Chapter 4

Urbanization and Urban Population

by Antonio Golini

4.1. Urbanization at a Glance

4.1.1. A Short Overview of the African Urbanization

By the early decades of this century, the overwhelming majority of people in almost all countries will, for the first time in the history of humankind, be living in an urban environment. Driven by demographic "explosion", accelerated by globalization of the world economy and other economic and social changes, "rapid urban growth over the past decades, especially in developing countries, has literally transformed the face of our planet" (Habitat, 1996, p. v). In the last decades and in the coming ones urban settlements were and will be the primary places for the struggle for development and social and economic progress. In many cases, the mass exodus to cities has already led to sharpened urban poverty, scarcity of housing and basic services, unemployment and underemployment, ethnic tensions and violence, substance abuse, crime and social disintegration. Moreover, an emergency and one of the most binding challenges is constituted by air, water, and land pollution in giant mega-cities (Habitat, 1996).

Most of the nations with the fastest growing populations are now in Africa, although this is a relatively recent phenomenon. But looking more properly at the urban population, in the period 1950-2000, in Africa the growth rate was the fastest in the world (4.4 percent a year), even though the urban percentage in 1950 was the lowest (15 percent). Nevertheless the present situation is that Africa, together with Asia, still has, among continents, the lowest percentage of urban population (38 percent) (Table 4.1).

In the meantime, if one looks at a map of Africa, which shows the largest urban centers, one can find, in the Western and Northern part of the continent, some of the major mega-cities of the world. Lagos (*Nigeria),* Cairo (Eg*ypt),* Kinshasa (*Dem. Rep. of the Congo),* are characterized by a very fast growth. In the period 1970-2000, Lagos passed from 2.025 to 13.427 million inhabitants (on average 380 thousand additional persons *every year* along a period of the thirty years). Cairo from 5.333 to 10.552 (174 thousand additional persons a year); Kinshasa from 1.370 to 5.064 (123 thousand additional persons a year)[1]. But enormous changes can be observed more, in general, in African cities.

Looking back to the period from early 1960's to the mid 1990's, i.e. from the years in which most African countries obtained independence to the end of the 'last decade (in the 1980's there was a severe economic crises and many countries had declines in per capita income), in general, African cities have changed in at least four major ways. These include their size, their spatial organization, the quality and distribution of public services and infrastructure and their employment base. Most African cities grew several folds in the last decades both due to rural-urban migration and natural increase. In many countries a large part or most medium-sized cities have been growing more quickly than the largest cities, also as a consequence of planning decisions. There was the deterioration of services and infrastructure,

[1] Basic data are from Population Division, 2000

inevitable result of economic stagnation and the rapid growth rate of the population. There was a decline in well-paid, secure employment and a strong growth of work in the informal economy or unregulated sector for developing activities to respond to the needs and financial capacity of the poor. Moreover, it must be considered that in African urban centers, urban agriculture has the greatest importance as a supplementary source of livelihood, or of food and fuel (Habitat, 1996).

Table 4.1 – Distribution of the Population by Urban and Rural Place of Residence, 1950-2030

Population and major areas	*Population (millions)*				*Growth rate (percentage)*		*Doubling time(years)*	
	1950	*1975*	*2000*	*2030*	*1950-2000*	*2000-2030*	*1950-2000*	*2000-2030*
				A. Population size and growth				
Total population								
World	2521	4075	6055	8112	1.8	1.0	40	71
More developed regions	813	1048	1188	1210	0.8	0.1	91	1,158
Less developed regions	1709	3026	4867	6902	2.1	1.2	33	60
Africa	*221*	*406*	*784*	*1,406*	*2.5*	*1.9*	*27*	*36*
Ethiopia	*18*	*32*	*63*	*128*	*2.5*	*2.4*	*28*	*29*
Urban population								
World	750	1544	2845	4889	2.7	1.8	26	38
More developed regions	446	734	903	1010	1.4	0.4	49	186
Less developed regions	304	810	1942	3880	3.7	2.3	19	30
Africa	*32*	*102*	*297*	*766*	*4.4*	*3.2*	*16*	*22*
Ethiopia	*0.84*	*3.1*	*11*	*45*	*5.1*	*4.7*	*13*	*15*
Rural population								
World	1772	2531	3210	3226	1.2	0.01	58	5,313
More developed regions	367	315	285	200	-0.5	-1.2	-	-
Less developed regions	1405	2217	2925	3023	1.5	0.1	47	632
Africa	*188*	*304*	*487*	*640*	*1.9*	*0.9*	*36*	*76*
Ethiopia	*18*	*29*	*52*	*83*	*2.1*	*1.6*	*33*	*45*
				B. Urban Indicator				
Major areas	**Percentage urban**				**Urbanization rate (per 100)**		**Doubling time (in years)**	
World	29.7	37.9	47.0	60.3	0.9	0.8	76	83
More developed regions	54.9	70.0	76.0	83.5	0.7	0.3	-	-
Less developed regions	17.8	26.8	39.9	56.2	1.6	1.1	43	61
Africa	*14.5*	*25.1*	*37.9*	*54.5*	*1.9*	*1.2*	*37*	*57*
Ethiopia	*4.6*	*9.5*	*17.6*	*35.3*	*2.7*	*2.3*	*26*	*30*

Source: Own calculations on data from Population Division (2000)

4.1.2. The Ethiopian Situation

Ethiopia is largely under-urbanized, even, considering Africa standards. According to the very recent estimates and projections of the Population Division of the United Nations, around 1975 only 9.5 percent of the population lived in urban areas of at least 2,000 people. For the whole Africa, the percentage was 25.1. In the year 2000, the two proportions were respectively 17.6 and 37.9 (Table 4.1). In Ethiopia, one can find hundreds of communities with 2,000 to 5,000 people. But in the majority of cases, these are just an extension of rural villages without urban administrative functions. Even, if in the last decades and very likely in the next ones, the urbanization rate will be faster in Ethiopia than in Africa. In 2030, the proportion of urban population in the country would be largely lower than in the Continent

