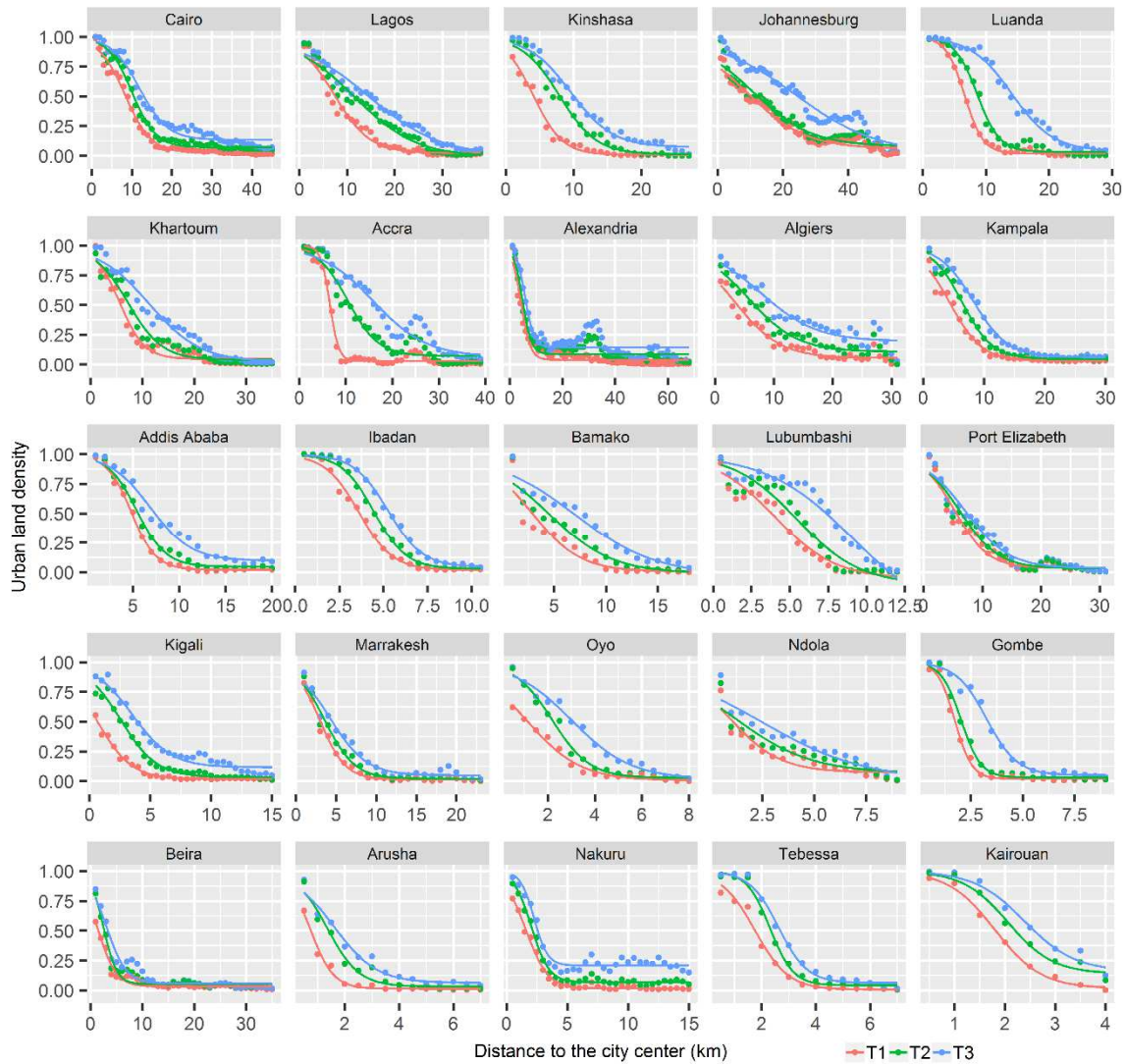


199

200 **Figure 4.** Urban population (a) and built-up areas (b) in 1990, 2000, and 2014 and annual change
 201 rates of urban population (c) and built-up areas (d) during 1990-2000 and 2000-2014 in 25 African
 202 cities.

