Republic of Sierra Leone

2004 Population and Housing Census

Analytical Report on Population Distribution, Migration and Urbanisation in Sierra Leone

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November 2006

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INTRODUCTION

The importance of migration in population and development interrelationships was recognized by African governments in the eighties when they affirmed that the rates of population growth in their countries may be acceptable but the distributions within the geographic subdivisions were not desirable. But in spite of this general awareness and concern since, many of the African nations lack well-formulated national policies that aim at introducing desired population redistribution that would be more amenable to the development aspiration of the respective countries. The various development frameworks prescribed for the continent such as MDGs, PRSPs, or TICAD do not mainstream migration and population distribution issues into the planning process.

In Sierra Leone, as in other sub-Saharan countries, there is a general paucity of information on migration, population distribution and urban development. This dearth of data notwithstanding, it is reasonable to consider that with the vast population displacements occasioned by the decade long civil war, both the forced movements of people and the consequent settlement geography of the country make it imperative that the demand for studies based on aerial movements of people should now be met. This analysis of the 2004 census data on population distribution, migration and urbanisation provides some basic information for planning and policy-making. Development practitioners and researchers interested in the links between the spatial spread of people and resource availability and allocation in Sierra Leone will find it informative because of its relevance to the post-war reconstruction and development programmes predicated on the poverty reduction strategy programme (PRSP) in an era of renewed decentralisation of governance.

DATA AND METHODS

Census data remain the most reliable source of information for migration research in Sierra Leone. Place of birth data was used to classify the population into native born and foreign born; thus enabling separate analysis of internal and international migration. The question on place of residence in December 1990 allowed for a comparison with census data on population distribution to give an indication of the extent of population redistribution during the war. Geographic data were available from secondary sources.

In general, the analysis proceeded in a cascade manner from the national to the provincial and district levels. The method of approach employed absolute numbers, percentage distributions and crude density figures, their differences and changes over time to analyse population distribution data. The extent of

unevenness in population distribution was measured by the concentration ratio and the dynamic changes in the observed events were brought out by the dissimilarity index.

With regards to urbanization, the analysis used measures that estimate the level and degree of urbanization as well as indices that express the tempo of urbanization. Gibbs scales of urbanization and population concentration and the rank size rule revealed the way in which people were moving into the largest urban units. The urban growth decomposition method isolated the component of growth of the urban settlements due to natural increase from that due to migration.

MAIN FINDINGS

Population Distribution

There were 4,976,871 inhabitants in the country by December 2004. About 35 percent of them were in the Northern Province, 19 percent in the Western Area, and almost 22 percent in each of the Eastern and Southern Provinces. Exactly two-thirds of the population can be found in seven out of the 14 statistical districts – namely, the Western Area, Kenema, Bo, Port Loko, Bombali, Tonkolili and Kailahun Districts. The city of Freetown (Western Urban statistical district) alone accounted for nearly one out of every six people counted in the census and together with Kenema District (the second most populous part of the nation), slightly over one out of every four of them would be accounted for.

Broadly speaking, population distribution in Sierra Leone is affected by physical features, differences in socio-economic endowment, population inertia and attachment to place, and the decade long civil war. The manifestation of these factors lies in the comparative advantage, or disadvantage, of a district with respect to the relative acquisition of one or a mix of these elements; which act in such a way as to make a place attractive (or otherwise) to population concentration.

Population Density

By 2004, the national population density had risen from 49 in 1985 to 69. This figure was only exceeded in the Western Area and the Eastern Province. However, half of the districts recorded population densities in excess of the national average – Western Urban and Rural, Kailahun, Kenema, Bo, Kambia and Port Loko Districts – and can be considered as areas of dense population concentrations. Moderately dense areas recorded between 50 and 70 persons per square kilometers and included the districts of Kono, Pujehun, Bombali and Tonkolili. With densities typically falling between 22 and 40 persons per square

kilometer, Bonthe, Moyamba and Koinadugu were the areas of sparse population concentrations.

Application of the concentration ratio on the 2004 census data revealed that 32 percent of the population will have to be relocated in order to attain a completely uniform distribution of population in Sierra Leone. This depicted a very uneven population distribution. By using the index of dissimilarity, it was shown that approximately seven percent of the population would be relocated in order to attain the 1985 spatial distribution. Hence, the pattern of population distribution did not change much during the intercensal period.

International Migration

The number of persons enumerated during the census that were foreign born nationals was 89,876, representing 1.81 percent of the population. Compared with 2.90 in 1974 and 2.81 percent in 1985, this shows a steady reduction in the proportion of aliens in the country. In absolute figures, this represented a steep decline from 93,825 in 1974 and 98,860 in 1985. Declining economic prospects and insecurity of life and property during the war may have been responsible for this decline in foreign-born population.

The vast majority of them (97 percent) are of West African descent. Compared with 87.2 percent in 1963, 84.5 percent in 1974 and 94.8 percent in 1985, there has been a declining proportion of nationals from other parts of the world. Apart from West African nationals, British, American, Indian and Lebanese nationals are significant minorities of alien descent. Most of the aliens are found in areas considered as the economic nerve centers of the nation; the Western Area and Eastern Province. This suggests that the motive for immigration might be economic. The sex distribution shows that 55 percent are males. There is a high proportion of Liberian refugees in Kailahun District and most of them are females.

Internal Migration

The amount of people enumerated in districts other than their district of birth yields the interregional migration rate. This was 21.6 percent at the time of the 2004 census; equal to the 1974 level but slightly higher than in 1985. One would have expected that with the massive displacements of population during the war, the 2004 index should have been the highest. This may be an extent of the success of the programmes for the repatriation of refugee and resettlement of internally displaced persons at the conclusion of the war.

The Northern Province, which was a net sender of persons to other districts and regions, became a net receiver of migrants. Kono District experienced a huge loss of population because the district saw some of the fiercest battles between the forces for control of the diamondiferous fields therein.

Urbanisation

There is no standard official definition of what is urban or what constitutes urbanization in Sierra Leone. The practice has been for the Statistics Sierra Leone (and its predecessor institution – the Central Statistics Office) to create a separate file of settlements of 2,000 population and over. By December 2004, there were 1,825,246 persons living in such settlements. This represented 36.7 of the national population; up from 32.2 percent in 1985. The largest urban agglomeration was Freetown with a population of 772,873.

The way the settlements have been growing is such that the largest increases occurred in the biggest urban units. Freetown has grown so rapidly that it has become a primate city. There were significant increases in the populations of Bo, Kenema, Makeni, Waterloo, Port Loko, Goderich, Daru and Lunsar within the 1985-2004 intercensal period.

When the demographic components of urban growth were decomposed, it showed that although rural-urban migration had for long been the main contributor to urbanization, recent trends give that fertility has become more important. This happened because of the transfer of rural fertility patterns to the urban centers.

Some Policy Options for Population Distribution, Migration and Urbanisation in Sierra Leone

The uneven spread of the population by provinces and the concentration within a few districts pose problems of resource allocation and service provision for the population. In some of these places, difficult relief creates a physical barrier to service provision, the development of communication networks, and social and economic infrastructure, as in Koinadugu District. Similarly, difficult terrain, as in Bonthe and Pujehun Districts, produce the same handicap to development programming. In other instances, over-concentration of people in metropolitan areas poses a huge challenge to city and town councils in service provision. Rural to urban migration was seen to be important in the urbanization process but rural-rural and urban-rural movements were also noted.

The development problems attendant upon this kind of scenario involved issues of economic growth in sending and receiving areas. Overpopulation, massive youth unemployment, traffic jams, infrequent power supplies, water shortages, congestion of the housing environment and inadequate sanitary conditions are some of the things to be tackled in order to make development balanced and sustainable. Additionally, some social problems like delinquency, social instability, prostitution, drug abuse, idleness, house breaking and larceny have increased. In the larger urban complexes, land grabbing and the juxtaposition of shanties and slums to elegant modern-styled buildings is a familiar litany.

With respect to population distribution and migration, therefore, the study proposed three broad areas of intervention that would make development in Sierra Leone more meaningful. They are the generation of data on population distribution, migration and development, the incorporation of population distribution policy into development policies and programmes, and incorporation of international migration issues into development policy and programmes.

Policy options considered for tackling unbalanced urbanization concerned those that affect the congenial growth of urban areas, urban incomes and prices policies, and promotion of small- and medium-size towns.

CHAPTER 1

1.0 THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

The complexity of migration and its relationship to development continue to confound population and development practitioners and scholars. It has been observed that the migration-development nexus is one of the major issues today. "As most … movements are triggered by uneven development, it is particularly interesting to analyse migration in the light of efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). (Further), the importance of the migration-development link is not well understood, partly due to the complexity of the interconnections between these phenomena as well as the crosscutting nature of migration" (I.O.M.: 2005)

This notwithstanding, recognition of the importance of population movements and the resultant population redistribution within the boarders of African states started in the eighties when African governments expressed that the rates of population growth within their boarders were acceptable but the distributions between the geographic subdivisions were not desirable. Since then, the links between population distribution, migration and urbanization were sharply brought into focus, demanding that these issues should no longer be considered as a step-sisterly ingredient in present day national development planning.

However, despite this recognition, the key and most dramatic agent of change in this scenario, migration, has not been treated with the seriousness that it deserves. According to UNECA (2006), although "… critically important, migration as a multi-sectoral issue barely features in national development strategies, and has not been adequately addressed or mainstreamed in the various development frameworks prescribed for Africa such as MDGs, PRSPs, or TICAD (UNECA: 2006; 'citing' I.O.M., 2005). In Ghana, it has been noted that in spite of this general awareness and concern expressed about the unacceptable pattern of population distribution in the countries in the subregion, most African countries have no well-formulated national policies that aim at introducing desired population redistribution that would be more development-oriented (Ghana Statistical Service: 1995).

Generally, there are very few migration researches carried out in Africa. Most of the studies are based on census data and specialized migration surveys are hardly undertaken. In Sierra Leone, apart from the analyses of the 1974 Census of Population (see Okoye, C.S.: 1981) and 1985 Population and Housing Census (see Sesay, I.M.: 1995), detailed migration studies can be credited mainly to Byerlee, Tommy and Fatoo (1974) and a few postgraduate theses (for example, Forde, E.R.A.; Sesay, I.M.: 1989 and Sesay, I.M.: 1992).

This apparent dearth of information on migration notwithstanding, it is reasonable to consider that with the vast population displacements occasioned by the decade long civil war, both the forced movements of people and the consequent settlement geography of Sierra Leone make it imperative that the demand for studies based on aerial movements of people should now be met. Therefore, this analysis of the 2004 census data on population distribution, migration and urbanization will benchmark this scenario, and provide some useful information for development planning in post-conflict Sierra Leone; at a time when the country is at the crossroads of a major process of reconstruction and development, and the implementation of its first ever poverty reduction strategy programme (PRSP) is inchoate.

It is hoped that this report will be of use to policy makers, development practitioners, researchers and others interested in the nexus between spatial spread of people and resource availability and allocation in this country. Perhaps with the resumption of decentralized governance in 2004 and the resultant local government councils, the report is of even more importance for the present democratization, social equity justice planning and the formulation and implementation of sectoral development policies of the Government of Sierra Leone.

1.2 Some Efforts at Solving Post War Development Challenges

The eleven years of civil conflict in Sierra Leone destroyed the social and economic infrastructure, resulted in negative rates of gross domestic product and displaced about 40.0 percent of the population of five million. Five hundred thousand people became refugees whilst an estimated 20,000 died as a result of the war.

The first democratically elected government in thirty years took office in March 1996. National and international efforts resulted in a series of accords which ushered in the arrival of the West African Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG) and, later, the United Nations (peacekeeping) Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). Presently, with the war over, UNAMSIL has been withdrawn after a thorough restructuring and development of the national army, prison and police forces, and has been replaced by a more civilian outfit of the United Nations (the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone – UNIOSIL) is helping to consolidate the peace.

Disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants was completed in February 2002, paving the way for peaceful presidential and parliamentary elections in May (of the same year) in which the Revolutionary United Front participated as a political party. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) set up to help consolidate the peace by healing war-related ‘wounds’ completed its task in June 2004. The United Nations-sponsored Special Court established in 2003 for

prosecuting persons bearing '... the greatest responsibility for the war damages' is expected to finish its proceedings in 2007.

Despite significant progress on these fronts, post-conflict reconstruction and development of the economy and the social and political institutions are faced with immense challenges due to decades of economic mismanagement, rampant corruption and lack of government capacity to manage the development process. The fundamental problem concerns the repackaging of the development strategies to address issues of sustained economic growth *pari passu* that of reducing poverty and ameliorating the social and economic conditions that led to the war.

1.2.1 Macro-economic and Socio-political Reforms

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process started with the Interim PRSP of June 2001, which was endorsed by the Joint Executive Boards of the IMF and World Bank in September 2001. The I-PRSP tackled the immediate problems of transiting from war to peace in a medium term framework as follows:

(a) the immediate post-conflict phase (2001-2002) dealt with (i) restoration of national security and good governance (ii) re-launching the economy, and (iii) the provision of basic social services to the most vulnerable of the population;

(b) the medium term (2003-2004) priorities of good governance, economic revival and social sector development.

This phase of the I-PRSP was implemented using the National Recovery Strategy (NRS) which focused on:

(i) consolidation of state authority and peace-building;

(ii) promotion of reconciliation and enforcement of human rights;

(iii) facilitation of resettlement and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons and rebuilding of communities;

(iv) facilitation of access to previously inaccessible areas and expediting service delivery, and

(v) stimulation of economic recovery.

The strategy was people-centred and involved a series of consultations with civil society groups at all levels. It engendered community empowerment and participation by bridging the gap between emergency humanitarian assistance and longer-term development.

Sierra Leonean refugees in the subregion were repatriated and millions of internally displaced persons (IDPs) resettled with the help of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). These and the demobilized fighting forces were given re-insertion kits to start life all over again.

Notwithstanding the meaningful achievements of the I-PRSP and NRS, widespread poverty still abound in the population. The Government, therefore, prepared a comprehensive Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) to build on these gains by striving to achieve the millennium development goals (MDGs) and other internationally accepted (social, political and economic) development indicators. The two major challenges are promoting food security and job creation through: (i) achieving high and sustained broad-based economic growth particularly in agrarian rural areas; (ii) providing essential and economic services and infrastructure to the poor; and (iii) improving governance and maintaining peace and security [GoSL.: 2005 (b)].

1.2.2 Sierra Leone PRSP and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The Government's PRSP objectives are set with reference to the MDGs (which aim at reducing poverty and its different symptoms by 2015, and for the international community to strive side by side, with national governments, to achieve these goals within a partnership and cooperative framework). Sierra Leone started the implementation of the full PRSP in 2005, only ten years to the target date of 2015; making the task of meeting the MDGs more onerous.

As can be demonstrated, the recently concluded First MDG Report for Sierra Leone indicates that the country would meet only two (a quarter) of the MDGs if current trends continue (GoSL: 2005a). Whilst Government is aware that the needed resources to achieve these goals should be home-grown, it is now very clear that the magnitude of the resources required to meaningfully work towards the MDGs is such that the continued support of development partners is essential.

Sierra Leone is in the middle of implementing a process of strategic orientations which have consistency of initiatives with the MDGs. These MDGs are used within the framework of a long-term national development vision (VISION 2025) and the principles of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as tools for integrating and achieving consistency in national development policies. It is hoped that this approach can increase the consistency of planning processes based on the long term VISION by engaging in quality participation of actors, especially civil society organizations and local government, parliament and non-governmental organizations (Sesay, I.M.: 2004).

To increase service delivery, local district, town and city councils were re-instituted in 2004; over thirty years after their abolition. It is hoped that the local

councilors will fill the gap between proportional representatives in Parliament and the electorate by bringing governance at the doorstep of the people. As service providers, they are expected to catalyze the development process by performing devolved management functions previously in the purview of the ministries. This would engender job creation at the local level and help in solving the problems that created the war in the first place.

1.2.3 Poverty Profile

In the SL-PRSP, poverty was defined using qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data established both the Food or Extreme Poverty and the Full Poverty Lines. The Food/Extreme Poverty Line defines the level of expenditures required to attain the minimum nutritional requirement of the equivalent of 2700 calories per adult; which translates into an expenditure of $1 per day. On the other hand, the full poverty focuses on household expenditure on food and other basic needs such as safe water and sanitation, shelter, good health, basic education, and a household's easy access, both in terms of affordability and distance, to various economic and social infrastructures such as schools, health facilities, markets and public transportation. Accordingly, about 26 percent of the population in Sierra Leone is food poor and taking other basic necessities together, the percentage of people that are full poor increases to about 70 percent (Government of Sierra Leone: 2005 (b) *op.cit.*).

Data also show that 73 percent of the poor are in rural areas while other urban areas contribute 25 percent, leaving Freetown with 2 percent. Freetown is rather better off than the other urban towns, but a pattern of severity is piling up in the big city. Research also shows that the poorest districts in order of the incidence of poverty are Kailahun, Bombali, Kenema, Bonthe and Tonkolili. More than 8 out of 10 people in these districts live in poverty (*ib.id*.).

During the participatory poverty analysis (P.P.A.), the people defined poverty (qualitatively) from a basic need perspective; considering such indices as the lack of basic needs and services such as food, money, shelter, clothing, health facilities, schools and safe drinking water. Generally, the results from the participatory poverty assessments in the five poorest districts revealed that the most frequently perceived causes of poverty by the poor are laziness, poor health, the civil conflict, disunity, being a victim of theft and illiteracy (*ib. id.*).

1.2.4 Macro-economic Performance

At the time of independence in 1961, Sierra Leone's economic prospects were promising. The economy grew significantly during the 1960s by about 4.5 percent per annum, due mainly to mining and agricultural productivity and exports. The economy, however, slowed markedly during the 1970s and 1980s as the effect of the decline in corporate mining spread through the monetized economy. By the end of the 1980s, the economy had almost collapsed and was

characterized by declining GDP per capita, rapid inflation, and a severe external payments imbalance. The economic and financial decline was also caused by adverse international market conditions for domestic exports and inappropriate domestic policies (*ib. id*.).

During the 1990s, growth performance was mixed, though substantially negative, and with high inflation. As in the information below, real GDP declined by 10 percent in the 1990s but it has been growing steadily since 2000.

Year	1990 to 1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
GDP Rate (percent)	-10	3.8	18.5	27.5	9.4	7.4	7.2

N.B. – G.D.P. Rate is projected to rise to 7.5% by the end of 2006 and inflation was 6.3% in September 2006.

The cessation of hostilities and eventual restoration of security countrywide strengthened confidence, which facilitated economic recovery during 2000-2005. Economic activity was spurred by countrywide reconstruction and rehabilitation work and a broad recovery in agriculture, mining, manufacturing and services sectors. Inflation also fell sharply in 2001, reaching a negative figure in most of 2002, and contained at a single digit in 2003 (*ib. id*.). During 2004-2005, inflation rose slightly to between 11 and 14 percent; due mainly to global oil shocks and demand for foreign exchange outstripping supply as a result of increasing importation of materials for the ongoing reconstruction programme.

1.2.5 Pillars of the SL-PRSP

To address the poverty challenges and attain the medium term goals of the PRSP, the policies and strategies are anchored on three main pillars, namely:

Pillar 1: Good governance, security and peace building;

Pillar 2: Promoting pro-poor growth for Food Security and Job Creation (in a healthy macroeconomic environment). Promoting Food Security (investment in productive sectors – agriculture and fisheries, and rural infrastructure, etc). Job creation (investment in infrastructure – energy, roads, transport, communication, ICT, tertiary sector, private sector development, mining and sound macroeconomic management); and

Pillars 3: Promoting Human Development – involving developing education, health and nutrition, housing, water and sanitation, the vulnerable and youth development.

The crosscutting issues are “child first principles”, HIV/AIDS, gender equality and empowerment, and the environment. But although migration is a crosscutting

issue, and even though the Sierra Leone PRSP is anchored on the MDGs, it does not have a clear, programmatic agenda on how to deal with migration-related issues. As has been noted elsewhere, this might be so because "population movements are not included in any of the MDGs and do not feature directly in the various targets that will be used to evaluate the progress made towards the achievement of the goals themselves (Skeldon, R.: 2005). On the basis of this, the International Organisation for Migration has argued strongly for each nation, regional economic community and United Nations member country to mainstream migration into national development agendas (I.O.M.: *op. cit*; see also UNECA: 2006, *op. cit*.)

The foregoing sections set the context within which the antecedent events of the census operated. The displacement of population during the war, repatriation and resettlement programmes, poverty targeted development initiatives and political and economic reforms are events that impacted on the processes of population distribution, migration and urbanization. In interpreting the 2004 census data, therefore, recourse has been made to finding explanations of observed phenomena based on these underlying experiences.

1.3 Theoretical Orientations

According to the ICPD Progamme of Action, in the early 1990s, approximately half of the governments in the world, mostly those in the developing countries, considered the patterns of population distribution in their territories to be unsatisfactory and wished to modify it (United Nations, 1995). It has, however, being observed that efforts aimed at influencing the situation have not been successful, leading to the conclusion that in an already largely urban world, the growth of cities will be the single highest influence on development in the first half of the 21st century and nearly all the urban population increase will be in today's developing countries (UNFPA, 1996).

Ohadike, P.O. (1991) observed that the understanding of the cognate term 'urban' and 'rural' or 'urbanisation' and 'ruralisation' is related to a comprehension of the concept of development and its territorial impact and manifestation. He recognises that a measurement problem arises from the fact that different governments employ varied types of definitions of urban and rural, including either statistical criteria pegging an urban population threshold to a given minimum number of persons; the socio-economic criteria relating to an assessment of the complexity of existing infrastructure; adoption of a political or administrative criteria; and using a combination of the aforementioned three criteria (*ib. id*.). Upon resolving the conceptual issues, one is still faced with the fact that the alarming consequences of urbanisation visible in many countries are related to its rapid pace, to which governments have been unable to respond with their current management capacities and practices (United Nations, 1996). This scenario is further compounded by the fact that migration has over the years accounted for most of the growth differences between cities and rural areas.

Adepoju, A. (1987) has rightly concluded that internal migration in Africa is not a homogeneous phenomenon: the situation is dynamic and complex, and its general features such as mobility, non-mobility and return migration are gradually unfolding. In Sierra Leone, the results of the 1974 census provided reasons for concerns about the increase in population size and its distribution; an issue which the first and draft second National Development Plans sought to address (UNECA, 1994).

Sourcing information mainly from the 1974 population census and a migration survey carried out by the Njala University College, Kandeh, H.B.S. (1983) indicates that the diamond mining districts of Kono and the Western Area experienced highest immigration rates, followed by Bo and Kenema. Koinadugu, Bombali and Tonkolili districts in the northern province recorded the highest rates of out-migration. Further to this, he observed that 81 percent of the total urban growth was due to rural-urban (internal) migration but recognised that rural-rural migration was indeed very significant in the country. In addition, nearly half of all lifetime migrants were young and had some form of education but migrants to Kono district had significantly lower education. Forde, E.R.A. (1990) also discussed similar issues but gave due consideration to both direct and indirect effects of migration especially as they affect the changing role of women in an agricultural setting.

