



1 **Cities near volcanoes: Which cities are most exposed to volcanic hazards?**

2

3 Elinor S. Meredith<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Rui Xue Natalie Teng<sup>1</sup>, Susanna F. Jenkins<sup>1</sup>, Josh L. Hayes<sup>3</sup>, Sébastien Biass<sup>4</sup>,  
4 Heather Handley<sup>2,5</sup>

5

6 Affiliations:

7 <sup>1</sup> Earth Observatory of Singapore, Asian School of the Environment, Nanyang Technological  
8 University, Singapore, 639754

9 <sup>2</sup> Department of Applied Earth Sciences, ITC Faculty, University of Twente, Enschede, The  
10 Netherlands

11 <sup>3</sup> GNS Science, P.O. Box 30368, Lower Hutt, 5040, New Zealand

12 <sup>4</sup> Department of Earth Sciences, University of Geneva, 13, Rue des Maraîchers, CH-1205 Geneva,  
13 Switzerland

14 <sup>5</sup> School of Earth, Atmosphere and Environment, Monash University, Clayton, Australia

15

16 \* Contact: [e.s.meredith@utwente.nl](mailto:e.s.meredith@utwente.nl)

17



18 1. Abstract

19 Cities near volcanoes expose dense concentrations of people, buildings, and infrastructure to volcanic  
20 hazards. Identifying cities globally that are exposed to volcanic hazards helps guide local risk  
21 assessment for better land-use planning and hazard mitigation. Previous city exposure approaches  
22 have used the city centroid to represent an entire city, and to assess population exposure and proximity  
23 to volcanoes. But cities can cover large areas and populations may not be equally distributed within  
24 their bounds, meaning that a centroid may not accurately capture the true exposure. In this study, we  
25 suggest a new framework to rank global city exposure to volcanic hazards. We assessed global city  
26 exposure to volcanoes in the Global Volcanism Program database that are active in the Holocene by  
27 analysing populations located within 10, 30, and 100 km of volcanoes. These distances are commonly  
28 used in volcanic hazard exposure assessment. City margins and populations were obtained from the  
29 Global Human Settlement (GHS) Model datasets. We ranked 1,106 cities based on the number of  
30 people exposed at different distances from volcanoes, the distance of the city margin from the nearest  
31 volcano, and by the number of nearby volcanoes. Notably, 50% of people living within 100 km of a  
32 volcano are in cities. We highlight Jakarta, Bandung, and San Salvador, as scoring highly across these  
33 rankings. Bandung, Indonesia ranks highest overall with over 8 million people exposed within 30 km  
34 of up to 12 volcanoes. South-east Asia has the highest number of exposed city populations (~162  
35 million). Jakarta (~38 million), Tokyo (~30 million), and Manila (~24 million) having the largest  
36 number of people within 100 km. Central America has the highest proportion of its city population  
37 exposed, with Quezaltepeque and San Salvador exposed to the most volcanoes (n=23). Additionally,  
38 we ranked the 1,283 Holocene volcanoes by the city populations exposed within 10, 30, and 100 km,  
39 the number of nearby cities, and distance to nearest city. Tangkuban Parahu, San Pablo Volcanic Field,  
40 and Tampomas score highly across these rankings. Notably, Gede-Pangrango (~48 million), Languna  
41 Caldera (~8 million), and Nejapa-Miraflores (~0.8 million) volcanoes have the largest city populations  
42 within 100, 30, and 10 km, respectively. We developed a web app to visualise all the cities with over  
43 100,000 people exposed. This study provides a global perspective on city exposure to volcanic hazards,  
44 identifying critical areas for future research and mitigation efforts.


45 2. Introduction

46  
47 As of 2023, more than half (57%) of the world's population reside in cities (World Bank, 2023). These  
48 dense urban clusters of buildings, infrastructure, and populations are particularly vulnerable to natural



49 hazards (Degg, 1992; Godschalk, 2003), as urban residents are heavily reliant on city infrastructure  
50 (UNDP, 2021). Such susceptibility exposes cities to high potential losses and cascading systematic  
51 impacts that can affect the wider region, country, or world (Thouret, 1999; Chester et al., 2000; Heiken,  
52 2013; Mani et al., 2021). Recent rapid urbanisation into hazardous areas escalates the threat to cities  
53 (Pelling, 2012; Freire et al., 2019; Iglesias et al., 2021), driving increasing disaster impacts globally (Gu,  
54 2019). Identification of the most exposed cities and analysis of the spatio-temporal patterns of urban  
55 hazard exposure is crucial for guiding effective land-use planning and mitigation efforts. This focus  
56 will help prioritise cities that need focussed attention for sustainable development and improved  
57 preparedness and resilience against future disasters (Ariyanti et al., 2020).

58

59 Cities situated near volcanoes face a variety of direct threats from volcanic hazards resulting from  
60 eruptions of various intensities. Historically, volcanic flows have destroyed whole cities; for example,  
61 pyroclastic density currents (PDCs) emplaced within 10 km of ~~their volcano~~ destroyed Herculaneum,  
62 Italy, in 79 CE (Volcanic Explosivity Index, VEI 5), Saint Pierre, Martinique, in 1902 CE (VEI 4), and  
63 Plymouth, Montserrat, in 1997 CE (VEI 3). Some cities are repeatedly impacted, such as Goma,  
64 Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), less than 30 km from the volcano, which was partially  
65 inundated by lava flows in 1977 CE, 2002 CE, and 2021 CE. Lahars (volcanic mudflows) destroyed  
66 the city of Armero, Colombia, approximately 50 km from the Nevado del Ruiz volcano in 1985 CE  
67 (VEI 3), and the city of Lumajang, Indonesia, 35 km from Semeru volcano, in 1909 CE (VEI 2). Some  
68 cities are built on old lahar deposits, suggesting they are likely to be impacted again (e.g., Arequipa,  
69 Peru; ~~Mexico City, Mexico~~  an Salvador, El Salvador). The more widely dispersed hazard of tephra  
70 falls has destroyed the city of Akrotiri, Greece, around 1600 BCE (VEI 7), and disrupted and damaged  
71 the cities of Kagoshima, Japan in 1914 CE (VEI 4), Anchorage, USA in 1989 CE (VEI 3), and Angeles  
72 City, the Philippines in 1991 CE (VEI 5).

73

74 In order to reduce the risks faced by cities situated close to volcanoes, we first must identify which  
75 cities are most exposed to volcanic hazards. Some past studies have used a localised approach, whereby  
76 they identify exposed urban areas close to case study volcanoes (e.g., Thouret et al., 2001; Sandri et  
77 al., 2014; Strader et al., 2015; Magill & Blong, 2005; Alberico et al., 2011; Delgado Granados & Jenkins,  
78 2015; ~~Torres et al., 2022~~). However, a more systematic regional or global approach based on the  
79 location of all cities would reveal which cities are most exposed. For example, taking a regional multi-  
80 volcano approach, Jenkins et al. (2018) evaluated the potential impact of tephra fall on 16 major cities



81 in the Asia-Pacific region, highlighting Tokyo, Japan; Jakarta, Indonesia; and Manila, Philippines as  
82 being most exposed. Ranking cities or volcanoes by city population exposure would allow us to  
83 identify global ~~exposure~~-hotspots which may be missed by a more localised approach.

84

85 Whilst global city analyses have been conducted for other hazards such as coastal flooding (Hanson  
86 et al., 2011), earthquakes (Bilham, 2009), and multi-hazards (Degg, 1992; Brecht et al., 2013; Gu, 2019),  
87 for volcanic hazards, reports or studies often focus on growth rates or total population numbers of  
88 case study cities, based on the location of city centroids close to volcanoes. For example, in 1989 CE,  
89 the UN estimated that of the top 50 fastest growing cities, only four were exposed to volcanic hazards  
90 (UN, 1989). Three years later, it was estimated that 10 of the world's most populated cities were  
91 located within 30 km of an active volcano (Degg, 1992). Pelling (2012) and Blaikie (1994) highlight  
92 Jakarta as a major city at risk from volcanic activity. Heiken (2013) identified 67 cities (with populations  
93 greater than 100,000), home to a total of ~116 million people, located on or near to active volcanoes.  
94 Other studies considered the city's distance and direction from volcanoes. Donovan and  
95 Oppenheimer (2014) list 49 cities within 100 km of a volcano with recognised Quaternary activity and  
96 Erfurt-Cooper (2014) provided a list of 25 cities in close proximity to active volcanoes. Chester et al.  
97 (2000) and subsequently Auker et al. (2013) plotted polar charts with examples of highly populated  
98 cities in relation to the distance and direction of the city centroid from nearby volcanoes, within 200  
99 km and 50 km of volcanoes, respectively. Brown et al. (2015) identified seven capital cities globally  
100 within 10 km of volcanoes, 37 within 30 km, and 69 within 100 km. A systematic approach quantifying  
101 all global city populations at specific distances from volcanoes would better capture the variable  
102 distribution of populations across cities and exposed to volcanoes.

103

104 Key cities identified as exposed to volcanic hazards can then be targeted for more localised research  
105 and mitigation efforts. For example, Jenkins et al. (2022) ranked volcanoes in South-East Asia by  
106 population and physical exposure, and proposed that populations near Guntur volcano, Indonesia,  
107 are highly exposed and thus require further study. For identified highly exposed cities, combining high  
108 resolution exposure with hazard maps or footprints can identify key areas in a city on which to focus  
109 future mitigation, such as structural adaptations (e.g., to tephra fall in Kagoshima: Durand, 2001)  
110 and/or land-use planning efforts (e.g., Nieto-Torres et al., 2021; Strader et al., 2015; Thouret et al.,  
111 2001).

112



113 In this study, we propose a new framework to quantify and rank global cities exposed to volcanoes  
114 situated within varying proximity thresholds (10, 30, and 100 km), based on three variables: population  
115 exposed; distance to nearest volcano; and the total count of volcanoes each city is exposed to.  
116 Leveraging high-resolution updated population data allows for assessment of the spatial variation of  
117 population exposure within each city. Instead of looking at the total population of the city as presented  
118 in past studies, this approach more accurately identifies the proportion of the city population within  
119 each distance threshold. Furthermore, our framework also ranks volcanoes by city exposure based on  
120 their proximity to city populations, considering the total count of cities and their respective  
121 populations within the specified distances from volcanoes.

122

## 123 2.1 Measuring population exposure around volcanoes

124

125 To quantify global population exposure around volcanoes, studies typically count the number of  
126 people residing within concentric radial buffers of certain sizes around the volcanic vent (e.g., Small  
127 & Naumann, 2001; Ewert, 2007; Aspinall et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2017; Freire et al., 2019; Nieto-  
128 Torres et al., 2021; [Guimarães et al., 2021](#)). For example, Freire et al. (2019) calculated total  
129 populations living within 10, 30, 50, and 100-km radial buffers around active volcanoes between 1975  
130 and 2015 CE. The concentric radial buffer size approach allows for a conservative estimate of  
131 exposure at each volcano so that the cities can be compared and ranked, especially useful for volcanoes  
132 without historical eruptions or high-resolution topography data (Biass et al., 2024). The radius sizes  
133 of buffers around the volcanic vent used to calculate exposure are determined by the maximum  
134 distances of primary volcanic hazards and the extents of potential Volcano Explosivity Index (VEI)  
135 events. For instance, the emplacement of the majority of primary hazards in a VEI <4 eruption are  
136 within a 10-km radius around the volcano, including extents of ballistic projectiles and most dome  
137 collapse pyroclastic density currents (PDCs) (Biass et al., 2024). A 30-km radius generally represents  
138 the extent of the majority of VEI <5 eruption hazard extents, while a 100-km radius signifies the  
139 extent of the majority of VEI <6 eruption hazard extents. However, larger eruptions, secondary  
140 hazards, or eruptions occurring from fields or fissures beyond the vent might extend [beyond](#) these  
141 maximum hazard distances. For example, shown by modelling of a VEI 5 scenario in Biass et al.  
142 (2024), tephra loads exceeding [1 km/m<sup>2</sup>](#) could extend as far as 600 km away.