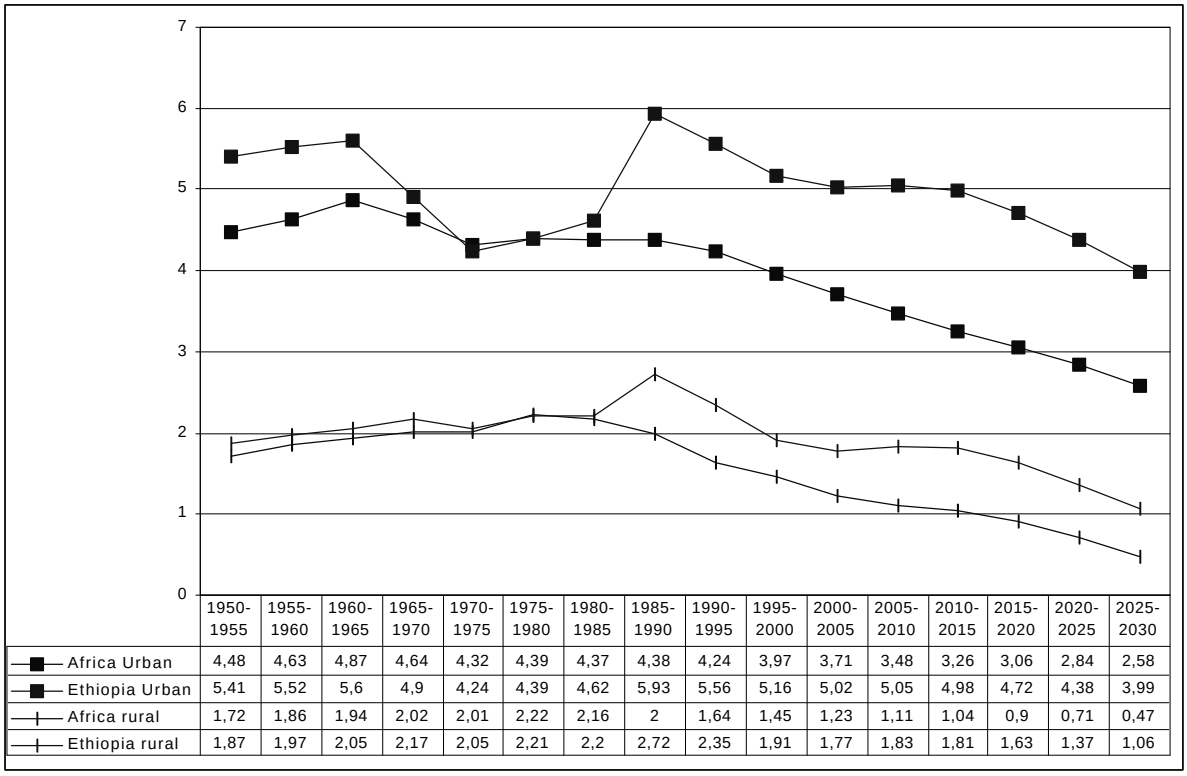
(35.3 versus 54.5 percent). Still in 2030, the rural population (83 millions) could almost double the urban one (45 millions). The population of Addis Ababa grew from 0.730 million in 1970 to 2.639 in 2000. An average of 64 thousand additional persons a year, i. e. in absolute terms, much less than other African urban agglomerations we quoted above, but at a comparable rate (4.4 percent versus 6.2 for Lagos, 2.3 for Cairo, and 4.5 for Kinshasa).

Ethiopia's relative lack of urbanization can be primarily attributed to the self-sufficiency of agriculture, which helped reinforce the rural peasant life. The slow speed of urbanization continued until the middle of 1930s, while it was more rapid during and after the Italian occupation of 1936-41 (Abate, 1991). Urbanization accelerated between 1950 and 1965, when the average growth rate was between 5.4 and 5.6 per cent a year, a rate, which implies a doubling of population in only 13 years. Again, urban population growth in the last fifteen years of the last century was very fast with rates over 5 per cent and a peak in the quinquennium 1985-1990, when the annual rate of change reached 5.93 percent (which implies a doubling time of only 12 years) (Figure 4.1). The most rapid growth of the urban population is associated with the highest values of the difference between urban and rural rates and massive rural-to-urban migration up to 1975. Whereas, the 1975 land reform program provided incentives and opportunities for peasants and other potential migrants to stay in rural areas. Restrictions on travel, lack of employment, housing shortages, and social unrest in some towns during the 1975-1980 period also contributed to a decline in rural-to-urban migration (Abate, 1991).

The annual rate of change of the rural population was very high. Globally, considering the period 1950-2000, it reached 2.2 percent, which allowed the rural population to grow from 17.586 million to 51.523 in only fifty years. Until 1985, the growth rate was more or less the same as the whole of Africa. But in the last 15 years of the last century, the rate largely declined in Africa, while it fell much slower in Ethiopia. The difference in the speed of growth is mainly related to differences in fertility. From 1975-1980 to 1995-2000, the Population Division (1999) of the United Nations estimates that the average number of children per woman fell for the total population of Africa from 6.52 to 5.06 and for Ethiopia from 6.81 to only 6.30. Without any doubt, in Ethiopia, we can observe an "excess" fertility, which leads to an "excess" population growth, in spite of a very burdensome high infant mortality rate and low expectation of life.

Urban growth was especially evident in the northern half of Ethiopia, where most of the major towns are located. The period 1967-1975 saw the rapid growth of relatively new urban centers. In only eight years, the increase in the population of six towns was more than tripled. Whereas, the increas of Akaki, Arba Minch, Awasa, Bahir Dar, Jijiga, Shashemene and eight other towns was more than doubled. Some of the cities, with the most rapid growth were capitals of newly designated administrative regions and important agricultural centers. Some other towns have very convenient locations, or are newly planned cities or are the sites of several industries and education institutes. Some others became communications and services centers (Abate, 1991). The result is a very established network of towns and a sufficiently equilibrated territorial distribution of the population. As a result of the intense and rapid growth of many cities, the weight of Addis Ababa as home of the country's urban population largely declined starting from 1950. At the middle of the last century, the capital was home to a little bit less than half of the urban population, while at the end, it was home to about 24 percent of the urban population (Table 4.2).

Figure 4.1 Average Annual Rate of Change (Percentage) of the Urban Population, Africa and Ethiopia, 1950-2030



	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020	2020-2025	2025-2030
Africa Urban	4,48	4,63	4,87	4,64	4,32	4,39	4,37	4,38	4,24	3,97	3,71	3,48	3,26	3,06	2,84	2,58
Ethiopia Urban	5,41	5,52	5,6	4,9	4,24	4,39	4,62	5,93	5,56	5,16	5,02	5,05	4,98	4,72	4,38	3,99
Africa rural	1,72	1,86	1,94	2,02	2,01	2,22	2,16	2	1,64	1,45	1,23	1,11	1,04	0,9	0,71	0,47
Ethiopia rural	1,87	1,97	2,05	2,17	2,05	2,21	2,2	2,72	2,35	1,91	1,77	1,83	1,81	1,63	1,37	1,06

Source: Own calculations on data from Population Division (2000)

Table 4.2 Total Population of Addis Ababa and Ethiopia, and Weight of the Capital Out of Ethiopia's Population, 1950-2015