203 4.2 Distance decay of urban land density

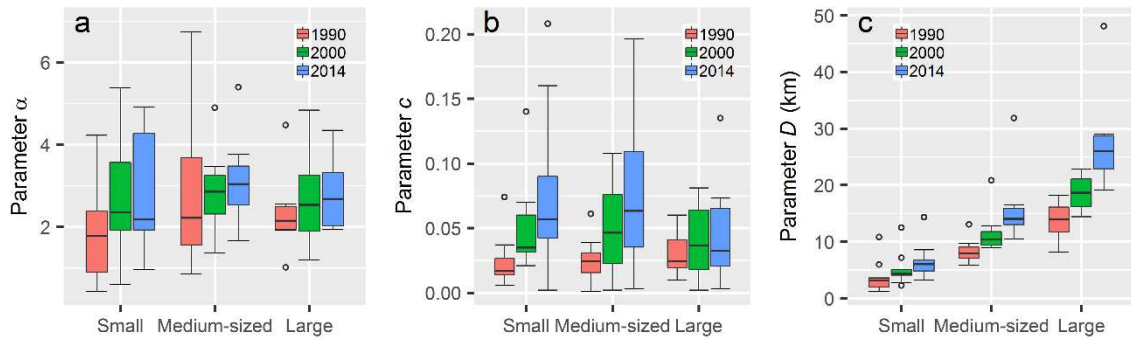
204 We calculate the proportion of built-up area to the buildable area in each concentric ring,
 205 which is defined as the urban land density. We fit the distance decay of the urban land density
 206 using the urban land density function (formula (2)) proposed by Jiao (2015). Scatter plots and
 207 fitted curves at three time points in each city are shown in Figure 5, and the estimated
 208 parameters for the model are shown in Table A2. Spatially, urban land densities in concentric
 209 rings decreased from the city center to the urban periphery. Overall, the urban land density
 210 function can fit the distance decay of densities very well (with a high adjusted R^2 , Table A2).
 211 Temporally, urban land densities increased in all concentric rings from 1990 to 2000, and
 212 then from 2000 to 2014, revealing the persistent and spatially wide expansion in all cities.



213

214 **Figure 5. The distance decay of the urban land density in concentric rings at three time points.**215 Cities are organized in descending order of their population in 2014. See parameters and goodness of
216 fit of the urban land density function in Table A2.

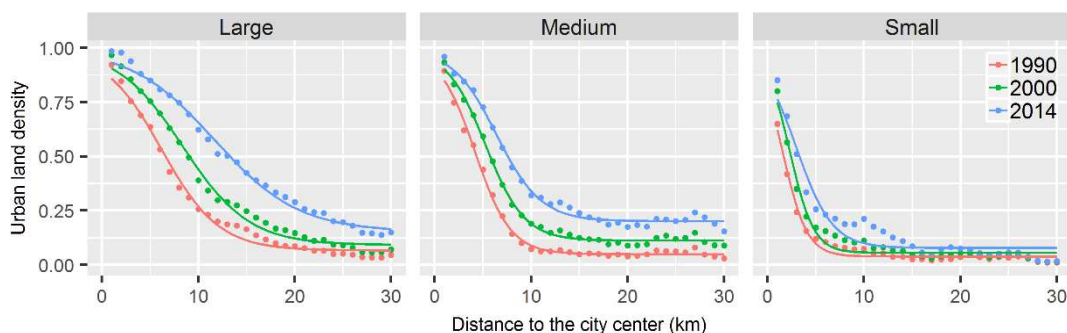
217 Parameters of the urban land density function indicate the temporal variations and
218 disparities of urban dynamics in different sized cities (Figure 6). Parameter α reflects urban
219 form and changes and a higher α represents a more compact urban form. Generally, large
220 cities and medium-size cities have a higher α than small cities from the perspective of median
221 values (black thick line), indicating the urban form is relatively dispersed in small cities.
222 Parameter α increases over time in large and medium-sized cities, showing a more compact
223 urban form as city expand. Parameter c represents the background density of urban land and
224 its values for large, medium-sized, and small cities increase from 3%, 3%, and 2% in 1990 to
225 5%, 8%, and 8% in 2014, respectively, indicating the increase of the urban land density in the
226 hinterland. The average boundaries of urban fringe (represented by parameter D) for large,
227 medium-sized, and small cities in 1990 are 13.7 km, 8.8 km, and 3.6 km, respectively, which
228 increased to 28.5 km, 16.0 km, and 6.5 km in 2014, respectively.