143



144 These exposure counts can be assigned to specific indices for comparison across volcanoes. For  
145 example, the Volcanic Population Index (VPI) estimates the number of people living within 5 and 10  
146 km of volcanoes (Ewert & Harpel, 2004). Aspinall et al. (2011) developed this methodology to assess  
147 populations within 10, 30, and 100 km of volcanoes. To calculate the Population Exposure Index  
148 (PEI), the population counts are weighted according to evidence on historical distributions of fatalities  
149 within a given distance from the vent and each volcano is assigned to one of seven PEI indices (Brown  
150 et al., 2015). On a local or regional scale, past studies combined these population counts with physical  
151 exposure (e.g., Etna volcano, Italy: Del Negro et al., 2022; Rainier volcano, USA: Wood & Souldard,  
152 2009) and/or hazard factors to understand localised volcanic threat (e.g., Ewert et al., 2018; Mangan  
153 et al., 2018; Nieto-Torres et al., 2021). Nieto-Torres et al. (2021) developed a volcanic risk index for  
154 **Central America** considering 41 different factors related to hazards and exposure, assessing population  
155 risks within distances of 5, 10, 30, and 100 km from volcanoes. Researchers used various buffer sizes  
156 in ongoing efforts to accurately assess the risks that volcanic hazards pose to total populations. No  
157 studies conducted exposure analysis based on population exposure by urban type, such as city  
158 populations. In this study, we quantify and rank global cities exposed to volcanoes situated within 10,  
159 30, and 100 km of volcanoes.

160

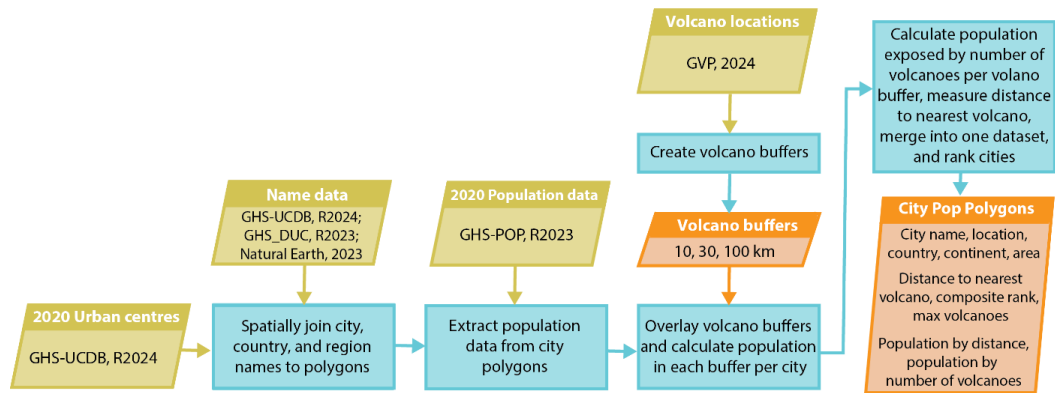
### 161 3. Methods

162 We developed a framework designed to quantify, rank, and assess city exposure to volcanoes (see Fig.  
163 1 and Fig. 2). In this study, *exposed populations* refer to populations in cities within 100 km (unless the  
164 distance is specified) from at least one volcano active in the Holocene, as explained in Section 2.1.  
165 Below we detail how we prepared the city outlines, extracted populations, and ranked the cities and  
166 volcanoes. The R code used to generate the results of this study is provided at:  
167 <https://github.com/vharg/VolcCities>. The Figs presented in this study focus on the top 10 cities or  
168 volcanoes. We developed a web app to comprehensively present results of this study, including the  
169 population exposure and maps of city polygons for all the cities with over 100,000 people exposed,  
170 which is available at: <https://nteng.shinyapps.io/ExposureOfCities/>.

171

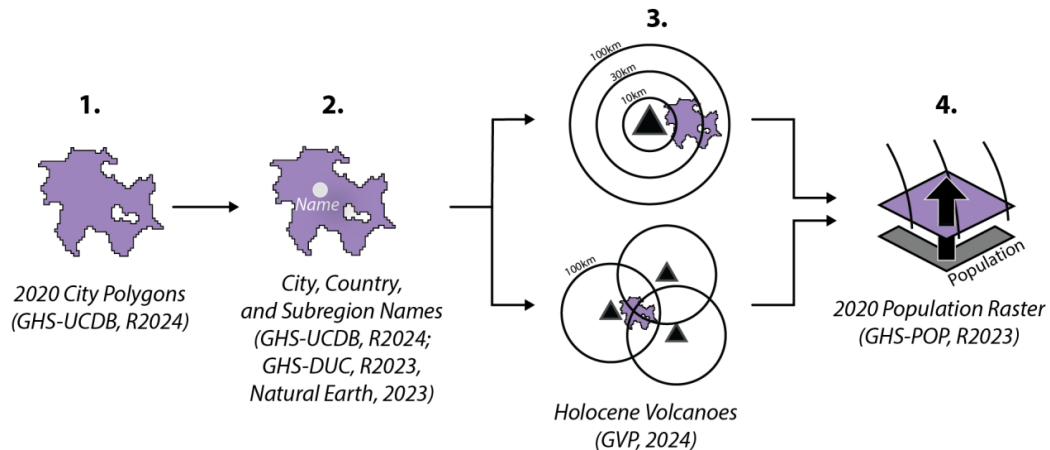


172



173

174 **Fig. 1:** A flowchart of our framework to assess city exposure to volcanoes. Input datasets (yellow rectangles) are fed into  
 175 the GIS process (blue rectangles) to collate city polygons (left orange rectangle) and attribute data, clipped by radial buffers  
 176 (central orange rectangle), into the exposed population polygon dataset (right orange rectangle). For input datasets from  
 177 the Global Human Settlement For the 2020 urban centres the GHS-UCDB (2024) dataset was used, and the  
 178 spatially joined centroids of this dataset were used for names. GHS\_DUC (2023) Name\_2 column was used for city  
 179 names if they were not available. The cities were ranked by the population size, the distance to nearest volcano, and the  
 180 maximum number of volcanoes exposed to, and the average of these was presented as the composite rank. The volcanoes  
 181 chosen are those active in the Holocene epoch. GVP stands for the Global Volcanism Program and GHS stands for  
 182 Global Human Settlement. The code used in this paper is provided at: <https://github.com/vbarg/VolcCities>



183

184 **Fig. 2:** A schematic of our framework for assessing city exposure to volcanoes. The framework includes the following  
 185 steps: 1) obtaining city polygons for 2020 CE from the GHS-UCDB (2024) urban centre polygons dataset, 2) joining





186 *city and country names from GHS-UCDB (2024) centroids, otherwise GHS\_DUC polygons were used, and Natural*  
187 *Earth (2023) was used for subregion names, 3) conducting distance analysis by clipping city polygons within 10, 30,*  
188 *and 100-km buffers from volcanoes, and analysing the number of volcanoes by counting overlaps of 100-km volcano*  
189 *buffers across city polygons, and 4) extracting the population of city polygons within volcano buffers using a population*  
190 *raster. Cities were ranked by population size and the maximum number of exposed volcanoes. Volcanoes included are*  
191 *those active in the Holocene, as per the Global Volcanism Program (GVP). The code used in this paper is provided at:*  
192 *<https://github.com/vbarg/VolcCities>*

193

### 194 3.1 Preparing the exposed city population polygon dataset

195

196 We obtained city area outlines from the 2024 CE release of the Global Human Settlement Layer -  
197 Settlement Model (GHS-UCDB; Marí Rivero et al., 2024). This dataset is in the World Mollweide  
198 (EPSG:54009) projection and we did not reproject it. This dataset identifies the *urban centres*, classified  
199 as having a population density of  $\geq 1500$  inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> and a total population size of at least 50,000  
200 people (Marí Rivero et al., 2024). These city areas will be referred to from here, as *city polygons*. We  
201 identified the centroid **co-ordinates** and the areas of the *city polygons*.

202

203 We selected only those polygons that had all or part of their area within 100 km of a volcano resulting  
204 in 1,158 *city polygons*. Volcano locations in this study were based on **coordinates** from the 1,283  
205 Holocene Volcano List from the Volcanoes of the World (VOTW) v4.11.1 database (Global  
206 Volcanism Program, 2024). **Co-ordinates** of the Holocene volcanoes in the database are positioned  
207 either at the summit for volcanoes with a distinct primary edifice, or close to known vents. For  
208 **volcanic fields** with multiple vents, the database presents the most prominent or active vent, most  
209 recently erupting vent, or centre of the volcanic field, depending on information availability. Only the  
210 958 volcanoes that are located within 100 km of a *city polygon* are used within this study.

211

212 The *city polygons* generated from the raster lacked attribute data, therefore, we spatially joined each  
213 polygon with the city and country names of the 2025 CE projected *city polygons* from the 2024 CE  
214 release of the Global Human Settlement Layer - Settlement Model, Urban Centre Database (GHS-  
215 UCDB; Marí Rivero et al., 2024). The spatial join was based on the overlap of the centroids with the  
216 *city polygons*. For the 30 cities that did not have city names (as they are not in the 2025 CE dataset), we  
217 spatially joined the *city polygons* to the 2023 CE release of the GHS Degree of Urbanisation





218 Classification (GHS-DUC; Schiavina et al., 2023a) polygons dataset and selected the name from the  
 219 Name\_2 column, and for one case, the Name\_1 column as Name\_2 was empty. For the 35 cities that  
 220 did not have any country names, these were added from the spatially joined GHS\_DUC dataset. The  
 221 spatial join was based on the location of the *city polygons*' centroids. For the subregions, we spatially  
 222 joined the *city polygons* to the Natural Earth (2023) country polygons and selected the subregions, based  
 223 on the location of the nearest polygon. This dataset was chosen as there were more subregions  
 224 included than the GHS-UCDB dataset. We then grouped the *city polygons* by city name in each country,  
 225 resulting in a dataset of 1,106 cities.

226

227 We made other calculations for the other columns in the dataset shown in Table 1, we included the  
 228 *city polygon* centroid co-ordinates based on the largest polygon, calculated the *city polygon* area (km<sup>2</sup>), and  
 229 measured the shortest distance (km) of the *city polygon* margin that lies closest to the nearest volcano.  
 230 To calculate the total population of the city, we extracted the 2020 CE population from Global Human  
 231 Settlement Layer - Population (GHS-POP; Schiavina et al., 2023b) 100-m population rasters within  
 232 each of the *city polygons* using the *exactextract* function in R (Levine, 2022). This population dataset is in  
 233 the World Mollweide (EPSG:54009) projection and we did not reproject it.

234

235 **Table 1:** The results collated in this study are set out in a dataset with the columns named as in this table. One row  
 236 represents one city.

Column Name		
Total city polygon	Name	
	Centroid co-ordinates	Latitude, Longitude
	Country	
	Continent	
	Subregion	
	Total city area (km <sup>2</sup> )	
	Total city population	
	Nearest volcano	
	Distance to nearest volcano (km)	
	Rank by distance	
	Maximum number of volcanoes exposed by	
	Composite rank	
	Results by distance	Rank (by <100 km)
Population by distance		<10 km, <30 km, <100 km, >100 km (not exposed), 30 – 100 km, 100 – 30 km



Results by number of volcanoes	Rank (by max <100km)	
	Population by number of volcanoes <100 km	1, 2-5, 6-10, 11-20, 20+
	Population by number of volcanoes <30 km	1, 2-5, 6-10, 11-20, 20+
	Population by number of volcanoes <10 km	0, 1, 2-5, 6-10, 11-20, 20+

237

238

### 239 3.2 Ranking cities

240 Using the volcano location co-ordinates as the centroids we created 10, 30, and 100-km radial buffers  
 241 around each volcano, as these are commonly used to assess volcanic exposure based on typical  
 242 maximum distances of primary volcanic hazards (Ewert, 2007; Brown et al., 2017; Biass et al., 2024).  
 243 From here, these will be referred to as *volcano buffers*.

244

245 We clipped the *city polygons* by each of the three 10, 30, and 100-km radial *volcano buffers* and merged  
 246 these together to create a map of the city classified by distance to a volcano. This means that parts of  
 247 the city, or specific proportions, fall into one of the distance categories: <10 km, 10–30 km, 30–100  
 248 km, or >100 km from a volcano. We extracted the population using the method shown in 3.1 and  
 249 where the volcano buffer partially covers a population raster pixel, this function extracts the  
 250 population number based on the proportion of pixel covered. We then merged and pivoted the dataset  
 251 so that it resulted in the population in each *volcano buffer* for each city (Table 1). For each *volcano buffer*  
 252 we ranked the cities by the total populations exposed.