Year	Population (000s)					Addis Ababa percent of Ethiopian population	
	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa annual change		Ethiopia		Total	Urban
		Absolute	Rate per 100	Total	Urban		
1950	392			18434	848	2.1	46.2
1960	519	12.7	2.85	22771	1465	2.3	35.4
1970	730	21.1	3.47	28791	2477	2.5	29.5
1980	1182	45.2	4.94	36375	3813	3.2	31.0
1990	1793	61.1	4.25	48093	6461	3.7	27.8
2000	2639	84.6	3.94	62565	11042	4.2	23.9
2010	4070	143.1	4.43	79944	18271	5.1	22.3
2015	5095	205.0	4.59	90947	23441	5.6	21.7

Source: Own calculations on data from Population Division (2000)

As a consequence of intensified warfare in the period 1988-91, all urban centers received large flows of in-migrants, resulting in severe overcrowding, shortages of housing and water, overtaxed social services, and unemployment. In addition to a very poor and mutilated people, in-migrants also included a large number of children and adolescents (at 1990 an "unbelievable" proportion, 55.5 percent, of the total population was aged less than 20), students of primary and secondary school, often orphans and street children. Addis Ababa was most affected by this influx, although the other large towns were involved (Abate, 1991).

In general terms, the internal population distribution has been affected by several well-known factors. The most important and useful to recall at this juncture ar: -

a) The pattern of relief and the structure of occupation. The highlands, characterized by adequate rainfal, are the home of settled agriculture and contain nearly all of the major settlements. Land under 2,000 m sea level is infected by malarial mosquito and is not actually suitable for farmers. It can be estimated (Europa Publications Limited, 1998) that only 10 percent of the population live below 1,000 m, 20 percent at 1,000–1,800 m, and 70 percent above 1,800 m. And around 88-89 percent of the labor force is occupied in agriculture, hunting, and forestry[2];

b) Recurrent droughts since the mid-1980s forced many people to move away from their traditional place of residence;

c) The former government's policy of resettlement and villagization of people[3]. This is by considering that by the end of 1988, more than 12 million people had been relocated in villages in twelve of the fourteen administrative regions;

d) The civil war, that intensified between 1989 and 1991 and the 1993 independence of Eritrea (as a consequence of which Ethiopia had become the world's most populous landlocked state).

These internal population distribution and movements should be also considered and evaluated in the larger framework of population movements experienced in the Horn of Africa, afflicted in the last decades by famine, separatist violence and ethnic conflicts. Just to give a couple of references and figures. one can recall that, according to data of UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), at November 1997, Ethiopia was still hosting some 354,000 refugees, mainly from Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti, and Kenya. These were the same countries to which more than 900,000 Ethiopians fled during the 1980s (Europa Publications Limited, 1998).

4.2. Urban Structure in Ethiopia

4.2.1. The Cities and Towns Network

As it was already stated, Ethiopia's relative lack of urbanization can primarily be attributed to the self-sufficiency of agriculture, which contributed to reinforcing of the rural peasant life, to the morphology of its territory and to profound roots, which link the various ethnic groups to their proper land. But more in general, historical factors conditioned the country's urbanization (Markakis, 1974). "With the exception of Harrar, a city of Arab foundation, there are no large towns in Abyssinia[4]. Harrar is some 30 miles South East of Dire Dawa, whence there is a railway (188 miles long) to Jibuti on the Gulf of Aden. The absence of large towns in Abyssinia proper is due to the continual warfare almost for centuries

[2] According to official estimates, the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics reports that mid-1995 out of a total labor force of 24.4 m, 21.6 m are employed in agriculture (88.6 percent), of which 12.7 m males (out of 14.2 m, 89.3 percent) and 8.9 m females (out of 10.2 m, 87.6 percent).

[3] Consisting in bringing together several villages as single units for security and political reasons. A program which later was abandoned.

[4] The Encyclopaedia Britannica reports "Abyssinia (officially Ethiopia) …". The name Abyssinia, often used in the past instead of Ethiopia, would derive from *habbashat* an Arab word which identifies a Yemenit ethnic group who emigrated to Africa about 2000 b.C.

between the provinces [kingdoms] into which the country is divided and to the frequent change of the royal residence.

The earliest capital appears to have been Axum, in Tigray where there are extensive ruins. In the Middle Ages, Gondar in Amhara became the capital of the country and was so regarded up to the middle of the 19th century. Since 1892, the capital has been Addis Ababa in the kingdom of Shoa. The other towns of Abyssinia, worthy of mention, may be grouped according to their geographical position. None of them has a permanent population exceeding 6000, but several large markets are held periodically" (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1926, Vol. I, p. 86). "The main function of [these cities] and other ancient Ethiopian towns were related to religion and pilgrimage, commerce and handicraft, traditional seats of the kings and cultural-arts activities. Apart from a few magnificent traditional and cultural attainments, these centers could not grow and bring about substantial changes in the socio-economic development. And were not capable of acting as centers of influence for the life of the population of the rural hinterlands throughout the years of their existence. The mobile nature of the kings and the feudal nobility who were in constant move from place to place, devastating the local resources, was one of the main detrimental factors to the growth of the old or new centers." (Bariagaber, 1996, p. 71).

The modest country's urbanization is a recent phenomenon. According to the estimates of the Population Division (2000), in 1950 the proportion of urban population was only 4.6 percent of total population and in all cases, very low everywhere in Eastern Africa (5.3 percent)[5]. The population of Addis Ababa was almost half of the total urban population (Table 4.2).

The speed of urbanization was very rapid and accelerated between 1950 and 1965. the average growth rate was between 5.4 and 5.6 per cent a year (Figure 4.1), a rate which implies a doubling of the population in only 13 years. "It is during the period before the revolution, in the 1960s, that a system of urban centers developed around the capital city. These urban centers created branchs throughout the country to reach the old regional capitals of the north and the political-military checkpoints of the south, connecting with centers of more recent founding at the nodes of the national transport network" (Greppi, 1996, p. 41). During the period 1967-75, the growth of some cities was extremely rapid. The population of 14 towns more than doubled in this eight years period and in 6 of them more than tripled (Table 4.3). As a consequence, the percentage of urban population residing in Addis Ababa in the period 1950-1975 fell from 46.2 to 30.4 percent. Rural to urban migration had been largely responsible for the rapid expansion during the 1967-75 period, whereas natural population growth may have been mostly responsible for urban expansion during the 1975-84 period. This ois also because of the 1975 land reform program, which provided incentives and opportunities for peasant and other potential migrants to remain in rural areas (Abate, 1991).