Using data from the 1985 Population and Housing Census, Sesay, I.M. (1995) discussed the population distribution, migration and urbanisation issues and observed similar patterns and trends. He further concluded that over the years, average national population density had increased with subnational densities for much more socio-economically endowed districts and the Western Area. His findings, among others, were that factors affecting population distribution were largely based on natural endowment and the existence of socio-economic infrastructure; the percentage of urban centres has increased (based on the minimum threshold of 2000 persons adopted as a defining criteria for urban centers); the Western Area still attracted the highest number of lifetime migrants, and the rate of natural increase assumed greater prominence in population increase of urban centres in 1985 than ever before.

During the last intercensal years, Sierra Leone went through a brutal war that may have definitely distorted the usual pattern of population distribution and urbanisation. In fact, in the Vision 2025 document, the Government of Sierra Leone (2003), while giving cognisance to the fact that the fast increase in urbanisation has in recent years been due mainly to the civil conflict which may have deepened the neglect of the rural areas, also observed that 65 percent of the population still lived in the rural areas.

These sorts of fluid population scenarios require immediate remedial actions to redress the imbalances in the development of especially sub-Saharan African nations. In addressing population distribution and redistribution issues, the

United Nations (1995) recommends that key policy considerations should include fostering a more balanced spatial distribution of the population and ensuring that the push (and pull) factors are addressed in relation to migration flows within the concept of overall national development.

1.4 Methodology: Data and Analytical Instruments

1.4.1 Data

Census data are still the most reliable source of information for migration studies in Sierra Leone. As with the 1985 census, 2004 Census of Population and Housing solicited responses on place of birth. On the basis of the responses, it was possible for the population to be classified into native born (autochtonous) and heterochtonous (foreign born); thus enabling separate analysis of internal migration and international migration. Hence, the legal nationality, "… an important criterion in identifying population groups whose evolution depends greatly on international migration" (Zlotnik, H.: 1987) was used to separate the two subpopulations. The census questionnaire did not have any question on year of arrival of an immigrant in the country or the duration (or years) of residence.

For the second time in census-taking in Sierra Leone, data on place of residence at a fixed prior date (December 1990, *id est*, 14 years before the census) was included to ascertain where people lived just before the war erupted. Comparison of this data set with that on population distribution would give an indication of the extent of population redistribution during the war.

Geographical information on the land area covered by the entire country and its geographical subdivisions (provinces, districts, chiefdoms, wards and major towns) was readily available from secondary data.

1.4.2 Analytical Instruments, their Applications and Limitations

Data on population distribution were analysed using the absolute numbers, percentage distributions and crude density figures, backed by their differences and changes over time. Crude density is the most basic and commonly used index of population distribution and may give a false impression of an even spread of the population over the face of the country by disregarding uninhabitable tracks like marshlands, lakes and other water surfaces.

To reveal the extent of unevenness in population distribution, the concentration ratio was used to ascertain the proportion or percent of inhabitants that will have to be redistributed in order to have a completely even spatial spread of the population. But as the concept of population redistribution (the dynamic changes in the proportional share of the nation's population in fixed aerial units over time) was investigated, the dissimilarity index was calculated to derive the proportion

or percent of the population that would have to be relocated in order to attain the 1985 spatial distribution of Sierra Leone.

In using the place of birth data, conventional wisdom dictates that the analytical tools for dealing with internal migration should be applied only to the native born population. The approach yields acceptable measures of internal migration and has been widely used all over the world. Persons enumerated in districts other than their districts of birth are considered as ever moved and, therefore, internal migrants; and non-migrants contrariwise. It is also possible to detect migration streams from the data.

However, the place of birth statistics measures only one migration move and do not account for intermediate moves between date of birth and date of enumeration of the respondent. Persons who have returned to live in their areas of birth are regarded as non-migrants; leading to under-estimation of the total volume of migration. Misreporting of place of birth by respondents would introduce deficiencies into the data. Finally, because some migrants who migrated during the interval may have died before the enumeration, the amount of migration that is estimated is bound to be less than the actual. For Kpedekpo, G.M.K. (1982), “the main arguments raised against the use of place of birth data in estimating the volume of migration is that such data are necessarily in terms of gross geographic units and indefinite time periods; in other words (they) do not give any idea about the date of arrival or length of stay or previous migratory movements”.

A crude but usually applied analysis in migration studies is the indirect estimation of the amount and rate of migration by the national growth rate method. The application was made with the tenuous assumption that the rates of net migration from abroad and of natural increase are the same for the country and for all its geographic subdivisions. These assumptions may have been violated by the events of our recent history but the analysis would reveal some more information that would be necessary for further studies or the information of policy on the development process.

Since there was no question on emigration, international migration involved the analysis of only immigrants by the legal nationality criterion. The analysis took on mainly demographic considerations involving the number of immigrants, their impact on population size, age-sex composition, *et cetera.*

With respect to urbanization, the method of approach ranged from the use of measures that estimate the level and degree of urbanization, to those of indices that express the tempo of urbanization. The level and degree of urbanisation were measured by percentages and proportions of urban inhabitants in the total population of the respective censuses. The tempo of urbanization was calculated by the annual rate of urban population growth, and the amount by which the percentage level has been rising (or falling).

The scales of urbanization and population concentration used measures introduced by Gibbs, J.P. (1966). Furthermore, in order to determine the areas of the greatest concentration of population at the upper end of the urban scale of populousness relative to the locality with the largest number of inhabitants, the urban units were ranked and the rank size rule applied. The empirical expectation is that the difference between the observed and expected urban ($Pi = K / r^i$) sizes of an n^{th} urban center would be negative where the largest agglomeration has been growing out of proportion to its size relative to the n^{th} urban unit. Conversely, it would be positive if the n^{th} urban unit has grown faster in size than the relative growth predicted by the law of rank size.

To isolate the components of population change in the urban areas, the analysis considers the argument of Sesay, I.M. (1995) that the intercensal change in the size of urban units consists of the following four components:

(a) net-migration to the urban areas;

(b) the natural increase of the population in the area classified as urban in the first census;

(c) the net effect of reclassification and declassification of areas designated as urban at the second census; and

(d) the addition and subtraction of population on account of the intercensal changes in the boundaries of urban agglomerations in the country.

By this conceptual framework, the urban growth decomposition method,

$$\{E = U[(2 + rt) / (2 – rt)]\},$$

which measures the twin contribution of natural growth and migration to the intercensal population changes was employed. By this simple but penetrating device, it was possible to derive results that are critical for the information of policy on rural-urban migration and fertility differentials.

In general, simple nonparametric statistics were employed to analyse data in a cascade manner – national, provincial and district. Since migration tends to be unnecessarily larger when the geographic area is small, no analysis was done at the chiefdom level. Also, as a census report is targeted towards a wider audience, the level of complexity was relaxed in using rates and ratios relating to the underlying phenomena. It is considered that these were enough to reveal the needed information for a census activity. However, it may be necessary for in-depth, multivariate and cause-effect analysis to be applied to the same data but this may be the basis of further research in this direction.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

2.1 Population Distribution by Districts

According to Table 1, which displays the 2004 census data on population distribution, there were 4,976,871 individuals in the country. About a third of this population was in the Northern Province and roughly a fifth in the Western Area. The remainder of the population is almost evenly distributed between the Eastern and Southern Provinces, with a separation factor of only 100,000 head counts in favour of the former. As demonstrated in Figure 1, within the 1985-2004 intercensal period, the Eastern and Northern Provinces experienced a drop in the percentages that they held whilst the Southern and Western parts of the country gained at their expense.

Exactly two-thirds of the population can be found in half of the statistical districts – namely, the Western Urban, Kenema, Bo, Port Loko, Bombali, Tonkolili and Kailahun districts. The city of Freetown (Western Urban statistical district) alone accounts for nearly one out of every six Sierra Leoneans living today. Together with Kenema District (the second most populous part of the nation), slightly over one out of every four persons counted during the census will be accounted for.

Further in Table 1, it can be seen that within this conglomerate of heavily populated districts, data show that although Bombali and Port Loko districts recorded minimal reductions in their proportions of the national population over the 1985-2004 period, the other districts collectively experienced gains in the intercensal proportion of their population; the most significant increases are seen in Bo District and Freetown. Also, by expressing the 2004 figures as a percent of the 1985 returns, the positive percentage changes are statistically significant for all but Bombali and Port Loko Districts. It should be noted that although the city, Freetown, added another 65 percent to its head count, the actual proportion of the national population enumerated in it rose by a whooping 2.14 percent – the highest in the country.

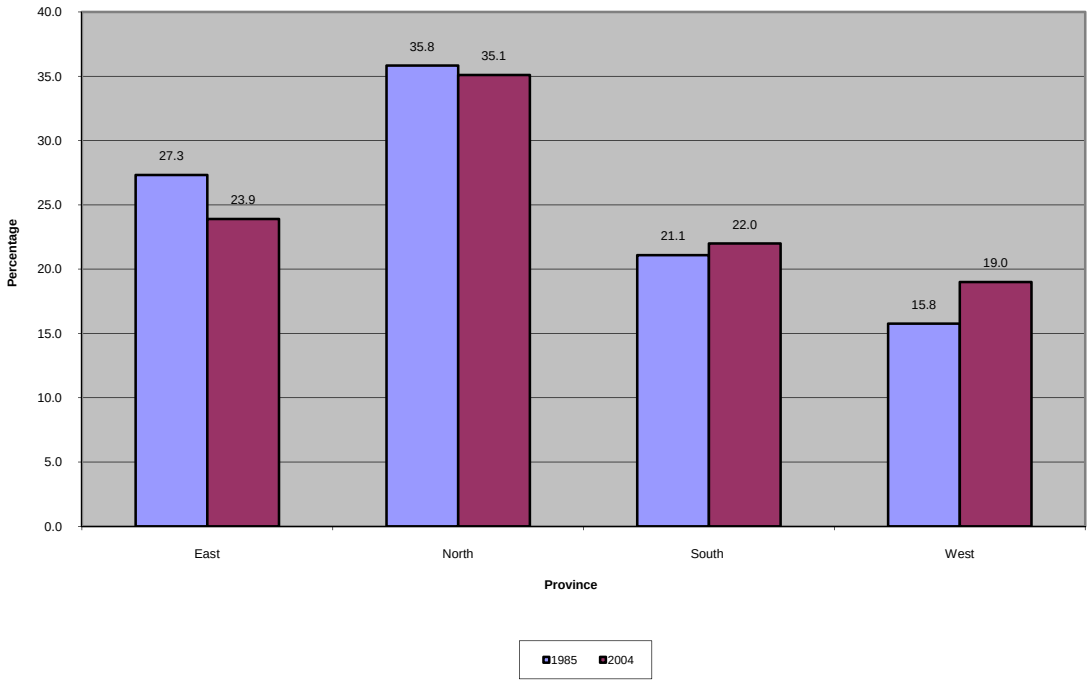
Table 1 – Percentage Distribution of the Total Population by District and Province: Sierra Leone, 1985 – 2004

District Or Province	Population 1985		Population 2004**		1985 – 2004 Percentage	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Difference	Change
1	2	3	4	5	6 = (5) – (3)	7**
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**741,377**	**21.09**	**1,092,657**	**22.0**	**+0.91**	**47.38**
Bo	268,671	7.64	463,668	9.3	+1.66	72.58
Bonthe	105,007	2.99	139,687	2.8	-0.19	33.03
Moyamba	250,514	7.13	260,910	5.2	-1.93	4.15
Pujehun	117,185	3.33	228,392	4.6	1.27	94.90
EASTERN PROVINCE	**960,551**	**27.32**	**1,191,539**	**23.9**	**-3.42**	**24.05**
Kailahun	233,839	6.65	358,190	7.2	0.55	53.18
Kenema	337,055	9.59	497,948	10.0	0.41	47.73
Kono	389,657	11.08	335,401	6.7	-4.38	-13.92
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**1,259,651**	**35.83**	**1,745,553**	**35.1**	**-0.73**	**38.57**
Bombali	317,729	9.04	408,390	8.2	-0.84	28.53
Kambia	186,231	5.30	270,462	5.4	0.10	45.23
Koinadugu	183,286	5.21	265,758	5.3	0.09	44.99
Port Loko	329,344	9.37	453,746	9.1	-0.27	37.77
Tonkolili	243,051	6.91	347,197	7.0	0.09	42.85
WESTERN AREA	**554,243**	**15.76**	**947,122**	**19.0**	**3.24**	**70.89**
Freetown	469,776	13.36	772,873	15.5	2.14	64.52
Western Rural	84,467	2.40	174,249	3.5	1.10	106.29
SIERRA LEONE	**3,515,812**	**100.00**	**4,976,871**	**100.00**	**0.00**	**41.56**

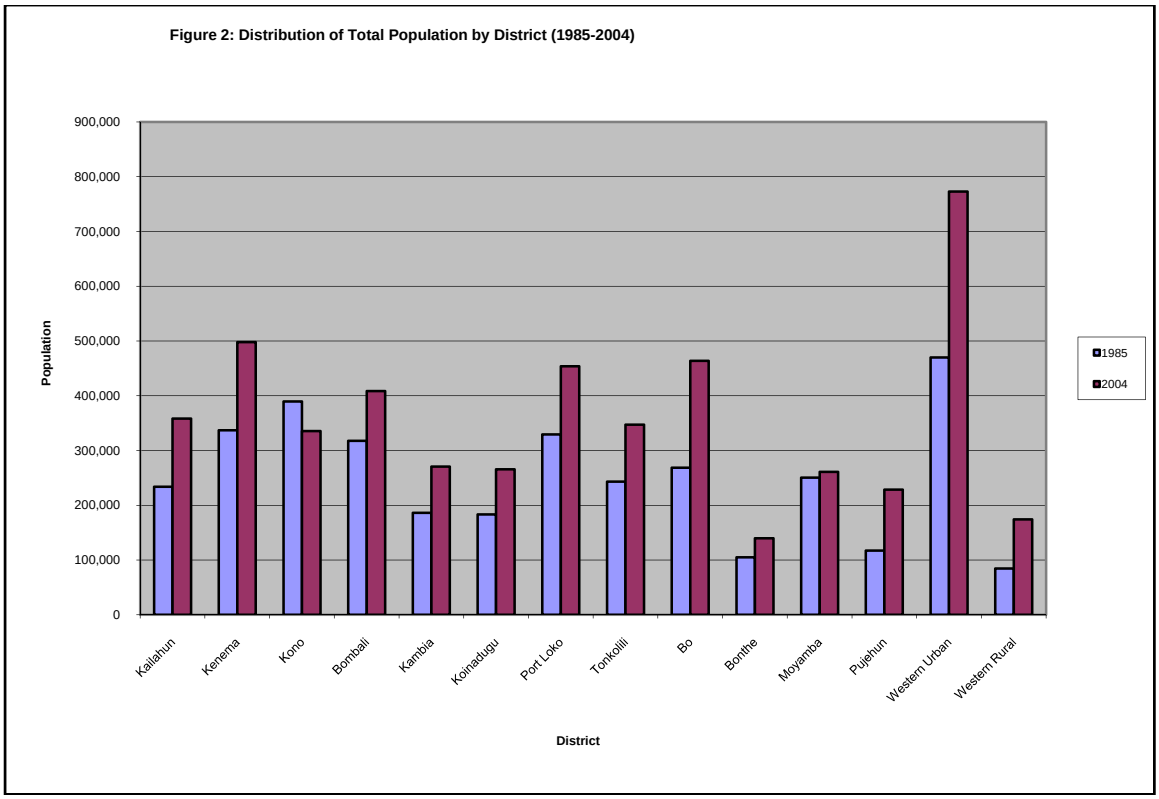
Column 7 is calculated as [(4) / (2) – 1.00] * 100 or as 100[(4) – (2)] / (2).

On the contrary, the districts with the lowest population totals were Western Rural Area, Pujehun and Bonthe Districts; each recording less than five percent of the national population. Of these low population totals, both the percentage difference and change over the 1985-2004 period was lowest for Bonthe District; which incidentally is the least peopled in the country. The percentage change of the other two are statistically significant and the rates of change in this index for both of them are the highest nationwide (Table 1). The huge jump in the population of the western rural areas was partly due to in-migration of internally displaced persons uprooted from the provinces by the insecurity that attended the war. They were forced to settled in these places because the congestion in Freetown makes housing very inadequate and expensive. Many of these are yet to return to their various homes. They have now swelled the growing numbers of commuters that enter the city on a daily basis.

Figure 1: Percentage Distribution of Total Population by Province (1985-2004)



The rest of the districts, falling between these two extremes – Moyamba, Kono, Kambia and Koinadugu – accounted for about 22.6 percent of the total head count. Within this category is Kono District which suffered from fierce fighting between the forces for control of the diamondiferous fields of the district, and the attendant insecurity and massive loss of life and property at the height of the war. Consequently, this district experienced a drop of over 4.0 percent of relative share of the national population (Figure 2). Contrariwise, Pujehun district almost doubled its 1985 population (Table 1); probably because this district was able to rid its territory of rebel occupation very early in the war. The significant gains in Kambia district could be attributed to the point that this was one district that did not come under the influence of the rebels for long. In fact, Kambia was a safe haven for people fleeing from other areas of the country and such individuals may have become so attached to the district as not to choose to return to the places they came from even after peace was restored.



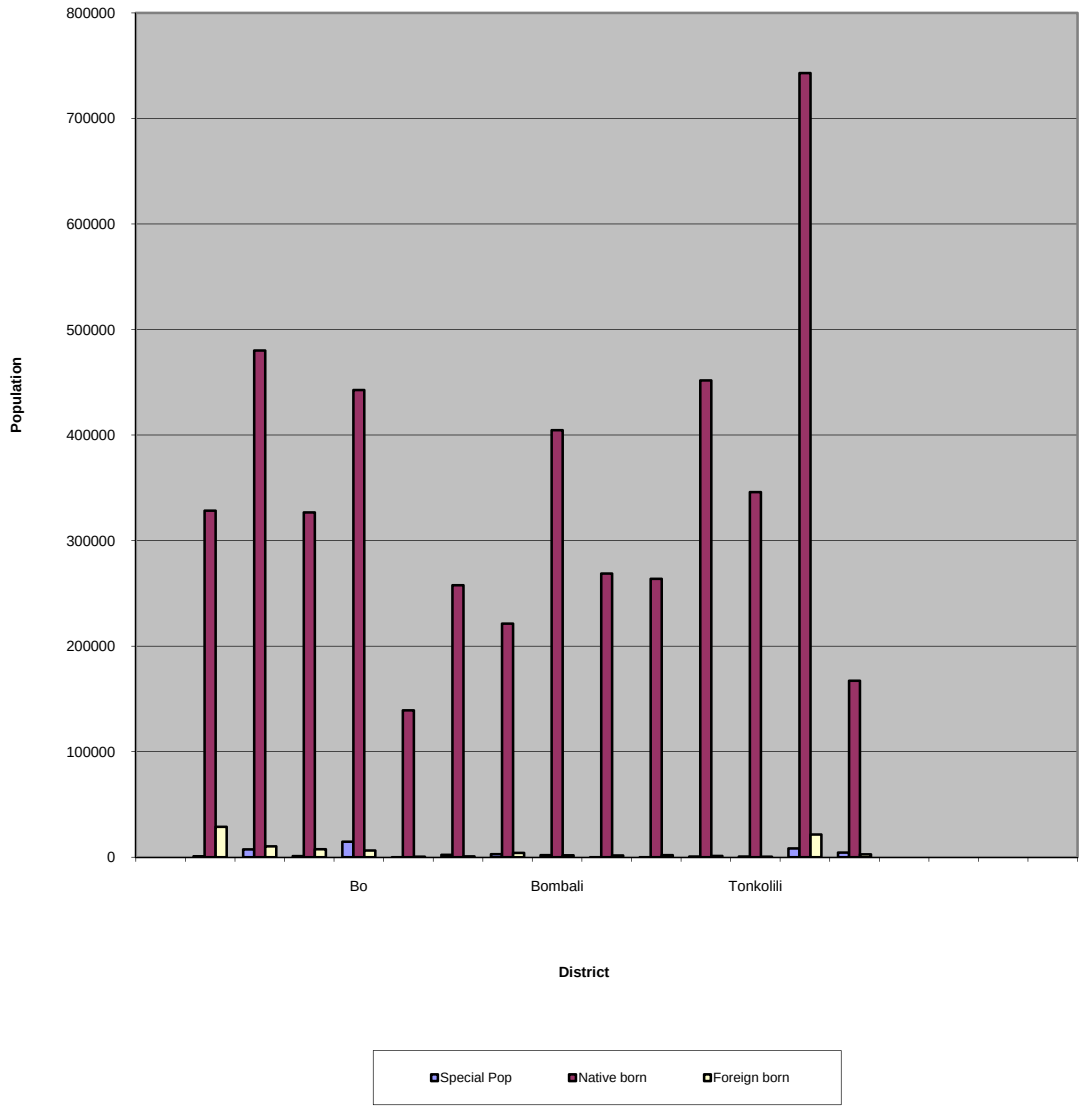
An important aspect of the national population in this census is the "special population", defined as people enumerated in institutional settings such as police barracks, prisons, boarding schools, military installations, hospitals, camp dwellers and floating population groups (very insignificant). Information on this phenomenon, as shown in Table 2, reveals that the Southern Province (43.6 percent) and Western Area (27.6 percent) both account for seven-tenths of the special population. With one-fifth of this population in the Eastern Province, mainly in Kenema District, the Northern Province was the only area where a very little proportion of persons in this category of the population resided.

Table 2 – Gender Characteristics of the Special Population by District and Province: Sierra Leone, 2004

District Or Province	Total		Male	Female	Sex Ratio
	Number	Percent			
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**20,212**	**43.6**	**11,012**	**9,200**	**119.7**
Bo	14,707	31.7	7,954	6,753	117.8
Bonthe	82	0.2	45	37	121.6
Moyamba	2,404	5.2	1,315	1,089	120.8
Pujehun	3,019	6.5	1,698	1,321	128.5
EASTERN PROVINCE	**9,669**	**20.9**	**5,649**	**4,020**	**140.5**
Kailahun	1,015	2.2	512	503	101.8
Kenema	7,519	16.2	4,431	3,068	143.5
Kono	1,135	2.4	706	429	164.6
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**3,627**	**7.8**	**2,491**	**1,136**	**219.3**
Bombali	1,998	4.3	1,283	715	112.9
Kambia	86	0.2	49	37	132.4
Koinadugu	75	0.2	58	17	241.2
Port Loko	727	1.6	629	98	641.8
Tonkolili	741	1.6	472	269	175.5
WESTERN AREA	**12,831**	**27.6**	**9,068**	**3,763**	**241.0**
Freetown	8,389	18.1	5,617	2,772	202.6
Western Rural	4,442	9.5	3,451	991	348.2
SIERRA LEONE	**46,339**	**100.0**	**28,220**	**18,119**	**155.8**

Even here, there is a relatively strong presence of such people in Bombali probably as a result of the military depot of “Teko” in Makeni Town. Figure 3 illustrates that in comparison with the native population in normal households, the special population represents an insignificant proportion of the total population enumerated during the census. The figure also shows that there is a positive correlation between the occurrence of the native, foreign born and special populations in Sierra Leone.

Figure 3: Distribution of Major Population Subgroups - 2004



Sex ratios for the special population are high nationally (155.8), ranging from 119.7 in the Southern Province to 241 in the Western Area. The range is even greater when individual districts are considered. In this case, Kailahun District has the lowest sex ratio of 101.8 (barely even) and Port Loko returned the highest at 641.8.

