# ETHIOPIA URBANIZATION REVIEW

1

An Overview March 2015

### Outline

- 1) Urbanization: The Fundamentals
- 2) Urbanization in Africa: The Trends
- 3) Urbanization in Ethiopia: A One-Off Opportunity
  - Section 1: Urbanization and Economic Growth
  - Section 2: Priority Areas for Government Investment
  - Section 3: Urban Institutions for a Middle Income Ethiopia

Section 4: Takeaways

# URBANIZATION

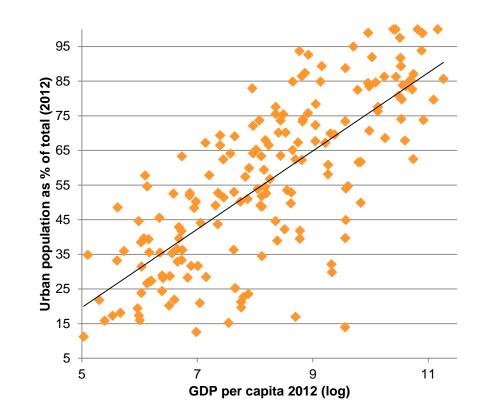
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The Fundamentals

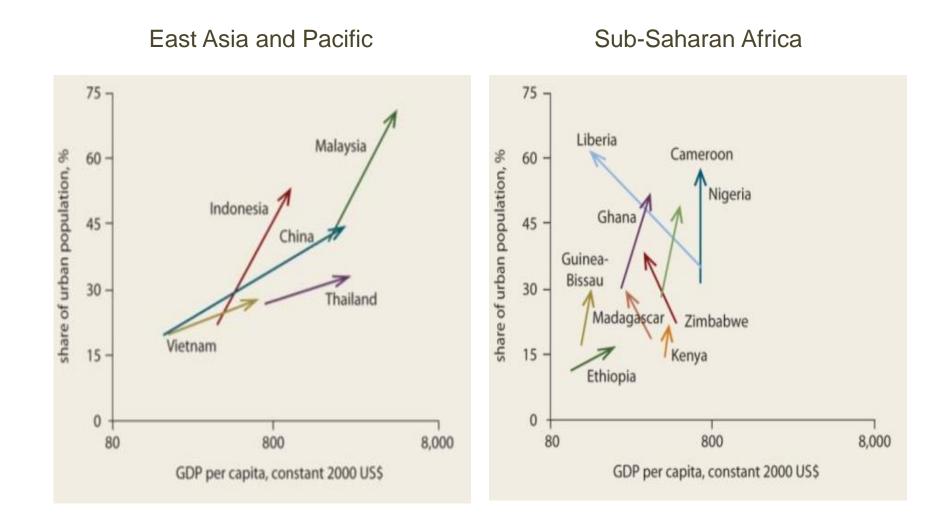
### Urbanization is associated with economic growth

### All countries achieving middle income status have urbanized significantly

More urbanized countries have **lower poverty** and are **more prosperous** 



# But a positive relationship with economic growth is not automatic



5

# The management of urbanization is vital

### The concentration of population in urban areas provides the opportunity to deliver basic services at scale—and decreased cost

 On average, piped water is \$0.70-0.80 per cubic meter in urban areas compared with \$2 in sparsely populated areas (GMR, 2013)

#### However urbanization on its own is no guarantee of success

 While urbanization holds the prospect of driving economic growth, reducing poverty, and expanding access to jobs, housing and services for an increasing share of the population, much depends on HOW the process is managed.