253

254 We also ranked cities by how many volcanoes each city’s population is exposed to. We overlaid the  
 255 100-km *volcano buffers* and calculated the number of buffers that were in contact with each *city polygon*.  
 256 By intersecting the overlaid buffers by the *city polygons*, we created a map where the areas within the  
 257 city are classified by the number of volcanoes it is exposed to. From this map, we then extracted the  
 258 population, so that, for each city, the numbers of people exposed to numbers of volcanoes is known  
 259 (Table 1). This was repeated for the 30-km and 10-km *volcano buffers*. In separate columns we entered  
 260 the maximum number of volcanoes that the city is exposed to (within 100 km) and ranked the cities  
 261 by this amount. This means that the maximum number of volcanoes the city is exposed to relates to  
 262 the total number of 100-km *volcano buffers* in contact with the *city polygon*.



263

264 Finally, we calculated a composite ranking for each city, summing the three rankings of distance to  
 265 nearest volcano, population <100 km, and number of volcanoes <100 km, and dividing by three to  
 266 create a final ranking of cities. This assumes the same weighting for each ranking.

267

### 268 3.3 Ranking volcanoes

269

270 In a separate dataset shown in Table 2, for each volcano, we recorded the volcano name, name, vent  
 271 co-ordinates, and country from the Global Volcanism Program (2023) Holocene Volcano List. We  
 272 also calculated the distance of the vent location to the nearest *city polygon*. For each *volcano buffer* of each  
 273 volcano, we calculated the total populations located within each *volcano buffer* and *city polygons* using the  
 274 extraction method detailed in 3.1. We then ranked the volcanoes by the total city populations within  
 275 100 km of the volcano. We also calculated the total number of *city polygons* within each *volcano buffer* for  
 276 each volcano and ranked the volcanoes by the total number of cities within 100 km of the volcano.  
 277 Finally, we calculated a composite ranking for each volcano, summing the three rankings of total  
 278 population <100 km, number of cities <100 km, and distance to nearest city, and dividing by three to  
 279 create a final ranking of volcanoes. This assumes the same weighting for each ranking.

280

281 **Table 2:** The results collated in this study are set out in a dataset with the columns named as in this table. One row  
 282 represents one city.

Column Name		
Volcano	Volcano Name	
	Vent co-ordinates	Latitude, Longitude
	Country	
	Nearest city	
	Distance to nearest city (km)	
	Composite rank	
Results by city population	Rank (by <100 km)	
	City population by distance	<100 km, <30 km, <10 km, 100 – 30 km, 30 – 10 km
Results by number of cities	Rank (by max <100 km)	
	Number of cities	<100 km, <30 km, <10 km, 100 – 30 km, 30 – 10 km

283

## 284 4. Results



285 We present our results in two parts, firstly we present the rankings for cities and volcanoes within  
286 each of the 10, 30, and 100-km *volcano buffers*, and secondly, we present regional trends in the city  
287 exposure. Cities were ranked based on: a) **the total city population exposed to one or more volcanoes**,  
288 b) the number of volcanoes the city is exposed to, and c) the distance to nearest volcano. Volcanoes  
289 were ranked based on: a) **the total exposed city population**, b) the number of cities exposed, and c)  
290 the distance to the nearest city. In the following section, we explore the quantification and ranking of  
291 these city populations and volcanoes, detailing spatial trends in city exposure. We also explore regional  
292 trends in city exposures. The results for all our exposure analyses are presented in Section 9.

293

#### 294 4.1 Quantifying and ranking city exposure to volcanoes

295

296 Globally, 1,106 cities have some proportion of their populations living within 100 km of at least one  
297 volcano active in the Holocene (Table 3). Within these cities, ~430 million people are exposed within  
298 100 km of volcanoes (Table 3), representing 50% of the total population exposed within 100 km ( $n=$   
299 852,989,097) and ~12% of the total population of cities globally ( $n=3,511,560,764$ ). For each city, the  
300 exposed population varies from four people in Hamamatsu, Japan, to ~38.1 million people in Jakarta.

301

302 **Table 3:** *The total number of cities with some proportion of their area within the three volcano buffer distances of at*  
303 *least one volcano, and city populations exposed to volcanoes within each volcano buffer size used in our study.*

304

Distance from nearest volcano	Number of cities exposed	City populations exposed
10	99	13,756,890
30	381	128,065,560
100	1,106	429,145,006

305

306 The greatest number of cities and populations exposed are in Indonesia (see Fig. A3 in the Appendix).  
307 The top five cities with the most people living within 100 km from at least one volcano are Jakarta,  
308 Indonesia; Tokyo, Japan; Manila, Philippines; Mexico City, Mexico; and Seoul, South Korea (Fig. 4).  
309 For these cities, the entire populations are exposed to at least one volcano (Jakarta: Salak, Perbakti-  
310 Gagak; Manila: Laguna Caldera; Mexico City: Iztaccihuatl, Chichinautzin, Popocatepetl), except for  
311 Tokyo and Seoul where parts of the cities are **not exposed** to any volcanoes (see Fig. A3 in the  
312 Appendix). These top five cities represent ~28 % (~121 million) of the total exposed city populations



313 (~429 million), with over 677,000 people within 10 km from a volcano. For the other exposed cities,  
314 exposed populations decrease gradually as rank increases (Fig. 4; Fig. A2 in the Appendix). When  
315 combining rankings of number of people within 100 km, number of volcanoes within 100 km, and  
316 distance to nearest volcano, Bandung is the highest ranked city (Fig. 3).

317

318 As the spatial distribution of populations varies across cities, we found that some of the highly ranked  
319 cities have proportions of their populations located more than 100 km from volcanoes (e.g., Tokyo,  
320 Japan; Seoul, South Korea; Tehran, Iran), whilst others have high proportions of their populations  
321 located very close to volcanoes. Notably, for the 30 km *volcano buffer*, the entire populations of  
322 Bandung, Indonesia (n=8,443,660) and Quito, Ecuador (n=2,435,784) reside within 30 km of at least  
323 one volcano. The top five cities ranked by people living within 100 km of volcanoes have relatively  
324 low proportions of their populations within 30 km (~18 %), with most (~82 %) living between 30  
325 and 100 km. As a result, for rankings at smaller *volcano buffer* distances, these cities drop down to lower  
326 rankings (Fig. 4). However, Jakarta and Bandung feature in the top ten ranked cities for exposed  
327 populations within all three *volcano buffer* distances and have the highest number of people exposed to  
328 at least one volcano within 100 km (n=38,050,484) and 30 km (n=8,443,660). The top two ranked  
329 cities for the 10-km *volcano buffer*: Naples, Italy, and Managua, Nicaragua, combined have a smaller total  
330 population than Jakarta; however, they have 40% and 66% of their city populations living within 10  
331 km of volcanoes, respectively, compared to 1% of Jakarta (Fig. 4). Thus, cities may have low total  
332 populations but have high proportions of their populations living in close proximity of nearby  
333 volcanoes.



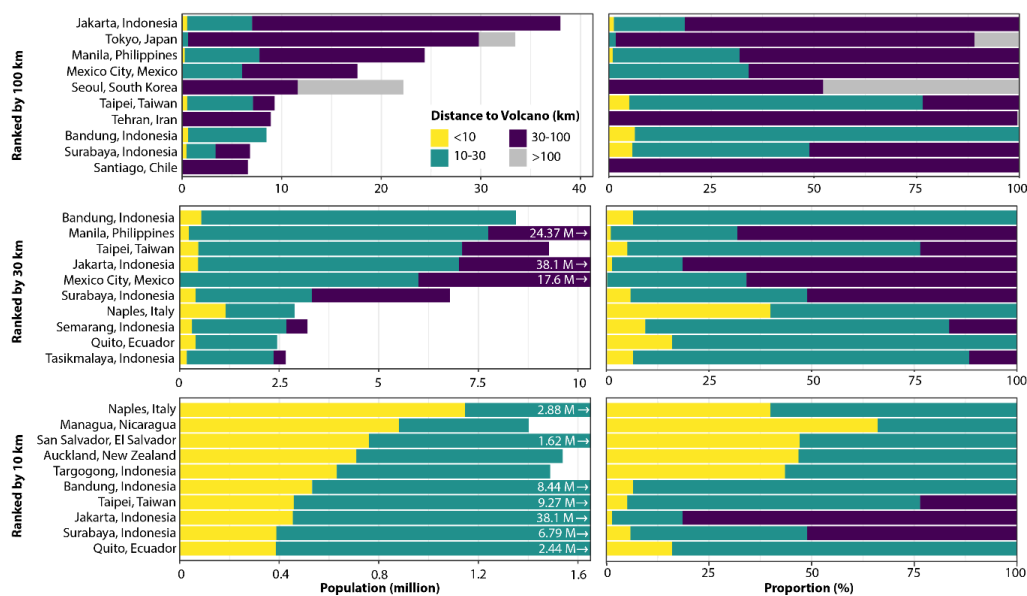
City Rankings					Volcano Rankings				
Rank	City Name	Population exposed rank	Number of volcanoes rank	Distance to nearest volcano rank	Rank	Volcano Name	Population exposed rank	Number of cities exposed rank	Distance to nearest city
17	Bandung, Indonesia	8	31	11	8	Tangkuban Parahu, Indonesia	4	10	11
19	Jakarta, Indonesia	1	40	17	13	San Pablo V.F., Philippines	9	26	5
22	San Salvador, El Salvador	39	1	26	17	Tampomas, Indonesia	17	6	28
24	Quito, Ecuador	28	14	30	18	Guntur, Indonesia	20	6	27
27	Managua, Nicaragua	50	31	1	21	Talagabodas, Indonesia	24	5	34
35	Guatemala City, Guatemala	24	13	68	22	Ciremai, Indonesia	19	6	42
42	Tokyo, Japan	2	57	67	22	Ungaran, Indonesia	35	19	13
44	Tarogong, Indonesia	47	57	29	23	Patuha, Indonesia	11	42	16
46	Tasikmalaya, Indonesia	25	74	40	25	Laguna Caldera, Philippines	7	13	55
48	Surabaya, Indonesia	9	111	24	25	Penanggungan, Indonesia	28	19	29
49	Semarang, Indonesia	20	111	15	27	Galunggung, Indonesia	25	6	49
65	Kuningan, Indonesia	84	74	38	27	Sundoro, Indonesia	34	13	33
70	Bishoftu, Ethiopia	151	57	3	29	Kendang, Indonesia	23	26	39
72	Cipanas, Indonesia	94	74	49	30	Papandayan, Indonesia	26	30	35
76	Malang, Indonesia	34	111	84	32	Banahaw, Philippines	10	35	50

334

335 **Fig. 3:** Top 20 composite rankings of city exposure to volcanic hazards and their score within the different ranks. For  
 336 cities these are based on three different ranks: a) the total city population exposed to one or more volcanoes within 100  
 337 km of volcanoes, b) the number of volcanoes the city is exposed to, c) the distance to nearest volcano. For volcanoes, these  
 338 rankings are based on three different ranks: a) the total exposed city population within 100 km, b) the number of cities  
 339 exposed, c) the distance of the volcano to the nearest city. The cities and volcanoes are ordered by the average of three  
 340 rankings (composite rank shown in the Rank column rounded to the nearest integer). V.F. stands for Volcanic Field  
 341 and V.C. stands for Volcanic Complex.

342

343



344



345 **Fig. 4:** Horizontal stacked bar charts of city population (left) and proportion (right) of each city classified by distance  
 346 of the city margin to the nearest volcano (within <10, 10 - 30, and 30 - 100-km distances from volcanoes), and ranked  
 347 by 100, 30, and 10-km radial buffers. Each bar represents a city exposed to volcanoes, and the x axis limits (left)  
 348 reflect the population range for that volcano buffer.