229

230 **Figure 6.** Boxplots of parameters α , c , and D of the urban land density function in three sized cities in
 231 1990, 2000, and 2014.

232 There are considerable disparities of the distance decay of the urban land density in
 233 diverse cities (Figure 5). To further compare the differences of urban expansion and urban
 234 forms in different sized cities, we obtained the distance decay of the urban land density in
 235 three aggregated cities (large, medium-sized, and small cities), where the urban land density
 236 is the average densities of cities from the same group (Figure 7). The parameters and
 237 goodness of fit of the three aggregated cities using the urban land density function are
 238 presented in Table A3. Distance decay curves of the urban land density vary among different
 239 sized cities, which reveals the disparities of urban expansion and urban form among them.
 240 The curve of the aggregated large city is the closest to the inverse S-shape, where the urban
 241 land density is high and decreases slowly near the city center. However, the inverse S-shape
 242 is not obvious in small cities, where the urban land density tends to decrease in a linear mode
 243 until to a stable density. Urban land densities are more than 90% around city centers in large
 244 cities, but densities near the center in small cities are less than 80%. This reflects that small
 245 cities are still in the primary stage of urban development and the urban core areas have not
 246 yet formed. As a result, the curves of the urban land density in small cities do not present an
 247 inverse S-shape. In addition, large cities have experienced a much rapider urban expansion
 248 because the intervals between curves are greater in the averaged large city.

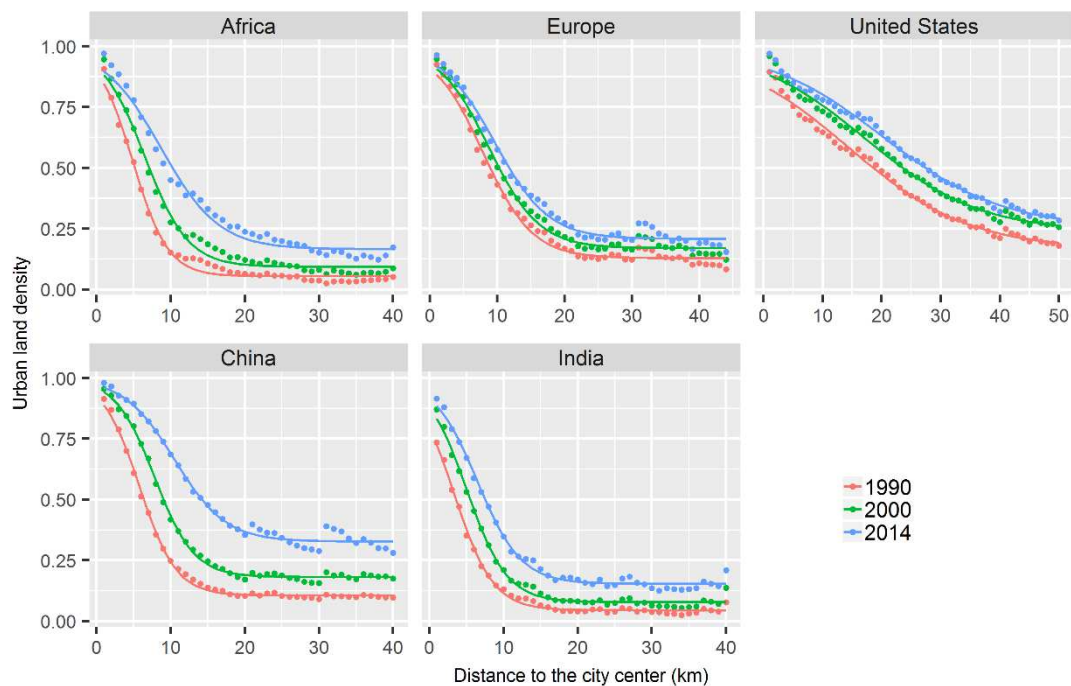


249

250 **Figure 7. The distance decay of the urban land density in three aggregated cities in Africa.** The
 251 urban land density in an aggregated city is the mean of densities of cities from the same group. For
 252 instance, the urban land density in a concentric ring in the aggregated large city is the mean of
 253 densities in concentric rings (with the same distance to the city center) of the all six large cities
 254 (Figure 1, Table A1).