2.2 Population Density

In Table 3, the absolute total population figures are translated into densities to show the spread of people over the geographic subdivisions of the country. By 2004, the national density had jumped from 49 to 69. In terms of the provinces, this figure was only exceeded in the Western Area and Eastern Province. Half the districts recorded population densities in excess of the national average – Western Urban and Rural, Kailahun, Kenema, Bo, Kambia and Port Loko Districts – and can be considered as areas of dense population concentrations (see Figure 4). Moderately dense areas recorded between 50 and 70 persons per square kilometers (p.p.sq.km.). They include the districts of Kono, Pujehun, Bombali and Tonkolili. Bonthe, Moyamba and Koinadugu district were the areas of sparse population densities in the country, with densities typically falling between 22 and 40 persons per square kilometers (p.p.sq.km.).

When comparison between the last census of 1985 and the current one is done, the continuous supereminence of the city and the Western Area is immediately revealed. The densities in this part of the country (about 1,700 p.p.sq.km.) are amongst the highest on the continent. With a density of about 9,426 persons per square kilometer (yielding a rise of over 3,697 persons per square kilometer), the city holds an average population that can be ranked as one of the densest on the continent. In the provinces, the Eastern Province was the only area that returned a density that was higher than the national average, notwithstanding the catastrophic event in Kono (Table 3). When Figures 4 and 5 are taken together, it is clear that the pattern of population concentration underwent some modifications during 1985-2004.

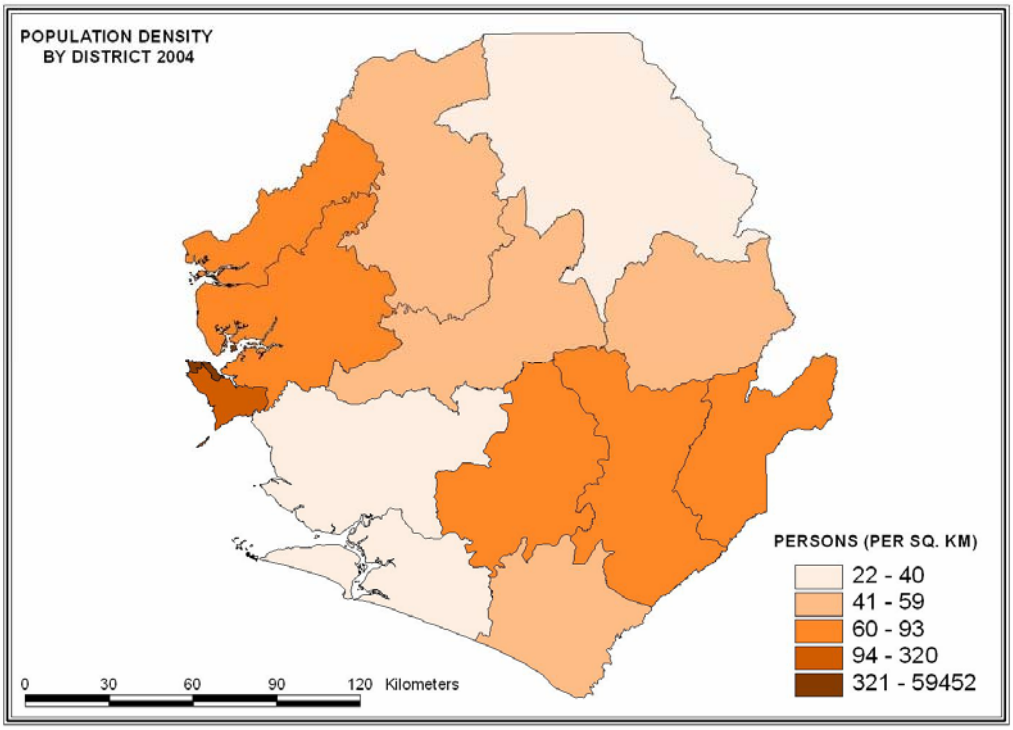
Table 3 – Population Densities by Administrative Subdivisions: Sierra Leone, 1985 - 2004

District Or Province	Area (square km.)	Population Count		Population Density		Absolute Density Change
		1985	2004	1985	2004	(2004 – 1985)
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**19,694**	**741,377**	**1,092,657**	**38**	**55**	**17**
Bo	5,219	268,671	463,668	52	89	37
Bonthe	3,468	105,007	139,687	30	40	10
Moyamba	6,902	250,514	260,910	36	38	2
Pujehun	4,105	117,185	228,392	28	56	28
EASTERN PROVINCE	**15,553**	**960,551**	**1,191,539**	**62**	**77**	**15**
Kailahun	3,859	233,839	358,190	61	93	32
Kenema	6,053	337,055	497,948	56	82	26
Kono	5,641	389,657	335,401	69	59	-10
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**35,936**	**1,259,651**	**1,745,553**	**35**	**49**	**14**
Bombali	7,985	317,729	408,390	40	51	11
Kambia	3,108	186,231	270,462	60	87	27
Koinadugu	12,121	183,286	265,765	15	22	7
Port Loko	5,719	329,344	453,746	58	79	21
Tonkolili	7,003	243,051	347,197	35	50	15
WESTERN AREA	**557**	**554,243**	**947,122**	**995**	**1,700**	**705**
Freetown**	82	469,776	772,873	5,729	9,426	3,697
Western Rural	475	84,467	174,249	178	367	189
SIERRA LEONE	**71,740**	**3,515,812**	**4,976,871**	**49**	**69**	**20**

By 2004, the aerial spread of the city of Freetown had increased to reach 82 sq. km. Since the aerial extent was not calculated as part of the 1985 census operation, this figure is used here for the estimation of population density for that census.

As regards the percentage change in densities, the national average was 20. All the provinces recorded lesser figures but the Western Area with 705 p.p.sq.km. was the fastest growing region of the country. The observed changes for the districts were also far lower (-10 to 37 p.p.sq.km.) than those in the Western Area. This notwithstanding, significant increases in density figures were seen in the districts of Port Loko, Kambia, Bo, Pujehun, Kailahun and Kenema; all of which recorded absolute density changes in excess of the average for the nation. Again, consistent with the trend, Kono was the only district to experience a negative change in its population density; a 17 percent down climb from the last census, though still moderately high by Sierra Leone standards.

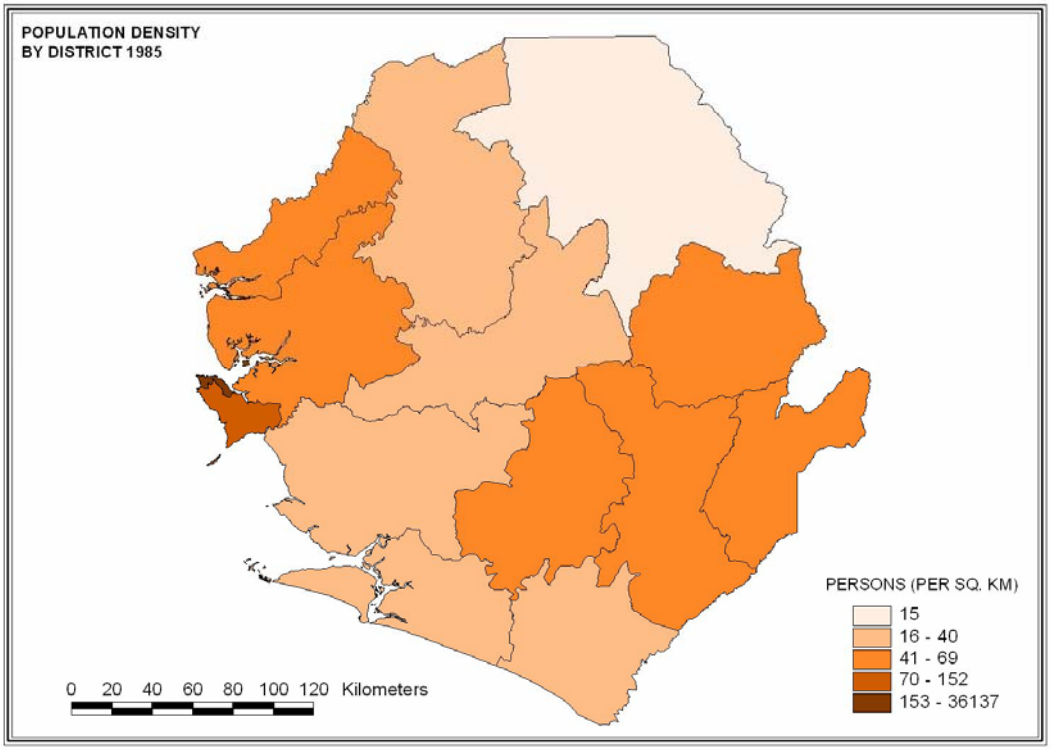
Figure 4 – Population Density by District: Sierra Leone, 2004



If aerial differentiations are considered, the traditional four-sector model – the eastern and western sectors of high densities, a middle belt of medium densities and an extreme northern and southern low density sectors (see, for example, Sesay, I.M.: 1995) – still remains but whereas the western sector of very high densities continue to comprise the Western Area, Port Loko and Kambia districts, the eastern sector now comprises only Bo, Kenema and Kailahun districts (Figure 4). Kono district has joined Bombali, Tonkolili and Pujehun in the formerly north-south middle belt of moderate densities, whilst Bonthe, Moyamba and Koinadugu districts constitute the areas of sparse population concentrations.

Apart from absolute population and crude density figures, it was useful to measure the unevenness in the pattern of population distribution or the concentration of the population in certain geographic subdivisions of the country. This was done in two ways. Firstly, with respect to the census of 2004, the concentration ratio was applied to determine the state of degree of unevenness of the scatter or spread of the population. The calculated concentration ratio was 0.3186k or 31.86 percent (Appendix A). This means that about 32 percent or one in every three persons enumerated during the census of December 2004 will have to be redistributed in order to attain a completely uniform distribution of population in Sierra Leone. Thus, it is clear that the general distribution of population in Sierra Leone is very uneven.

Figure 5 – Population Density by District: Sierra Leone, 1985



To introduce dynamism in the way the figures behave, the index of dissimilarity was used to examine the changes in areal distribution over the 1985-2004 period. The estimated value was 0.0705k or 7.1 percent; meaning that approximately seven percent of the 2004 population would have to be relocated in order to attain the 1985 spatial distribution. Hence, the pattern of population distribution did not change much during the intercensal period.

2.3 Factors Affecting Population Distribution

Population distribution in Sierra Leone is influenced by a host of factors, among which are the following: physical features, differences in socio-economic endowment, population inertia and attachment to place, and the decade long rebel war.

Physical features portend the purely deterministic view of population agglomeration. Difficult relief is known to hinder the concentration of people and nowhere else is this more evident than in the Koinadugu district where the chain of hills called the “internal plateau and hill region” dictate the situation of low population densities. The major economic activities are cattle rearing and market gardening. Transport and communication networks in this district are fewer than in other parts of the country.

The scatter or spread of population over the rest of Sierra Leone, lying mainly below 1,500 metres (4,500 feet) above sea level, are mostly influenced by a broad set of factors that are social and economic in nature. In the western sector of dense concentration, the influence of the primate city of Freetown with its maritime advantages of harbouring the most functional sea port, its position as the seat of government and main entreport, and being the greatest endowed in terms of socio-economic infrastructure make it to continue to attract migrants from all over the country. In addition, the districts of Kambia and Port Loko are relatively more served by vehicular traffic and closer to Freetown than other areas of the country. These districts can also boast of vast amounts of weathered fertile soils occupying the extensive stretches of low-lying north central Sierra Leone (the bolilands) which are very suitable for growing of the main staples of rice, groundnuts and other legumes, and tubers like cassava, potatoes and yams. In addition, the main functional trans-West African trade route (Freetown-Conakry Highway) in the country for the past 16 years passes through these two districts. Also, Lungi International Airport, the only one in the country, is in Port Loko District.

In the eastern sector, high densities can be found in Bo, Kenema and Kailahun districts. These collectively are part of the principal economic nerve center of the country based on diamond mining and allied activities, cocoa, coffee and oil palm cultures, good agricultural soils, relatively ample (though undeveloped communication facilities) and trading. The only branch of the Bank of Sierra Leone and the Government Gold and Diamond Office (G.G.D.O.) are in Kenema Town. The number and density of urban centers in this region of the country are the highest, and in Bo and Kenema can be found the most reliable electricity supply (the Bo-Kenema Power Services – BKPS) in the whole nation.

The remainder of Sierra Leone (the districts of Bombali, Tonkolili, Moyamba, Bonthe, Pujehun and Kono) form a north-south divide separating the two areas of dense concentration of persons and the only area of very sparse concentration. In the northern section of this divide (Bombali and Tonkolili districts), road networks are better than in many parts of the country and there are excellent '*boli*' lands extending from Kambia to Port Loko District. Groundnut is the main commercial crop, of a lesser value than cocoa and coffee, for examples, and in stiff competition from oil palm products mainly from the south and east of the country. Cattle rearing is an important economic activity but this encourages nomadism which reduces population densities. Kono District has become part of this middle belt because its previously large population lost confidence in the state of security of life and property during the war. (Koidu Town itself was one settlement that changed hands many times between government and rebel forces).

In the southern section of moderate population concentration (Moyamba, Bonthe and Pujehun districts), there are also ample amounts of good agricultural soils

(so-called '*bati'* lands) that are well fed with riverine water and sufficient annual rainfall suitable for mechanical cultivation of rice and other staples. Rutile mining in parts of Bonthe district and bauxite deposits in Moyamba district are important economic activities that attract population. However, social and economic infrastructures are inadequate and undeveloped. The region is highly dissected by many water courses that make road development difficult and reduce transport connectivity; leading to the relative isolation of some of these areas from the rest of the country.

Population inertia and attachment to place act in a way as to cause people to continuously live in an environment because of certain usages as cultural attachment, perceived advantages of certain space relationships and the difficulty of relocating to other places. In this scenario, the perceived rural-urban differentials in opportunities for wage labour and existence of ample social amenities that make life easy and comfortable in the towns and cities create disequilibria that condition rural to urban migration. (This will be discussed in details in Chapter 3, Section 2 and Chapter 4 below). The manifestation of these factors can be found in the steady movement of people from the villages to the towns, especially the city of Freetown, and why people continue to flock to the eastern dense population sector even though the fortunes of the diamond, cocoa and coffee industries were badly damaged during the war.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 MIGRATION

3.1 International Migration

Since immigration can be defined as a movement from one place to another involving the crossing of an international boundary irrespective of who makes the move, this section should ideally sketch out the movement of people in and out of the country. In the chapter on methodology, it was shown that the census focused mainly on nationality as a criterion to identify international migrants. In addition, though statistics are improving in content and quality in Sierra Leone, there are still deficiencies with regards to international migration. The census remains the only credible data source but it cannot capture cross boarder migration. The 2004 Population and Housing Census, as with the others before it, did not have a question on emigration. Given the magnitude of population displacement during the war, it became clear that the generally sedentary nature of Sierra Leoneans was transformed and very large numbers of movements out of the country may have occurred. Unfortunately, the database of this scenario is wholly deficient and fragmentary. Because of lack of data, the analysis of movement of Sierra Leoneans in and out of the country will be excluded from this section.

The discussion hereby focuses on the demographic characteristics of persons enumerated in the census that were born outside the jurisdiction of the country. There were 89,876 foreign born population in Sierra Leone in 2004, representing 1.81 percent of the total population. Compared with 2.90 percent in 1974 and 2.81 percent in 1985, this shows a marked reduction in the proportion of aliens in the country. In absolute figures, this shows a steep decline from 93,825 in 1974 and 98,860 in 1985.

The likely cause of this decline is insecurity as a result of the war. Foreign nationals are normally the first people to evacuate in the event of breakdown of law and order. However, even before the war, there were indications "… that the waning economic prospects of the country could not encourage large influxes of people (of international origin) whose primary aim was to converge on areas with healthy economies" (Sesay, I.M.; 1995). The present peace has facilitated the resumption of economic activities. Already, foreign businesses have returned and resumed operations and the country is once again becoming attractive to foreign nationals.

In factoring international migration into overall development planning, it is of essence to know who these migrants are, where they came from, where in the country they settle and other demographics and life experience variables of the

immigrants. The following sections discuss some of these characteristics in an effort to provide some basic information.

3.1.1 Origin of International Migrants

According to Sesay, I.M. (1995), "since 1963, the overwhelming majority of international migrants have been of African origin (87.2 percent in 1963, 84.5 percent in 1974 and 94,8 percent in 1985)". Indeed, this seems to be the continuing trend because in Table 4, which displays data on the distribution of non-citizens by sex and country of origin, it can be deduced that nearly 97 percent of the foreign born nationals in the country at the time of the census were of West African origin. Probably because of territorial contiguity or proximity, about two-thirds and a quarter are from the Republics of Guinea and Liberia respectively. Furthermore, reasons adduced for the massive influx of Guineans into this country include boarder porosity, the Sierra Leonean hospitality, ethnic identities and differential economic prospects on both sides of the international divide (*ib. id*.). And for Liberia, these reasons plus the lack of law and order, peace and security since 1989 were conditioning factors for immigration into Sierra Leone.

Whilst the numbers of Nigerians, Ghanaians and Togolese have remained virtually unchanged since the last census, those for Liberians and Ivorians have increased suddenly. Also, when all segments of the foreign nationals are considered, it is only for the Liberian immigrants that the female population surpasses the males (Table 4). This may be an extent of the impact of the Liberian civil war on Sierra Leone. For in war situations, females naturally move away to safe areas well in advance of the males; who may be part of the fighting forces or may just organize themselves into civic defense forces in a bid to protect their homes. In addition, the 1985 data give statistics on small but significant numbers of citizens from the Republics of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau and Niger that were resident in Sierra Leone but statistics for 2004 do not mention any of them.

Table 4 – Distribution of Non-Citizens by Sex and Country of Origin: Sierra Leone, 2004

Country of Origin or Nationality	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Nigeria	1,489	3.0	508	1.2	1,996	2.2
Gambia	1,552	3.2	809	2.0	2,361	2.6
Guinea	32,443	66.2	26,258	64.3	58,699	65.3
Ghana	860	1.8	421	1.0	1,280	1.4
Liberia	9,714	19.8	11,412	27.9	21,134	23.5
Cote d'Ivoire	176	0.4	176	0.4	352	0.4
Senegal	471	1.0	162	0.4	633	0.7
Mali	546	1.1	164	0.4	709	0.8
Togo	25	0.1	10	0.0	35	0.0
TOTAL WEST AFRICA	**47,276**	**96.4**	**39,920**	**97.7**	**87,199**	**97.0**
OTHER AFRICA	**328**	**0.7**	**174**	**0.4**	**502**	**0.6**
United Kingdom	189	0.4	139	0.3	328	0.4
Rest of Europe	146	0.3	99	0.2	244	0.3
TOTAL EUROPE	**335**	**0.7**	**238**	**0.6**	**572**	**0.6**
U.S.A.	**206**	**0.4**	**137**	**0.3**	**343**	**0.4**
India	316	0.6	39	0.1	355	0.4
Lebanon	477	1.0	301	0.7	778	0.9
Pakistan	88	0.2	39	0.1	127	0.1
TOTAL ASIA	**881**	**1.8**	**379**	**0.9**	**1,260**	**1.4**
TOTAL ALL	**49,026**	**100.0**	**40,848**	**100.0**	**89,876**	**100.0**

Apart from West Africa nationals, the only important communities of international migrants are the British, American, Indian and Lebanese. It is important to note that other European nationals form a significant minority of the foreign community in Sierra Leone. Also, the number of Indians has been rising steadily as that of Lebanese and other Asians decrease. These are mainly economic immigrants.

3.1.2 Destination of International Migrants

Observation of information on district of residence of foreign-born nationals in the country is an important indicator of why they choose to enter the country in the first place. The motive for immigration informs policy processes on immigration and no time else is such a policy focus important than in this post-conflict era of reconstruction and development.

According to Table 5, which displays data on district of residence of foreign nationals in 2004, the traditional homes of non-citizens in the country are the Eastern Province and Western Area that accounted for about four-fifths of all aliens in the population. Specifically, Kailahun District alone had a third of these people and together with Freetown and Kenema District, more than 67 percent of

all persons enumerated in Sierra Leone but who were born outside the country can be located.

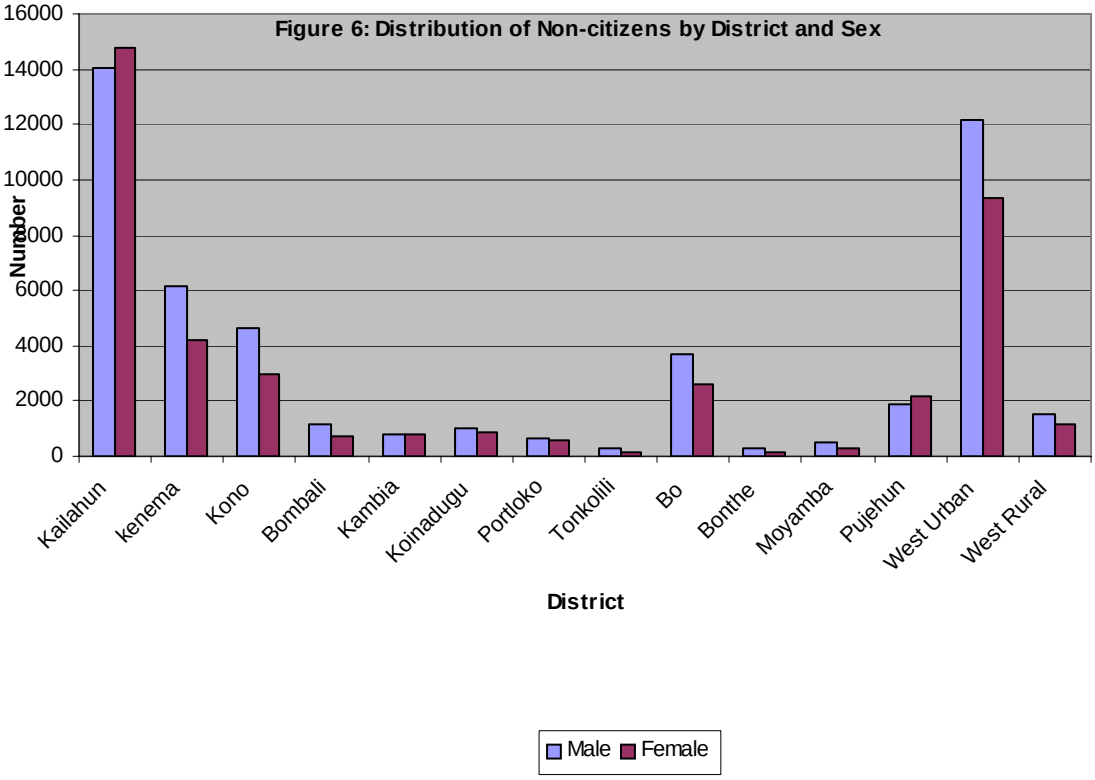
Away from these three areas of heavy concentrations of foreigners, Bo and Pujehun Districts hold about a further 12 percent of them. It is interesting to note that notwithstanding the massive reduction in the population of Kono District (about 50 percent), it still holds a higher proportion of aliens than the entire Northern Province (Table 5). As with analysis of the 1985 census data (Sesay, I.M.: 1995), this analysis has revealed that the residence pattern of international migrants still has a strong economic motive for entering the country because the principal areas of concentration coincide with the economic nerve centers of the nation.