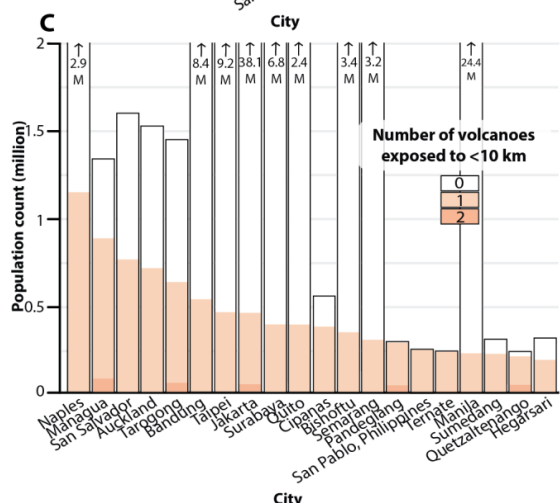
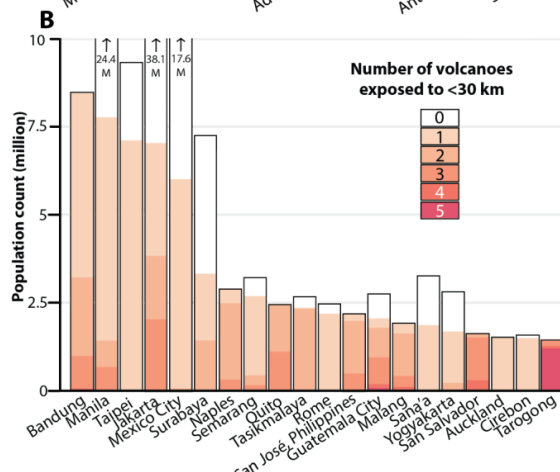
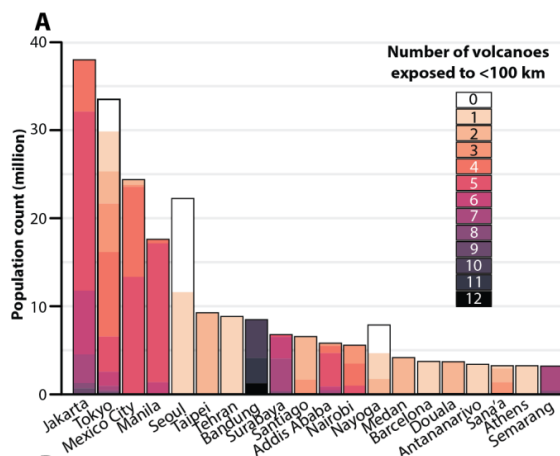
349

350 Fig. 4 shows city rankings of populations by distances to their *nearest* volcanoes, with 99 cities having  
 351 their city margins within 10 km from a volcano. However, ~63 % of cities with populations within  
 352 100 km of volcanoes (n=698) are exposed to more than one volcano. Fig. 5 presents the top 20 ranking  
 353 of cities by exposed populations, classified by the number of volcanoes the city is exposed to. The  
 354 Fig. shows that portions of the populations of Tokyo, Japan; Seoul, South Korea; and Nagoya, Japan,  
 355 are not exposed to any volcanoes, but these cities still rank within the top 20 exposed cities (Fig. 5).  
 356 Interestingly, not all the largest exposed populations are exposed to multiple volcanoes, such as Seoul,  
 357 South Korea; Tehran, Iran; Barcelona, Spain; Antananarivo, Madagascar; and Athens, Greece, which  
 358 have populations exposed to only one volcano. The top four cities with exposed populations have  
 359 much larger populations compared to the others, with millions more residents. In contrast, the  
 360 differences in exposed populations among the remaining cities exhibit a more gradual increase,  
 361 illustrated in Fig. 5 and for mid-sized cities (populations under 1 million) in the Appendix (Fig. A4).  
 362





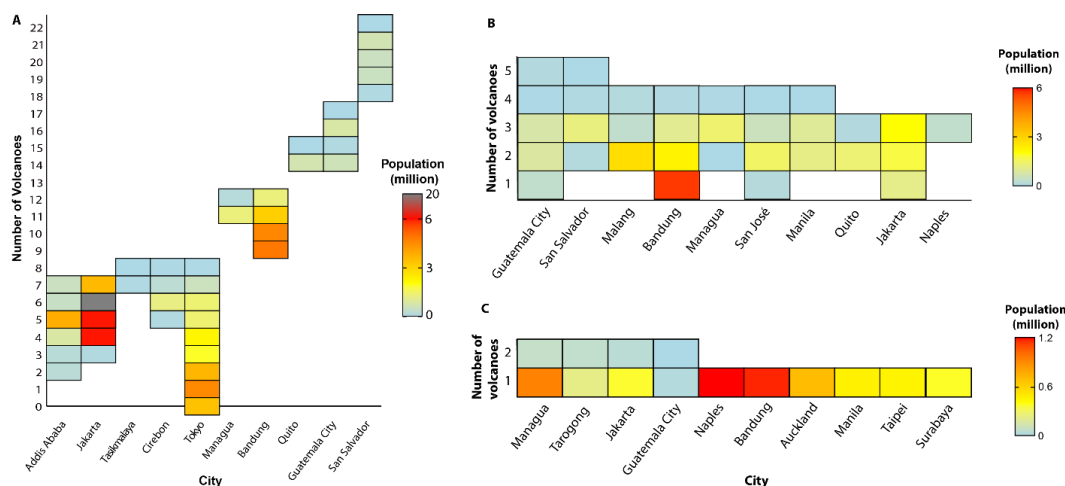
363 Most of the cities exposed to multiple volcanoes are in Central America, with populations in  
364 Quezaltepe  is exposed to the highest number of volcanoes (n=23), and San Salvador  the city  
365 with >1 million people exposed to the highest number of volcanoes (n=22) (Fig. 6). Although San  
366 Salvador is ranked 39<sup>th</sup> by population within 100 km, it is third in the composite ranking behind  
367 Bandung and Jakarta, due to its high ranking of the number of volcanoes (Fig. 3). Despite this  
368 proximity of cities to multiple volcanoes, there is the same ranking of the top 10 cities when ranked  
369 by the people exposed to the nearest volcano, and those exposed to at least one volcano. Bandung  
370 ranks highly for both maximum number of volcanoes to which the city is exposed, and the number  
371 of people exposed, with exposed populations within 100 km of between 9 and 12 volcanoes, with the  
372 most, ~4 million, exposed to 10 volcanoes (Fig. 6).  
373





375 **Fig. 5:** Stacked bar charts of city population exposure for the top 20 cities coloured by the number of volcanoes the  
 376 populations are exposed to, within A) 100-km, B) 30-km, and C) 10-km volcano buffers.

377



378

379 **Fig. 6:** Heatmap for the top 10 cities with total populations of over 1 million ranked by exposure to number of  
 380 volcanoes, showing the city population exposed to increasing numbers of volcanoes for A) 100-km, B) 30-km, and C)  
 381 10-km volcano buffers.

382

#### 383 4.2 Ranking volcanoes by city exposure

384

385 Almost 47% of Holocene volcanoes (n=596) have city populations located within 100 km of their  
 386 assumed vents. Indonesia dominates the rankings for city populations within 100 km of volcanoes.  
 387 Five, seven, and three of the top 10 volcanoes within the 100-km, 30-km and 10-km buffers,  
 388 respectively, are in Indonesia. Among the 596 volcanoes close to city populations, Gede-Pangrango,  
 389 Salak, and Pebakti-Gagak volcanoes, all located in Indonesia, rank highest in terms of city population  
 390 exposure within 100 km (Fig. 7), including the entire population of Jakarta for Salak and Gede-  
 391 Pangrango, shown in the Appendix (Fig. A3). For the top 10 cities within 100 km, up to 35% of the  
 392 population live within 30 km, with most living between 30 and 100 km (Fig. 7). Notably, Gede-  
 393 Pangrango volcano has the most city populations living within 100 km and Guntur volcano hosts the  
 394 largest population within a 10-km distance in Indonesia, reaching populations in Bandung and Jakarta.  
 395 Outside of Indonesia, volcanoes Nejapa-Miraflores, Nicaragua, and the Auckland Volcanic Field have  
 396 almost 50 % of city populations nearby living within 10 km of the volcanoes. In fact, Auckland



397 Volcanic Field and San Salvador have the entire city population exposure within 30 km of the  
 398 volcanoes and the entire country of El Salvador is within 30 km of a volcano (Fig. 9).

399

400 In addition to distances, it is also important to consider the number of cities that are close to volcanoes.

401 Ethiopia is noted for its high number (n=108) of cities close to volcanoes, and the greatest number

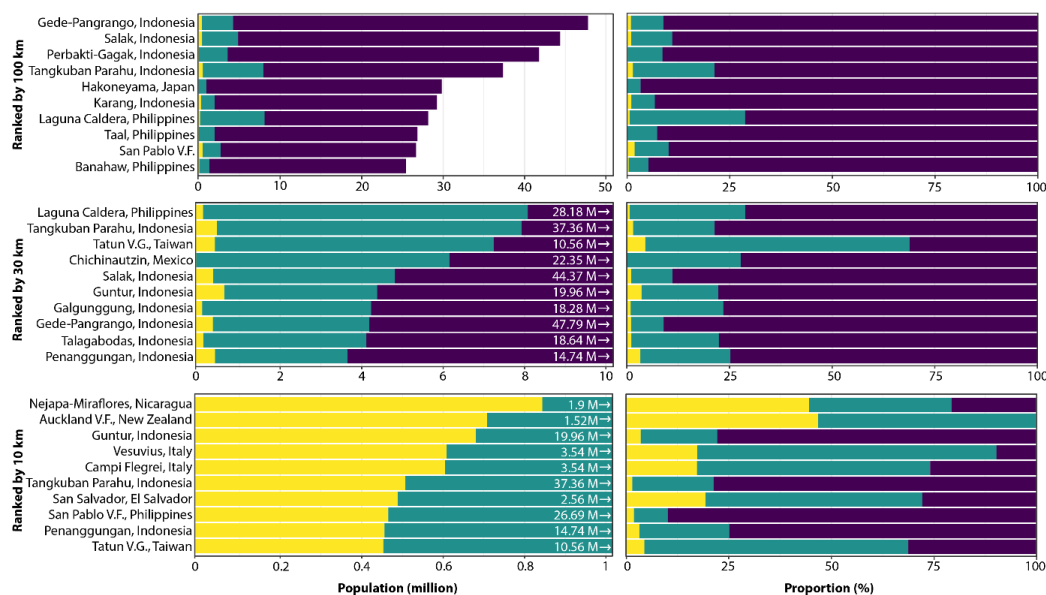
402 of cities (n=23) have the Northern Lake Abaya Volcanic Field, Ethiopia, as their nearest volcano, as

403 detailed in the Appendix (Fig. A1). Tangkuban Parahu volcano ranks highly across our rankings of

404 the number of people within 100 km, the number of cities, and the distance to the nearest city (Fig.

405 3).

406



407

408 **Fig. 7:** Horizontal stacked bar charts of city population (left) and proportion (right) around each volcano, classified by

409 distance of the city margin to the nearest volcano (within <10, 10 - 30, and 30 - 100-km distances from volcanoes),

410 and ranked by 100, 30, and 10-km radial buffers. Each bar represents a volcano, and the x axis limits (left) reflect

411 the population range for that volcano buffer.

412

#### 413 4.4 Regional trends in city exposure to volcanoes

414

415 The largest amount of people living in cities exposed to at least one volcano are in South-East Asia,

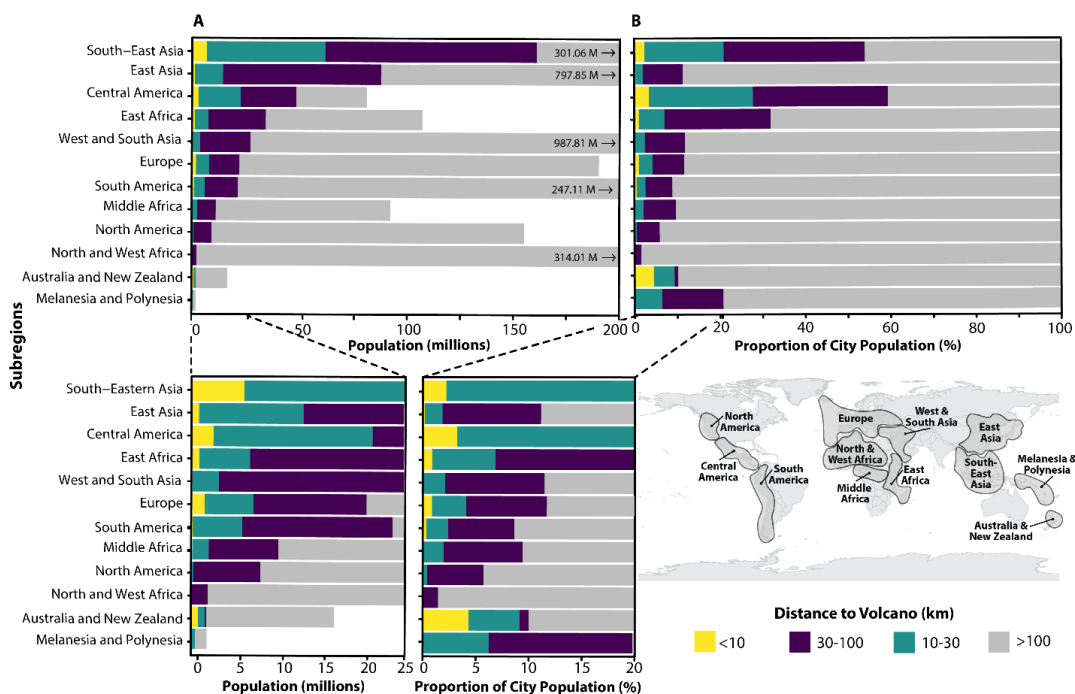
416 with 6,450,774; 62,503,491; and 162,357,787 people living within 10, 30, and 100 km of a volcano,



417 respectively (Fig. 8A). However, the highest proportion of city populations exposed to volcanoes are  
418 in Central America (Fig. 8B) where approximately 66%, 31% and 4% of city populations are located  
419 within 100 km, 30 km, and 10 km, respectively, of at least one volcano. In Australia and New Zealand,  
420 and Europe, subregions there are the least number of people exposed, with 2,018,698 and 22,942,510,  
421 respectively, within 100 km. City populations in the subregions of Australia and New Zealand, and  
422 Europe, are also exposed to fewer volcanoes than the other continents, with more than 10% of the  
423 exposed populations exposed to one or two volcanoes (Fig. 8B). However, 4% of the total city  
424 population of Australia and New Zealand lies within 10 km of at least one volcano, the highest  
425 proportion of any subregion (Fig. 8).