#### While all countries urbanize, not all profit equally

- Some do so well, and capture its benefits
- Some do so poorly and are left with cities which are characterized by slums, congestion, pollution and do little to support growth

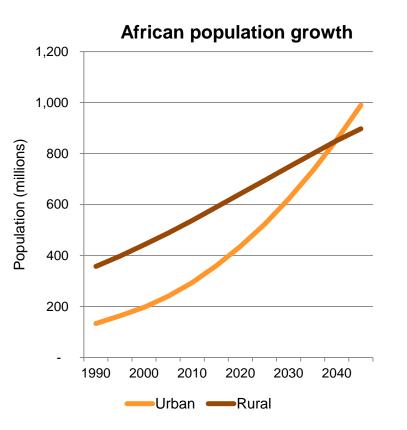
## **URBANIZATION IN AFRICA**

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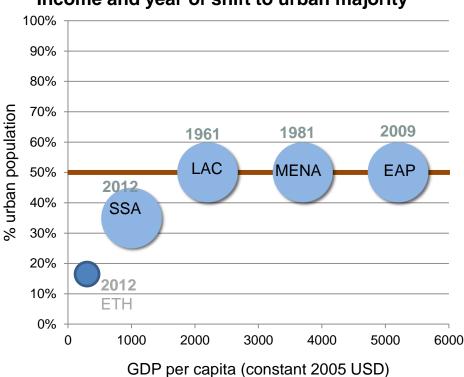
The Trends