Table 5 – Distribution of Non-Citizens by Sex and District of Residence: Sierra Leone, 2004

Province or District of Residence	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	
					2004	1985
EASTERN PROVINCE	**113.6**	**24,856**	**21,880**	**46,736**	**52.2**	**48.9**
Kailahun	94.9	14,022	14,769	28,791	32.2	10.0
Kenema	148.3	6,172	4,163	10,335	11.5	14.1
Kono	158.1	4,662	2,948	7,610	8.5	24.8
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**128.0**	**3,957**	**3,092**	**7,049**	**7.9**	**12.3**
Bombali	161.7	1,124	695	1,819	2.0	3.0
Kambia	102.7	829	807	1,636	1.8	2.0
Koinadugu	116.7	1,032	884	1,916	2.1	4.7
Port Loko	124.7	686	550	1,236	1.4	1.3
Tonkolili	183.3	286	156	442	0.5	1.3
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**122.2**	**6,380**	**5,219**	**11,599**	**13.0**	**11.5**
Bo	143.7	3,719	2,588	6,307	7.0	6.2
Bonthe	156.7	257	164	421	0.5	1.0
Moyamba	190.1	500	263	763	0.9	2.1
Pujehun	86.4	1,904	2,204	4,108	4.6	2.2
WESTERN AREA	**130.3**	**13,670**	**10,491**	**24,161**	**27.0**	**27.3**
Western Urban	130.3	12,167	9,340	21,507	24.0	25.5
Western Rural	130.6	1,503	1,151	2,654	3.0	1.8
TOTAL	**120.1**	**48,863**	**40,682**	**89,545**	**100.0**	**100.0**

The period between the last two censuses shows that whereas the proportions of foreign populations in the Western Area remained virtually the same, those of the Eastern and Southern Provinces increased at the expense of the Northern Province. Kailahun District trebled its proportion during the intercensal period

whilst Pujehun District and the Western Rural Areas virtually doubled. The reason for this phenomenon is that it is evident that there are large numbers of Liberian refugees in Waterloo and other parts of the Western Rural Areas, as is in Pujehun and Kailahun Districts.In Kambia and Port Loko Districts, the proportions have remained almost the same since 1985. The rest of the districts comprising Kenema, Kono, Bombali, Koinadugu, Tonkolili, Bonthe, Moyamba and Western Urban experienced decreases in the percentages of non-citizens that they hold. This reduction was most pronounced in Kono District, which lost almost two thirds of its alien population at the end of the civil war (Table 5).



Considering the sex characteristics of foreign nationals by places of residence, the overall ratio was 120.1; denoting the overabundance of males in the migration stream. This high sex ratio is the norm for all the regions; except that the national average is not exceeded in the Eastern Province because of the superabundance of females of foreign origin in Kailahun District (the highest nationally). The high female population is very likely to have come from Liberian refugees resident in Kailahun District. This scenario is clearly seen in Figure 6 in which absolute population figures of both sexes have been plotted. The figure reveals that the male population was also exceeded in Pujehun District; in the neighbourhood of Kailahun District and on the Liberian-Sierra Leone boarder.

If differentials in residential patterns are analysed at the district level, but for the districts of Kailahun and Port Loko (and perhaps Kambia) with low sex ratios, the ratios were high in all the other districts. In particular, they were highest in

Moyamba and Tonkolili districts. The predominance of males may be as a result of the fact that females normally travel as 'appendages' in the migration process, and, only after the males have secured guaranteed sources of livelihood. This 'associational migration' phenomenon was observed in many rural-urban migration streams in the host population before and at the beginning of the Sierra Leone civil war (see, for example, Byerlee, Tommy and Fatoo: 1976 and Sesay, I.M.: 1992).

3.1.3 Age and Sex Characteristics of Foreign-Born Nationals

In Table 6, the individually carried traits of age and sex of foreign nationals in Sierra Leone by 2004 are displayed. The sex distribution shows that about 55 percent are males and 45 percent are females; indicating a sex selective migration stream favouring the males. In comparison with the native population, the respective percentages for males and females were 48.4 and 51.6 in December 2004. The overall sex ratio of the international migrants was 120.1 (compared with 93.8 for native born and 94.2 for the total populations) and the index is typically less than 100 for ages up to 24; the lowest sex ratio (81.5) is at ages 15-19. Apart from some erratic sex ratio movements, it progressively rises up the age spectrum onto age 79 and ranges between 81.5 and 288.1. Beyond age 30, the overall sex ratio of 120.1 is exceeded in all age groups.

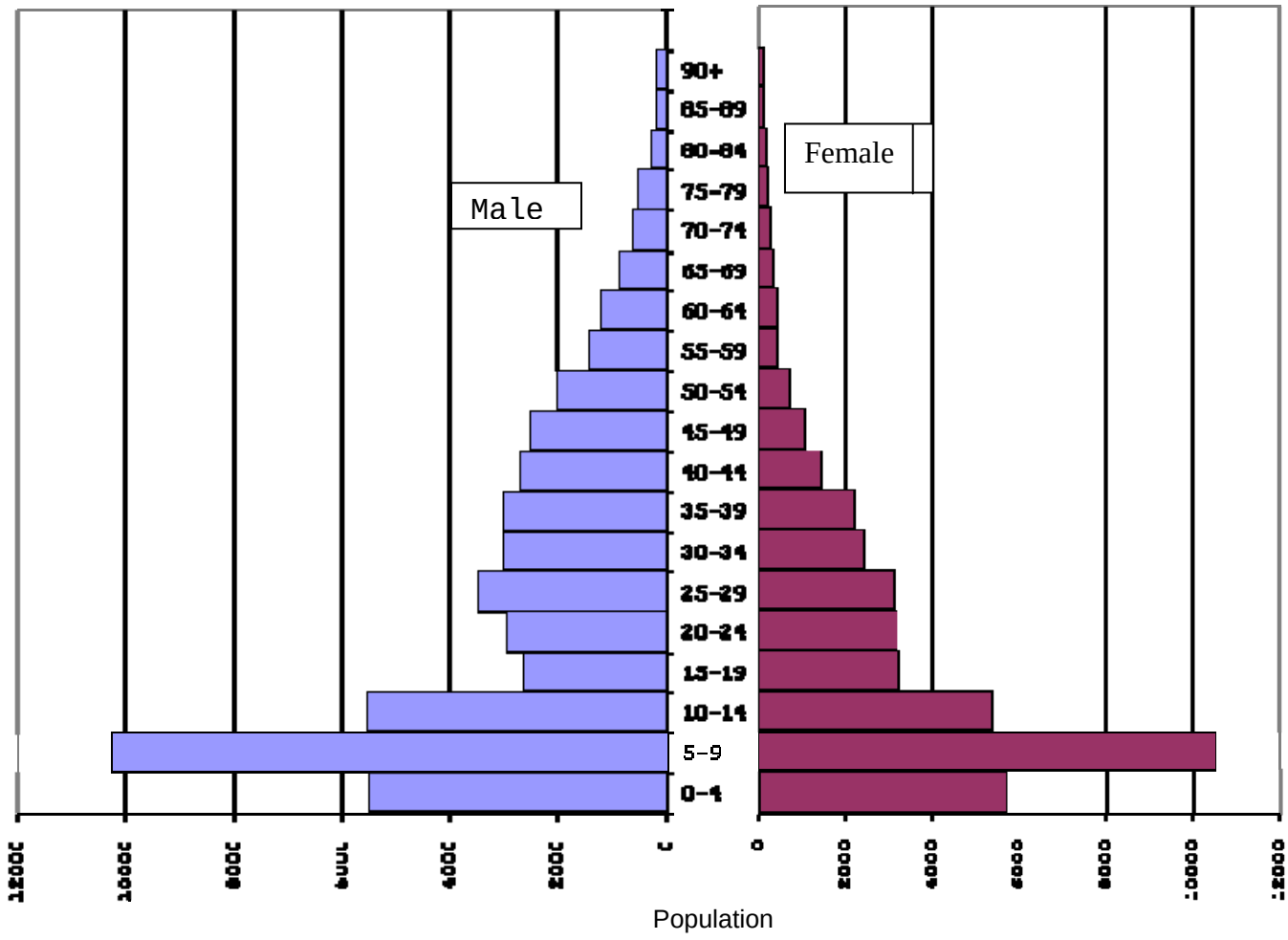
Table 6 – Percentage Distribution of Foreign Nationals by Age and Sex: Sierra Leone, 2004

Age	Sex ratio	Male		Female		Total	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
00 – 04	95.7	5,494	11.2	5,670	13.9	11,164	12.5
05 – 09	97.9	10,256	21.0	10,481	25.8	20,737	23.2
10 – 14	103.1	5,526	11.3	5,358	13.2	10,884	12.2
15 – 19	81.5	2,627	5.4	3,222	7.9	5,849	6.5
20 – 24	93.8	2,974	6.1	3,170	7.8	6,144	6.9
25 – 29	111.4	3,462	7.1	3,107	7.6	6,569	7.3
30 – 34	124.7	3,010	6.2	2,413	5.9	5,423	6.1
35 – 39	138.9	3,034	6.2	2,184	5.4	5,218	5.8
40 – 44	186.5	2,690	5.5	1,442	3.5	4,132	4.6
45 – 49	241.2	2,508	5.1	1,040	2.6	3,548	4.0
50 – 54	284.1	1,997	4.1	703	1.7	2,700	3.0
55 – 59	337.7	1,432	2.9	424	1.0	1,856	2.1
60 – 64	283.8	1,192	2.4	420	1.0	1,612	1.8
65 – 69	287.6	880	1.8	306	0.8	1,186	1.3
70 – 74	254.2	633	1.3	249	0.6	882	1.0
75 – 79	288.1	510	1.0	177	0.4	687	0.8
80 – 84	178.1	260	0.5	146	0.4	406	0.5
85 – 89	224.4	193	0.4	86	0.2	279	0.3
90+	220.2	185	0.4	84	0.2	269	0.3
TOTAL	120.1	48,863	100.0	40,682	100.0	89,545	100.00
PERCENT		**54.57**		**45.43**		**100.0**	

Perhaps this is a demonstration of the selectivity of the migration process. In whole populations, the expectation is that sex ratio is highest at birth but it declines towards an even point (100.0) around ages 20-24. Thenceforth, there are expected to be more females than males in the population. These data may be telling the situation of the migrants being of first generation. It may need to take some adjustment for them to bring their female spouses – a related phenomenon known as 'associational migration'.

A very youthful age structure is depicted in the table, as 47.9 percent of the population is under 15 years of age whilst a meagre 4.2 percent is 65 years and above. Moreover, the population 05-09 years old is almost equal to the adjacent populations 00-04 and 10-14 age groups (Figure 7). In fact, the youthful complexion of the foreign born population is largely due to a huge segment of very young females (52.9 percent are less than 15 years of age) in that population. It is not easy to tell why this happens all the time; judging from the conventional wisdom that dictates that within this age bracket the male strain is expected to be more.

Figure 7 – Age Pyramid of Foreign Nationals: Sierra Leone,2004



As with the 1985 census data, the 2004 statistics show that the age distribution of foreign nationals differed markedly from that of the natives. The percentage of people at ages 65 years and over was nearly equal for natives and foreign-born populations but the distribution within ages 00-14 and 15-64 were vastly different. If a gender differentiation is done, the two subpopulations will be seen to be very different within these broad age categories, except that there is a slight similarity in the proportions at ages 00-14 for the males of both the natives and aliens. The conclusion is that the immigrants, who were mainly teenagers and young adults in 1985 (see, for instance, Sesay, I.M.: 1995), now show the trait of a very high proportion of children in their population. The possible explanation may be either that there was a phenomenal preponderance of female births over the past 15 years, or that post-war immigration of the foreign-born population was highly selective in favour of young females. It may also be that both scenarios occurred in the subpopulation simultaneously.

The age dependency ratio (population 00-14 plus population 65 and over divided by the residual population 15-64 years of age) was 108.8, meaning that every 100 foreign-born nationals of working age (15-64) will have to care for an average of 109 children and old people. Compared with 37 for the 1985 statistics, the immigrants have undergone a major change in terms of population age distribution over time. (The corresponding statistics for natives is 86).

In terms of sex, the age dependency ratio of females of foreign origin was 127.7 and 95.7 for males. The same figures for the native population were 80.5 and 90.1 respectively. Thus, when the age distribution is transformed into a crude index of economic dependency, it becomes clear that the advantage of a more favourable population distribution (over the broad age categories) that the aliens had over the natives in 1985 will disappear because the resulting economic dependency ratios indicate a change of scenario in favour of the native population.

3.2 Internal Migration

3.2.1 Direct Measures of Lifetime Internal Migration

Recognition of the problem of internal migration has engaged African planners and development practitioners for quite sometime now. Indeed, internal migration was the first aspect of population that was acknowledged by African leaders as a population problem – at the World Population Conference at Bucharest, Romania, in 1974. But besides this recognition, internal migration continues to pose a very big challenge to the development of the continent and research on this topic is still scanty. However, many African censuses carry at least a direct question on migratory movements within the respective countries.

In the Sierra Leone 2004 Census of Population and Housing, there were questions on place of birth and place of residence at a fixed prior date

(December 1990). Since these questions yield direct measures of internal movements of the people captured in the census, they have been used as the basis of the analysis in this section of the monograph.

The 2004 internal migration statistics show very interesting results (Table 7). The interregional migration rate was 21.6 percent; equal to the 1974 level but a little higher than what it was at the 1985 census (20.7). One would have expected that with the massive displacements of population during the war, the 2004 index should have been the highest. As government undertook a successful resettlement of internally displaced persons (IPDs) and refugees just upon concluding the war in 2001-2002, persons who could have been captured elsewhere from home during the census were made to return to their birth places *in situ*. Moreover, perhaps the relatively low level of interregional movements since the last census is an attribute of the analytical tool being used. The place of birth statistics (by themselves) do not indicate the total number of persons who have moved from the area in which they were born to other areas, or to any specific area during any given period of time. They merely record a respondent as ever moved if his

Table 7 – Lifetime In-migrants by District of Birth, Out-Migrants by District of Enumeration and Net Lifetime Streams of Migration: Sierra Leone, 2004

District of Birth and Enumeration	Lifetime In-Migrants	Lifetime Out-Migrants	Net Lifetime Migration	In-Migration Rate	Out Migration Rate	Net Migration Rate
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**245,637**	**177,145**	**68,492**	**23.2**	**6.7**	**6.5**
Bo	76,738	110,342	-33,604	17.3	24.9	-7.6
Bonthe	50,494	14,638	35,856	36.2	10.5	25.7
Moyamba	75,756	30,734	45,022	29.4	11.9	17.5
Pujehun	42,649	21,431	21,218	19.3	9.7	9.6
EASTERN PROVINCE	**179,066**	**232,028**	**-52,962**	**15.8**	**20.4**	**-4.6**
Kailahun	64,557	23,975	40,582	19.6	7.3	12.3
Kenema	64,545	27,047	-62,502	13.5	26.5	-13.0
Kono	49,964	81,006	-31,042	15.3	24.8	-9.5
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**564,068**	**135,222**	**428,846**	**32.5**	**7.8**	**24.7**
Bombali	172,935	39,009	133,926	42.8	9.6	33.2
Kambia	72,577	20,573	52,004	27.0	7.7	19.3
Koinadugu	59,739	9,695	50,044	22.7	3.7	19.0
Port Loko	139,102	42,894	96,208	30.8	9.5	21.3
Tonkolili	119,715	23,051	96,664	34.6	6.7	27.9
WESTERN AREA	**58,652**	**503,018**	**-444,376**	**6.4**	**54.5**	**-48.1**
Freetown	38,006	391,737	-353,731	5.1	52.8	-47.7
Western Rural	20,636	111,281	-90,645	11.5	61.8	-50.3
SIERRA LEONE	**1,047,413**	**1,047,413**	**-497,338 +497,338**	**21.6**	**21.6**	**0.0**

place of birth is different from that of enumeration. (The drawbacks of place of birth data have already been enumerated in the section on methodology on pages 11-12).

Using the place of birth data, therefore, the Northern Province, which traditionally was a sending area of internal migrants, became the highest receiver with 54,220 in-migrants, representing 53.9 percent of all receipts. This was followed by the Southern Province, which received 23.4 percent of the in-migrant population. The most important ports of call for internal migrants were Bombali, Port Loko and Tonkolili districts. Except for Bonthe, Pujehun and Kono districts with very low receipts, the rest of the districts received moderate amounts of migrants.

Further in Table 7, out-migration figures were highest in the Western Area and for Kenema, Kono and Bo districts; all previously net receivers of internal migrants. Whilst the outflow from the former cannot be easily explained, that of the latter may be due to the point that these were districts immediately boardering the rebel stronghold of Kailahun and being at the war front meant that the tendency for people to move to other areas would have been great. The least senders of people were Koinadugu and Bonthe districts. Both were very far removed from the major currents of the war and with difficult environments, little attractive economic potentials and poor communication networks, they remained relatively safer havens during the entire war.

An examination of the net migration figures reveals that but for Kailahun District, all of the Eastern Province and the Western Area were net losers of population between 1985 and 2004. Also, with the exception of Bo District, which recorded a net loss of 2,766 persons, the Northern and Southern Provinces got more people entering their boarders than left them. Bombali, Tonkolili and Port Loko Districts each had more than twice the magnitude of net positive balance than any other district.

3.2.2 Patterns, Streams and Trends in Internal Migration

The analysis in Section 3.2.1 leads on to discussion of the trends in internal migration by looking at lifetime inter-district migration rates between 1985 and 2004. There was a slight increase in the interregional in-migration rate in the Southern Province but this increase accrued from all the districts except Bo (Table 8).

On the contrary, the reverse trend in the Eastern Province saw only Kailahun District gaining at the expense of the others. In 1985, there was no district in the northern region that could boast of a 10 percent in-migration rate. By 2004, each district had more than doubled that number; with an average of over 32 percent. The Western Area experienced the most dramatic fall in the statistics; dropping to less than a fifth of the former level. Furthermore, Figure 8, which displays information on lifetime in-migration rate by district in Sierra Leone, depicts that

eight out of 14 statistical districts and two out of the four provinces experienced higher in-migration rates in 2004 than in 1985.

Moreover, in Table 8, out-migration rates for three of the districts of the Southern Province dropped to less than 16.7 percent (the average for the region) from over 20 percent in 1985. The percentage in Bo District rather increased in the intercensal period. In the Eastern Province, whilst the proportion of out-migrants reduced in Kailahun District, those in Kenema and Kono Districts rose to well over twice their former levels. The data show that the Northern Province reduced its out- migration by about four times the 1985 level, with no district sending more than 10.0 percent of its population to other areas. On the other extreme, the out-migration statistics for the Western Area reveal very staggering and unprecedented levels (Table 8 and Figure 9).

As can be seen in Figure 10, the trends in the net migration rates are, therefore, dictated by the foregoing. The figure shows that the 2004 interdistrict net migration rates were the complete opposite of the 1985 figures – positive figures became negative over the inter-censal period and, in the majority of instances, almost of similar magnitudes.

Table 8 – Lifetime Inter-district Migration Rates: Sierra Leone, 1985 – 2004

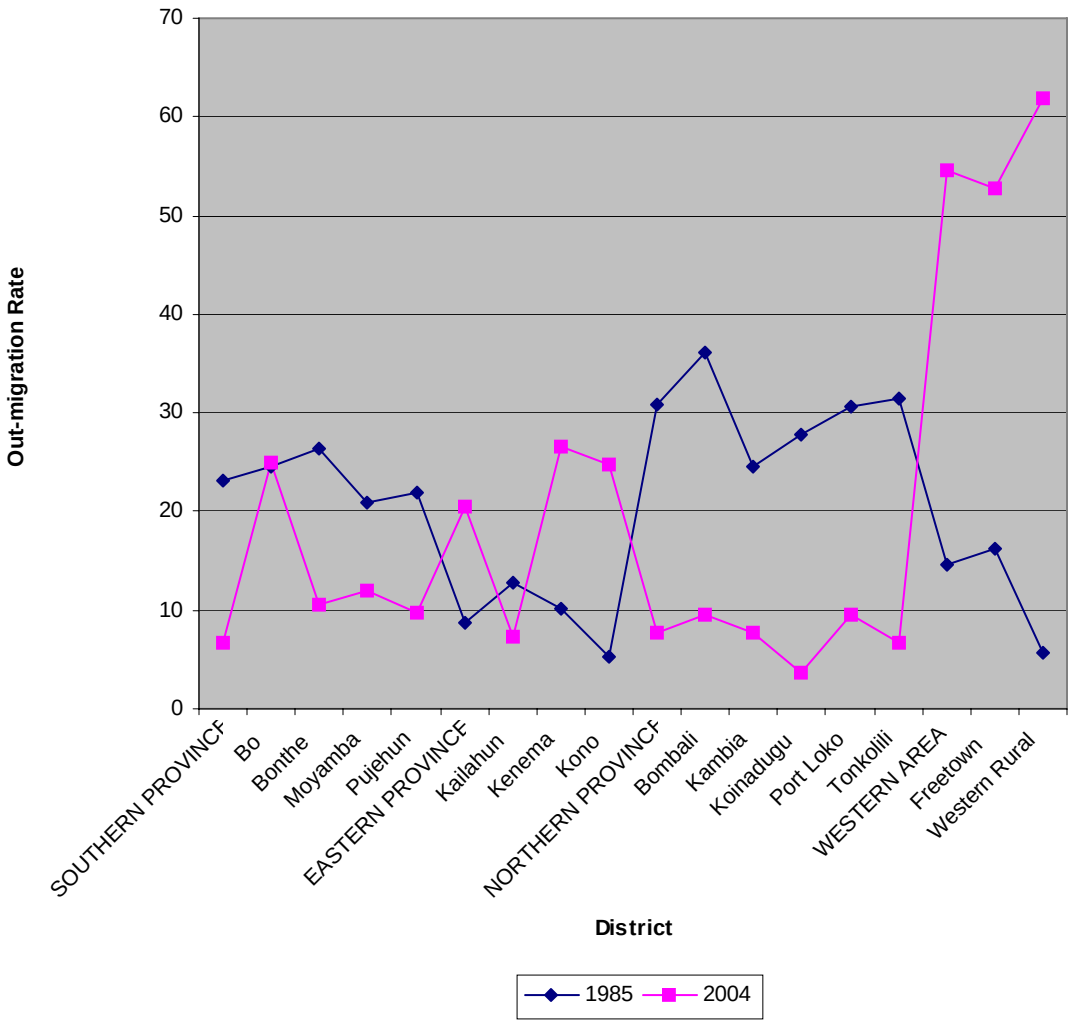
District of Birth and Enumeration	In-Migration Rate		Out-Migration RATE		Net Migration Rate	
	1985	2004	1985	2004	1985	2004
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**18.5**	**23.2**	**23.2**	**16.7**	**-4.7**	**6.5**
Bo	23.2	17.3	24.5	24.9	-1.3	-7.6
Bonthe	18.2	36.2	26.4	10.5	-8.2	25.7
Moyamba	16.4	29.4	20.9	11.9	-4.5	17.5
Pujehun	12.5	19.3	21.9	9.7	-9.4	9.6
EASTERN PROVINCE	**24.7**	**15.8**	**8.8**	**20.4**	**15.8**	**-4.6**
Kailahun	9.9	19.6	12.8	7.3	-2.9	12.3
Kenema	27.9	13.5	10.2	26.5	17.7	-13.0
Kono	30.8	15.3	5.3	24.8	25.5	-9.5
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**8.0**	**32.5**	**30.9**	**7.8**	**-23.0**	**24.7**
Bombali	8.1	42.8	36.2	9.6	-28.1	33.2
Kambia	6.9	27.0	24.6	7.7	-17.7	19.3
Koinadugu	5.0	22.7	27.7	3.7	-22.8	19.0
Port Loko	9.5	30.8	30.7	9.5	-21.2	21.3
Tonkolili	8.7	34.6	31.5	6.7	-22.8	27.9
WESTERN AREA	**45.5**	**6.4**	**14.6**	**54.5**	**30.9**	**-48.1**
Freetown	38.2	5.1	16.2	52.8	21.9	-47.7
Western Rural	86.8	11.5	5.6	61.8	81.2	-50.3
SIERRA LEONE	**20.7**	**21.6**	**20.7**	**21.6**	**0.0**	**0.0**

The Western Area experienced a net loss of over 90 percent in 2004. The loss was greater in the rural areas. The Eastern Province also suffered a similar fate due to events in Kenema and Kono Districts. The Southern Province turned round their 1985 net deficit into a positive balance, thanks to the strong influence of Bonthe and Moyamba Districts. In the Northern Province, hefty negative net migration figures have not only been made positive, the magnitudes are also overwhelmingly high in each of the districts.