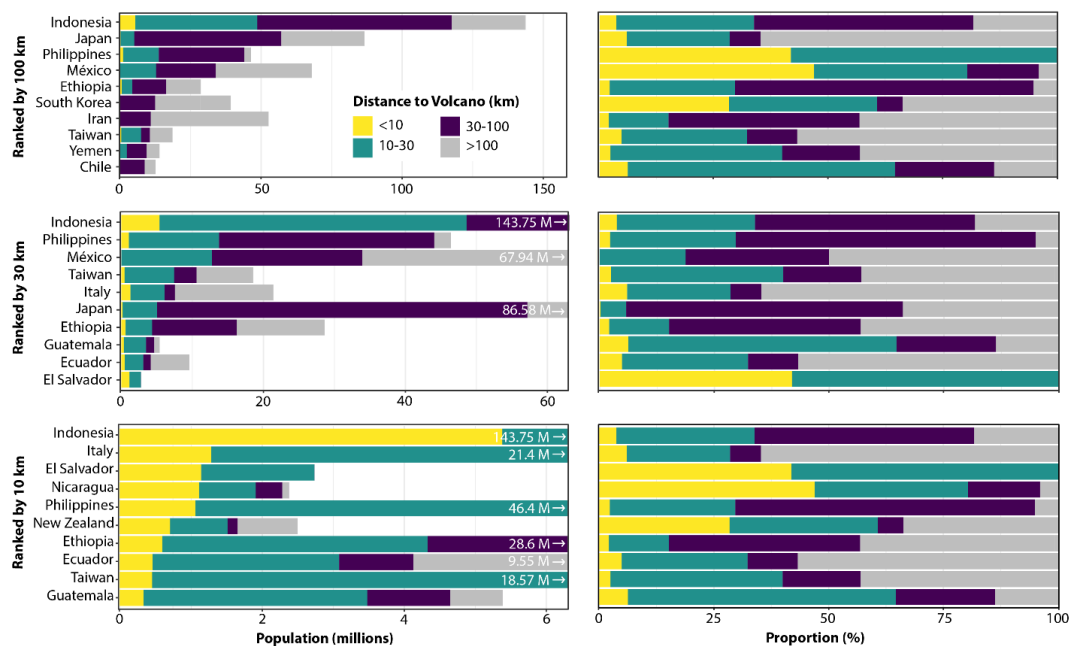
426

427 Indonesia stands out globally for having the greatest number of cities and residents located in  
428 proximity to volcanoes, with the largest populations within 10, 30, and 100 km of at least one volcano  
429 (Fig. 9). Japan ranked second for the 100-km *volcano buffer* but ranks fifth and fourteenth for the 30-  
430 km and 10-km *volcano buffers* as a high proportion of the city population are living within 30 and 100  
431 km of volcanoes. This is also the case for South Korea, Iran, and Chile, with high numbers of people  
432 living within 30 and 100 km of volcanoes compared to <30 km. Meanwhile, the Philippines, ranked  
433 third for the 100-km buffer, has a high proportion of its city populations residing within all three  
434 distances, meaning that it ranks highly for all three buffer sizes. For the 32% of city populations  
435 exposed in East Africa (Fig. 8), these are dominated by Ethiopia and Yemen (Fig. 9), where the cities  
436 are not reflected in the top city rankings of Fig. 4 as the city populations are split across multiple  
437 smaller cities. Ethiopia has almost 100 cities exposed, and Yemen has ~60 cities exposed to volcanoes  
438 (see Fig. A1 in the Appendix). Remarkably, El Salvador presents a unique case for the top 10 ranked  
439 cities, where the entirety of its population lives within 30 km of at least one volcano. Both Nicaragua  
440 and El Salvador have over 40% of their city populations living within 10 km of at least one volcano.



441

442 **Fig. 8:** The exposed city population (A) and proportion of total city population (B) split by subregion and classified by  
 443 the distance of the population to nearest volcano. The subregions are highlighted on the bottom right schematic map  
 444 showing an approximate location of where the cities are located. Note that cities in French Polynesia are included in  
 445 Melanesia and Polynesia, and Réunion, Martinique, and Mayotte Islands, and Kamchatka, are included in Europe.



446  
 447 **Fig. 9:** Horizontal stacked bar charts of city population (left) and proportion (right) around each volcano, grouped by  
 448 country, classified by distance of the city margin to the nearest volcano (within <10, 10 - 30, and 30 - 100-km distances  
 449 from volcanoes), and ranked by 100, 30, and 10-km radial buffers. Each bar represents a country, and the x axis  
 450 limits (left) reflect the population range for that volcano buffer.

451

452 4 Discussion

453

454 4.1 City Rankings

455

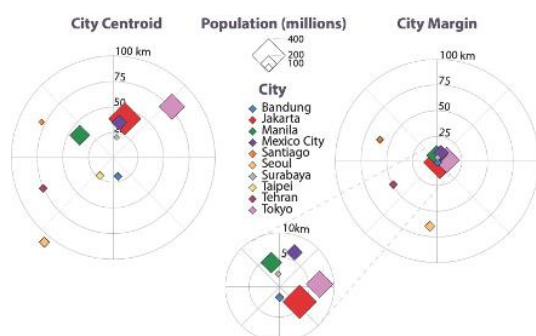
456 Our methodology offers a ranking of cities and revised population metrics and distance to the nearest  
 457 volcano, advancing the polar charts of past studies showing the distance, direction, and population of  
 458 example cities (Auker et al., 2013; Chester et al., 2000). We updated city populations: for instance,  
 459 while Chester et al., (2000) reported Manila had a population of 7.94 million and Tokyo had a  
 460 population of 25 million, our 2020 CE data was ~ 16 million and ~ 5 million higher, respectively. In  
 461 this study, 557 cities exposed to volcanoes have populations greater than 100,000 people, a substantial  
 462 increase from the 67 cities documented by Heiken (2013). We identify Jakarta, Tokyo, and Manila, as  
 463 having the highest exposure within 100 km of volcanoes. These large cities have high proportions of





464 people living between 30 and 100 km from the nearest volcano and population spread across the three  
465 *volcano buffers* (Fig. 4; Table 4), highlighting the potential for variable impacts. Jenkins et al., (2018) also  
466 identified these three cities as having the greatest tephra fall hazard and risk in Asia, when wind  
467 conditions, eruption characteristics, and tephra transport were accounted for. Jakarta is highlighted as  
468 the largest city exposed to volcanoes in Pelling (2012) and Blaikie (1994). However, Heiken (2013)  
469 identifies Tokyo, Manila, and Mexico City as the only megacities exposed to volcanoes. Jakarta is not  
470 selected as an example by Heiken (2013), Auker et al. (2013), or Chester et al. (2000). This may be due  
471 to potential differences in criteria used in assessing exposure.

472



473

474 **Fig. 10:** Polar chart to show the top 10 cities with the most exposed city populations within 100 km of the nearest  
475 volcano. The city centroids (left) and nearest city margin to the volcano (right) are plotted as diamonds relative to the  
476 nearest volcano (centre of the plots), and the diamond size refers to the size of the population exposed. The centroid of  
477 Seoul is located outside of the 100-km radial buffer, but the population within the 100 km is high enough to rank the  
478 city into the top 10 exposed.

479

480 Identifying an exposed city by its centroid alone is not an ideal representation of city exposure as it  
481 does not capture the spatial extent (sprawl) of a city, or changes in population density across the city.  
482 City margins are closer to volcanoes than the centroids (Fig. 10). Some cities have higher population  
483 densities closer to volcanoes despite having greater areas of the city farther away (Table 4), suggesting  
484 that cities can have higher population densities in the city peripheries away from the city centre. For  
485 example, the city centroid of Seoul is located more than 100 km from Mount Baekdu (Changbaishan),  
486 however approximately half of Seoul's city population ( $n=11,705,767$ ), and some of the most densely  
487 populated parts of the city ( $\sim 11,119$  people per  $\text{km}^2$ ) are located within the 100-km *volcano buffer* (Fig.  
488 10), with the closest margin of the city 64 km from the volcano. This is likely due to residential zones



489 being situated farther from the city centre, in areas where population density may increase as cities  
 490 expand. These close city margins place dense populations very close to potential volcanic hazards.  
 491 Therefore, our approach better captures the spatial sprawl and variation in population across the cities,  
 492 which are overlooked by the centroid approach.

493

494 **Table 4:** Cities with populations across three different buffer distances of volcanoes: 10, 10 – 30, and 30 – 100 km,  
 495 with city population exposed, area of city polygon, and the averaged population density within each buffer distance. The  
 496 population, area, and densities in bold font are those higher than the other two buffer distances. The cities are in order  
 497 of population density <10 km of volcanoes. Numbers are rounded to the nearest integer

498

City	Population			Area (km <sup>2</sup> )			Population Density (/km <sup>2</sup> )		
	Name	10 km	10 - 30 km	30 - 100 km	10 km	10 - 30 km	30 - 100 km	10 km	30 - 100 km
Taipei, Taiwan	457807	5987736	<b>11607299</b>	64	<b>512</b>	374	7112	<b>12964</b>	5833
Manila, Philippines	220952	<b>2020662</b>	694688	48	669	<b>1773</b>	4635	<b>11251</b>	9376
Semarang, Indonesia	298695	7525192	<b>16627938</b>	66	<b>330</b>	205	4543	<b>7205</b>	2559
Surabaya, Indonesia	387688	<b>2160308</b>	279119	102	<b>769</b>	429	3803	3807	<b>8088</b>
Guatemala City, Guatemala	23943	<b>2182277</b>	306364	6	<b>326</b>	120	3702	<b>6193</b>	5777
Jakarta, Indonesia	453914	<b>291479</b>	3471151	110	1123	<b>3258</b>	4142	5841	<b>9525</b>
Rome, Italy	16698	<b>6633853</b>	2181179	5	<b>399</b>	63	3205	<b>5417</b>	4429
Tasikmalaya, Indonesia	167908	6559219	<b>31037351</b>	70	<b>403</b>	49	2392	5418	<b>6247</b>
Mexico City, Mexico	2373	<b>2376679</b>	525538	2	733	<b>1391</b>	1052	8173	<b>8344</b>
Tokyo, Japan	21	558703	<b>29275558</b>	<1	170	<b>4229</b>	296	3282	<b>6922</b>

499



500 In this research we focussed on identifying cities with high populations exposed to volcanic hazards.  
501 However, we emphasise the importance of assessing both the total numbers of exposure as well as  
502 the proportions of the city (Fig. 4B), as less populated and smaller cities may have their entire  
503 population exposed. While these cities may not rank highly in terms of total population, smaller cities  
504 may be more susceptible to complete destruction (Pelling, 2012), whereas an eruption affecting part  
505 of a larger city may allow for greater capacity to recover. Limited resources and less infrastructure in  
506 smaller cities may also magnify the impacts of eruptions. Thus, eruptions affecting an entire city  
507 potentially cause challenges in **ters** of evacuation, continuity, and recovery. An eruption that affects  
508 multiple neighbouring cities can compound this effect. If the eruption affects multiple small cities  
509 instead of one large city, it may result in a high total number of exposed individuals dispersed across  
510 multiple cities. This scenario can strain emergency response efforts and limit the options for  
511 evacuation and recovery. We accounted for this in our composite ranking by including ranks by the  
512 number of nearby cities (Fig. 3).