### Africa is urbanizing...

### Very rapidly...

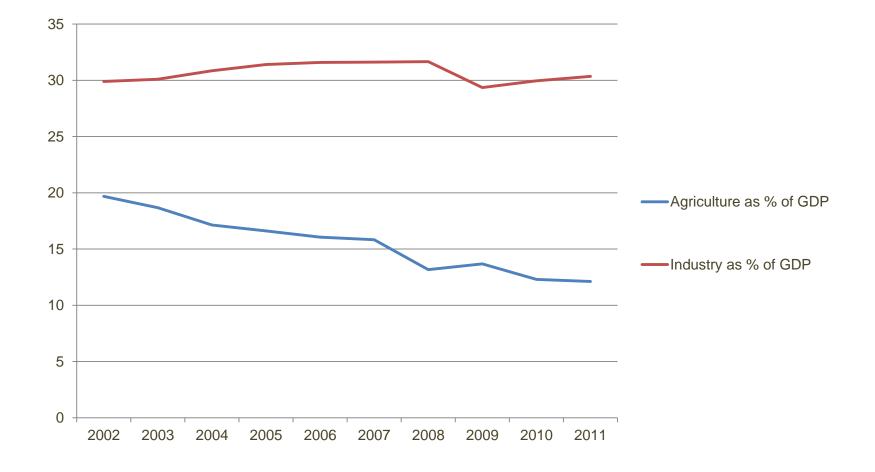


### but late and at low incomes

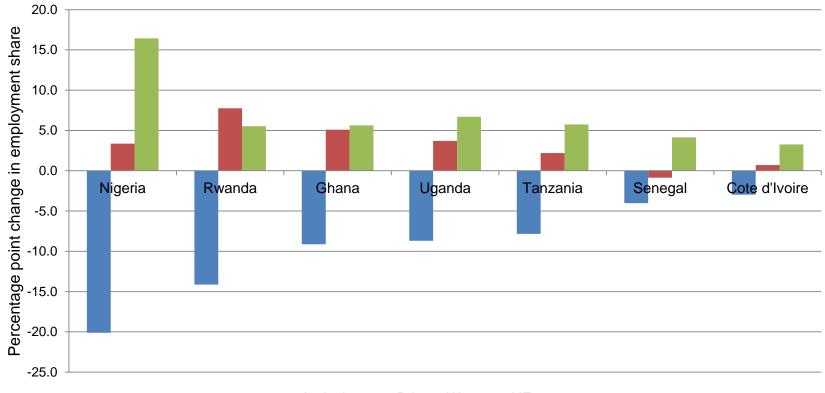


Income and year of shift to urban majority

### Africa's economies are increasingly urban..

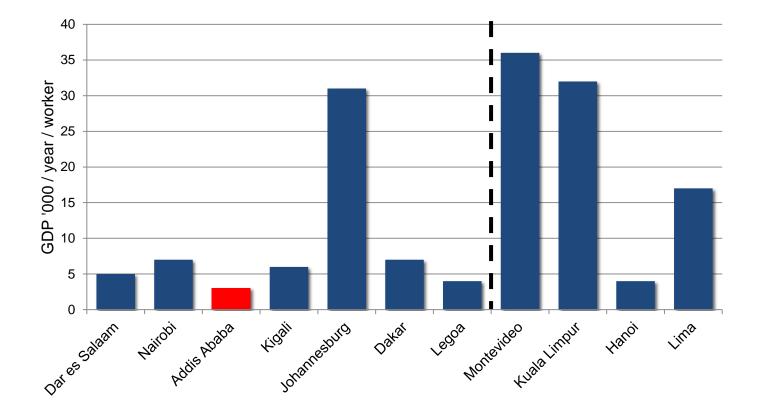


### And so are its jobs



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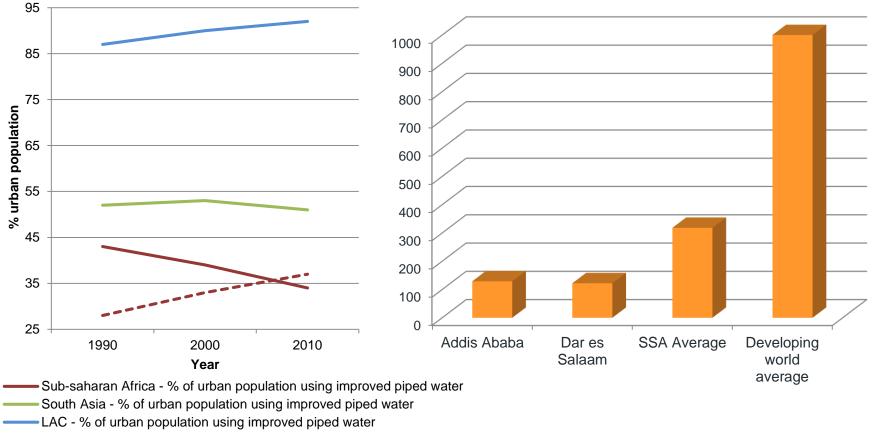
### Africa's cities are not very productive



### And service-delivery is struggling to keep up...

Water supply coverage (%)

Paved roads (m per 1,000 people)



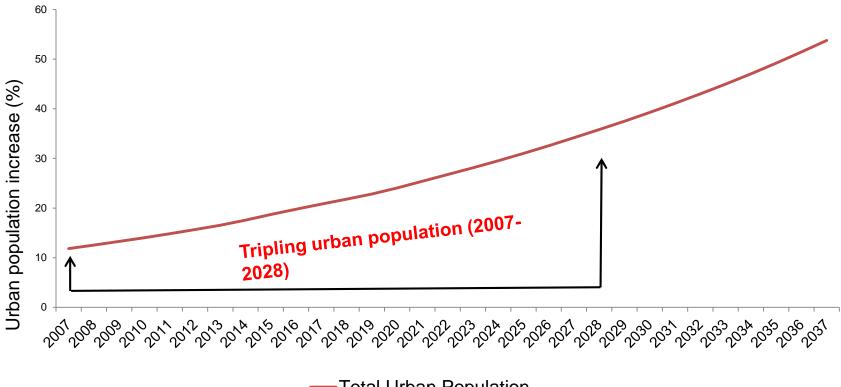
--- Sub-saharan Africa - % urban population

# **URBANIZATION IN ETHIOPIA**

A One-Off Opportunity

Section I: Urbanization and Economic Growth

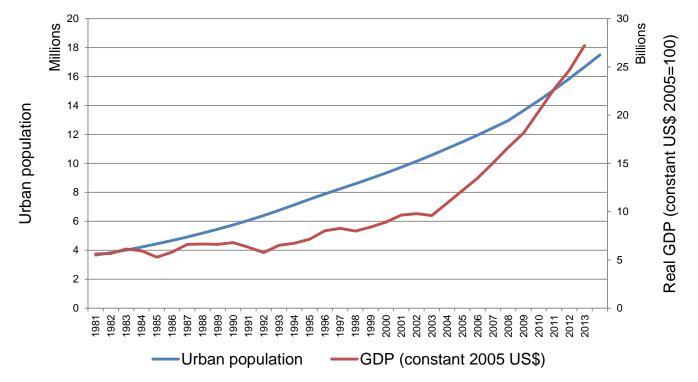
### Ethiopia's urban transition has taken off