FIGURE 8: Lifetime In-migration rate by District, Sierra Leone - 2004

In order to have an indication of the pattern of residence of the native-born population just before the start of the war, a question on place of residence at a fixed prior date (December, 1990) was posed to the respondents. The responses to this question, presented in Table 9, reveal that there has been a slight increment (0.8 percent) in the population of the Southern Province since the war; contributed to by three of the districts. The male-female subpopulations also follow a similar trend, clearly showing the loss in the proportion of the district of Bo.

Figure 9: Lifetime Out-migration by District; Sierra Leone - 2004



In the Eastern Province, the proportion of the resident population between 1990 and 2004 dropped by over 2 percent. Kenema and Kono Districts contributed to this loss while Kailahun increase its share of the total population marginally (Table 9). Moreover, consistent with statistics in other sections of this report, the Northern Province increased its share of the resident population within the same period by nearly 20 percent. This increase, though evident in all the districts of the region, was coming more from Bombali and Port Loko Districts. In the Western Area, the percentage recorded for the rural areas remained almost the same (Table 9). However, the data for the city of Freetown shows that

FIGURE 10: Lifetime Inter-district Net Migration rate, Sierra Leone - 2004

about 33 percent of the native-born respondents who used to be in Freetown by December 1990 were recorded in other parts of the country during the census.

Analysing the place of residence at a fixed prior date before the census (December 1990) by sex (Table 9) show that the percentages of males in the Eastern Province and Western Area were greater in 1990 than at the time of the census. Whereas the reverse was true of the Northern Province, the pattern in the Southern Province showed an almost equal proportion over the period. The districts of Bo, Kenema, Kono and Western Urban (Freetown) also had more males by 1990 and the rest of the districts revealed the converse (Figure 11). If the same analysis is done for their female counterparts (Figure 12), the observed trend is hardly dissimilar. Therefore, the proportion of males and females tended to drop in the main districts of commercial activity in Sierra Leone by 2004.

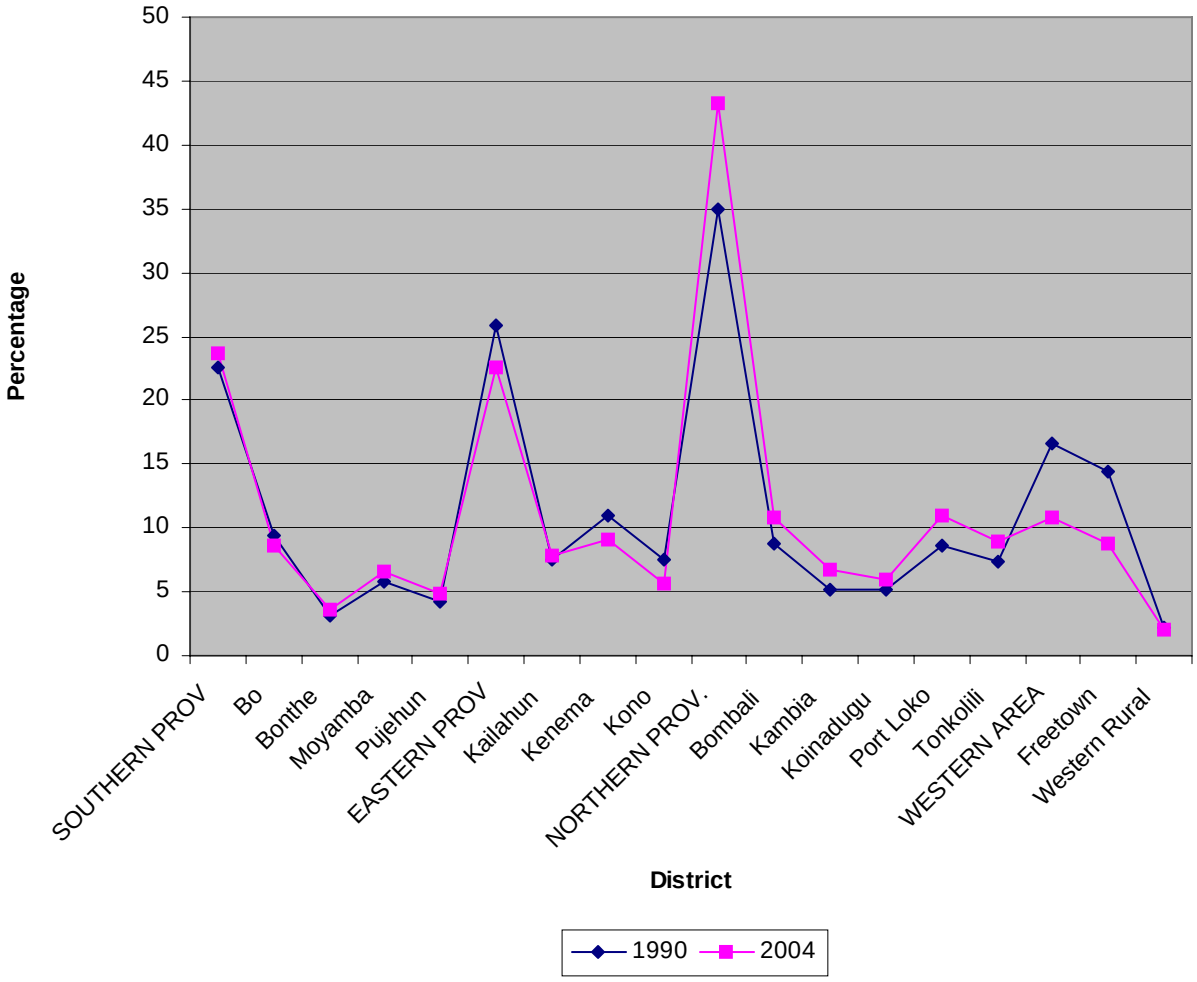
Table 9 – Percentage Distribution of Residence of Native Born Population by Sex and District or Province: Sierra Leone, 1990 and 2004

District Or Province	Male Residence In December		Female Residence In December		Total Resident	
	1990	2004	1990	2004	1990	2004
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**22.6**	**23.6**	**23.1**	**23.7**	**22.8**	**23.6**
Bo	9.4	8.6	9.0	8.5	9.2	8.6
Bonthe	3.2	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.3	3.5
Moyamba	5.8	6.6	6.4	6.9	6.1	6.7
Pujehun	4.2	4.8	4.3	4.8	4.2	4.8
EASTERN PROVINCE	**25.9**	**22.6**	**23.7**	**22.0**	**24.8**	**22.2**
Kailahun	7.5	7.8	7.5	7.7	7.5	7.7
Kenema	10.9	9.1	9.7	8.8	10.3	8.9
Kono	7.5	5.7	6.5	5.5	7.0	5.6
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**34.9**	**43.3**	**37.9**	**44.1**	**36.6**	**43.7**
Bombali	8.8	10.8	9.3	11.0	9.1	10.9
Kambia	5.1	6.7	5.8	6.9	5.5	6.8
Koinadugu	5.1	6.0	5.2	5.9	5.2	6.0
Port Loko	8.6	10.9	9.7	11.2	9.2	11.0
Tonkolili	7.3	8.9	7.9	9.1	7.6	9.0
WESTERN AREA	**16.6**	**10.8**	**15.2**	**10.4**	**15.8**	**10.6**
Freetown	14.4	8.7	12.9	8.3	13.6	8.5
Western Rural	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.1
SIERRA LEONE	**1,352,710**	**2,303,530**	**1,511,880**	**2,461,400**	**2,864,590**	**4,764,930**

These findings, in spite of the possibility of memory lapses on the part of the respondents, have been useful in unraveling some amount of population redistribution over time in the country. The results for Freetown, especially, are intriguing. However, the consistency in the statistics shows that the results follow the characteristics of the sample. The extent of efficacy of the results, therefore, depends on the extent to which the sample truly represents the parent population.

It is easy to note that there have been significant changes in the proportionate share of the nation's population in fixed aerial units over the 1985 to 2004 period. This dynamic process was seen in operation when data on population density were examined and the scenario has been re-echoed in this section on internal migration. The most likely cause of this statistically catastrophic event is return migration at the end of the war; which may have originally been triggered by forced migration arising from want of

Figure 11 - Percentage Distribution of Native Born Males by District of Residence 1990-2004



general security from marauding fighters and human security in the context of quest for survival livelihoods. But as the peace consolidates, a complex of factors are expected to operate in such a manner as to modify this new demographic picture. Chief amongst these will be the economic recovery and social reintegration processes that are now well underway.

FIGURE 12: Percentage distribution of Native Born Females by District of Residence: Sierra Leone – 1990 and 2004

3.2.3 An Indirect Measure of Internal Migration – the National Growth Rate Analysis

Estimates of net migration by this method in Table 10 indicate a consistently higher migration level for the variant based on natural fertility. In addition, there are disagreements between the two variants with respect to the direction of some of the signs. The relative magnitudes of the migration rates tend to follow the same pattern as the analysis of data on place of birth in the foregoing sections. By the use of the national growth rate method, it can be observed that the higher the rate of population change for any district, the higher the estimate of net migration; irrespective of the method of calculation.

Specifically, it is plain that migration into the Western Area was the highest; followed by the Southern and Northern Provinces. The Western Rural Area benefited a lot from the inflows of people during the war and it is not surprising that it has recorded the highest levels of in-migration in the country during the

1985 to 2004 period. Net migration estimates for Freetown were consistently high by both the population change and natural increase methods – being third in magnitude after Pujehun and Bo Districts respectively. The Eastern Region had a negative migration by both indices because of the high rate of out-migration from Kono District. High levels of out-migration were reported in Moyamba District but the very high levels of migration into Bo and Pujehun Districts cancelled out the effect of this experience in the Southern Province. In the Northern Province, but for the very low figure for Bombali District, the net migration estimates based on natural increase were moderate.

Table 10 – Estimation of Net Migration by National Growth Rate Method: Sierra Leone, 1985 – 2004

District or Province	Population		Population Change		Net Migration	
	1985	2004	Amount	Rate	Based on Population Change	Based on Natural Increase*
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**741,377**	**1,092,657**	**351,280**	**47.4**	**5.8**	**20.2**
Bo	268,671	463,668	194,997	72.6	31.0	45.4
Bonthe	105,007	139,687	34,680	33.0	-8.6	5.8
Moyamba	250,514	260,910	10,396	4.2	-37.4	-23.0
Pujehun	117,185	228,392	111,208	94.9	53.3	67.7
EASTERN PROVINCE	**960,551**	**1,191,539**	**230,988**	**24.1**	**-17.5**	**-3.1**
Kailahun	233,839	358,190	124,351	53.2	11.6	26.0
Kenema	337,055	497,948	160,893	47.7	6.1	20.5
Kono	389,657	335,401	-54,256	-13.9	-49.4	-20.6
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**1,259,651**	**1,745,553**	**485,902**	**38.6**	**-3.0**	**11.4**
Bombali	317,729	408,390	90,661	28.5	-13.1	1.3
Kambia	186,231	270,462	84,231	45.2	3.6	18.0
Koinadugu	183,286	265,765	82,479	45.0	3.4	17.8
Port Loko	329,344	453,746	124,402	37.8	-3.8	10.6
Tonkolili	243,051	347,197	104,146	42.9	1.3	15.7
WESTERN AREA	**554,243**	**947,122**	**392,879**	**70.9**	**29.3**	**43.7**
Freetown	469,776	772,873	303,097	64.5	22.9	37.3
Western Rural	84,467	174,249	89,782	106.3	64.7	79.1
SIERRA LEONE	**3,515,812**	**4,976,871**	**1,461,059**	**41.6**	**-**	**-**

The natural increase calculated from the 2004 census data stands at 2.7 percent per annum.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 URBANISATION

4.1 Definition of Urban Centres

In this chapter, urbanization will be considered with respect to the changes in the pattern of population distribution between rural and urban places in Sierra Leone. The analysis will involve an investigation of the increase or decrease in the relative size of the urban population in total, growth or otherwise in the number and size of urban localities, and the concentration of population in such places within the intercensal period. In doing this, the net balance or gross change (urbanization) may involve internal migration from rural areas to urban places, or the settlement of disproportionate numbers of immigrants from foreign countries in the towns, and/or differential birth and death rates of the urban and rural sectors of the population (see, for instance, Hauser and Duncan: 1959).

The problem of definition of urban centers has been discussed in the analysis of the 1985 census data (Sesay, I.M.: 1995; *op. cit.*). The national practice has been to list all settlements with a minimum of 2,000 people separately from the rest – there is as yet no formal definition of what constitutes an urban unit. Within the new dispensation at Statistics Sierra Leone (SSL) – the successor to the defunct Central Statistics Office (CSO) – it is possible that this matter may be examined to give a policy focus to the status, or otherwise, of urban centers in Sierra Leone.

The problem of defining an urban area is not unique to Sierra Leone. Various countries use different population thresholds ranging from 200 in Denmark, 2,000 in Sierra Leone and Lesotho to 50,000 in India. The United Nations recommends a cut-off point of 20,000 population for a settlement to qualify for inclusion into the urban size category (United Nations: 1973). Clearly, this disparity in the definition of the minimum threshold population of an urban area poses problems for international comparability and cross-cultural analysis. However, in the case of Sierra Leone, by maintaining a threshold of 2,000 population for the analysis, it will be possible to make broad general comparisons of the tempo of urbanization using figures from the earlier censuses of 1963, 1974 and 1985.

4.2 Levels and Tempo of Urban Growth

Urban growth or urbanization "… involves an increase in the proportion of population living in cities (Sesay, I.M., 1989: 2; 'citing Duncan, O.D., 1972: 688')". It is "… a process of population concentration. It proceeds in two ways: the multiplication of points of concentration and the increase in size of individual concentrations (ib.id.)". The levels and trends of urban growth, otherwise referred to as the tempo of urbanization, are normally discussed with respect to

"… three subthemes – the changes in the number of urban units by size, trends in the growth of the urban population and regional differences in urbanization" (Sesay, I.M.: 1995; *op.cit*).

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the true growth and development of urban settlements in Sierra Leone. Around 1910, the total urban population was 52,827; representing 3.8 percent of the total population. Freetown was already holding about 40,000 people (about 76 percent of the urban population) and there were six other settlements with populations of between 2,000 and 5,000 (Table 11). The extension of the railway into what are today called the "provinces" and the concomitant economic and political activities of the British colonial administration gave further impetus to the growth of more urban units. By the late 1920s, therefore, even before the discovery of diamonds, the number of urban units had increased from 7 to 19, with a total urban population of 112,065 or 6.3 percent of all inhabitants in the country. Of these, Freetown had a population of over 70,000 (about 63 percent of the urban population), there were three other localities with populations between 5,000 and 10,000, and 15 others having between 2,000 and 4,999 persons.

This rapidity in the tempo of urbanisation changed dramatically after independence. In 1963, the number of urban units multiplied to reach more than eight times the 1910 level or about three times the 1930 level. The population therein also multiplied by almost eight folds the 1910 level or approximately four folds the 1930 level (Table 11). Between 1963 and 2004, the urban units have been increasing in such a way as to add a quarter more in each intercensal period. The urban population, which had been rising meteorically in the pre-independence era, showed a downward trend on to 1985. However, the 1985-2004 interval has shown a gradually rising trajectory that can be regarded as very high in present day circumstances.

Table 11 – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: 1910 – 2004

Size Of Urban Unit	Number Of Urban Localities					
	1910**	**1930****	**1963**	**1974**	**1985**	**2004**
2,000 – 4,999	6	15	42	55	62	83
5,000 – 9,999	-	3	11	11	25	22
10,000 – 19,999	-	-	5	4	6	12
20,000 – 49,999	1	-	1	3	1	2
50,000 – 99,999	-	1	-	1	3	2
100,000 – 499,999	-	-	1	1	1	2
500,000 +	-	-	-	-	-	1
All Sizes	**7**	**19**	**60**	**75**	**98**	**124**
Urban Population	**52,827**	**112,065**	**412,254**	**752,126**	**1,133,773**	**1,825,246**
Percent Change	**-**	**112**	**268**	**80**	**51**	**61**
Total Population	**1,400,132**	**1,768,480**	**2,180,355**	**2,735,159**	**3,515,812**	**4,976,871**
Percent Urban	**3.8**	**6.3**	**18.9**	**27.5**	**32.2**	**36.7**

*****Modified from Harvey, M.F. (1975) by Sesay, I.M. (1989).***

By December 2004, there were 1,825,246 persons living in settlements of at least 2,000 people in Sierra Leone. This represented 36.7 percent of the national population. The largest urban agglomeration was the capital city of Freetown with 772,873 inhabitants whilst the settlement with the least number of persons was Konia, Dama Chiefdom, Kenema District, with 2,004 persons. Thus, the range of the urban population was 770,869. The median population (i.e., lying between Giehun and Yengema) of the distribution was 3,628. (See Appendix D: 62nd and 63rd urban hierarchies). With the exception of the Western Area (with 89 percent of the urban population), the percentage of the urban population in the provinces was less than for the nation. The Northern Province was the least urbanized region with just about 18 percent of the population in localities of 2,000 people and over (Table 12).

Table 12 - Population Distribution by District by Urban-Rural Residence, Sierra Leone: 2004

District/ Province	Urban Population			Rural Population (<2,000 pop.)	Percent	
	5,000+	2,000-4,999	2,000+		Urban	Rural
EASTERN PROVINCE	**305,628**	**90,516**	**396,144**	**795,395**	**33.2**	**66.8**
Kailahun	58,234	22,476	80,710	277,480	22.5	77.5
Kenema	152,859	48,768	201,627	296,321	40.5	59.5
Kono	94,535	19,272	113,807	221,594	33.9	66.1
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	**216,538**	**52,324**	**268,862**	**823,795**	**24.6**	**75.4**
Bo	157,791	36,786	194,577	269,091	42.0	58.0
Bonthe	22,659	-	22,659	117,028	16.2	83.8
Moyamba	22,861	6,681	29,542	231,368	11.3	88.7
Pujehun	13,227	8,857	22,084	206,308	9.7	90.3
NORTHERN PROVINCE	**238,702**	**70,201**	**308,903**	**1,436,650**	**17.7**	**82.3**
Bombali	110,864	7,163	118,027	290,363	28.9	71.1
Kambia	31,433	13,098	44,531	225,931	16.5	83.5
Koinadugu	14,108	9,114	23,222	242,543	8.7	91.3
Port loko	44,374	24,639	69,013	384,733	15.2	84.8
Tonkolili	37,923	16,187	54,110	293,087	15.6	84.4
WESTERN AREA	**835,868**	**15,469**	**851,337**	**95,785**	**88.7**	**11.3**
Western Urban	772,873	-	772,873	0	100.0	0.0
Western Rural	62,995	15,469	78,464	95,785	45.0	55.0
SIERRA LEONE	**1,596,736**	**228,510**	**1,825,246**	**2,971,625**	**38.1**	**61.9**

Decomposing the analysis by district reveals that the most urbanized area is the Western Urban (city of Freetown) and the areas are Koinadugu and Pujehun districts (each being less than 10 percent). The only districts that attained the

national level of urbanization were the Western Urban and Rural, Bo and Kenema. Since the rest of the districts recorded by far lesser levels of urban population, it can be deduced that the phenomenon of urbanisation in Sierra Leone is highly skewed.

This skewness can be seen in the distribution of the absolute population figures. Less than one-sixth (228,510) of the urbanites live in settlements of 2,000-4,999 people. Thus, the vast majority of the urban population lives in medium and large towns across the country. The Western Area alone hosts more than two out of every five urbanites in the country and together with Bo, Kenema, Kono and Bombali districts, over 80 percent of the urban population can be accounted for. Conversely, therefore, the proportion of rural population is not only nationally greater than 60 percent, but that nine of the districts registered levels of rural population in excess of 70 percent (Table 12). This included all of the Northern and Southern Provinces (excepting Bo District), and Kailahun District.

The observed levels of urban growth in 2004 can further be analysed by trends (Table 13). Time series data show that though all the districts have experienced a steady increase in urbanization, the levels and trends vary greatly between them (see, for example, Sesay, I.M., 1989: 33ff). The Western Area has persistently been the most urbanized part of Sierra Leone. Accordingly, it has had more than 85 percent of its population not only been urban, but also been in settlements of over 5,000 people since 1974. The districts of Bo, Kono and Kenema have also persistently held degrees of urbanization of at least the national average.

Sesay, I.M. (*ib.id.*) advanced that between 1963 and 1985, the Western Area experienced high rates of urbanization due to the presence of Freetown (the city and chief port in the state) and the boundary changes between 1963 and 1974 which added Calaba Town, Wellington, Allen Town, Hill Station, Aberdeen, Lumley, Murray Town, Wilberforce and Kissy to the city (see also Okoye, C.S, 1983: 8). Continuing, he attributed the fast growth in Kono District to diamond mining, and cash crop (cocoa and coffee) farming and further diamond mining activities in the Sewa and Moa basins in Bo and Kenema Districts respectively for their rapid urban growth rates. Moyamba, Pujehun, Koinadugu and Kambia Districts have been the areas of very low urban developments generally.

Table 13 – Degree of Urbanisation by District: 1963 – 2004

Province/ District	Percent Of Population In Towns Of											
	2,000 TO 4,999				5,000 And Over				2,000 And Over			
	1963	1974	1985	2004	1963	1974	1985	2004	1963	1974	1985	2004
EASTERN PROVINCE				**8**				**26**				**34**
Kailahun	8	11	13	7	3	8	13	16	11	19	26	23
Kenema	10	13	7	10	9	12	25	31	19	25	32	41
Kono	18	10	7	6	13	35	34	28	31	45	41	34
SOUTHERN PROVINCE				**5**				**20**				**25**
Bo	5	5	10	8	13	18	22	34	18	23	32	42
Bonthe	8	5	4	0	4	7	12	16	12	12	16	16
Moyamba	-	7	0	3	6	3	3	8	6	10	3	11
Pujehun	-	5	0	4	2	0	7	6	2	5	7	10
NORTHERN PROVINCE				**4**				**14**				**18**
Bombali	6	2	0	2	2	12	17	27	8	14	17	29
Kambia	-	8	8	5	14	8	11	12	14	16	19	17
Koinadugu	-	6	4	4	5	5	8	5	5	11	12	9
Port loko	7	3	6	5	3	9	11	10	10	12	17	15
Tonkolili	4	5	6	5	1	5	8	11	5	10	14	16
WESTERN AREA	**76**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**10**	**87**	**88**	**88**	**86**	**91**	**89**	**90**
Western Urban	**	-	-	-	**	100	100	100	**	100	100	100
Western Rural	**	32		9	**	-		36	**	32		45
SIERRA LEONE	**13**	**7**	**5**	**5**	**6**	**21**	**27**	**33**	**19**	**27**	**32**	**38**
ALL URBAN UNITS	42	55	62	83	18	20	36	41	60	75	98	124

***** The Greater Freetown Metropolitan Area (GFMA) was created in 1973. Census figures for 1963 were not disaggregated by urban and rural for the Western Area.***

Generally, Table 13 further reveals that there were always more localities with less than 5,000 but they held minimal populations in comparison with settlements with more than 5,000 people. Moreover, there seemed to be a tendency for the proportion of persons in localities with less than 5,000 people to decrease whilst that for over 5,000 people rose with each census taking. The exceptions to this trend concern the least urbanized districts.