513

514 Conversely, an eruption affecting part of a large populous city can have implications for the entire  
515 city, neighbouring cities, the country and potentially globally. In large urban areas, the interdependence  
516 of infrastructure systems, such as transportation and utilities, means that even minor damage can lead  
517 to widespread functional disruptions, affecting populations beyond the immediate impacted area  
518 (Pelling, 2012; Heiken, 2013; Weir et al., 2024). For example, lahars triggered following the 1991  
519 Pinatubo eruption in the Philippines (VEI 5) damaged highways to the North of Metro Manila,  
520 resulting in cascading impacts that disrupted access to the city (Solway, 1994; Pelling, 2012). These  
521 indirect impacts can extend beyond infrastructure disruption, affecting supply chains, labour markets,  
522 and public health systems, with potential for the effects of an eruption to impact regionally or globally,  
523 particularly for those cities that are central to financial systems (Pelling, 2012). Thus, these large cities  
524 that have a small proportion exposed may be ranked low in our analysis in terms of exposure, but this  
525 could mask potential widespread indirect impacts across the broader city (Mossler, 1996; Pelling,  
526 2012). Understanding these wider effects is crucial for assessing the full scope of urban vulnerability  
527 to volcanic hazards. Further localised assessments and systematic risk evaluations are recommended  
528 to capture a more complete range of potential impacts (Mossler, 1996; Pelling, 2012).

529

530 4.2 Volcano Rankings

531



532 We highlight key volcanoes such as Salak, Gede-Pangrango, and Perbakti-Gagak with the most people  
533 exposed within cities nearby, as well as Tangkuban Parahu and Tampomas, Indonesia, and San Pablo  
534 Volcanic Field, Philippines, that rank highly in our composite ranking. Other studies highlight  
535 volcanoes in Indonesia as having high levels of exposure. For example, in our study, Gede-Pangrango  
536 was ranked second and seventh for populations living within 100 km and 30 km of volcanoes,  
537 respectively. Gede-Pangrango was also ranked by Small and Naumann (2001) as the most populous  
538 volcano globally and by Jenkins et al. (2022), as the fifth highest volcano for exposure in Indonesia  
539 and the Philippines when considering both populations and physical assets threatened by VEI 3-5  
540 eruptions. Jenkins et al. (2022) also identified Guntur volcano as a volcano in need of further study  
541 due to its resulting exposure and the lack of localised hazard or exposure assessments. Our findings  
542 support this, as Guntur volcano ranks highest in Indonesia for city populations within 10 km of the  
543 volcano and ranks fourth in the composite ranking. Our findings highlight key hotspot volcanoes for  
544 further localised exposure and hazard assessments.

545

546 Large city populations within 10 km of volcanoes, a distance reached by destructive proximal hazards,  
547 can be affected by a smaller or moderate eruption at one of these volcanoes, which may have greater  
548 direct impacts than a larger eruption where populations are located farther away. A large proportion  
549 of these close populations are residing near volcanoes in Central and South America (Fig. 9). Escobar  
550 et al. (2007) found that a high proportion of city populations in Central America are living close to the  
551 most dangerous volcanoes in the region, something supported by our study (Fig. 7). Ewert and Harpel  
552 (2004) highlight Central America as having potentially significant exposure to volcanic hazards, with  
553 2.7 million people (data from 2004 CE) within 10 km of volcanoes living in both urban and rural areas.  
554 In our study, using 2020 CE city population data for the same buffer distance, we find that a similar  
555 number (2.6 million) of people now live just within the urban (city) areas. The high proportions of  
556 urban populations close to volcanoes in Central and South America (Fig. 9) is perhaps linked to the  
557 colonial past of the region, whereby investments into agriculture in the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century  
558 resulted in a growth of agricultural settlements through time (Swyngedouw, 2006). Nejapa-Miraflore  
559 volcano is one example of where almost 1 million people, or 60 % of the exposed population, are  
560 located within 10 km of the volcano. These populations are distributed over multiple cities, adding  
561 complexity to potential eruption impacts and response strategies.

562

563 4.4 Future Research Directions



564

565 In this study, we define cities as those areas classified in the GHS-UCDB dataset as *urban centres*, which  
566 excludes suburbs and regions of lower population densities. For example, the remaining ~25%  
567 (n=336) of volcanoes that do not have city populations within 100 km, may still be situated near  
568 suburban or rural populations, or have tourists, not assessed in this study. Through time, these urban  
569 centres may merge together and densify. Therefore, total city populations may slightly differ when  
570 using other datasets. Our approach could be expanded or used to explore more than just cities, by  
571 assessing changing land-use patterns, transient populations, or other population densities around  
572 volcanoes. We can also explore past trends in city population exposure through time, and future  
573 projections, to quantify rates of exposure change. Mapping the urban sprawl of these cities allows us  
574 to identify key areas around volcanoes to focus on future mitigation efforts and land-use planning.

575

576 Additionally, our 2020 CE dataset includes 137 cities exposed to volcanoes located in other countries,  
577 underscoring the need for research in cross-border cooperation and planning to mitigate the impacts  
578 of eruptions with transboundary effects (Donovan & Oppenheimer, 2019).

579

580 We used a comparative approach to quantify the hazard by using the distance to the nearest volcano  
581 and the number of nearby volcanoes, which could be explored further. For example, the volcano  
582 buffers used in this study relate to the average maximum distances of primary hazards. However, our  
583 use of a 100-km radial buffer does not account for far-reaching volcanic flows or tephra falls that may  
584 reach beyond 100 km (Biass et al., 2024) or cascading hazards that may extend beyond this distance,  
585 such as tsunamis. Future studies could explore these cascading and widespread impacts, in the key  
586 cities identified in this study, to capture potential losses.

587

588 The selection of the location of the volcanic crater as point co-ordinates provided by the Global  
589 Volcanism Program (2023), does not account for the uncertainty in next eruption site, for example at  
590 volcanic fields or rift zones. Future work could classify volcanoes by last eruption, VEI range, or  
591 tectonic setting, to better understand the specific types of potential hazard they pose to nearby cities.  
592 Additionally, research could explore alternative methods to the traditional volcano buffers,  
593 considering approaches that account for the spatial variability of volcanic fields and shield volcanoes.  
594 There is also necessity in localised exposure and risk assessment (Biass et al., 2024; Jenkins et al., 2022;  
595 Diefenbach et al., 2015). Future research can incorporate local topography, seasonal weather patterns,



596 eruption frequencies, and hazard probabilities as well as exposures beyond population, and the  
597 vulnerability of these to the hazards to understand the specific risks faced by individual cities.

## 598 5 Conclusions

599 ~~Cities close to volcanoes are at high risk of volcanic hazards. In our study, we present a framework to~~  
600 ~~quantify and rank city population exposure to volcanoes by extracting and calculating 2020 CE~~  
601 ~~population counts from city polygons. We evaluated the exposure of 1,106 cities within 100 km of 596~~  
602 ~~Holocene volcanoes, measuring exposure within 10, 30, and 100-km radial buffers, reflecting~~  
603 ~~maximum distances for various eruption VEIs. Although topography and weather can affect hazard~~  
604 ~~footprints (Biaass et al., 2024), our method conservatively estimates and compares city exposure. These~~  
605 ~~buffer sizes may overestimate exposure, but we preferred this approach to avoid underestimating it.~~  
606 The rankings can provide a foundation to identify areas for future detailed and localised exposure or  
607 risk assessments, especially for cities with limited past hazard or exposure data. Ranking cities by  
608 exposure also helps identify key locations for future research and land-use planning. Our results are  
609 provided at Section 9 and as a web application for visualisation of all city exposures  
610 (<https://nteng.shinyapps.io/ExposureOfCities/>).

611 ~~Using this framework, we ranked cities by exposed population, number of nearby volcanoes, and~~  
612 ~~distance to the nearest volcano. We highlight Jakarta, Bandung, and San Salvador as scoring highly~~  
613 ~~across these rankings. Jakarta, Bandung, and Naples have the largest city populations within 100, 30,~~  
614 ~~and 10 km, respectively, of at least one volcano. San Salvador, Guatemala City, and Managua are cities~~  
615 ~~of over 1 million people that have the largest number of people exposed to the largest number of~~  
616 ~~volcanoes within 100, 30 and 10 km respectively with 22, 5, and 2 volcanoes, respectively. We also~~  
617 ~~ranked volcanoes in three ways: by number of exposed city populations, by the number of nearby~~  
618 ~~cities, and the distance of the nearest city. We highlight Tangkuban Parahu, San Pablo Volcanic Field,~~  
619 ~~and Tampomas as scoring highly across these rankings. Gede-Pangrango, Laguna Caldera, and~~  
620 ~~Nejapa-Miraflores volcanoes have the largest number of city populations within 100, 30, and 10 km~~  
621 ~~respectively. These rankings reveal hotspot cities with high populations exposed to multiple volcanoes;~~  
622 ~~for example, ~8.5 million people in Bandung are exposed within 100 km to 12 volcanoes.~~  
623

624 Globally, 50% of people exposed to volcanoes (within 100 km) live in cities. The size, number, and  
625 distance of cities near volcanoes, or spread of population density across cities, create different

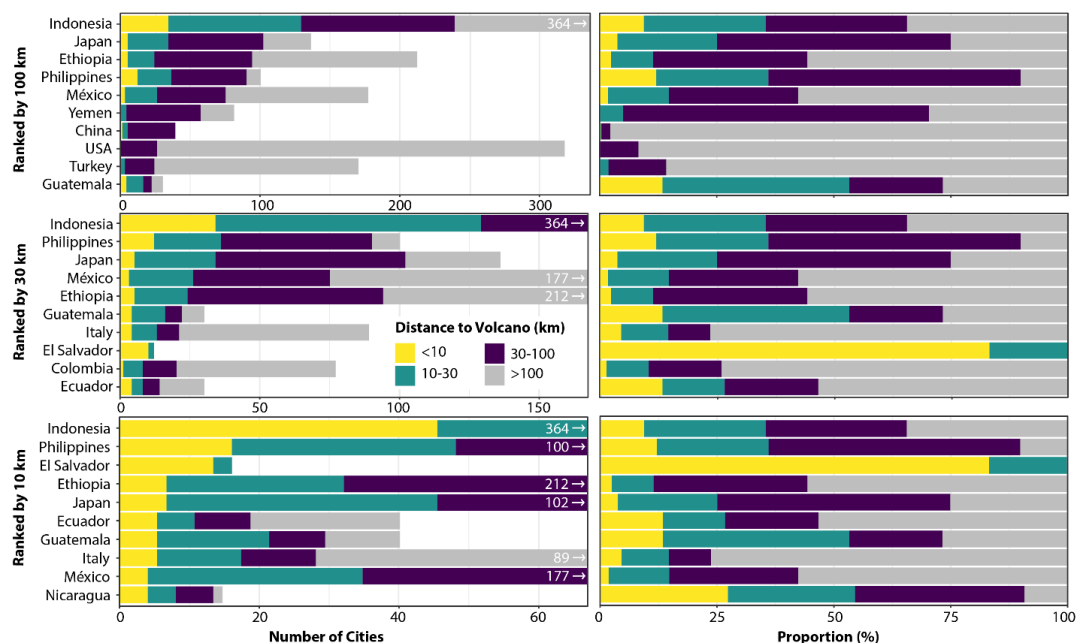


626 challenges regarding exposure to volcanoes. For example, Jakarta has high population density between  
 627 30 – 100 km of volcanoes, while 23 smaller cities in Ethiopia are exposed to a single volcano: Northern  
 628 Lake Abaya Volcanic Field. Other cities, such as Auckland, are located on volcanic fields. Some  
 629 countries are highly exposed to volcanic hazards. For example, all cities in El Salvador are located  
 630 within 30 km of a volcano and in the Philippines, 90% of cities have some part of the city located  
 631 within 100 km of a volcano. Understanding these diverse exposures is crucial for developing effective  
 632 risk management strategies tailored to the specific needs of each country.