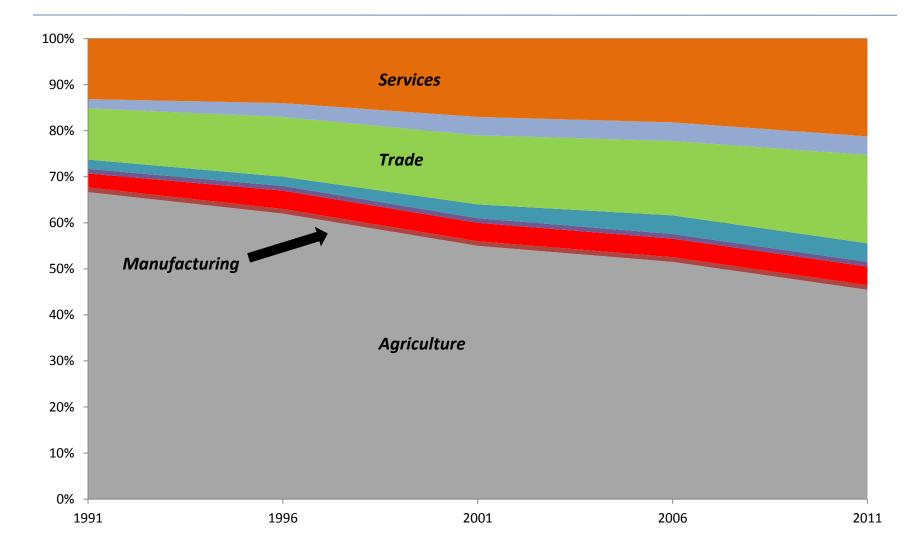
—Total Urban Population

# Ethiopia's urbanization is associated with economic growth

- As in other countries, urbanization in Ethiopia has been associated with **high levels of economic growth**, averaging 10.4% between 2003 and 2013.
- Cities contribute to 38% of GDP with only 15% of total workforce.
- Assuming sustained high growth rates, Ethiopia could reach middle income status by 2030 (GNI per capita \$1,560)

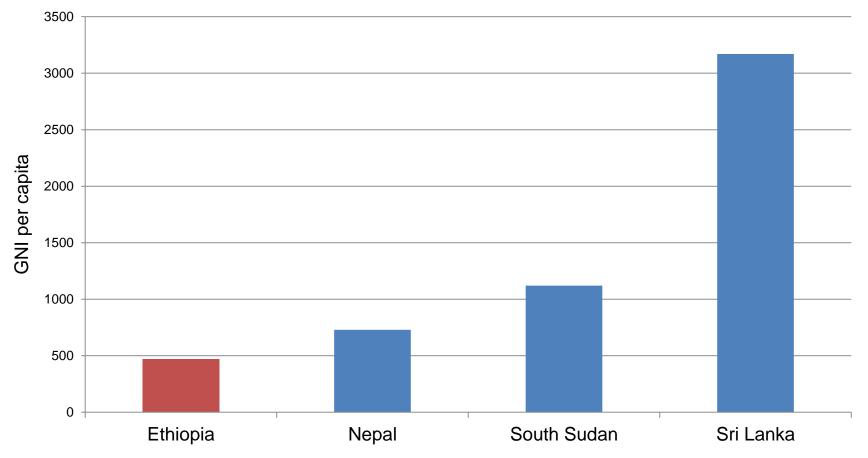


### But structural transformation has been modest



# Ethiopia not maximizing returns from urbanization

Ethiopia has a lower level of GNI per capita compared to other countries at 18% urbanization



# **URBANIZATION IN ETHIOPIA**

A One-Off Opportunity

Section 2: Priority Areas for Investment

### Three core priorities

**Urbanization needs to be managed proactively**, otherwise cities will struggle to provide jobs, infrastructure and services, and housing.