A sharper look at the urban phenomenon will take the analysis to the level of the urban units by size class. According to Appendix C, which displays data on the levels and trends of urban growth, the number of urban units has more than doubled since 1963. About two- thirds of the settlements were always in the size class 2,000-4,999 and the number of urban localities diminishes towards the upper end of the scale of urbanization.

By juxtaposing Appendix C with Appendices G, F, E and D, one discovers that these fewer settlements at the pinnacle of the distribution hold far more population than the many that hold less than 5,000 people. Between 1963 and 2004, the number of settlements in each size class doubled. Although the percentage of population per size class did not likewise double, the overall level rose from 18.9 to 38 .1 percent (Appendix C). The highest change in the proportion of population per size class occurred in the Western Urban district. The capital city nearly doubled its proportion of the national population between 1963 and 1974. Over the 1963 to 2004 period, the proportion almost trebled, as it graduated into a lone class of over half a million people!

Appendix C also shows that in terms of the change in number of urban localities, there was a persistent increase in the population of the next higher order city; which graduated towards the upper echelon of the distribution of the settlements. This graduation resulted in a net loss of 20.0, 66.7 and 33.3 percent of the settlements within the successive intercensal periods. This trend is seen in the percentage change in the proportion of the total population that the settlements held in the intercensal periods. The loss ranged from 1.0 to 2.2 percent. Significant reductions were seen in the percentage of total population in the smallest urban units in the thirty-year period between 1974 and 2004. But the highest level of reduction was registered in the 100,000 – 499,999 class when Freetown grew to become the only city of over 500,000 people.

The foregoing analysis has revealed a tendency for the process of urbanization over the years to lead to a concentration of population in a few urban nodes at the top of the scale (see, for instance, Appendices G, F, E and D). To investigate this phenomenon, a “scale of relative concentration of urban population” was introduced (see section on methodology for an explanation of the derivation of the scale). As set out in Table 14, the relative proportion of the total population that can be found in the top one percent of the settlements is always significantly bigger than that in the bottom ten percent of the ranked distribution. Of added importance for policy is the scenario that between 1963 and 1985, there was only one settlement (Freetown) commanding this predominance. Its population by 1985 was 2,227 times greater than the total for the 10 localities at the bottom of the scale.

Table 14 – Scale of Relative Concentration of Urban Population, Sierra Leone: 1963 – 2004

Percent of Urban Localities	Percent of Total Population in				Cumulative % up to N^{TH} Settlement			
	1963	1974	1985	2004	1963	1974	1985	2004
TOP 1 %	5.87	10.10	13.36	18.54	1	1	1	2
TOP 2 %	7.09	12.87	15.71	21.12	2	2	2	3
TOP 3 %	7.09	14.31	17.41	22.79	2	3	3	4
TOP 4 %	7.70	14.31	18.90	24.45	3	3	4	5
TOP 5 %	7.70	15.46	20.29	25.58	3	4	5	7
TOP 10 %	9.42	17.97	22.26	27.62	6	8	10	13
BOTTOM 1 %	0.10	0.07	0.06	0.08	1	1	1	2
BOTTOM 2 %	0.20	0.14	0.12	0.12	2	2	2	3
BOTTOM 3 %	0.30	0.22	0.18	0.16	2	3	3	4
BOTTOM 4 %	0.30	0.22	0.24	0.20	3	3	4	5
BOTTOM 5 %	0.40	0.30	0.30	0.28	3	4	5	7
BOTTOM 10 %	0.60	0.62	0.60	0.52	6	8	10	13
TOTAL POPULATION	**2,180,355**	**2,735,159**	**3,515,812**	**4,976,871**	**60**	**75**	**98**	**124**

Table 14 also has information on the relative cummulative percent of total population up to the n^{th} settlement. Information in the table depicts that irrespective of the level of localities used (1, 2, 3, 4, 5 or 10 percent of urban settlements), the top panel shows an increasing trend of the population of the large towns whereas the bottom panel is one of a decreasing percent of total population in the small towns. Observation of Appendices G, F, E and D show that at both the top and bottom of the urban hierarchy, the positions of towns and cities kept on changing due to shifting population concentration over time.

4.3 – Trends in Urban Population Concentrations

Sesay, I.M. (1989: 23-27) measured the trend in the growth of the urban population of Sierra Leone between 1963 and 1985 by a number of indices including Gibbs, J.P. (1966) scales of population concentration and urbanization. The scale of urbanization depicted the extent to which the settlements were becoming urbanized and that of population concentration revealed the extent to which people were concentrated at the upper end of the scale of locality.

The results for 1963, adapted in Table 15, show that about 19 percent of the settlement geography of Sierra Leone was urban; using the definition of 2,000 persons or more for an urban settlement. The distribution is somehow symmetrical because in terms of the general population, roughly about 5.9 percent could be found in localities of less than 5,000 people and in units of more than 100,000 people. Even if only the urban population of 1963 was to be considered, the pattern is repeated as approximately 31

Table 15* - Scales of Urbanisation and Population Concentration, Sierra Leone: 1963

Locality Size	Proportion of Population		Cumulative Proportion of Population		Scale of Urban Growth (Xi Yi)	Scale of Pop. Concen-tration (Zi)
	Urban	Total	Urban (Xi)	TOTAL (Yi)		
2,000-4,999	0.3127	0.0591	1.0000	0.1891	0.1891	0.1891
5,000-9,999	0.1607	0.0304	0.6873	0.1300	0.0893	0.1300
10,000-19,999	0.1517	0.0287	0.5266	0.0996	0.0524	0.0996
20,000-49,999	0.0646	0.0122	0.3749	0.0709	0.0266	0.0709
50,000-99,999	0.0000	0.0000	0.3103	0.0587	0.0182	0.0587
100,000-499,999	0.3103	0.0587	0.3103	0.0587	0.0182	0.0587
500,000+	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
TOTAL					**0.3938**	**0.6070**

Source: Adapted from Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, M.A. (Population Studies) thesis held at United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 2.4, p.24.

percent of the urbanites were recorded at the upper and lower end of the urban hierarchy. The computed scale of urbanization was 0.3938 but the index of urban concentration was 0.6070. The interpretation was that by 1963, the process of population concentration into localities designated as urban had already taken deep roots in the nation.

Table 16 shows that by 1974, the scale of urbanization had risen to 0.7520 as against the associated index of population concentration at 1.0616. Total urban growth had approached 28 percent. The increase in the level of urbanization (190 percent) was matched by a proportionate increase (175 percent) in that of the concentration of people into urban units. Although the pace of growth at the time was rapid, in comparison with levels around the world, they were considered to be low. Unlike in 1963, when the urban and total populations displayed an even distribution at the extremes of the scale, the data for 1974 reveals an

asymmetry in which there was a shift of weight towards the upper end of the scale at the expense of the smaller towns. (It is interesting to note that this scenario was aptly uncovered by the presentation in Table 14 with very similar conclusions).

Table 16* - Scales of Urbanisation and Population Concentration, Sierra Leone: 1974

Locality Size	Proportion of Population		Cummulative Proportion of Population		Scale of Urban Growth (Xi Yi)	Scale of Pop. Concen-tration (Zi)
	Urban	Total	Urban (Xi)	Total (Yi)		
2,000-4,999	0.2394	0.0658	1.0000	0.2749	0.2749	0.2749
5,000-9,999	0.0931	0.0256	0.7606	0.2091	0.1590	0.2091
10,000-19,999	0.0696	0.0191	0.6675	0.1835	0.1225	0.1835
20,000-49,999	0.1298	0.0357	0.5979	0.1644	0.0983	0.1644
50,000-99,999	0.1008	0.0277	0.4681	0.1287	0.0602	0.1287
100,000-499,999	0.3673	0.1010	0.3673	0.1010	0.0371	0.1010
500,000+	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
TOTAL					**0.7520**	**1.0616**

Source: Adapted from Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, M.A. (Population Studies) thesis held at United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 2.5, p.25.

According to information from the 1985 census in Table 17, the overall level of urban growth was 32 percent. The scale of urban growth and total population concentration had increased to reach 0.9953 and 1.3399 respectively. Compared with the 1974 figures, the differences in the respective percentage changes were both smaller and about equal. This indicated that the way settlements were becoming urbanized and getting concentrated within the total population proceeded at an almost similar pace between 1974 and 1985. With respect to the urban size classes, all settlements of populations greater than 5,000 people actually got a boost in their weight of the urban population but this was not true of the smallest population size class. In the total population, 20,000 was the dividing line below which there was a reduction in the proportions of all settlements and above which the trend was contrariwise.

In the 2004 census, there was a statistically significant increase in the scale of urban growth for Sierra Leone; a jump from 0.9953 to 4.8591 or 488 percent change. The scale of population concentration was a moderate 139 percent to reach 1.8596 (Tables 17 and 18). Thus, by 2004, the pace of urbanization, as measured by Gibbs indices, was running ahead of the scale of population concentration. The increase in the latter index was really stabilizing at around 130 percent over the 30-year period since 1974.

Table 17* - Scales of Urbanisation and Population Concentration, Sierra Leone: 1985

Locality Size	Proportion of Population		Cummulative Proportion of Population		Scale of Urban Growth (Xi Yi)	Scale of Pop. Concen-tration (Zi)
	Urban	Total	Urban (Xi)	Total (Yi)		
2,000-4,999	0.1612	0.0520	1.0000	0.3225	0.3225	0.3225
5,000-9,999	0.1522	0.0491	0.8387	0.2705	0.2269	0.2705
10,000-19,999	0.0572	0.0185	0.6865	0.2214	0.1520	0.2214
20,000-49,999	0.0433	0.0139	0.6293	0.2029	0.1277	0.2029
50,000-99,999	0.1717	0.0554	0.5860	0.1890	0.1108	0.1890
100,000-499,999	0.4143	0.1336	0.4143	0.1336	0.0554	0.1336
500,000+	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
TOTAL					**0.9953**	**1.3399**

Source: Adqapted from Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, M.A. (Population Studies) thesis held at United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 2.7, p.27.

In terms of specifics, however, Table 18 tells that whilst the proportion of urban inhabitants in localities of less than 100,000 people generally reduced in between the two censuses, that of the total population presented an erratic picture according to which urban units of populations of 10,000-19,999, and 500,000 and above experienced a rise at the same time as the rest of the urban localities underwent reductions.

Table 18 - Scales of Urbanisation and Population Concentration, Sierra Leone: 2004

Locality Size	Proportion of Population		Cummulative Proportion of Population		Scale of Urban Growth (Xi Yi)	Scale of Pop. Concen-tration (Zi)
	Urban	Total	Urban (Xi)	Total (Yi)		
2,000-4,999	0.1181	0.0601	1.0000	0.3810	0.3810	0.3810
5,000-9,999	0.0817	0.0300	0.8819	0.3209	0.2830	0.3209
10,000-19,999	0.0957	0.0351	0.8002	0.2909	0.2328	0.2909
20,000-49,999	0.0307	0.0113	0.7045	0.2558	0.1802	0.2558
50,000-99,999	0.0979	0.0333	0.6738	0.2445	0.1647	0.2445
100,000-499,999	0.1525	0.0559	0.5759	0.2112	0.1216	0.2112
500,000+	0.4234	0.1553	0.4234	0.1553	0.0658	0.1553
TOTAL					**4.8591**	**1.8596**

4.4 – Primacy and Urbanisation

Zipf, G.K. (1941) devised a model for dealing with urban population concentrations with respect to the largest urban unit called the "rank size rule". In applying this rule, the expected population of the n^{th} urban unit should either equal to or less than the observed if the manner of development of urban settlements was ideal. If the expected population is greater than the observed, then urban development has been generally undesirable and some interventions requiring balancing the situation become urgently necessary.

Using this law, Table 19 shows that the expected populations for all the urban agglomerations were in excess of the observed in 1963. Accordingly, the deviations were negative, connoting that the rate of growth of the ten largest urban units was such that the capital and largest unit had grown out of proportion to the rest. In addition, the larger the population of the urban unit, the bigger the deviation from the expected population. With the exception of Lunsar and Koidu, the expected population is more than twice larger than the observed for all the settlements (Table 19). This is an indication that growth of the population of Freetown had clearly outstripped a similar process in the rest of the towns in the period leading up to 1963. Thus, urban growth in Sierra Leone by 1963 was undesirable and the situation begged for some interventions that would redress the balance.

The computation of rank size statistics for Sierra Leone from the 1974 census figures shows that not much changes transpired during the 11-year intercensal period (Table 20). The settlements still had far less people than expected from the application of the rule. Also, many of them actually had less than half of the expected population. Makeni and Koidu had over half of their respective expected inhabitants, indicating that the increase in population in these localities was proceeding at a rate that was more likely to tend towards that predicted by the model.

Table 19 – Rank and Size of Ten Largest Urban Units, Sierra Leone: 1963

Locality (Li)	Actual Population (Pi)	Rank (Ri)	Expected Population (Ei)	Deviation (Pi – Ei)
FREETOWN	127,917	1	127,917	-
BO	26,613	2	63,959	-37,346
KENEMA	13,246	3	42,639	-29,393
KISSY	13,143	4	31,979	-18,836
MAKENI	12,306	5	25,583	-13,277
LUNSAR	12,132	6	21,320	-9,188
KOIDU	11,706	7	18,274	-6,568
YENGEMA	7,313	8	15,990	-8,677
WILBERFORCE	6,950	9	14,213	-7,263
MAGBURAKA	6,371	10	12,792	-6,421

In the case of Koidu, the rapidity of the growth in population was such that it became a conurbation incorporating New Sembehun Town; thus becoming the second largest urban agglomeration in the country (up from seventh position in 1963 with over six and a half times its previous population). This rapid growth of the second city notwithstanding, the difference in population with respect to Freetown was over 200,000 people; double what it was in 1963 (see last two columns of Table 20). The emerging picture was one of a supereminence of Freetown within the urban hierarchy of Sierra Leone.

Table 20 – Rank and Size of Ten Largest Urban Units, Sierra Leone: 1974

Locality (Li)	Actual Pop. (Pi)	Rank (Ri)	Expected Pop. (Ei)	Deviation (Pi – Ei)	First Difference	
					1963*	1974
FREETOWN	276,247	1	276,247	-	-	-
KOIDU-NEW SEMBEHUN	75,846	2	138,124	-62,278	101,304	200,401
BO	39,371	3	92,082	-52,711	13,367	36,475
KENEMA	31,458	4	69,061	-37,603	103	7,913
MAKENI	26,781	5	55,249	-28,468	837	4,677
LUNSAR	16,723	6	46,041	-29,318	174	10,058
YENGEMA	14,793	7	39,464	-24,671	426	1,930
PORT LOKO	10,500	8	34,531	-24,031	4,393	4,293
MAGBURAKA	10,347	9	30,694	-20,347	363	153
KABALA	7,847	10	27,625	-19,778	579	2,500

First differences were computed from Table 19 and included here for ease of reference.

Further in Table 20, the first differences reveal that the largest and second cities always grow in such a way that their populations are always very much bigger than the settlements that succeed them in the hierarchy. It is interesting to note that by 1974, the first difference with respect to the fourth and sixth settlements was highly significant, denoting rapid urban developments in some of the larger medium sized towns.

Table 21 displays information on the rank and size of the top ten urban units in Sierra Leone in about 1985. The deviations continued to be negative and of even bigger magnitudes for all levels of the urban hierarchy, depicting the continuous mismatch between growth in population of Freetown and the rest of the urban units. Although Makeni managed to maintain its population being more than half of its expected population, no other settlement could.

Table 21 – Rank and Size of Ten Largest Urban Units, Sierra Leone: 1985

Locality (Li)	Actual Pop. (Pi)	Rank (Ri)	Expected Pop. (Ei)	Deviation (Pi – Ei)	First Difference	
					1974*	1985
FREETOWN	476,776	1	476,776	-	-	-
KOIDU-NEW SEMBEHUN	82,474	2	234,888	-152,414	200,401	394,302
BO	59,768	3	156,592	-96,824	36,475	22,706
KENEMA	52,473	4	117,444	-64,971	7,913	7,295
MAKENI	49,038	5	93,955	-44,917	4,677	3,435
LUNSAR	16,073	6	78,296	-62,223	10,058	32,965
PORT LOKO	15,248	7	67,111	-51,863	1,930	825
KABALA/ YOGOMAIA	13,923	8	58,722	-44,799	4,293	1,325
YENGEMA	12,938	9	52,197	-39,259	153	985
MAGBURAKA	11,006	10	46,978	-35,972	2,500	1,932

First differences were computed in Table 20 and included here for ease of reference

In addition, the alarming revelation in Table 21 is that the capital city had not only outstripped the rest of the urban agglomerations in terms of growth, the first difference in relation to the second settlement became further enlarged (almost five times more than the enumerated population of the second city). But whereas the gap between the second and third settlements reduced, that between the fifth and sixth urban units trebled within the intercensal period.

Extending the analysis to include the 2004 census data (Table 22), the expected population of each urban area became much bigger than that enumerated at the census. Hence, the deviations are at their largest. Thus, the ranking of localities by size did not tend to be inversely related to the size level; connoting that the product of a city's rank by its size does not tend to have a constant relationship as postulated by Auerbach, F. (see, for example, Shryock, H.S. et al, 1976: 100-101).

By 2004, Kenema Town joined Makeni to be the only places in which the true populations were about half of the expected. According to the rank size rule, these settlements should be considered to be growing in a manner closer to the expectations of the model. And as can be seen from the first differences, the gap between the second and third largest cities was further narrowed by 2004 whilst that between the former and Koidu, the fourth largest, became widened. Perhaps the special situation with Koidu was predicated on the events associated with this settlement during the war (see Section 3.2). On the other hand, the difference in population between Makeni (the fifth ranked town) and Waterloo (the sixth) w as enlarged, indicating that Makeni demonstrated a peculiarly fast growth pattern over the years. Moreover, the gap in population figures between Waterloo and Port Loko was also significant. Waterloo's high growth path was occasioned by the huge influx of Liberian refugees and

internally displaced persons into the Western Area generally in their search for safe havens at the height of the rebel war.

Table 22 – Rank and Size of Ten Largest Urban Units, Sierra Leone: 2004

LOCALITY (Li)	ACTUAL POP. (Pi)	RANK (Ri)	EXPECTED POP. (Ei)	DEVIATION (Pi – Ei)	FIRST DIFFERENCE	
					1985*	2004
FREETOWN	772,873	1	772,873	-	-	-
BO	149,957	2	386,437	-236,480	394,302	662,916
KENEMA	128,402	3	257,624	-129,222	22,706	21,555
KOIDU	82,899	4	193,218	-110,319	7,295	45,503
MAKENI	82,840	5	154,575	- 71,735	3,435	59
WATERLOO	34,079	6	128,812	- 94,733	32,965	48,764
PORT LOKO	21,961	7	110,410	- 88,449	825	12,118
GODERICH	19,209	8	96,609	- 77,400	1,325	2,752
DARU	17,899	9	85,875	- 67,976	985	1,310
LUNSAR	16,567	10	77,287	- 60,720	1,932	1,332

First differences were computed in Table 21 and included here for ease of reference

In all these analysis, there is no gainsaying that the city of Freetown enjoys a super-eminence and that a few other urban localities, ranked next to it, have also grown in prominence away from the rest. The condition in which the largest urban unit grows out of proportion (in both size and national influence) to the rest has been referred to as "primacy". This may lead to 'over-urbanisation' and 'parasitic' urban development.

According to Shryock, H.S,. *et. al* (1976), primacy is a condition that obtains in small countries, with small populations and a dualistic economy characterized by a rural agrarian sector juxtaposed to an urban industrial sector. It happens that there is a perception of rural peoples that jobs exist in the urban areas and a perceived urban-rural income gradient propels 'surplus labour' in the villages to flow into the towns in a pattern predicted by the Lewis-Fei-Ranis model (see, for example, Sesay, I.M., 1992: 19).

To examine this development in Sierra Leone, the "primacy rate" (the population of a country's largest urban agglomeration expressed as a percent of the number of inhabitants in the four largest cities) developed by International Urban Research of the University of California at Berkeley was applied. The resulting data in Table 23 say that since 1974, the population of Freetown (the largest city) has always been more than the population of the four largest settlements in the previous census. Moreover, the primacy rates range from 65.3 in 1974 to 70.7 in 1963 and 1985; further indicating that since independence, the city has held more than two-thirds of all urban dwellers in the four largest urban units.

Table 23 – Some Parameters of Urban Growth: Sierra Leone 1963 - 2004

URBAN PARAMETER	1963	1974	1985	2004
Population of Four Largest Cities	180,919	422,922	664,491	1,134,072
Population of Largest Urban Unit	127,917	276,247	469,776	772,873
Primacy Rate	70.7	65.3	70.7	68.2
Scale of Urbanisation	0.394	0.752	0.9953	4.8591
Scale of Population Concentration	0.607	1.0616	1.3399	1.8596
Total Population	2,180,355	2,735,159	3,515,812	4,976,871
Rural Population	1,768,101	1,983,033	2,382,039	3,151,625
Urban Population	412,254	752,126	1,133,773	1,825,246
Percentage Urban	18.9	27.5	32.3	36.7
Table Year		- 96.9	-74.3	

4.5 Demographic Components of Urban Growth

Current world trends point to a continuous trajectory of an increasingly urbanizing planet. More people are living in towns and cities than at any moment in man's history. The confounding thing about the emerging urban planet is that most of the rapid urban growth is taking place in the least developed parts of the world where it is least likely to cater for this development.

Part of the problem stems from the inability of town and city governments to devise ingenious policies and plans that can capture the ensuing scenario. Many have failed to generate the required financial and other resources to tackle the problems of urban sprawl. Secondly, the lack of an understanding of the growth process itself is a major hindrance. Many merely surmise that urban growth results from rural to urban migration and that, *prima facie*, migrants are a menace to the urban environment because they are said to be disadvantaged in very many aspects of living in the urban area. Findings in this direction are, however, mixed as some studies have found out that migrants are more advantaged than the urban natives that they come to meet at the urban area (see, for example, Ohadike, P.O. and T. Teklu: 1990). Some other research findings tell that disadvantaged rural migrants at the urban milieu may undergo urban enculturation and acculturation to the extent that over time the social, economic, cultural and other differences between urban natives and migrants tend to disappear (see, for instance, Sesay, I.M.: 1992)

Another problem is the lack of understanding of the contribution of natural increase to urban growth. It is becoming clear that fertility is a crucial component of the change that is been experienced in towns and cities. A series of simple tools have been introduced by demographers to decompose the increase (or decrease) in the urban population into two components: change arising out of net migration and that due to the net interplay of births and deaths.