633 ~~This research highlights key exposed cities at risk of volcanic hazards ranked in different ways.~~ These  
 634 findings can inform decision-making and further research around volcanoes. This work prompts more  
 635 localised studies that overlay these exposures with probabilistic hazard maps which can enhance our  
 636 understanding of the dynamic risks surrounding volcanoes.

637 8 Appendix A

638



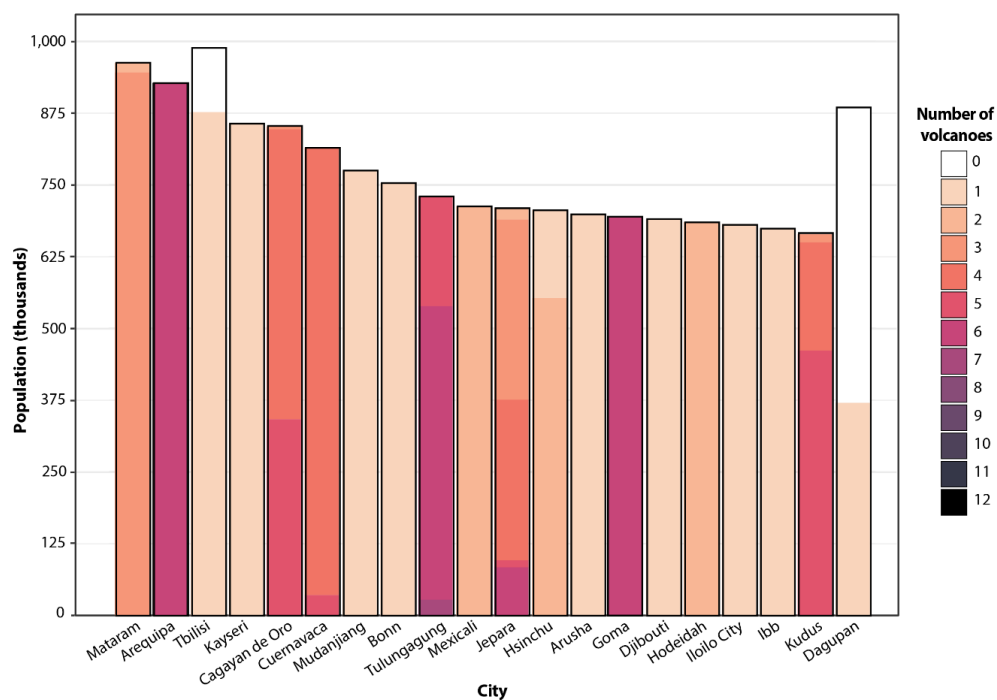
639

640 Fig. A1: Horizontal stacked bar charts of number of cities with populations within each buffer distance  
 641 (left) and proportion (right) around each volcano, grouped by country, classified by distance of the  
 642 city margin to the nearest volcano (within <10, 10 - 30, and 30 - 100-km distances from volcanoes),  
 643 and ranked by 100, 30, and 10-km radial buffers. If the city is spread across multiple buffers, the closest

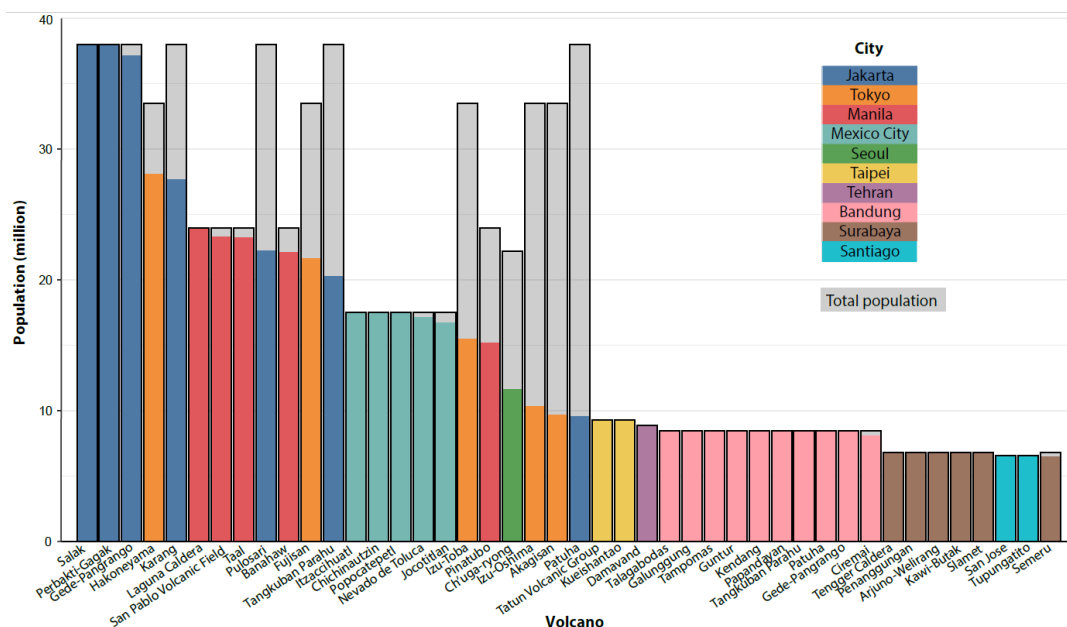




644 to the volcano is selected. Each bar represents a country, and the x axis limits (left) reflect the  
645 population range for that volcano buffer.  
646  
647

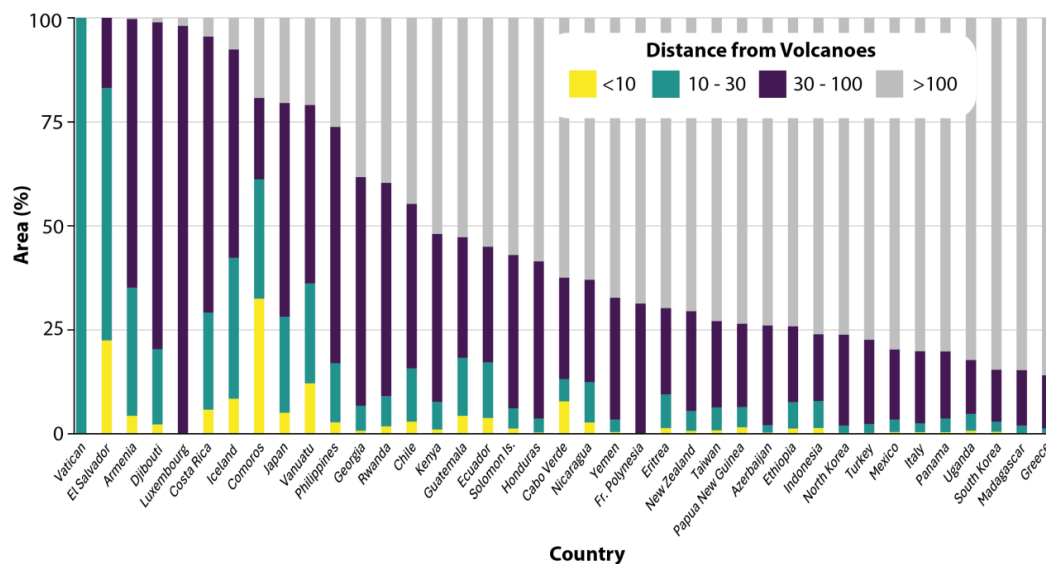


648  
649 Fig. A2: Top 20 cities with less than one million exposed city populations, coloured by the number of  
650 volcanoes the population is exposed by.  
651



652  
 653  
 654  
 655  
 656  
 657

Fig. A3: City populations exposed to individual volcanoes within 100 km, ranked by the dominant city. Bars are coloured by the dominant city exposed population.



658



659 Fig. A4: Top forty countries ranked in order of their total land area exposed to volcanic hazards, and  
660 coloured by the percentage of area. Is stands for islands and Fr stands for French.

661 8 Code Availability

662 The R code used in this manuscript is available at: <https://github.com/vharg/VolcCities>  
663

664 9 Data Availability

665 The web application presenting results for all cities is available at  
666 <https://nteng.shinyapps.io/ExposureOfCities/>  
667 Ranking results of city exposure to volcanic hazards and volcanoes by exposed populations is  
668 available at [https://researchdata.ntu.edu.sg/privateurl.xhtml?token=65c3712c-461b-4d95-b499-](https://researchdata.ntu.edu.sg/privateurl.xhtml?token=65c3712c-461b-4d95-b499-f2eebb5ab30d)  
669 [f2eebb5ab30d](https://researchdata.ntu.edu.sg/privateurl.xhtml?token=65c3712c-461b-4d95-b499-f2eebb5ab30d)



671 10 Author Contribution

672 The project was conceptualised by ESM, RXNT, SJF and SB. The methodology was developed by  
673 ESM and RXNT with support from SFJ, JLH, and SB. Visualisations were made by ESM and the web  
674 app was developed by RXNT. The original draft was written by ESM. All authors contributed to  
675 editing and reviewing the manuscript.

676 11 Competing Interests

677 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.  
678

679 12 Acknowledgements

680 This research was partly supported by the Ministry of Education, Singapore, under its MOE Academic  
681 Research Fund Tier 3 InVEST project (Award MOE-MOET32021-0002). This work comprises EOS  
682 contribution number 631. SFJ acknowledges financial support from the AXA Joint Research  
683 Initiative. We acknowledge support for this work from the Centre for Disaster Resilience, ITC Faculty,  
684 University of Twente.  
685

686 13 References

687  
688 Alberico, I., Petrosino, P., & Lirer, L. (2011). Volcanic hazard and risk assessment in a multi-source  
689 volcanic area: The example of Napoli city (Southern Italy). *Nat. Hazards Earth Syst. Sci.*, 11(4),  
690 1057–1070. <https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-11-1057-2011>



- 691 Ariyanti, V., Gaafar, T., De La Sala, S., Edelenbos, J., & Scholten, P. (2020). Towards liveable volcanic  
692 cities: A look at the governance of lahars in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and Latacunga, Ecuador.  
693 *Cities*, 107, 102893. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102893>
- 694 Aspinall, W., Auker, M., Hincks, T., Mahony, S., Nadim, F., Pooley, J., Sparks, R. S. J., & Syre, E.  
695 (2011). Volcano hazard and exposure in GFDRR priority countries and risk mitigation  
696 measures—GFDRR Volcano Risk Study.
- 697 Auker, M. R., Sparks, R. S. J., Siebert, L., Croweller, H. S., & Ewert, J. (2013). A statistical analysis of  
698 the global historical volcanic fatalities record. *J. Appl. Volcanol.*, 2(1), 2.  
699 <https://doi.org/10.1186/2191-5040-2-2>
- 700 Biass, S., Jenkins, S. F., Hayes, J. L., Williams, G. T., Meredith, E. S., Tennant, E., Yang, Q., Lerner,  
701 G. A., Burgos, V., Syarifuddin, M., & Verolino, A. (2024). How well do concentric radii  
702 approximate population exposure to volcanic hazards? *Bull. Volcanol.*, 86(1).  
703 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00445-023-01686-5>
- 704 Bilham, R. (2009). The seismic future of cities. *Bull. Earthq. Eng.*, 7(4), 839–887.  
705 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10518-009-9147-0>
- 706 Blaikie, P., Cannon, T., Davis, I., & Wisner, B. (2004). *At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability  
707 and disasters*. Routledge.
- 708 Brecht, H., Deichmann, U., & Wang, H. G. (2013). A global urban risk index. [World Bank Working  
709 Paper]. <http://econ.worldbank.org>
- 710 Brown, S. K., Jenkins, S. F., Sparks, R. S. J., Odbert, H., & Auker, M. R. (2017). Volcanic fatalities  
711 database: Analysis of volcanic threat with distance and victim classification. *J. Appl. Volcanol.*,  
712 6(1), 2. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13617-017-0067-4>
- 713 Chester, D. K., Degg, M., Duncan, A. M., & Guest, J. E. (2000). The increasing exposure of cities to  
714 the effects of volcanic eruptions: A global survey. *Environ. Hazards*, 2(3), 89–103.  
715 <https://doi.org/10.3763/chaz.2000.0214>
- 716 Degg, M. (1992). Natural disasters: Recent trends and future prospects. *Geography*, 77(3), 198–209.
- 717 Del Negro, C., Cappello, A., Bilotta, G., Ganci, G., Hérault, A., & Zago, V. (2020). Living at the edge  
718 of an active volcano: Risk from lava flows on Mt. Etna. *Bull. Geol. Soc. Am.*, 132(7–8), 1615–  
719 1625. <https://doi.org/10.1130/B35290.1>
- 720 Delgado Granados, H., & Jenkins, S. F. (2015). Extreme volcanic risks 1: Mexico City. In J. Shroder  
721 (Ed.), *Volcanic hazards, risks and disasters* (pp. 315–354). Elsevier.
- 722 Diefenbach, A. K., Wood, N. J., & Ewert, J. W. (2015). Variations in community exposure to lahar  
723 hazards from multiple volcanoes in Washington State (USA). *J. Appl. Volcanol.*, 4(1), 4.  
724 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13617-015-0024-z>
- 725 Donovan, A., & Oppenheimer, C. (2019). Volcanoes on borders: A scientific and (geo)political  
726 challenge. *Bull. Volcanol.*, 81(5), 28. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00445-019-1291-z>
- 727 Durand, M. (2001). Impacts of, and responses to ashfall in Kagoshima from Sakurajima volcano:  
728 Lessons for New Zealand. *Inst. Geol. Nucl. Sci. Ltd.*, New Zealand.
- 729 Erfurt-Cooper, P. (2014). *Volcanic tourist destinations*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-16191-0>