Indeed, between 1975 and 1984 the speed of growth of cities and towns was reduced and became rapid again between 1984 and 1994, but at rates largely smaller than those of the first period. A new kind of urban system has developed, even around the largest city, where a dense network of smaller cities develop and proved to be more dynamic than the large city itself.

[5] In the rest of Africa it was already 18.6 percent.

Table 4.3 – Population of Largest Cities and Towns, 1967-1994

Town	Population				Average annual change rate, per cent			
	1967	1975	1984	1994	1967-75	1975-84	1984-94	*1967-94*
Addis Ababa	644.190	1.136.600	1.423.182	2.084.588	7,10	2,50	3,82	*4.35*
Dire Dawa	50.733	76.639	99.980	164.851	5,16	2,95	5,00	*4.36*
Nazareth	27.812	59.176	77.256	127.842	9,44	2,96	5,04	*5.65*
Gondar	36.309	64.562	80.675	112.249	7,19	2,48	3,30	*4.18*
Dessie	40.619	56.849	71.565	97.314	4,20	2,56	3,07	*3.24*
Mekele	23.105	47.157	62.668	96.938	8,92	3,16	4,36	*5.31*
Bahir Dar	12.463	43.826	54.773	96.140	15,72	2,48	5,63	*7.57*
Jimma	30.580	49.044	60.218	88.867	5,90	2,28	3,89	*3.95*
Harar	42.771	48.559	63.070	76.378	1,59	2,91	1,91	*2.15*
Debre Zeyit	22.055	39.675	55.657	73.372	7,34	3,76	2,76	*4.45*
Awasa	5.575	27.517	36.367	69.169	19,96	3,10	6,43	*9.33*
Jijiga	4.031	18.111	24.716	58.360	18,78	3,45	8,59	*9.90*
Shashemene	7.837	24.459	31.884	52.080	14,23	2,95	4,91	*7.01*
Debre Markos	21.536	31.842	41.138	49.297	4,89	2,85	1,81	*3.07*
Asela	13.886	29.637	32.954	47.391	9,48	1,18	3,63	*4.55*
Nekemte	12.691	23.342	28.703	47.258	7,62	2,30	4,99	*4.87*
Arba Minch	2.890	14.261	20.280	40.020	19,95	3,91	6,80	*9.73*
Debre Birhan	9.188	19.978	25.637	38.717	9,71	2,77	4,12	*5.33*
Sodo	10.842	19.414	24.278	36.287	7,28	2,48	4,02	*4.47*
Dila	11.287	18.898	22.864	33.734	6,44	2,12	3,89	*4.06*
Goba	7.304	18.515	23.052	28.358	11,63	2,44	2,07	*5.02*

Source: Own calculations from Central Statistical Authority, 1969, 1987, 1998

For most of the towns, one explanation for the decline in growth rates could possibly be the 1975 rural land act which reduced the rural to urban migration. One more factor could be the socio-economic deterioration of the urban environment, the shortage of housing and lack of jobs, which largely reduced rural-urban and urban-urban movements. Last, but not least, differential allocation in investments for the development of socio-economic activities among the urban areas could have contributed to maintaining the growth rates of some urban towns high, e.g Akaki, Bahr Dar, Shashemene, as compared with some others like Asella, Axum and Harar (Bariagaber, 1996).

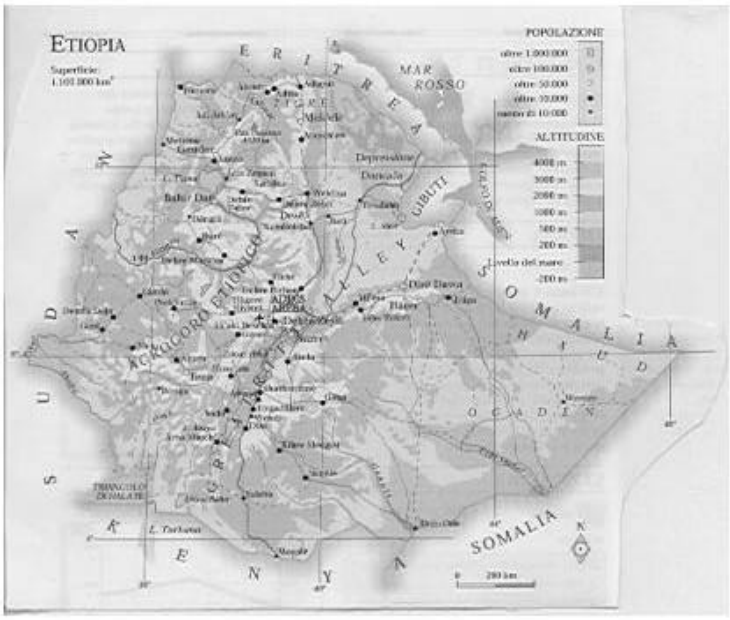
In conclusion, the period 1967-94 saw a very rapid growth of relatively new urban centers, while the growth of old centers was much more modest, as it is shown by Statement 1.

Statement 1

Number of Times the 1967 Population was Multiplied between 1967 and 1994

Jijiga	14.5	- Harar	1.8
- Arba Minch	13.8	- Dire Dawa	3.2
Awasa	12.4	- Addis Ababa	3.2

Map 4.1 – Localization of Ethiopian Principal Towns



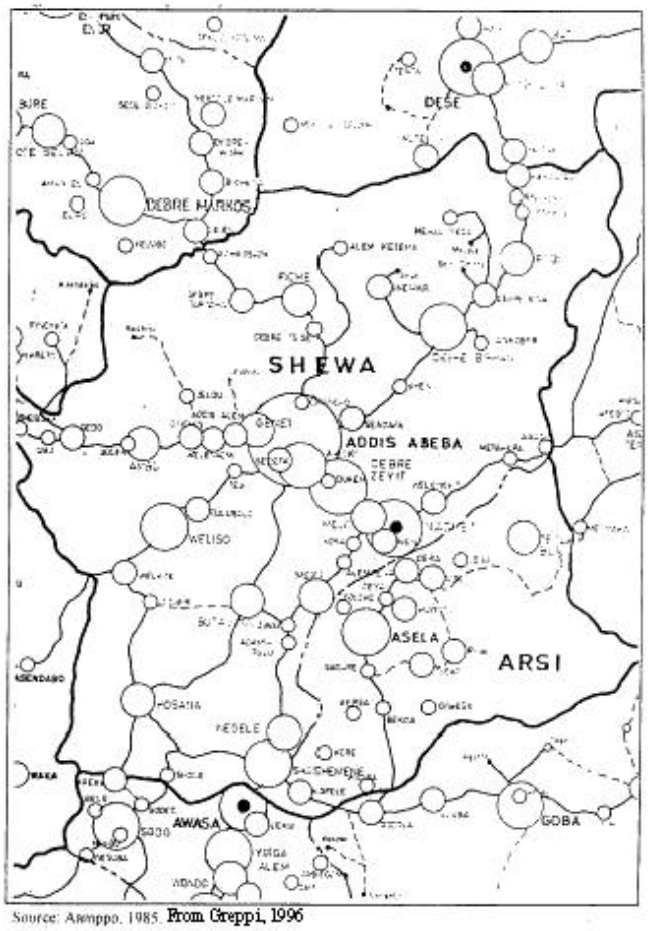
Considering both the pattern of relief and the structure of occupation and looking at a map of Ethiopian cities and towns (Map 4.1), one may observe "clusters" of them, developed in some specific, often historical, areas and/or along the principal communication roads[6] and the most important infrastructure.