Using the urban growth decomposition method on time series census data, Table 24 shows that by 1974, migration accounted for about 70 percent of the intercensal urban change in Sierra Leone. Although the growth due to natural increase was much smaller, it nonetheless was very significant. Analysis of the 1985 census data shows that the relative contribution of both factors of urban population change seemed to have evened out. In 2004, the influence of the two urban change elements had exchanged positions; migration was no longer as important and the actual contribution was just over 30 percent.

Table 24 – Calculation of Urban Growth Decomposition Method for Urban Population of Sierra Leone: 1963 – 2004

Year	Total National Pop.	Urban Pop. (Uo)	Inter-Censal Total Pop. Growth Rate	Expected Urban Pop. (Ue)	Expected Net Urban Increase (Uo – Ue)	Total Inter-Censal Urban Increase	Increase** Due To Net	
							Mig.	Nat. Incr.
1963	2,180,355	412,254	-	-	-	-	-	-
1974	2,735,159	752,126	2.0514	517,112	235,014	339,872	69.1	30.9
1985	3,515,812	1,133,773	2.0706	945,451	188,322	381,647	49.3	50.7
2004	4,976,871	1,825,246	1.8109	1,604,927	220,319	691,473	31.9	68.1

***Note: MIG. = migration and NAT. INCR. = natural increase.*

Indeed, in dealing with this subject, Sesay, I.M. (1995; *loc. primo. cit.*) had advanced that the likely explanation of the sudden drop in the relative contribution of net migration to the urban population change in the 1974-1985 period was the transfer of rural fertility to the urban areas as a result of a rising number of young, fertile and marriageable migrants in the rural-urban migration stream. As rural fertility patterns are transferred to the urban milieu, the urban centers become, sociologically and culturally, overgrown villages in character. He concluded that if this trend continued, the contribution of natural increase to urban growth was bound to be higher than migration by the year 2000.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 POLICY OPTIONS FOR POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, MIGRATION AND URBANISATION IN SIERRA LEONE

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings and conclusions of the study. They are a background against which policy options are advanced for optimal population distribution, migration and urbanization. It is expected that such policies could aid the ongoing reconstruction and development programme in the country.

5.1.1 Population Distribution and Development Issues in Sierra Leone

Population (re)distribution has presented more challenges to the development of African nations than do other aspects of population and development. The present analysis brings to the fore the largely uneven spread by provinces and the concentration within a few districts. Even within these districts, certain chiefdoms hold far more people whilst some others may have very small populations. In terms of economic and development planning, there are a few places, like Koinadugu District, where the sparseness of population make it difficult for service delivery because the difficult relief creates a physical control on the development of communication, and social and economic infrastructure. There are also areas where the over-concentration of population (*exempli gratia*, the Western Urban District) is posing a huge challenge to metropolitan, town and city councils in delivering basic social services.

Furthermore, population distribution in Sierra Leone has persistently presented a simple four- sector pattern over time. This pattern has been dictated by the interplay of the war, physical features and socio-economic conditions. Within the 1985-2004 intercensal period, the disruptions of the rebel war affected population distribution by redistributing people; as has been discussed in Section 2.1. In general, the redistributed population made more impact on population numbers in the districts of Kono, Kambia, Bo, Bombali and Pujehun, and in Freetown and the Western Rural Area.

The concentration ratio of 32 percent means that one in every three persons will have to be relocated for an even spread of population to be attained. In comparison with the 1985 spatial distribution, about seven (7) percent more of the population had been redistributed. By 2004, therefore, the pattern of population distribution in Sierra Leone had undergone some changes; as reflected in the slight shift of population numbers towards the Northern province and Pujehun District.

Given the current post-conflict nature of the country, there are opportunities that post-war reconstruction may make an impression on the dominant pattern if public policy is strategically aimed towards population redistribution. The creation of 19 Local Government Areas in 2004 is expected to impact on the observed population distribution and settlement geography of Sierra Leone in the years ahead. The emerging population distribution of the country needs to be studied to be able to properly cater for post-war planning and economic development.

5.1.2 Impact of International Migration

The level of international migration, as revealed by the percent of foreign-born nationals in the country, has declined; probably because of insecurity occasioned by the war. The vast majority of the immigrants were of West African descent and there were small but significant proportions of British, American, Indian and Lebanese nationals. The analysis showed that the residence pattern bespoke of a strong economic motive for entering the country, as most of the foreign nationals live in districts considered as the economic nerve centers of the country.

It should be noted that the war was fought fiercely in the diamondiferous parts of the Eastern Province, which also coincided with areas of very high proportions of the foreign nationals in the country. Kailahun, Pujehun and the Western Rural Area got a lot of refugees from neighbouring Liberia and La Cote d'Ivoire. Although Kono District lost two-thirds of its alien population during the war, the 2004 figure was more than the total for the entire Northern Province.

There is the usual argument that foreigners help to build the host nation by supplying critical, lacking skills as in La Cote d'Ivoire. In this country, the influx of foreign nationals has not precisely brought out this linkage and because they are mainly economic migrants with low education, their positive impact on the growth of the economy may only be very slight. On the other hand, because of massive international involvement in the country during the conflict and in the efforts to end the war, an increasing risk of HIV/AIDS infestation and drug abuse and other criminal behaviour may have been on the increase.

It is understood that Sierra Leoneans emigrated during the war to live in the diaspora in the subregion and in Europe and the Americas but there was no question to capture this event in the households. Among them were highly qualified persons of all trades and vocations and they may well have acquired critical skills and expertise abroad that are crucially lacking in Sierra Leone. As the country currently stands at the crossroads of a major reconstruction and development, these qualified professionals and workers are an asset to the country, if they can return to help in the present nation-building exercise. Thus, there is currently a lack of adequate capacity to drive the development process and this has made it necessary for the importation of many foreign consultants

into the country, often at the expense of resources meant for the reconstruction process.

5.1.3 Implications of Internal Migration for Development Planning

In this study, it was revealed that the main problem of migration for development planning in Sierra Leone concerns lack of sufficient data for analysis to inform policy. Apart from the 2004 census (held 19 years after its predecessor), there is a general paucity of surveys on migration. Since the population policy dates back to 1992 (the start of the war), there is no current, well-formulated national policy instrument geared towards optimal population redistribution that would be more development oriented.

With respect to the analysis of the 2004 census data, the expected high rate of inter-regional migration because of massive displacements of population during the war was not supported by data. The observed rate tells the story of a normal population that had remained virtually untouched by such events as internal forced migrations that resulted from rebel attacks. The indications are that the government's programme for returning refugees and internally displaced persons was so successful as to cancel the effects of such massive population displacements.

However, to some extent, the immediate history of Sierra Leone showed some influence of the observed population redistribution that has taken place. The Northern Province, which was a net out-migration area, has become the main areas of attraction to internal migrants. Consequently, the region benefited immensely from the shifting of population away from the traditionally attractive Eastern Province, well known for its diamondiferous fields, and cocoa and coffee plantations and bursting trade and other livelihood opportunities. This scenario is likely to have resulted from return migration of northern peoples back to their homelands and other internally displaced people at the peak of the war.

The current analysis has not brought out the details of the various types of migrations but rural to urban migration is very important and there are high levels of rural-rural and urban-rural movements. The war made it necessary for people to congregate in large settlements because of the relative security that they accorded them. This phenomenon led to a concentration of population at the upper echelon of the settlement scale (see, for instance, Section 4.2). The concentrations of population observed in the discussion on population (re)distribution may have been a result of a complex of factors involving migration, mortality and fertility. Whereas the influence of mortality was not analysed in this report, the link between fertility and migration was considered in the sections on urban growth and in the analysis of data in Table 10.

In consolidating the peace, population-influencing and population-responsive policies of government can be deduced from the focus(es) of development

projects and programmes, the biases of sector-specific planning documents and the pronouncements of government functionaries. As part of the peace dividend, hitherto inaccessible areas of the country have been opened up to vehicular and human traffic. The return of good governance, and economic recovery and social reintegration processes would definitely impact on the migration-population distribution-development nexus in a manner that will affect the observed demographic picture.

5.1.4 Consequences of Urbanisation

Urbanisation, an integral part of the settlement geography of the country, is perhaps the most important link in this study. For migration may affect population distribution but the distributed population is to be found in villages, towns and cities. And it is for this same population that development planning is done. Suffice it to say that although the rural population was excluded from this study, the most rewarding aspect would be that the results should inform policy geared towards the development situation of people in both rural and urban areas.

The concentration of people in urban areas proceeded rapidly in the 1985 to 2004 interval. The number of urban units increased from 98 to 124 and the population within them rose from 1,133,773 to 1,825,246. Most of the concentration of population was at the upper end of the settlement pinnacle. This situation was brought out by the application of indices of concentration and the rank size rule. The analysis further portrayed Freetown as a primate city within the urban hierarchy of Sierra Leone.

Rural-urban migration may have been fueled by insecurity, a perceived rural-urban income differential and the perception that jobs may be available at the urban areas, bad and repressive governance in the countryside, high rural dependency, unemployment and underemployment, generally low rural output due to failing agricultural sector, high rural mortality, morbidity and fertility and widening of the gap between rural and urban areas in terms provision of social public goods and services.

The development problems attendant upon this kind of scenario involved issues of economic growth in sending and receiving areas. High population growth of especially the Western Area has already led to urban diseconomies of scale such as traffic jams, infrequent power supply, water shortage, congestion of the housing environment, inadequate sanitary conditions, etc. There are a lot of unemployed youths who probably are not even trained to pick up the few jobs that become available as the development process ensues. Indeed, these are problems common to urban areas in the provinces as well but the scale in the Western Area is such as to warrant serious considerations by both the central government and the Freetown City Council.

Additionally, some social problems like delinquency, social instability, prostitution, drug addiction, idleness, housebreaking and larceny have increased. In the large urban places like Freetown, land grabbing and the proliferation of substandard housing juxtaposed to elegant modern-style buildings is a familiar litany.

In the short run, rural-urban migration will ease rural population pressure and dependency. In the long run, remittances to rural families will help to equilibrate the rural-urban income gap and provide resources that can be of use in modernization of rural agriculture (see for example, Stark, O., 1984). Return migrants may be skilled and better trained workers that could introduce improved ways of producing certain goods and services that can benefit rural development.

On the other hand, unlike what Lewis, W.A. (1964) believes, rural out-migration may create acute labour shortage in the villages in the short run. This happens when the demographically young, active and virile population migrate into the urban localities, sometimes leaving the countryside with less doctors, nurses, teachers, extension workers and other essential workforces (see, for example, Sesay, I.M. 1989, *loc. primo. cit.*: 52, 59). When it happens in this manner, the true gap between the urban and rural areas is bound to widen rather than been bridged. The ensuing overall national development would be fraught with maladjustments and within the ambit of current day thinking, social equity justice would demand that policies that can redress the balance be pursued.

5.2 Policy Options and Recommendations

Upon a cross re-examination of the basic findings of this study, their interpretation is hereby discussed with a view to proffer policy alternatives that may be relevant for development and economic planning of the country. This has been done with two fundamental principles in mind. Primordially, there is the consideration that the theoretical paradigm was sufficient for an interpretation of the population distribution, migration and urbanization nexus. This approach assumes that the measurement of the variables was theoretically exact but the adequacy of the theoretical model was questionable. Secondly, the findings may have hinged on the nature of measurement of the key variables; in particular, the various nonparametric statistics that were used in the discussion of the levels and trends and other analysis of the subject of the spatial spread, movement and concentration of people in towns and cities in Sierra Leone. In this connexion, the discussion presumed that the instruments of measurement were theoretically intact and that observed weaknesses in the measurement of the key variables were responsible for the low power of explanation, or lack of association, of the links in the basic theoretical framework. Apropos of these positions, the points of breakdown were considered relative to both of these perspectives.

The main policy options advanced below are a consequence of differentials of space relationships (perceived and actual), arising out of peoples' judgment about socio-political and economic realities that triggered population migrations

and fertility behaviour, affecting the population distribution and urbanization processes. The outcomes of these were treated within the framework of the war and its posterior events like re-integration of internally displaced persons and refugees, and the inchoate national reconstruction and development processes.

5.2.1 Population Distribution and Migration

This analysis has already shown that population distribution is the first population change agent identified by African governments as posing problems for national economic development and planning. Yet many African governments have still not adopted explicit policies geared towards solving this problem. To address this situation in Sierra Leone, the following are recommendations:

(a) Generation of Data on Population Distribution, Migration and Development

The general policy direction should be to encourage research on the interrelationships between population distribution, migration and urbanization, on the one hand, and that between these variables and other aspects of population dynamics and social and economic issues. The study identified scarcity of reliable data and statistics as a limiting factor to progress on efforts at devising strategies to deal with these matters, in the process of achieving the MDGs. Census data are shallow and decennial, and cannot therefore adequately fill the gap of data requirements. Hence, longitudinal surveys should be undertaken to track the kaleidoscopy of the phenomena of interest. In particular, government will be able to assess to what extent the impact of resource allocation on spatial distribution of people contribute to the national social and economic development goals.

(b) Incorporation of Population Distribution Policy into Development Policies and Programmes

Since the early eighties, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa had advocated for the inclusion of population distribution policies into overall national development planning of sub-Saharan African countries (UNECA, 1983: 35). Accordingly, to achieve a better spatial distribution of production, employment and population, multifaceted development strategies should be put in place targeting mainly the rural areas which are most often not given their due share of the fruits of national development.

Since poverty in Sierra Leone is mainly a rural (residence) phenomenon, reducing extreme poverty and hunger would require some changes in the allocation of urban and rural areas. Promoting the development of rural areas by improving living and livelihood conditions will make for a more equitable distribution of population. The present policy of providing more schools, safe drinking water, means of mass communication, health facilities, roads, *et*

cetera, in rural areas will help to keep people in their homes *in situ*. Moreover, the decentralization of social amenities should include rural electrification (which should be given the seriousness it deserves) and the small but growing rural informal sector should be encouraged to produce farm implements and other artifacts that the farming sector requires. This will not only help the government's "food security" programme, it will engender rural wealth creation and forster economic growth.

There should be in place the institution of effective land reforms by reorganizing the present small holder farming systems. Farmers should further be encouraged to adopt new and improved techniques, seed varieties and animal strains; as already advocated by the Institute of Agricultural Research (IAR), Seed Multiplication Project (SMP) and Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security (MAFS). The existing land tenure system (especially in the Provinces) should be relaxed to allow people who would want to use rural land for capital and labour intensive purposes to have the opportunity of doing so. Storage facilities should be provided to reduce post harvest farm wastage and marketing facilities enhanced by building more feeder roads and market centers for farmers' products; than as done at the moment.

The creation of agro-based industries in the rural areas would not only increase rural employment, it would also give impetus to agricultural productivity by providing ready market for farm goods. Such industries should be given tax rebates and more incentives as part of the new Investment Code of the country.

(c) Incorporation of International Migration Issues into Development Policy and Programmes

As international migration takes center stage in debates at international fora, it becomes imperative that such issues be incorporated into development policy and programmes. International migration can only be desirable if it is handle well, to the extent that there is a win-win situation for both sending and receiving countries. Fortunately, well-known models exist for Sierra Leone to learn from. They include the Puebla Process and such initiatives like the concordat between Australia and India whereby employment institutions are made to upgrade workers skills before they immigrate to Australia; having regard to the national needs of India.

The "Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals (TRQN)" of the Netherlands and "Mobilisation of Human and Other Resources from the Sierra Leonean Diaspora in the United Kingdom for the Development of their Country of Origin" programmes are two Migration in Development programmes for Africa (MIDA) that the International Organisation for Migration (I.O.M.) is about to sponsor for the Government of Sierra Leone. It is hoped that these schemes will not only temporarily return our nationals to their country of origin but that during the

course of sojourn, they will become interested in actually coming back home to settle.

In encouraging the Sierra Leonean diaspora to be part of the ongoing reconstruction, certain incentive schemes as the streamlining of remittance transfers by reducing transfer costs of formal modes, the apportioning of some shares in state enterprises that are to be privatized to interested diaspora members, increasing the flow of information to the diaspora on the improvements in the social, economic and political governance of the country and making it possible for them to vote by proxy abroad are hereby advanced. In addition, improving the livelihood of people in the country by providing the enabling environment in which businesses can flourish and making would-be nationals to have information on life in possible destination countries can help to restrain individuals from immigrating.
Finally, as the existing Population Policy is due for revision, it will be proper for these and other programmatic issues to be incorporated into the revised version. This would enable immigration to be mainstreamed into national development.

5.2.2 Urbanisation

This report relates that urbanization is running ahead of national population growth and the problem is graver in a few urban units out of the rest. Of importance is the primate city development of Freetown, the capital, chief port, receptacle of cosmopolitan developments, administrative centerpiece and entreport for the whole country. Rural-urban migration has been singled out as the main engine of growth of the urban areas, generally, but natural increase is becoming more important.

To take care of this situation, congenial urban development policies that will take into account the simultaneous development of the rural areas are necessary. In this regard, the following policy options are proposed:

(a) Policies that Affect the Congenial Growth of Urban Areas

Increasing the capacity and competence of the newly created town and city councils to manage their growth and development, especially where they can cater for the broad mass of the poor citizens, is desirable. This would require a just system of taxation and cost recovery as a way of increasing revenues. The present decentralization of governance is a step in this direction. The Local Government Act empowers local government units to raise their own revenues to run and develop their areas of jurisdiction. Since this can lead to the creation of alternative growth poles, rural-urban migration would be modified, medium sized towns made to attract some migrants and rural-rural moves may be intensified.

Slums should be upgraded and low cost building materials developed and advocated for use in the building industry. Adherence to town planning regulations must be enforced to direct the growth of urban units along desired lines. Alongside these, satellite towns can be developed to encourage off-centre population agglomerations by providing adequate and affordable housing for the urban low and middle income households.

(b) Urban Incomes and Prices Policy

The migration literature has persistently upheld the Todaro paradox that posits that the difference between rural and urban real incomes is the driving force that transfers labour from the former to the latter. If this were true, then an urban incomes and prices policy would significantly and negatively catalyze the migration flow. Hence, the smaller the difference between rural and urban incomes, the lesser will be the attraction of cityward migration. Workers who choose to work in rural areas should be given some incentives.

(c) Promotion of Small- and Medium-size Towns

The attractiveness of Freetown to provincial migrants can further be reduced if alternative migrant destinations are possible. This would entail strengthening the local autonomy and self-reliance of small- and medium-size towns by the eradication of implicit policies that discriminate against them. Economic development assistance should target the economic bases of such towns. The public services in these towns need to be enlarged, together with efficient cost-recovery schemes and policies that generate their own source of revenue. Government departments and ministries (like agriculture, mineral resources, local government and interior) should be located in such places.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Population Densities by Administrative Subdivisions: Sierra Leone, 1985 - 2004

District	Area (square km.) ai	Population Count		Proportion of Total Land Area (km^S) ai	Proportion of Total population 1985 (Pi.t)	Proportion of Total Population 2004 (Pi.t+n)	Cummulative		Products	
		1985 (Pi)	2004 (Pi+)				PROPORTIONS OF Ai	Distribution of 2004 Pop. (Pi.t+n)	PiAi+1	Pi+1Ai
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Freetown	13	469,776	772,873	0.0002	0.1336	0.155	0.0002	0.155	0.0012	0.0000
Western Rural	544	84,467	174,249	0.0076	0.0240	0.035	0.0078	0.190	0.0097	0.0019
Kambia	3,108	186,231	270,462	0.0433	0.0530	0.054	0.0511	0.244	0.0243	0.0139
Bonthe	3,468	105,007	139,687	0.0483	0.0299	0.028	0.0994	0.272	0.0417	0.0342
Kailahun	3,859	233,839	358,190	0.0538	0.0665	0.072	0.1532	0.344	0.0724	0.0598
Pujehun	4,105	117,185	228,392	0.0572	0.0333	0.046	0.2104	0.390	0.1104	0.1016
Bo	5,219	268,671	463,668	0.0727	0.0764	0.093	0.2831	0.483	0.1741	0.1557
Kono	5,641	389,657	335,401	0.0786	0.1108	0.067	0.3617	0.550	0.2428	0.2319
Port Loko	5,719	329,344	453,746	0.0797	0.0937	0.091	0.4414	0.641	0.3370	0.3271
Kenema	6,053	337,055	497,948	0.0844	0.0959	0.100	0.5258	0.741	0.4609	0.4170
Moyamba	6,902	250,514	260,910	0.0962	0.0713	0.052	0.6220	0.793	0.5706	0.5368
Tonkolili	7,003	243,051	347,197	0.0976	0.0691	0.070	0.7196	0.863	0.7171	0.6800
Bombali	7,985	317,729	408,390	0.1113	0.0904	0.082	0.8309	0.945	0.9449	0.8292
Koinadugu	12,121	183,286	265,765	0.1690	0.0521	0.053	0.9999	0.998		
SIERRA LEONE	**71,740**	**3,515,812**	**4,976,871**	**0.9999**	**1.0000**	**0.998**			**3.7077**	**3.3891**

Concentration Ratio = k(3.7077 – 3.3891) = 0.3186k.

Index of Dissimilarity = ½ (0.1409)k = ½ (0.0705)k = 7.05k.