#1 Jobs

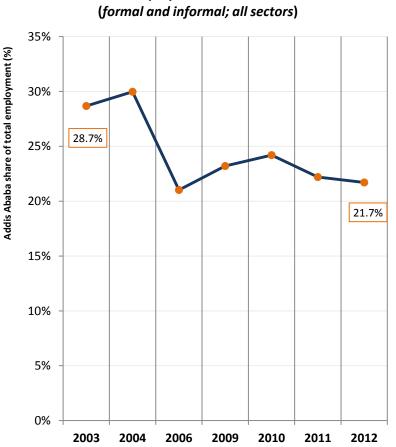
#### #2 Infrastructure and Services

**#3 Housing** 

# Job creation is lagging

#### Ethiopia has higher than average unemployment

- **Ethiopia unemployment** (15% in urban • areas) is higher than other SSA countries
- The informal sector, which provides most • employment in SSA, is lower in Ethiopia (37%) than in SSA (60%)
- Manufacturing employment only accounts • for 3% of total employment
- Most jobs are in firms that are small, or in self-employment but these firms tend to stay small
- Addis' primacy in job creation is declining •



### **Total Employment in Addis Ababa**

Continued economic expansion, will require structural transformation, and more urban economic development

Growth in Ethiopia has been associated with an increase in value-addition in services, but with modest structural change and little industrialization.

- Growth has been driven primarily by public investment and agriculture, but agriculture has begun to decline substantially and the services and construction sectors have begun to expand
- Manufacturing contributes a small share of a rapidly expanding economy, although manufacturing jobs are concentrated in cities
- For the shift away from agriculture to industry and services to be accelerated, and for rapidly growing urban populations to be accommodated, urban competitiveness and liveability need to be enhanced
- Cities need to function better: a wide-ranging policy, institutional and investment agenda is required...

### At the policy level...

#### Some steps are being taken to target job creation

- Micro & Small Enterprise Development Agency: 83,000 MSEs and almost 75,000 new jobs created between 2004-2009
- ULGs facilitate transition to formality through targeted development
- Secondary cities are getting good at attracting economic activity, forming industrial clusters, notably Adwa, Sebeta, Bishoftu, Adama, Hawassa, and Mekele

#### However...

- Ethiopia has a 'missing middle' of firms: Government support is geared mainly towards new firms, but growing firms need more attention
- Urban local governments have more responsibilities (following city proclamations), but require additional capacity to implement their new remit
- The links between formal and informal, and waged and self employment are not well understood or coherently addressed: A number of programs target self-employment; at the same time, informal activities are often penalized

#### International experience suggests

- Primarily waged employment leads to the emergence of a middle-class
- Informal sector accounts for a growing proportion of jobs in SSA economies
- Only sustained increases in nonfarm employment can help lead to structural transformation.

### ...but more job creation is needed

#### Micro and informal sector enterprises

- Light-touch, supportive regulation of household enterprises
- Support small-scale facilities which promote access to customer bases and supply chains
- Support the development of small-scale businesses in sectors which have significant potential and can expand symbiotically with formal sector enterprises e.g. taxis, "boda boda" motorbikes feeding BRTs

#### **Small & Medium Enterprises**

- Expand ULG capacity to administer improved local business licensing and permitting systems
- Extend support currently provided to start-ups to existing firms to expand
- Monitor local constraints and track impact

#### **Targeting Large Enterprises and Investors**

- Improve licensing, permitting and tax systems
- **Expand** supply of serviced land & infrastructure

# Major investment in infrastructure and services is required

# The rapid growth of people and jobs in urban areas means large new needs for serviced land and infrastructure in cities