a) **Cluster 1.** The first and very important cluster is around the capital city towards the east along the railway to Djibouti. Tt includes Addis Ababa itself, Debre Zeit and Nazret. The total population is 2,085 m plus 0,201 m.

b) **Cluster 2.**The second cluster takes a wider ring around Addis Ababa, along the roads from the capital to the South, West and North. This cluster could also comprise Giyon, Hagere Hiywet, Fichè, Debre Birhan; and numerous small and tiny towns, as is clearly seen in Map 4.2, even if dating to 1985, and drawn by the Addis Ababa master plan project office. All these towns taken together constitute the most important and articulated urban sub-system found in the country;

[6] Country has a network of roads for about 4,100 km (the mains are asphalt ones) and of tracks for about 19,000 km.

Map 4.2 – Urban System of Shewa and Arsi



Source: Atemppo, 1985. From Greppi, 1996

b) **Cluster 3.**The third major cluster, linear in this case, is found in the road going south to Kenya, along the Great Rift Valley. This comprises a series of cities following one another within a few kilometers. These include Shashemene, Awasa, Yirga Alem, Wendo, Dila; and also Yabelo, further south along the road to Kenya;

c) **Cluster 4.**The fourth clused is formed in the north, along the road going to Eritrea, by the cities of Desé, Kembolcha, Weldiya and Debre Zebit;

d) **Cluster 5.**The fifth cluster, once again linear, can be identified in the north of the country, along the border and includes Aksum, Adwa and Adigrat. This could also include Mekele, Tigray's capital town;

e) **Cluster 6.**The sixth cluster, circular, has developed around lake Tana, including Gonder, Azezo, Adis Zemen and Bahir Dar;

f) **Cluster 7.**The seven cluster comprises in the south-west, the cities of Jimma, Agaro and Bonga;

g) **Cluister 8.**The eighth cluster, consisting of two historic cities, Dire Dawa, from where the original train track to Djibouti started (before it was extended to Addis Ababa) and Harar.

These clusters form the backbone of the Ethiopian urban network, a weak backbone, of course, which stretches out to cover hundreds and hundreds of small and tiny towns. It should be noted that in the extensive Ethiopian landscape, vast "urban deserts" exist. What are lacking are true and proper urban systems made up of small and smallest cities.

Within this framework and in one of improved political and military control of the territory, we must consider the controversial policy of resettling the victims of the drought and famine outside their home areas. And no less controversial "villagization", policies that have greatly contributed to the geographical distribution of the population and urbanisation processes. Additionally, the civil war, which intensified between 1989 and its resolution in 1991, caused the displacement of large numbers of people.

The resettlement policy was initially designed to relocate 1.5 million people from areas in the north, which are most affected by the drought, to areas in the west and south that experienced adequate rainfall. In 1988, the president Mengistu estimated that eventually 7 million of Ethiopia's approximately 48 million people would be resettled. The government claimed that it was carrying out for humanitarian reasons and to greatly facilitate its efforts to provide social services. The resettlement scheme, ill prepared and less than voluntary, was terminated also as a result of international criticism.

The idea of clustering villages, the villagization program, was introduced in the Land Reform Proclamation of 1975. The official objective of the move was to provide social services more efficiently and to stimulate voluntary self-help among villagers. The long term objective of the program was the movement of 33 million rural residents into villagized settlement by 1994. By late 1989, about 13 million peasant had been villagized. On a purely technical ground, resettlement and villagization seemed to make sense on one hand for improving the access of rural people to social services and their ability to defend themselves and on the other hand for converting villagized communities into producers' cooperative (Ethiopia, 1991).

Similarly, interesting results emerge from looking at the country's urban network under the profile of administrative divisions. That is nine ethnically-based administrative regions and two chartered cities. A synthetic outline of the situation of urbanization and urban centers at the 1994 census is given in Tables 4.4. and 4.5. A synopsis should include the following main points:-

a) The urban system consists of 925 towns and 7.3 million people, which is 13.7 percent out of the total population;

b) The capital city has a population of 2.085 m people (or 2.165 m at 1995 according to the Population Division of the UN), which is 3.9 per cent out of the total population;

c) Only other 12 towns have 50,000 or more people (up to a maximum of 165,000 inhabitants), that make up of 1.114 m people (92,797 inh. on average), which is 2.1 percent of total population;

d) The system includes an enormous number of hundreds of small and very small centers. Of which 396 of them have less than 2000 inh. Two very small towns (the smallest ones) have only 34 inhabitants each. These include Kichicho (Amhara Region, Oromiya Zone,

Artuma Fursina Wereda) and Giuraferda (SNNP Region, Bench Maji Zone, Sheko Wereda);

c) The average size of the 925 towns is 7917 inh. But if we exclude Addis Ababa, the average size of the remaining 924 towns is only 5670 inh.

Table 4.4 Area, Population, Density, Proportion of Urban Population and Distribution of Towns by Size, Regions and Zones, 1994