Appendix B – Native Born Population Classified by District of Birth and District of Enumeration, Sierra Leone: 2004

District Of Birth	District Of Enumeration														
	Kailahun	Kenema	Kono	Bombali	Kambia	Koinadugu	Port Loko	Tonkolili	Bo	Bonthe	Moyamba	Pujehun	Western Rural	Western Urban	Total
Kailahun	305,747	30,990	3,976	734	511	128	711	362	7,315	417	821	1,272	2,468	14,852	370,304
Kenema	9,706	352,993	4,305	1,676	1,125	320	1,143	755	15,876	858	2,055	4,516	3,222	18,988	417,538
Kono	1,567	6,847	245,634	2,887	616	1,323	1,521	1,611	4,042	138	559	379	4,354	24,120	295,598
Bombali	1,258	13,694	18,949	365,537	3,580	2,138	10,148	8,197	12,609	378	1,503	638	17,663	82,180	538,472
Kambia	299	5,743	1,947	2,628	248,150	263	10,696	684	1,855	250	578	157	5,631	41,846	320,727
Koinadugu	755	6,749	17,743	4,128	910	254,052	1,441	1,572	2,998	131	630	311	3,068	19,303	313,791
Port Loko	658	6,148	6,065	8,636	9,780	484	408,841	5,515	4,890	382	2,442	304	18,322	75,476	547,943
Tonkolili	1,249	13,143	20,358	12,900	1,170	3,847	7,620	322,941	9,371	303	5,576	562	10,967	32,649	442,656
Bo	3,744	17,614	2,732	1,366	348	264	1,240	1,081	332,292	4,625	6,573	7,199	4,170	25,782	409,030
Bonthe	579	3,268	443	233	148	56	359	148	12,388	124,538	5,731	3,951	14,533	8,657	175,032
Moyamba	1,113	9,169	1,389	731	336	173	2,368	1,397	16,210	4,322	226,993	1,421	11,126	26,001	302,749
Pujehun	1,259	9,970	552	137	82	53	282	90	17,960	1,941	1,305	199,810	1,283	7,735	242,459
W/ Rural	134	776	531	687	355	148	1,346	476	770	124	995	146	68,943	14,148	89,579
W/n Urban	1,654	2,936	2,016	2,266	1,612	498	4,019	1,163	4,058	769	1,966	575	14,474	350,260	388,266
TOTAL	**329,722**	**480,040**	**326,640**	**404,546**	**268,723**	**263,747**	**451,735**	**345,992**	**442,634**	**139,176**	**257,727**	**221,241**	**180,224**	**741,997**	**4,854,144**

Appendix C – Levels and Trends of Urban Growth; Sierra Leone: 1963 – 2004

Locality Size	Number of Localities				Percentage Change			Percentage of Total Population				Percentage Change		
	1963	1974	1985	2004	63-74	74-85	85-04	1963	1974	1985	2004	63-74	74-85	85-04
2,000 – 4,999	42	55	62	83	31.0	12.7	33.9	5.9	6.6	5.2	5.0	0.7	-1.4	-0.2
5,000 – 9,999	11	11	25	22	0.0	127.3	-12.0	3.0	2.6	4.9	3.0	-0.4	2.3	-1.9
10,000 – 19,999	5	4	6	12	-20.0	50.0	100.0	2.9	1.9	1.8	3.5	-1.0	-0.1	1.7
20,000 – 49,999	1	3	1	2	200.0	-66.7	100.0	1.2	3.6	1.4	1.1	2.4	-2.2	-0.3
50,000 – 99,999	-	1	3	2	-	200.0	-33.3	-	2.8	5.5	3.3	2.8	2.7	-2.2
100,000 – 499,999	1	1	1	2	0.0	0.0	100.0	5.9	10.1	13.4	5.6	4.2	3.3	-7.8
500,000+	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.5	-	-	15.5
TOTAL	**60**	**75**	**98**	**124**	**25.0**	**30.7**	**26.5**	**18.9**	**27.6**	**32.2**	**37.0**	**8.7**	**4.6**	**4.8**

Appendix D – Rank Order for Sierra Leone: Urban Localities, Towns and Cities; Population and Percentage of Total Population, 2004

Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.	Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.
1	Freetown	772,873	15.53	41	Mambolo	5,003	0.10
2	Bo	149,957	3.01	42	Gaya	4,978	0.10
3	Kenema	128,402	2.58	43	Targrin	4,719	0.10
4	Koidu-New Sembehun	82,899	1.67	44	Malambay	4,568	0.09
5	Makeni	80,840	1.66	45	Potoru	4,539	0.09
6	Waterloo	34,079	0.69	46	Panguma	4,410	0.09
7	Port Loko	21,961	0.44	47	Hastings	4,400	0.09
8	Goderich	19,209	0.39	48	Largo	4,350	0.09
9	Daru	17,899	0.36	49	Yaliboya	4,299	0.09
10	Lunsar	16,567	0.33	50	Lungi	4,185	0.08
11	Magburaka	16,313	0.33	51	Bomie	4,062	0.08
12	Kamakwie	15,885	0.32	52	Bumbuna	4,051	0.08
13	Mile 91	15,491	0.31	53	Regent	4,003	0.08
14	Kabala	14,108	0.28	54	Baoma	3,998	0.08
15	Kailahun	13,108	0.26	55	Sumbuya	3,923	0.08
16	Gbendembu	12,139	0.24	56	Taiama	3,881	0.08
17	Kambia	11,842	0.24	57	Alikalia	3,821	0.08
18	Moyamba	11,485	0.23	58	Bumpeh	3,789	0.08
19	Torgbonbu	10,716	0.22	59	Lowoma	3,766	0.08
20	Bonthe	9,740	0.20	60	Tongolu	3,734	0.08
21	Benguema	9,707	0.20	61	Kamasundu	3,689	0.07
22	Rokupr	9,285	0.19	62	Giehun	3,634	0.07
23	Blama	8,603	0.17	63	Yengema	3,621	0.07
24	Segbwema	7,961	0.16	64	Masiaka	3,600	0.07
25	Yamandu	7,834	0.16	65	Kasirie	3,541	0.07
26	Mattru Jong	7,647	0.15	66	Yambama	3,537	0.07
27	Pujehun	7,571	0.15	67	Bendugu	3,458	0.07
28	Pendembu	7,243	0.15	68	Yele	3,405	0.07
29	Buedu	6,656	0.13	69	Bailor Wharf	3,364	0.07
30	Masingbi	6,119	0.12	70	Bumpeh-wo	3,347	0.07
31	Njaiama Sewafe	5,950	0.12	71	Kpetewoma	3,272	0.07
32	Masoyila	5,846	0.12	72	Fadugu	3,259	0.07
33	Gbangbatoke	5,761	0.12	73	Niagorehun	3,222	0.07
34	Old Sefadu	5,686	0.11	74	Bunumbu	3,171	0.06
35	Zimmi	5,656	0.11	75	Madina	3,149	0.06
36	Rotifunk	5,615	0.11	76	Masabendu	3,068	0.06
37	Jojoima	5,367	0.11	77	Kpandebu	3,041	0.06
38	Boajibu	5,319	0.11	78	Koribondo	2,940	0.06
39	Kukuna	5,303	0.11	79	Konakridee	2,937	0.06
40	Moriba Town	5,272	0.11	80	Mobai	2,929	0.06

Appendix D: (continued)

Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.	Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.
81	Bendu	2,920	0.06	103	Bongema	2,374	0.05
82	New Sembehun	2,874	0.06	104	Gorahun	2,359	0.05
83	Bomaru	2,862	0.06	105	Mondema	2,338	0.05
84	Gerihun	2,805	0.06	106	Yonibana	2,336	0.05
85	Masulimani Wharf	2,800	0.06	107	Ngiehun	2,296	**0.05**
86	Moyamba Junction	2,800	0.06	108	Pepel	2,282	0.05
87	Kpandebu	2,784	0.06	109	Mandia	2,251	0.05
88	Torkpoi Town	2,729	0.06	110	Jendema	2,251	0.05
89	Mamboma	2,701	0.05	111	Rochen Kamandawo	2,230	**0.04**
90	Weima	2,697	0.05	112	Jembe	2,217	0.04
91	Gbado	2,686	0.05	113	Foindu	2,213	0.04
92	Levuma	2,649	0.05	114	Gbindi	2,192	0.04
93	Baiima	2,594	0.05	115	Baoma	2,159	0.04
94	Bumpe	2,591	0.05	116	Binkolo	2,139	0.04
95	Tefeya	2,589	0.05	117	Gbonkomaria	2,109	0.04
96	Gbendembu	2,570	0.05	118	Nyandehun	2,101	0.04
97	Motema	2,536	0.05	119	Grima	2,083	0.04
98	Gloucester	2,498	0.05	120	Gbaa	2,067	0.04
99	Tumbudu	2,480	0.05	121	Baoma	2,063	0.04
100	Masongbo	2,454	0.05	122	Sinkunia Town	2,037	0.04
101	Hangha	2,418	0.05	123	Deima	2,018	**0.04**
102	Dambala	2,415	0.05	124	Konia	2,004	**0.04**

Appendix E – Rank Order for Sierra Leone: Urban Localities, Towns and Cities; Population and Percentage of Total Population, 1985

Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.	Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% Of Total pop.
1	Freetown	469,776	13.36	35	Boajibu	5,039	0.14
2	Koidu-New Sembehun	82,474	2.35	36	Jaiama Nimikoro	5,038	0.14
3	Bo	59,768	1.70	37	Bunumbu	4,728	0.13
4	Kenema	52,473	1.49	38	Tombo	4,618	0.13
5	Makeni	49,038	1.39	39	Mambolo	4,388	0.12
6	Lunsar	16,073	0.46	40	Masingbi	4,382	0.12
7	Port Loko	15,248	0.43	41	Yamandu	4,101	0.12
8	Kabala/ Yogomaia	13,923	0.40	42	Tefeya/ Labour Camp	4,086	0.12
9	Yengema	12,938	0.37	43	Sumbuya	3,926	0.11
10	Magburaka	11,006	0.31	44	Tintafore	3,907	0.11
11	Pandebu/ Tokpombu	10,944	0.31	45	Pujehun	3,859	0.11
12	Waterloo	9,878	0.28	46	Tombodu	3,847	0.11
13	Kailahun	9,054	0.26	47	Daru	3,830	0.11
14	Rokupr	8,283	0.24	48	Buedu	3,479	0.10
15	Segbwema	8,267	0.24	49	Kassirie	3,419	0.10
16	Koindu	8,238	0.23	50	Hangha	3,417	0.10
17	Kambia	7,631	0.22	51	Largo	3,329	0.10
18	Bumpeh	7,556	0.21	52	Ngiehun	3,280	0.10
19	Mile 91	7,210	0.21	53	Pepel	3,193	0.10
20	Bonthe	7,032	0.20	54	Peyima	3,119	0.09
21	Goderich	6,886	0.20	55	Yeliboya	3,034	0.09
22	Moyamba	6,483	0.18	56	Tombo Walla	3,004	0.09
23	Motema	6,312	0.18	57	Simbakoro	2,899	0.08
24	Kamakwie	6,287	0.18	58	Mamboma	2,894	0.08
25	Yamandu	6,208	0.17	59	Foindu	2,857	0.08
26	Mattru Jong	5,804	0.17	60	Gorahun	2,790	0.08
27	Pendembu	5,644	0.16	61	Nyandehun/ Mendegelema	2,786	0.08
28	Blama	5,559	0.16	62	Manowa	2,709	0.08
29	Panguma	5,435	0.15	63	Lowoma	2,557	0.08
30	Lungi	5,319	0.15	64	Bomie	2,660	0.08
31	Njaiama Sewafe	5,249	0.15	65	Kpetewoma	2,659	0.08
32	Gandorhun	5,199	0.15	66	Masoyila	2,618	0.07
33	Barma	5,138	0.15	67	Seidu	2,586	0.07
34	Kukuna	5,085	0.14	68	Koribondo	2,569	0.07

Appendix E – (continued)

RANK	LOCALITY	NUMBER OF PERSONS	% OF TOTAL POP.	RANK	LOCALITY	NUMBER OF PERSONS	% OF TOTAL POP.
69	Hasting	2,561	0.07	84	Baoma	2,254	0.06
70	Wuima	2,519	0.07	85	Bumbuna	2,235	0.06
71	Yonibana	2,490	0.07	86	Masiaka	2,233	0.06
72	Gbindi	2,473	0.07	87	Nemeseidu	2,223	0.06
73	Sawkta	2,470	0.07	88	Konakridie	2,221	**0.06**
74	Makali	2,463	0.07	89	Mange	2,212	**0.06**
75	Alikalia	2,434	0.07	90	Mobai	2,212	**0.06**
76	Potoru	2,404	0.07	91	Kayima	2,169	**0.06**
77	Masa-Bendu	2,400	0.07	92	Mogbwemo	2,159	**0.06**
78	Tongola	2,383	0.07	93	Ndoyogbo	2,156	0.06
79	Serabu	2,371	0.07	94	Bumpe	2,152	0.06
80	Gberia Fortumbu	2,354	0.07	95	Gbaiima	2,098	0.06
81	Yele	2,342	0.07	96	Jojoima	2,016	**0.06**
82	Zimmi	2,335	0.07	97	Gbeworbu	2,007	0.06
83	Gerihun	2,286	0.07	98	Moriba Town	2,005	0.06

Appendix F – Rank Order for Sierra Leone: Urban Localities, Towns and Cities; Population and Percentage of Total Population, 1974

Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total pop.	Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total Pop.
1	Freetown	276,247	10.10	39	Goderich	3,863	0.14
2	Koidu-New Sembehun	75,846	2.77	40	Jaiama Nimikoro	3,861	0.14
3	Bo	39,371	1.44	41	Masabendu	3,680	0.13
4	Kenema	31,458	1.15	42	Baoma	3,590	0.13
5	Makeni	26,781	0.98	43	Largo	3,330	0.12
6	Lunsar	16,723	0.61	44	Pandebu	3,309	0.12
7	Yengema	14,793	0.54	45	Kassirie	3,281	0.12
8	Port Loko	10,500	0.38	46	Mokanji	3,209	0.12
9	Magburaka	10,347	0.38	47	Kukuna	3,038	0.11
10	Kabala	7,847	0.29	48	Taiama	2,867	0.10
11	Yormandu	7,488	0.27	49	Gandorhun	2,858	0.10
12	Kailahun	7,184	0.26	50	Pujehun	2,802	0.10
13	Segbwema	6,915	0.25	51	Daru	2,726	0.10
14	Moyamba	6,425	0.23	52	Yele	2,719	0.10
15	Bonthe	6,398	0.23	53	Blama	2,662	0.10
16	Rokupr	5,780	0.21	54	Hastings	2,572	0.09
17	Kambia	5,740	0.21	55	Hangha	2,567	0.09
18	Motema	5,501	0.20	56	Kayima	2,547	0.09
19	Jaiama Sewafe	5,367	0.20	57	Yogomaia	2,488	0.09
20	Peyima	5,354	0.20	58	Giehun	2,463	0.09
21	Koindu	4,956	0.18	59	Sumbuya	2,441	0.09
22	Kamakwie	4,837	0.18	60	Buedu	2,396	0.09
23	Lungi	4,796	0.18	61	Yonibana	2,378	0.09
24	Masingbi	4,755	0.17	62	Mano	2,347	0.09
25	Blama	4,743	0.17	63	Gberia Fortumba	2,335	0.09
26	Tefeya	4,731	0.17	64	Manowa	2,328	0.09
27	Bumpeh	4,707	0.17	65	Bomie	2,308	0.08
28	Rotifunk	4,700	0.17	66	Labour Camp	2,306	0.08
29	Torkpombu	4,647	0.17	67	Tombo	2,254	0.08
30	Tombodu	4,641	0.17	68	Yeliboya	2,217	0.08
31	Panguma	4,559	0.17	69	Gbindi	2,214	0.08
32	Pepel	4,547	0.17	70	Kpetewoma	2,165	0.08
33	Seidu	4,514	0.17	71	Potoru	2,093	0.08
34	Waterloo	4,276	0.16	72	Alikalia	2,074	0.08
35	Pendembu	4,270	0.16	73	Serabu	2,064	0.08
36	Boajibu	4,135	0.15	74	Bendu	2,037	0.07
37	Mambolo	3,937	0.14	75	Bumpe	2,021	0.07
38	Mattru	3,891	0.14				

Appendix G – Rank Order for Sierra Leone: Urban Localities, Towns and Cities; Population and Percentage of Total Population, 1963

Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total pop.	Rank	Locality	Number of Persons	% of Total pop.
1	Freetown	127,917	5.87	31	Rotifunk	3,520	0.16
2	Bo	26,613	1.22	32	Fomaya	3,385	0.16
3	Kenema	13,246	0.61	33	Waterloo	3,215	0.15
4	Kissy	13,143	0.60	34	Panguma	3,100	0.14
5	Makeni	12,304	0.56	35	Sukudu	3,097	0.14
6	Lunsar	12,132	0.56	36	Hastings	3,022	0.14
7	Koidu	11,706	0.54	37	Tombodu	2,955	0.14
8	Yengema	7,313	0.34	38	Largo	2,945	0.13
9	Wilberforce	6,950	0.32	39	Yamandu	2,910	0.13
10	Magburaka	6,371	0.29	40	Mattru	2,909	0.13
11	Segbwema	6,258	0.29	41	Hangha	2,895	0.13
12	Bonthe	6,230	0.29	42	Gondama	2,861	0.13
13	Jaiama	6,064	0.28	43	Tombo	2,837	0.13
14	Port Loko	5,809	0.27	44	Baoma-Baoma	2,725	0.12
15	Yormandu	5,469	0.25	45	Pendembu	2,696	0.12
16	Kailahun	5,419	0.25	46	Koidu-Tankoro	2,603	0.12
17	Barma	5,280	0.24	47	Kassirie	2,585	0.12
18	Blama	5,073	0.23	48	Foindu	2,559	0.12
19	Wellington	4,958	0.23	49	Seidu	2,509	0.12
20	Peyima	4,625	0.21	50	Masingbi	2,425	0.11
21	Kabala	4,610	0.21	51	Mano	2,286	0.10
22	Moyamba	4,564	0.21	52	Gerihun	2,266	0.10
23	Murray Town	4,395	0.20	53	Gandorhun	2,207	0.10
24	Boajibu	4,334	0.20	54	Lungi	2,170	0.10
25	Rokupr	4,151	0.19	55	Koidu-Kissy Teng	2,130	0.10
26	Pepel	3,793	0.17	56	Alikalia	2,118	0.10
27	Kambia	3,700	0.17	57	Kukuna	2,038	0.10
28	Jaiama	3,616	0.17	58	Goderich	2,034	0.10
29	Mambolo	3,595	0.16	59	Pujehun	2,034	0.10
30	Kamakwie	3,572	0.16	60	Lumley	2,015	0.10

Appendix H – Calculation of Urban Growth Decomposition Method for Urban Population Distributed by Size Class, Sierra Leone: 1963 – 1985*

Locality Size	Urban Pop. 1963 (Uo)	Expected Population		Expected net Urban Migration		Expected Net Urban Increase (Uo – Ue)		Increase Due to Net			
								Urban Migration		Natural Increase	
		1974	1985	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-1974	1974-85	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-1974	1974-1985
2,000 – 4,999	119,433	149,924	218,243	19,683	-35,482	50,175	13,154	39.2	-269.7	60.8	369.7
5,000 – 9,999	65,075	81,688	90,212	-11,580	82,387	5,033	102,491	-230.1	80.4	330.1	19.6
10,000 – 19,999	53,164	66,737	80,690	-4,029	-15,806	9,544	2,176	-42.2	-726.4	142.2	826.4
20,000 – 49,999	26,613	33,407	125,601	64,203	-76,563	70,997	-48,572	-90.4	157.6	9.6	-57.6
50,000 – 99,999	-	-	93,596	-	97,119	75,846	118,869	-	81.7	-	18.3
100,000 – 499,999	152,968	192,020	355,463	84,227	114,313	123,279	193,529	68.3	59.1	31.7	40.9
500,000 +	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALL SIZES	412,256	517,504	967,805	234,622	165,968	334,873	381,647	70.1	43.5	29.9	56.5

Source: Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, Master of Arts (Population Studies) thesis held at the United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 3.2, 41.

Appendix I – Calculation of Urban Growth Decomposition Method for Total Urban Population of Sierra Leone: 1985 – 2004

Locality Size	Urban Pop. 2004 (Uo)	Urban Pop. 1985	Total Pop. Growth Rate (1985 TO 2004)	Expected Urban Pop. 2004 (Ue)	Expected Net urban Increase (Uo – Ue)	Total Inter-Censal Urban Increase	Increase Due to net	
							Migration	Natural Increase
2,000 – 4,999	228,329	176,278	1.8109	249,533	-21,204	52,051	-40.7	140.7
5,000 – 9,999	149,144	163,834	1.8109	231,917	-82,773	-14,690	563.5	-463.5
10,000 – 19,999	174,762	80,132	1.8109	113,432	61,330	94,630	64.8	35.2
20,000 – 49,999	56,040	49,038	1.8109	69,416	-13,376	7,002	-191.0	291.0
50,000 – 99,999	165,739	194,715	1.8109	275,631	-109,892	-28,976	379.3	-279.3
100,000 – 499,999	278,359	469,776	1.8109	664,997	-386,638	-191,417	202.0	-102.0
500,000 +	772,873	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix J – Calculation of Urban Growth Decomposition Method for District Urban Population, Sierra Leone: 1963 – 1985

District	Urban Pop. 1963 (uo)	Expected Population		Expected Net Urban Migration		Expected Net Urban Increase (uo – ue)		Increase Due to Net			
								Urban Migration		Natural Increase	
		1974	1985	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-74	1974-85	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-1974	1974-1985
TOTAL	412,256	517,504	967,805	234,622	165,968	334,873	381,647	70.1	43.5	29.9	56.5
KAILAHUN	16,503	20,716	42,769	12,522	17,571	16,735	27,110	74.8	64.8	25.2	35.2
KENEMA	42,812	53,742	83,189	10,908	24,021	21,908	42,560	49.8	56.4	50.2	43.6
KONO	52,162	65,479	190,690	82,715	-34,231	96,032	8,269	86.1	-414.2	13.9	514.2
BO	37,375	46,917	65,270	3,807	19,712	13,349	34,258	28.5	57.5	71.5	42.5
BONTHE	9,139	11,472	13,239	-1,183	3,760	1,150	6,710	-102.9	56.0	202.9	44.0
MOYAMBA	10,370	13,014	25,188	6,558	18,105	9,205	13,092	71.2	142.9	28.8	-42.9
PUJEHUN	2,034	7,553	6,299	2,342	2,299	2,861	3,703	81.9	62.1	18.1	37.1
BOMBALI	15,876	19,816	40,685	11,802	14,640	15,832	23,707	74.5	61.8	25.5	38.2
KAMBIA	18,906	23,733	30,873	260	3,971	5,087	10,851	5.1	36.6	94.9	63.3
KOINADUGU	6,728	8,446	21,821	8,512	-637	10,230	4,226	83.2	-15.1	16.8	115.1
PORT LOKO	23,904	30,007	47,065	6,569	8,429	12,672	18,918	51.8	44.6	48.2	55.5
TONKOLILI	8,796	11,046	25,991	9,157	6,137	11,403	11,929	80.3	51.4	19.7	48.6
W/ AREA	167,649	210,449	372,153	78,768	121,566	121,568	204,502	64.8	59.4	35.2	40.6

Source: Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, Master of Arts (Population Studies) thesis held at the United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 3.2, 43.

Appendix K – Calculation of Urban Growth Decomposition Method for some Urban Localities of Sierra Leone: 1963 – 1985

Urban Locality	Urban Pop. 1963 (uo)	Expected Population		Expected Net Urban Migration		Expected Net Urban Increase (uo – ue)		Increase Due to Net			
								Urban Migration		Natural Increase	
		1974	1985	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-74	1974-85	1963-1974	1974-1985	1963-1974	1974-1985
FREETOWN	152,968	192,020	355,463	84,227	114,313	123,279	193,529	68.3	59.1	31.7	40.9
KOIDU-NEW SEMBEHUN	15,482	19,435	97,596	56,411	-15,122	60,364	6,628	93.5	-228.2	6.5	328.2
BO	26,613	33,407	50,661	5,964	9,107	12,758	20,397	46.8	44.6	53.2	55.4
KENEMA	13,246	16,628	40,479	14,830	11,994	18,212	21,015	81.4	57.1	18.6	42.9
MAKENI	12,304	15,445	34,461	11,336	14,577	14,477	22,257	78.3	64.5	21.7	35.5
LUNSAR	12,134	15,229	21,518	1,494	-5,445	4,591	-650	32.5	837.7	67.5	-737.7
PORT LOKO	11,706	7,290	13,511	3,208	1,737	4,691	4,748	68.4	36.6	31.6	63.4
KABALA/ YOGOMAIA	5,789	7,267	7,267	3,058	3,058	4,536	4,536	67.4	67.4	32.6	32.6
YENGEMA	7,313	9,180	19,035	5,613	-6,097	7,480	-1,855	75.0	328.7	25.0	-228.7
MAGBURAKA	6,371	7,997	13,314	2,350	-2,308	3,976	659	59.1	350.2	40.9	450.2
KPANDEBU/TOKPOMBU	2,645	3,320	10,237	4,636	757	5,311	3,038	87.3	24.9	12.7	75.1

Source: Sesay, I.M. (1989) – Urban Growth in Sierra Leone: Trends and some Demographic Aspects, Master of Arts (Population Studies) thesis held at the United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana: Table 3.2, 45.