• Strategic infrastructure, such as roads, water, electricity, solid waste management, etc., and well located land needed for rapidly expanding urban population and businesses

#### Significant progress in last two decades as a result of government interventions

- Despite progress, much remains to be done to satisfy present levels of demand
- Addis Ababa only city with municipal sewerage, which serves only 10% of the population.
- Solid waste management remains a challenge often dumped into open areas, endangering public health.
- Road density is below African average, although higher in urban areas than country as a whole
- Water provision especially challenging—low rates of per capita consumption. And population growth plus increasing per capita consumption would require significant increase in water supply

## There are serious housing challenges

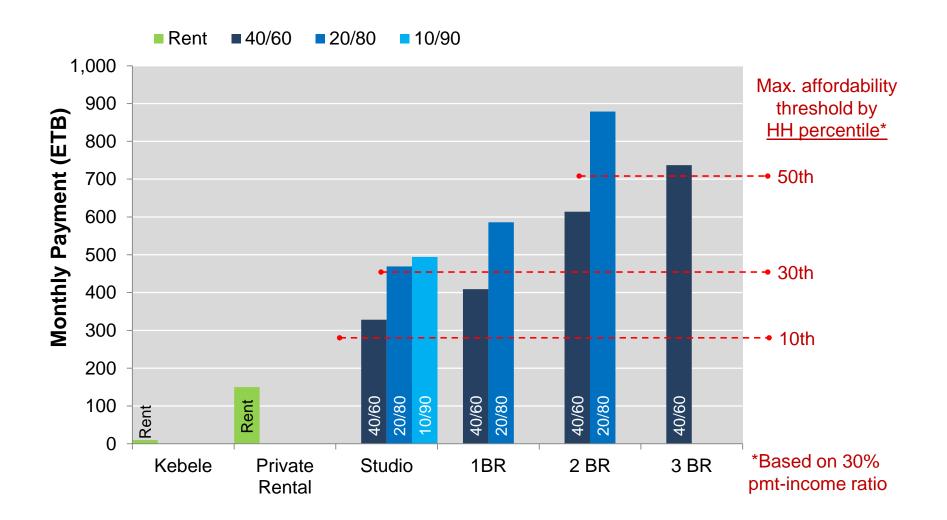
#### Supply

- There is a chronic housing deficit in urban areas, both for the un-and under-housed.
  - very poor quality structures (78% in slums, 66% with dirt floors)
  - lack of basic infrastructure (73% urban pop lacks improved sanitation)
  - high share of urban households living in housing not recognized by the government

### Affordability

- Data indicate that the cheapest formal housing options are only affordable to the middle
   and upper income groups
- Rental (kebele and private) is most affordable option for poorer households.

# Affordability of IHDP in Addis Ababa



## Policy interventions have limited effectiveness

- Government of Ethiopia acknowledges these important challenges and has responded in the following way:
  - Local governments: Land allocation for housing
  - Federal response: Integrated Housing Development Program
- IHDP provides large subsidies to a small portion of the urban population
  - Does not address widespread housing needs, particularly of low income groups; only meets 10% of estimated need (40k units per annum vs. 400k needed)
  - Financially unsustainable for government (estimated 50% subsidy per unit)

### Local government land allocations:

Land lease revenues are well below cost of providing serviced land, which
results in a significant undersupply of residential land

# **URBANIZATION IN ETHIOPIA**

A One-Off Opportunity

Section 3: Urban Institutions for a Middle Income Ethiopia

### Urbanization is a one-off opportunity

#### Urbanization in Ethiopia is a one-off opportunity to connect people to prosperity and reach middle income status by 2025

• Ethiopia has to get its urbanization "right": the policies, institutions, and investments put in place now will influence urban systems for years to come: once the urban structure is set, it is very costly to retrofit