Region and Zone	Area (sq km)	Total population (000)	Density	% Urban	Distribution of towns by size (000)						
					< 2 inh.	2-4.9	5-9.9	10-14.9	15 – 49.9	50 +	Total
COUNTRY	**1143062**	**51766239**	**45**	**13.7**	**396**	**294**	**123**	**45**	**54**	**13**	***925***
Tigray Region	**51826**	**3134470**	**60**	**14.9**	**38**	**16**	**10**	**1**	**8**	**1**	***74***
Mirabawi Tigray Zone	25593	733267	29	11.5	11	5	2	1	1	0	*20*
Mehakelegnaw Tigray Zone	10873	943585	87	9.6	14	3	2	0	2	0	*21*
Misrakawi Tigray Zone	5587	584771	105	14.6	6	4	2	0	2	0	*14*
Debubawi Tigray Zone	9773	872847	89	23.7	7	4	4	0	3	1	*19*
Affar Region	**96848**	**1051641**	**11**	**7.5**	**16**	**6**	**5**	**1**	**0**	**0**	***28***
Zone 1	35122	313227	9	12.4	7	3	1	1	0	0	*12*
Zone 2	29543	202097	7	2.3	2	1	0	0	0	0	*3*
Zone 3	16609	143066	9	23.8	3	2	4	0	0	0	*9*
Zone 4	10617	121457	11	1.3	4	0	0	0	0	0	*4*
Zone 5	4958	271794	55	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*0*
Amhara Region	**154798**	**13270898**	**86**	**8.5**	**81**	**66**	**38**	**10**	**10**	**3**	***208***
Semen Gondar Zone	45237	2087687	46	11.3	12	13	8	1	0	1	*35*
Debub Gondar Zone	14302	1768544	124	6.6	5	7	3	2	2	0	*19*
Semen Wello Zone	13043	1259947	97	7.1	1	5	4	0	2	0	*12*
Debub Wello Zone	17827	2122580	119	9.9	13	13	3	0	1	1	*31*
Semen Shewa Zone	16728	1560479	93	9.4	20	7	7	1	1	0	*36*
Misrak Gojam Zone	14654	1699888	116	8.5	14	4	5	1	2	0	*26*
Mirab Gojam Zone	13248	1779200	134	6.0	6	7	5	3	0	0	*21*
Wag Hemra Zone	8296	275603	33	4.2	2	1	1	0	0	0	*4*
Agew Awi Zone	6885	716970	104	9.1	5	5	2	0	2	0	*14*
Oromiya Zone	4578	462555	101	8.5	3	4	0	2	0	0	*9*
Bahir Dar Special Zone		95456		100	0	0	0	0	0	1	*1*
Oromiya Region	**318257**	**18465449**	**58**	**10.6**	**154**	**132**	**44**	**21**	**20**	**4**	***375***
Mirab Wellega Zone	24728	1546623	63	8.5	16	16	0	2	2	0	*36*
Misrak Wellega Zone	23300	1253105	54	11.0	15	12	5	1	1	0	*34*
Illubabor Zone	17772	846613	48	9.4	17	6	2	1	1	0	*27*
Jimma Zone	18855	1960033	104	9.7	9	15	3	0	1	1	*29*
Mirab Shewa Zone	21556	2329250	108	9.7	19	16	5	4	3	0	*47*
Semen Shewa Zone	11650	1157808	99	7.4	16	8	2	1	1	0	*28*
Misrak Shewa Zone	13836	1665815	120	26.5	8	9	4	3	4	3	*31*
Arssi Zone	24302	2216648	91	9.7	23	15	10	2	1	0	*51*
Mirab Harerge Zone	21842	1605901	74	6.0	11	14	5	0	0	0	*30*
Misrak Harerge Zone	16730	1268021	76	7.3	8	8	3	2	1	0	*22*
Bale Zone	59585	1217631	20	10.7	9	8	3	2	2	0	*24*
Borena Zone	64103	1398001	22	9.1	3	5	2	3	3	0	*16*
Somali Region	**327068**	**3144963**	**10**	**13.9**	**25**	**17**	**15**	**3**	**6**	**1**	***67***
Shinile Zone	32969	328989	10	14.4	16	2	3	0	0	0	*21*
Jijiga	18799	754087	40	18.3	0	1	3	1	2	1	*8*
Fiq Zone	12823	204017	16	9.8	1	2	2	0	0	0	*5*
Degehabur Zone	41672	282774	7	18.1	2	3	2	0	1	0	*8*
Warder Zone	50613	302570	6	7.2	2	1	1	1	0	0	*5*
Korahe Zone	28346	225109	8	14.7	0	3	0	0	1	0	*4*
Gode Zone	31070	273893	9	22.8	0	2	2	0	1	0	*5*
Afder Zone	70543	328961	5	6.9	3	2	2	0	0	0	*7*
Liben Zone	40232	444563	11	8.9	1	1	0	1	1	0	*4*

Table 4.4 (cont'd)

Region and Zone	Area (sq km)	Total population (000)	Dens	% Urb.	Distribution of towns by size (000)						
					< 2 inh.	2-4.9	5-9.9	10-14.9	15 – 49.9	50 +	Total
Benishangul-Gumuz Region	**50010**	**460325**	**9**	**7.8**	**7**	**5**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	***13***
Metekel Zone	27212	201466	7	9.7	5	4	0	0	0	0	*9*
Asosa Zone	13713	208076	15	7.9	2	1	0	1	0	0	*4*
Kamashi zone	9085	50783	6	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*0*
Snnp Region	**116723**	**9596951**	**82**	**6.8**	**71**	**50**	**10**	**8**	**9**	**1**	***149***
Gurage Zone	8069	1556850	193	4.9	10	8	1	0	2	0	*21*
Hadiya Zone	3872	1050004	271	6.4	10	5	1	0	1	0	*17*
Kembata Alaban Tembaro Z.	2748	727310	265	7.0	2	5	2	0	1	0	*10*
Sidama Zone	7380	2044445	277	7.0	3	5	2	1	1	1	*13*
Gedeo Zone	1681	563578	335	11.5	0	4	1	1	1	0	*7*
Semen Omo Zone	24780	2602278	105	6.8	15	13	1	2	3	0	*34*
Debub Omo Zone	23105	327717	14	6.7	8	1	0	1	0	0	*10*
Keficho Shekicho Zone	12871	724769	56	7.7	13	4	1	2	0	0	*20*
Bench Maji Zone (b)	32218	771625	24	5.9	10	5	1	1	0	0	*17*
Gambella Region-Total	**25891**	**162271**	**6**	**16.7**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	***7***
Zone 1	5039	45085	9	44.9	0	1	0	0	1	0	*2*
Zone 2	13219	30633	2	9.4	2	0	0	0	0	0	*2*
Zone 3	5591	54321	10	1.4	2	0	0	0	0	0	*2*
Zone 4	2042	32232	16	9.8	0	1	0	0	0	0	*1*
Harari Region	**63**	**130691**	**2071**	**58.1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	***1***
Addis Ababa	**486**	**2100031**	**4318**	**98.7**	**10**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	***1***
Dire Dawa Provisional Adm.	**1091**	**248549**	**228**	**68,3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	***2***

Source: Own calculation on CSA data (1998)

Table 4.5a – Urban Structure (Counted or Estimated Population Size of Towns) of Ethiopia, Regions and Zones, 1994