- 731 Escobar, R., Alvarado, G., Soto, G., Navarro, M., Escobar, D., Pullinger, C., & Bonis, S. (2007).  
732 Volcanic activity, hazards, and monitoring. In Central America (pp. 837–880). Taylor &  
733 Francis. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9780203947043.ch38>
- 734 Ewert, J. W. (2007). System for ranking relative threats of US volcanoes. *Nat. Hazards Rev.*, 8(4), 112–  
735 124.
- 736 Ewert, J. W., Diefenbach, A. K., & Ramsey, D. W. (2018). 2018 Update to the U.S. Geological Survey  
737 National Volcanic Threat Assessment. *Sci. Invest. Rep.*, 2018-5140.
- 738 Ewert, J. W., & Harpel, C. J. (2004). In harm's way: Population and volcanic risk. *Geotimes*, 49(4),  
739 14–17.
- 740 Freire, S., Florczyk, A. J., Pesaresi, M., & Sliuzas, R. (2019). An improved global analysis of population  
741 distribution in proximity to active volcanoes, 1975–2015. *ISPRS Int. J. Geo-Inf.*, 8(8), 341.  
742 <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi8080341>
- 743 Global Volcanism Program. (2024). Volcanoes of the World (v. 5.2.0; 6 Jun 2024). Smithsonian  
744 Institution. <https://doi.org/10.5479/si.GVP.VOTW5-2024.5.2>
- 745 Godschalk, D. R. (2003). Urban hazard mitigation: Creating resilient cities. *Nat. Hazards Rev.*, 4(3),  
746 136–143. <https://doi.org/10.1061/ASCE1527-698820034:3136>
- 747 Gu, D. (2019). Population exposure and vulnerability to natural disasters for world's cities. United  
748 Nations Populations Division Working Paper. [www.unpopulation.org](http://www.unpopulation.org).
- 749 Hanson, S., Nicholls, R., Ranger, N., Hallegatte, S., Corfee-Morlot, J., Herweijer, C., & Chateau, J.  
750 (2011). A global ranking of port cities with high exposure to climate extremes. *Clim. Change*,  
751 104(1), 89–111. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-010-9977-4>
- 752 Heiken, G. (2013). *Dangerous neighbors: Volcanoes and cities*. Cambridge Univ. Press.
- 753 Iglesias, V., Braswell, A. E., Rossi, M. W., Joseph, M. B., McShane, C., Cattau, M., Koontz, M. J.,  
754 McGlinchy, J., Nagy, R. C., Balch, J., Leyk, S., & Travis, W. R. (2021). Risky development:  
755 Increasing exposure to natural hazards in the United States. *Earth's Future*, 9(7).
- 756 Jenkins, S. F., Biass, S., Williams, G. T., Hayes, J. L., Tennant, E., Yang, Q., Burgos, V., Meredith, E.  
757 S., Lerner, G. A., Syarifuddin, M., & Verolino, A. (2022). Evaluating and ranking Southeast  
758 Asia's exposure to explosive volcanic hazards. *Nat. Hazards Earth Syst. Sci.*, 22(4), 1233–1265.  
759 <https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-22-1233-2022>
- 760 Jenkins, S. F., Magill, C. R., & Blong, R. J. (2018). Evaluating relative tephra fall hazard and risk in  
761 the Asia-Pacific region. *Geosphere*, 14(2), 492–509. <https://doi.org/10.1130/GES01549.1>
- 762 Levine, D. J. (2022). exactextractr: Fast Extraction from Raster Datasets using Polygons (R package  
763 version 0.8.3). Available at: <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=exactextractr> [Accessed:  
764 January 2024].
- 765 Loughlin, S. C., Sparks, S., Brown, S. K., Jenkins, S. F., & Vye-Brown, C. (2015). Global volcanic  
766 hazards and risk. *Global Volcanic Hazards and Risk*. Cambridge University Press.  
767 <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316276273>
- 768 Magill, C., & Blong, R. (2005). Volcanic risk ranking for Auckland, New Zealand. II: Hazard  
769 consequences and risk calculation. *Bull. Volcanol.*, 67(4), 340–349.  
770 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00445-004-0375-5>



- 771 Mani, L., Tzachor, A., & Cole, P. (2021). Global catastrophic risk from lower magnitude volcanic  
772 eruptions. *Nat. Commun.*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-021-25021-8>
- 773 Mangan, B. M., Ball, J., Wood, N., Jones, J. L., Peters, J., Abdollahian, N., Dinitz, L., Blankenheim, S.,  
774 Fenton, J., & Pridmore, C. (2018). SIR 2018–5159 ver. 1.1: California’s Exposure to Volcanic  
775 Hazards.
- 776 Mari Rivero, I., Melchiorri, M., Florio, P., Schiavina, M., Krasnodębska, K., Politis, P., Uhl, J., Pesaresi,  
777 M., Maffeni, L., Sulis, P., Crippa, M., Guizzardi, D., Pisoni, E., Belis, C., Oom, D., Branco,  
778 A., Mwaniki, D., Kochulem, E., Githira, D., Carioli, A., Ehrlich, D., Tommasi, P., Kemper,  
779 T., & Dijkstra, L. (2024). Joint Research Centre (JRC) [Dataset].  
780 <https://doi.org/10.2905/1A338BE6-7EAF-480C-9664-3A8ADE88CBCD>
- 781 Mossler, M. (1996). Environmental hazard analysis and small island states: rethinking academic  
782 approaches. *Geogr. Zeitsch.*, 1, 86–93.
- 783 Natural Earth. (2023). Admin 0 – Countries. 1:10m, 1:50m, and 1:110m scales. Available at:  
784 [https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-cultural-vectors/10m-admin-0-](https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-cultural-vectors/10m-admin-0-countries/)  
785 [countries/](https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-cultural-vectors/10m-admin-0-countries/) [Accessed: January 2024].
- 786 Newhall, C., Self, S., & Robock, A. (2018). Anticipating future Volcanic Explosivity Index (VEI) 7  
787 eruptions and their chilling impacts. *Geosphere*, 14(2), 572–603.  
788 <https://doi.org/10.1130/GES01513.1>
- 789 Nieto-Torres, A., Guimarães, L. F., Bonadonna, C., & Frischknecht, C. (2021). A New Inclusive  
790 Volcanic Risk Ranking, Part 1: Methodology. *Front. Earth Sci.*, 9.  
791 <https://doi.org/10.3389/feart.2021.697451>
- 792 Pelling, M. (2012). *The Vulnerability of Cities: Natural Disasters and Social Resilience*.
- 793 Pesaresi, M., Florczyk, A., Schiavina, M., Melchiorri, M., Maffeni, L. (2019). GHS settlement grid,  
794 updated and refined REGIO model 2014 in application to GHS-BUILT R2018A and GHS-  
795 POP R2019A, multitemporal (1975–1990–2000–2015), R2019A. European Commission, Joint  
796 Research Centre (JRC). DOI: 10.2905/42E8BE89-54FF-464E-BE7B-BF9E64DA5218 PID:  
797 <http://data.europa.eu/89h/42e8be89-54ff-464e-be7b-bf9e64da5218>
- 798 Sandri, L., Thouret, J. C., Constantinescu, R., Biass, S., & Tonini, R. (2014). Long-term multi-hazard  
799 assessment for El Misti volcano (Peru). *Bull. Volcanol.*, 76(2), 1–26.  
800 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00445-013-0771-9>
- 801 Schiavina, M., Melchiorri, M., & Freire, S. (2023a). GHS-DUC R2023A - GHS Degree of Urbanisation  
802 Classification: Application of the Degree of Urbanisation methodology (stage II) to GADM  
803 4.1 layer, multitemporal (1975–2030) [Data set]. European Commission, Joint Research Centre  
804 (JRC). <https://doi.org/10.2905/DC0EB21D-472C-4F5A-8846-823C50836305>
- 805 Schiavina, M., Freire, S., Carioli, A., & MacManus, K. (2023b). GHS-POP R2023A - GHS population  
806 grid multitemporal (1975–2030). In European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC)  
807 [Dataset] doi: 10.2905/2FF68A52-5B5B-4A22-8F40-C41DA8332CFE PID:  
808 <http://data.europa.eu/89h/2ff68a52-5b5b-4a22-8f40-c41da8332cfe>.
- 809 Schiavina, M., Melchiorri, M., & Freire, S. (2021). GHS-DUC R2019A - GHS Degree of Urbanisation  
810 Classification (2015, 2000, 1990, 1975), R2019A - OBSOLETE RELEASE. In European  
811 Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC) [Dataset] doi: 10.2905/ED8E8E11-62C3-4895-



812 A7B9-5EF851F112ED PID: [http://data.europa.eu/89h/ed8e8e11-62c3-4895-a7b9-](http://data.europa.eu/89h/ed8e8e11-62c3-4895-a7b9-5ef851f112ed)  
813 [5ef851f112ed](http://data.europa.eu/89h/ed8e8e11-62c3-4895-a7b9-5ef851f112ed).  
814 Small, C., & Naumann, T. (2001). The global distribution of human population and recent volcanism.  
815 Environ. Hazards, 3. <http://www.LDEO.columbia.edu/Bsmall/PopVol.html>.  
816 Solway, L. (1994). Urban developments and megacities: vulnerability to natural disasters. Disaster  
817 Manag.-Redhill, 6, 160.  
818 Strader, S. M., Ashley, W., & Walker, J. (2015). Changes in volcanic hazard exposure in the Northwest  
819 USA from 1940 to 2100. Nat. Hazards, 77(2), 1365–1392. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-015-1658-1)  
820 [015-1658-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-015-1658-1)  
821 Swyngedouw, E. (2006). Human Development Report 2006 Power, Water and Money: Exploring the  
822 Nexus United Nations Development Programme Background Paper Power, Water and  
823 Money: Exploring the Nexus.  
824 Thouret, J.-C. (1999). Urban hazards and risks; consequences of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions:  
825 an introduction. GeoJournal, 49(2).  
826 Thouret, J.-C., Finizola, A., Fornari, M., Legeley-Padovani, A., Suni, J., & Frechen, M. (2001). Geology  
827 of El Misti volcano near the city of Arequipa, Peru. Geology, 113(12).  
828 [https://doi.org/10.1130/0016-7606\(2001\)1132.0.CO;2](https://doi.org/10.1130/0016-7606(2001)1132.0.CO;2)  
829 UNDP. (2021). Urban Risk Management and Resilience Strategy. United Nations Development  
830 Programme. [www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)  
831 Weir, A. M. (2024). Quantifying systemic vulnerability of interdependent critical infrastructure  
832 networks: A case study for volcanic hazards. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7449-016X>  
833 Wood, N., & Soulard, C. (2009). Variations in population exposure and sensitivity to lahar hazards  
834 from Mount Rainier, Washington. J. Volcanol. Geotherm. Res., 188(4), 367–378.  
835 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvolgeores.2009.09.019>  
836 World Bank. (2023). Urban Development. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at:  
837 <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development> [Accessed: November 21, 2024].  
838  
839