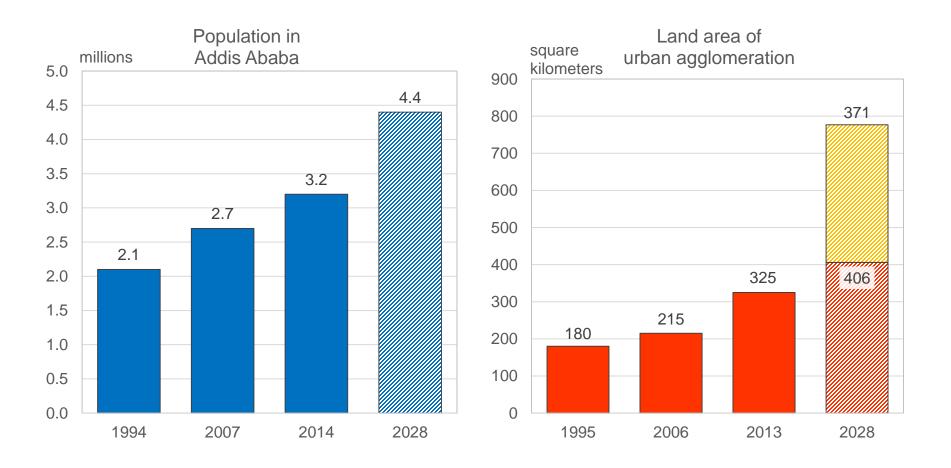
#### What is needed

- In order to tackle the three priorities of jobs, infrastructure and housing, critical reforms to urban policy and institutions are needed in the areas of land, urban financing and management
- This needs to be backed by a strong coalition of federal, regional, and local governments and adequate resources.

The government has already taken steps to make evidence-based, informed decisions for well-managed urban growth, and this work aims to contribute to those efforts.

## Urban land consumption is increasing fast

**Cities are growing faster than population growth**, driving up the costs of infrastructure and service delivery.

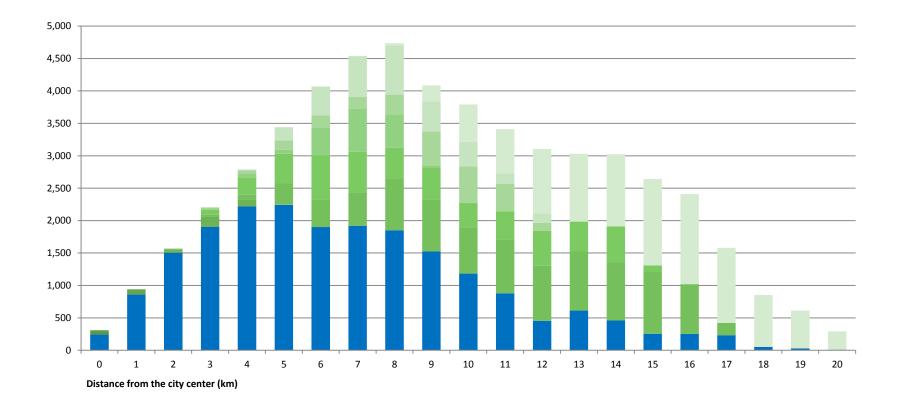


#### **#1 LAND**

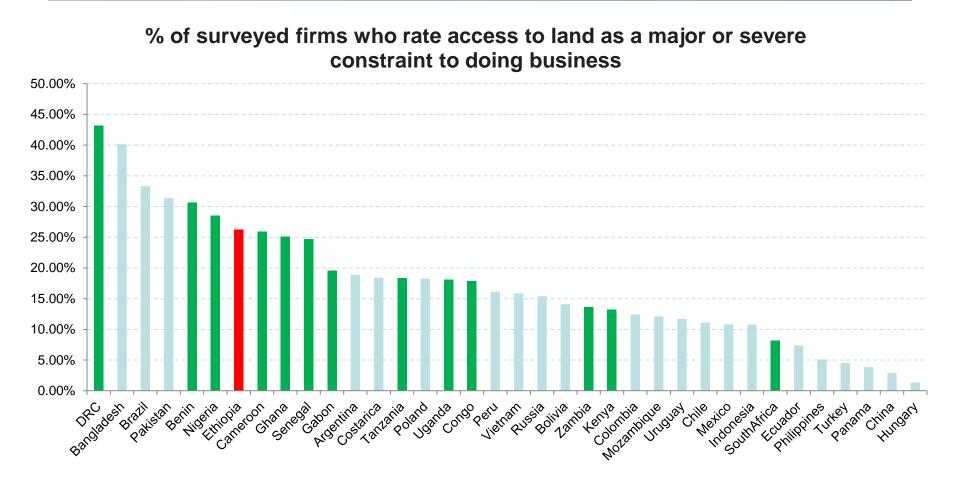
# Many Ethiopian cities have vacant or underused land in prime locations