255 4.3 International comparisons of urban expansion and forms

256 For the comparisons of urban expansion and urban forms between African cities and
 257 cities in other regions, we selected cities with more than one million (2014) population in
 258 Africa, Europe, the United States, China, and India from *The Atlas of Urban Expansion-2016*
 259 *Edition* (See Table A4 for detailed city names). We first calculate the urban land density in
 260 concentric rings in each city (Figure A1) and then summarize the average densities in
 261 concentric rings in cities from the same country or region, resulting in an aggregated city in
 262 each of the five regions. The fitted distance decay curves are presented in Figure 8 (see
 263 parameters and goodness of fit in Table A5).



264

265 **Figure 8. Comparisons of the distance decay of the urban land density in the aggregated cities in**
 266 **Africa, the United States, Europe, China, and India.** These are aggregated cities whose urban land
 267 densities in concentric rings are summarized from cities with over one million population in 2014 in
 268 each region. The detailed names of city samples from the five regions are shown in Table A4. The
 269 distance decay curves of the urban land density in an individual city in Europe, the United States,
 270 China, and India are shown in Figure A1.

271 Comparatively, there are three patterns of distance decay of the urban land density,
 272 namely, the inverse S-shape, two stages of linear decay, and the linear decay, which are
 273 represented by the Chinese city, the European city, and the American city, respectively
 274 (Figure 8). The Chinese city has the most obvious inverse S-shape of the distance decay of
 275 the urban land density. The European city nearly experiences two stages of linear decay of the
 276 urban land density, which has been reported (Guérois and Pumain, 2008). The urban land
 277 density in the American city tends to decline in a linear mode. The pattern of distance decay
 278 in the African city is between the inverse S-shape and the two stages of linear decay.

279 The pattern of distance decay of the urban land density reflects urban form and its
 280 changes. Overall, cities in China, Europe, and India have a more compact urban form in 2014

281 because they have a higher α (Table A5). On contrast, α of the African city and the American
282 city is relatively low in 2014, indicating a more dispersed urban form. The African city and
283 the Chinese city have larger intervals of the urban land density in concentric rings, indicating
284 the relatively rapid urban expansion in the two regions.

285 **5 Discussion**

286 Previous literature presents conflicting positions on rapid urbanization or urban growth
287 in Africa (Cobbinah et al., 2015; Potts, 2005; Watson, 2009). On the one hand, there is
288 optimism that the rapid urbanization in Africa provides a fertile ground for industrialization,
289 skill development, improved infrastructure and economic growth (Group, 2014; Turok and
290 Borel-Saladin, 2014). On the other hand, others believe that Africa's urbanization is
291 problematic, population-driven, and without development (Boadi et al., 2005; Todes, 2012;
292 Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2014). While each of the foregoing positions may, to some extent,
293 be true, the known reality is that African cities are growing, both in population and spatial
294 extent, although the dynamics across cities are unknown. It is within this context that there is
295 even a greater urgency to understand the dynamics of Africa's urbanization or urban growth
296 (Pieterse, 2011).

297 In this study, we have quantified the urban growth in 25 African cities from 1990 to
298 2014. Findings show that all cities have experienced considerable growth in population and
299 built-up area. Urban population averagely increased by about 4% per annum, while built-up
300 area averagely increased by more than 5% per annum during 1990-2014. Urban expansion is
301 relatively occurring faster compared to population growth, which often leads to low urban
302 population density and sprawl over time (Angel et al., 2010b). Urban land densities in
303 African small cities are lower than in large or medium-sized cities, predominantly near the
304 city center, and small cities have a more dispersed urban form (Figure 7). International
305 comparisons reveal that urban form in African cities are less compact than cities in Europe
306 and China (Figure 8). We used the urban land density function within a global context,
307 verifying its applicability across global cities. The comparison of global urban patterns can
308 also provide useful references for studies on urban expansion and form changes.