Region and Zone	Urban popul.		Most populated town		Towns	
	Total	% (a)	Name	Popul. size	Number	Average size
COUNTRY	**7323206**	**100.0**	**Addis Ababa**	**2084588**	**925**	**7917**
Country minus Addis Ababa	**5238618**	**71.5**	**Dire Dawa**	**164851**	**924**	**5670**
Tigray Region	**468478**	**6.4**	**Mekele**	**96938**	**74**	**6331**
Mirabawi Tigray Zone	84560	18.0	Endaselasie	25269	20	4243
Mehakelegnawi Tigray Zone	91058	19.4	Axum	27148	21	4336
Misrakawi Tigray Zone	85508	18.3	Adigrat	37417	14	6107
Debubawi Tigray Zone	207352	44.3	Mekele	96938	19	10913
Affar Region	**79870**	**1.1**	**Asayita**	**14392**	**28**	**2852**
Zone 1	39260	49.2	Asayita	14392	12	3272
Zone 2	4641	5.8	Ab Ala	3069	3	1547
Zone 3	34344	43.0	Awash Sebat Kilo	7040	9	3816
Zone 4	1625	2.0	Dibina	872	4	406
Amhara Region	**1265315**	**17.3**	**Gondar**	**112249**	**208**	**6291**
Semen Gondar Zone	236625	18.7	Gondar	112249	35	6761
Debub Gondar Zone	116702	9.2	Debre Tabor	22455	19	6142
Semen Wello Zone	89055	7.0	Weldiya	24533	12	7421
Debub Wello Zone	210767	16.7	Dessie	97314	31	6799
Semen Shewa Zone	146952	11.6	Debre Berhan	38717	36	4082
Misrak Gojam Zone	145295	11.5	Debre Markos	49297	26	5588
Mirab Gojam Zone	107238	8.5	Finote Selam	13834	21	5107
Wag Hemra Zone	11643	0.9	Sekota	7922	4	2911
Agew Awi Zone	65232	5.2	Chagni	17777	14	4659
Oromiya Zone	39666	3.1	Bati	13965	9	4407
Bahir Dar Special Zone	96140	7.6	Bahir Dar	96140	1	96140

Table 4.5 (cont'd)

Region and Zone	Urban popul.		Most populated town		Towns	
	Total	% (a)	Name	Pop. S.	Number	Aver. s.
Oromiya Region	**1970088**	**26.9**	**Nazret**	**127482**	**375**	**5254**
Mirab Wellega Zone	132525	6.7	Gimbi	20462	36	3681
Misrak Wellega Zone	138736	7.0	Nekemte	47258	34	4080
Illubabor Zone	80290	4.1	Metu	19298	27	2974
Jimma Zone	190395	9.7	Jimma	88867	29	6565
Mirab Shewa Zone	225993	11.5	Ambo	27636	47	4808
Semen Shewa Zone	86289	4.4	Fiche	21187	28	3082
Misrak Shewa Zone	444376	22.6	Nazret	127482	31	21161
Arssi Zone	216413	11.0	Asela	47391	51	4243
Mirab Harerge Zone	95864	4.9	Asebe Teferi	18678	22	4357
Misrak Harerge Zone	98012	5.0	Babile	9195	30	3267
Bale Zone	130307	6.6	Goba	28358	24	5429
Borena Zone	130888	6.6	Negele	23997	16	8181
Somali Region	**437032**	**6.0**	**Jigjiga**	**58360**	**67**	**6590**
Shinile Zone	47341	10.8	Bike	5471	21	2254
Jijiga	138275	31.6	Jigjiga	58360	8	17284
Fiq Zone	20053	4.6	Fiq	7677	5	4011
Degehabur Zone	51327	11.7	Degehabur	25464	8	6416
Warder Zone	21892	5.0	Warder	10918	5	4378
Korahe Zone	33019	7.6	Kebridahar	21251	4	8255
Gode Zone	62532	14.3	Gode	40585	5	12506
Afder Zone	22839	5.2	Chereti	5293	7	3263
Liben Zone	39754	9.1	Dolo	18416	4	9939
Benishangul-Gumuz Region	**36027**	**0.5**	**Asosa**	**11749**	**13**	**2771**
Metekel Zone	19607	54.4	Bulen	3264	9	2179
Asosa Zone	16420	45.6	Asosa	11749	4	4105
Snnp Region	**704818**	**9.6**	**Awasa**	**69169**	**149**	**4730**
Gurage Zone	76988	10.9	Butajira	20509	21	3666
Hadiya Zone	67705	9.6	Shone	31701	17	3983
Kembata Alaban Tembaro Zone	50987	7.2	Alaba Kulito	15101	10	5099
Sidama Zone	143534	20.4	Awasa	69169	13	11041
Gedeo Zone	65374	9.3	Dilla	33734	7	9339
Semen Omo Zone	176339	25.0	Arba Minch	40020	34	5186
Debub Omo Zone	22084	3.1	Jinka	12407	10	2208
Keficho Shekicho Zone	56090	8.0	Bonga	10851	20	2805
Bench Maji Zone (b)	45717	6.5	Mizan	10652	17	2689
Gambella Region-Total	**27424**	**0.4**	**Gambela**	**18263**	**7**	**3918**
Zone 1	20369	74.3	Gambela	18263	2	10185
Zone 2	2869	10.5	Fugnido	1647	2	1435
Zone 3	1013	3.7	Telut	769	2	507
Zone 4	3173	11.6	Meti	3173	1	3173
Harari Region	**76378**	**1.0**	**Harar**	**76378**	**1**	**76378**
Addis Ababa	**2084588**	**28.5**	**Addis Ababa**	**2084588**	**1**	**2084588**
Dire Dawa Provisional Admin.	**173188**	**2.4**	**Dire Dawa**	**164851**	**2**	**86594**

(a) – For regions the value is the percentage out of the total towns population of Ethiopia; for zones is the percentage out of the total town population of the region.
(b) – Includes 5 "special" Wereda belonging to the zone
Source: Own calculation on CSA data (1998)

Among the eight proper regions (excluding, Addis Ababa and the two chartered cities, Dire Dawa, and Harar) and 55 zones, one can find very different situations from an urban point of view, which.obviously, require different urban approaches, evaluations, and policies.

It must be stressed that both urban and town population densities among regions are different**.** In both areas, densities are very low. Table 4.5b below clearly shows how in all the eight regions the urban structure has drastically shrunk. Comprising the region of Tigray, which has the highest values, has a density of only 1.43 for every 1000 kmq (74 towns with an average size of 6,331 inh.) and, subsequently, a much reduced urban population density of 9039 inhabitants for every 1000 kmq.