31

#### Vacant, buildable land in Addis Ababa



### Urban land constraints hamper investment



Source: World Bank Enterprise Surveys, various years 2006-2013. Ethiopia survey, 2011. Manufacturing firms 22%, Services firms 34%.

# A number of changes are proposed

#### Land recommendations

- Simplify the urban land leasing system and make lease rights more tradable to encourage private sector investment and to lessen the administrative burden on ULGs
- Use multiple land allocation mechanism and diversified pricing of land to generate greater revenues for investment in infrastructure and allow for cross-subsidization

#### Housing recommendations

- Focus available fiscal resources on provision of land and infrastructure for low-income groups and slum upgrading
- Support affordable housing delivery and household investment in dwellings through relaxing housing standards and allowing incremental housing consolidation

#### **#2 GOVERNANCE**

### Limited authority and capacity of ULGs hampers urban management

- In Ethiopia, city proclamations have endowed city governments with increasing powers, leading to economic convergence across cities and falling spatial inequalities.
- Strengthening cities' administrative capacity has proven to be a critical enabling factor for attracting and retaining firms and creating jobs.
- At the same time, important powers in practice—such as tax and tariff setting authority— are maintained at the regional level and this hinders the urban areas' ability to provide jobs, infrastructure and services
- And ULGs have very limited planning, project execution and administrative capacities

### Two sets of measures are required

# Reform institutional structure of urban local government to expand ULG autonomy such as:

Powers to determine their own structures and attract the necessary human resources

# Build capacity through strengthening systems and enhancing human resources in areas such as:

- Planning
- Project execution
- Financial management and procurement

### Urbanization is significantly under-resourced

## ULGs have been allocated very limited own sources of revenues, but these revenues are supposed to finance most urban development expenditure

• Municipal revenue is estimated to be only 3% of the total government revenue

With some development partner-funded exceptions, intergovernmental transfers are limited to funding operating costs – often insufficiently

In essence, there is a basic disconnect between the fiscal needs and the fiscal resources of ULGs: urbanization is inadequately funded

 Total urban development spending is estimated to be less than 4% of total government spending

## Significant steps are needed

#### **Federal Government**

- Increase investment in urban development through expanded fiscal transfers
  - Invest in key strategic infrastructure and services for Addis
  - Expand coverage of secondary cities
- Expand ULG revenues through developing policy focused on increasing landbased revenues and property taxation
- **Fiscal Review** periodically analyze intergovernmental finances (e.g. South Africa's Intergovernmental Fiscal Review).
- Clarify mandate for the federal agency responsible for guiding and supporting local revenue enhancement

#### **Regional governments and ULGs**

- Incentivize improved local revenue collection by allowing them to keep state revenues generated in excess of targets
- Expand ULG control over rate levels for OSRs such as user fees and land rents
- Enable ULGs to (i) recover true cost of services through user fees and (ii) introduce inflation adjustments for municipal fees and charges

# **URBANIZATION IN ETHIOPIA**

A One-Off Opportunity

Section 4: Takeaways



Rapid urbanization brings with it important opportunities

Yet to realize these opportunities, urbanization needs proactive management

Much progress has already been made, which is encouraging

But urbanization needs to be made a national priority if Ethiopia is to reach middle income status sooner rather than later

# Annex: Differentiation of land allocation mechanisms and pricing