309 Our findings have implications for urban environment and sustainability in Africa. The
310 challenge of incongruence nature of urban expansion and population growth forms the basis
311 of urban sustainability (Angel et al., 2018; Angel et al., 2010b). The relatively dispersed
312 urban form in small cities needs to be given attention, and controlling measures should be
313 implemented in the future urban planning. Policies and strategies promoted to compact
314 growth are encouraged in Africa within the sustainable development thinking. Urban
315 expansion inevitably influences the urban environment, increasing uncertainties of urban
316 sustainability (Jiao et al., 2017a; Kaur and Garg, 2019; Martellozzo et al., 2018; Nagendra et
317 al., 2018; Xu et al., 2016). Rapid and massive land-use/land-cover change (LUCC) strongly
318 affects ecosystem services (Wang et al., 2018). Many African cities are in environmentally
319 sensitive and vulnerable areas or near biodiversity hotspots, and the urban environment
320 should be extraordinarily protected while developing the city.

321 This study also has some exceptions. For instance, urban land densities are decreasing
322 monotonically in most cities, but in Accra and Alexandria, urban land densities increase in

323 suburban areas. Bumps of densities away from the city center indicate influences of
324 significant sub-centers. Accra and Alexandria are typical coastal cities (Figure 2), showing a
325 long and narrow ribbon form, which are sensitive to sub-centers in the distance decay of the
326 urban land density. For instance, the Mobarak town (satellite town) and Alexandria Borg el
327 Arab Airport are included in the calculation of urban land densities for Alexandria, resulting
328 in two obvious bumps in densities, about 17 km and 30 km away from the city center,
329 respectively (Figure 5). Adopting polycentric scenarios can alleviate the abnormal fluctuation
330 of urban land densities (Jiao, 2015; Xu et al., 2019a). In addition, the method we used can
331 well quantify the macro pattern of urban expansion (Xu et al., 2019a), but it may neglect
332 micro dynamics of urban sprawl and urban sprinkling (Jiao et al., 2018; Romano et al., 2017a;
333 Romano et al., 2017b; Saganeiti et al., 2018).

334 **6 Conclusions**

335 African cities are experiencing extraordinary urban transformation, and the region
336 remains one of the fastest urbanization zones in the world. This study provides a
337 comprehensive analysis of urban expansion dynamics and urban forms across 25 African
338 cities with a global outlook. All 25 African cities have grown both in population and built-up
339 areas, which increased by around 4% and more than 5% per annum, respectively. The
340 spatiotemporal variations of urban land densities in concentric rings reflect urban expansion
341 processes and form changes. Different sized African cities experience diverse urban
342 expansion with distinguished urban forms. Small African cities feature a lower urban land
343 density and a more dispersed urban form, which are usually ignored and should be taken into
344 consideration in further urban planning. The international comparisons of cities among Africa,
345 Asia (e.g., China and India), Europe, and North America (i.e. the United States) indicate that
346 African cities are in a less compact urban form. Compact growth policies and strategies are
347 encouraged for the sustainable urbanization in Africa.

348 Results from this study provide researchers, policy- and decision-makers insights into
349 the reality of urban dynamism across African cities; the similarities, and variations, and their
350 implications for future urban planning. An understanding of the urban complexities, and
351 conscious awareness and application of the findings from this research in African cities
352 would provide a better policy, planning and management response in containing the urban
353 growth or urbanization phenomenon. Considering that Africa's urbanization level is estimated
354 to rise, further studies linking urban growth and economic transformation can improve the
355 quality of urbanization and promote the sustainable development (Gollin et al., 2015). This is
356 particularly important especially in this era that there is a global movement towards achieving
357 sustainability expressed through the sustainable development goals.

358 **Declarations of interest:** none.

359 **Acknowledgements**

360 This research was funded by the National Natural Science Foundation of China
361 (41571385) and the National Key R&D Program of China (2017YFA0604404).

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- 516

Highlights

- We analyze variations of urban land densities to quantify Africa's urban expansion.
- Urban population and land grew by about 4% and over 5% annually from 1990 to 2014.
- Small African cities have a lower urban land density and a more dispersed form.
- African cities have a less compact form than cities in China, Europe, and India.

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