Table 4.5b Regions by Area, Density and Number of Towns

	Area (sq km)	**density per 1,000 sq km urban population**	**towns**	**number of towns**
1) Tigray Region	51826	9039	1.43	74
2) Affar Region	96848	825	0.29	28
3) Amhara Region	154799	8174	1.34	208
4) Oromiya Region	318257	6190	1.18	375
5) Somali Region	327068	1336	0.20	67
6) Benishangul-Gumuz Region	50010	721	0.26	13
7) Snnp Region	116724	6038	1.28	149
8) Gambella Region	25892	1059	0.27	7
	Area (sq km)	***density per 1 sq km urban population***		***number of towns***
9) Harari Region	62	1232		1
10) Addis Ababa	487	4280		1
11) Dire Dawa	1090	159		2

Obviously, differences become more marked if we examine population and city densities at the level of the eight regions interior zones. Extremes cases between zones for both distributions are shown in Statement 2.

Statement 2

Area (sq km), Density of Urban Population and Density of Towns per 1,000 sq km

1) Kamashi Zone (Benishangul Region)	9086	0	0
2) Misrak Shewa Zone (Oromiya Region)	13836	32117	2.24

It can be confirmed that apart from the 2 chartered cities and the special regions of Harar on the one hand and the cluster of cities referred to above on the other, Ethiopia is generally speaking is a vast “urban desert”. This can only partially be overcome by the steep urban population increase estimated by the United Nations for the next thirty years (34 million people at a rate of 4.7 percent per year, which is one of the highest in the world (Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1).

Territorial structures of urban population, number and density of towns are clearly shown in maps from 4.3 to 4.6. In any case, it can be stressed that in some zones of Somali region, one can observe a high *share* of urban population associated with a very low density of total population (Maps 4.3 e 4.4). The result, as shown by the figures quoted above, is an extremely low densit*y* both for urban population and towns. The only urban core, well shown in Map 4.6, is in the center of Ethiopia where both the number of towns and their density are comparatively high. A proper urban system can be observed specially in Shewa zones of Oromiya region; even when number and density of towns are comparatively high, as for instance it is in the Illubabor zone of Oromiya region that the average size of towns is very small (Map 4.6 and Table 4.5a).

Such a wide "urban desert" would be a main concern for ministries and other specialized agencies, which deal with urban development and with development, in general,. Without an adequate, physiological and properly managed urban development, it is uneasy to have a rapid economic and social development, which is necessary for the additional 65 million inhabitants (an increase which could double the current 63 million population) expected during the next thirty year period,. This projection should be valid in the absence, strongly desirable, of further warfare and droughts and in the hypothesis to put under control AIDS epidemics.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the increase in the level of spontaneous or informal housing reflected the total inability of national or city authorities to provide adequate service, land and infrastructure to their growing populations. In that period, an 'urban crisis', not only in Ethiopia but also everywhere in Africa (Habitat, 1996), arose. Its major components are a decline in already low levels of formal employment, the rapid increase of hidden economy, informal employment (especially in sectors of the urban economy), a deterioration in both the quality and distribution of basic services and a decline in the quality of the urban environment (both man made and natural). Indeed, as it is well known, the situation was particularly severe in Ethiopia due to the political and military situation of the last decades, recurrent droughts (especially the catastrophic one of 1984-85) and the related and long economic crisis. During the period 1981-98, the average annual rate of change of GDP per capita in real terms was – 0.4 percent (Eritrea +1.8, Kenya +0.5) (United Nations Development Program, 2000). Rural-urban interactions in terms of "physiological" migration, exchanges and distribution of commodities and services, growth of communication infrastructures remained, therefore, at a minimum level.

4.2.2. Characteristic Features of Cities [7]

In this section, the demographic, socioeconomic and housing characteristics of the main 18 cities of Ethiopia will be examined. The complete sets of indicators based on data drawn from the 1994 Census appear in the appendix in Tables A.4.6a.1 to A.4.6e.3.

a) **Population Mobility**

Comparison of the proportions of the stable population of the different towns shows the existence of significant variation. In this context, Assela (64.4 percent males) and Harar (66.2 percent females) have the highest proportion of non-migrant (stable population) males and females. The lowest proportion of stable population is observed in Arba Minch (36.3 percent males and 37.5 percent females). The mean value of the proportion of stable population for all the cities turns out to be about 52 for both sexes (Table 4.6.a.1).

Table 4.6.a.1. Share of Resident Ppopulation (Stable Population) Out of the Total Population by Sex

Males		**Females**	
Maximum value: Harar	64.4	66.2	Maximum value: Harar
Minimum value: Arba Minch	36.3	37.5	Minimum value: Arba Minch
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	52.1	52.2	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*14.6*	*15.3*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

[7] This Paragraph is prepared in Collabopration with Mohammed Said

Pertaining to migrants, it is observed that during the last 5 years preceding the census of 1994, the most strong pull forces operated in Mekele and Arba Minch. Harar and Addis Ababa appear to be less attractive to migrants during the same period. As shown by the coefficient of variation, there is a significant variation among the different cities in attracting migrants (Table 4.6.a.2).

Table 4.6.a.2. Share of the New In-migrant (Residents from No More than 5 Years) Out of the Total Population by Sex

Males		**Females**	
Maximum value: Mekele	39.2	33.8	Maximum value: Mekele
Minimum value: Harar	13.2	11.1	Minimum value: Harar
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	20.7	18.7	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*29.0*	*29.4*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

Investigation of the area of previous residence of in-migrants to each city shows that in Mekele more than three fourth (78 percent) of the in-migrants were residents of other urban centers, while in Harar nearly two-third of the in-migrants were previously rural residents. Thus, urban to urban migration appears to be the major source of migrants to Mekele, while rural to urban migration is the major source in Harar. In attracting migrants from urban centers, cities appear to be relatively less variable than attracting migrants from rural areas (Table 4.6.a.3).

Table 4.6.a.3. Share of the New In-migrant by Area of Origin (Urban vs. Rural)

Urban		**Rural**	
Maximum value: Mekele	78.0	65.0	Maximum value: Harar
Minimum value: Harar	35.0	22.0	Minimum value: Mekele
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	54.2	45.8	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*18.5*	*21.9*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

b) **Crude Birth and Total Fertility Rates**

Very large differentials both in the Crude Birth and Total Fertility rates can be observed among the 18 major cities of Ethiopia. An average crude birth rate of 19.5 for the total population and an average parity equal to 5.49 children per stable woman and 4.94 per in-migrant woman aged 45-49 years was observed. Mekele and Assela are having the highest CBR and TFR.

Table 4.6.b.1. Crude Birth Rate (Per 1000 Population)

	Total population
Maximum value: Mekele	27.6
Minimum value: Debre Markos	12.5
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	19.5
Variation coefficient, percent	*22.7*

Debre Markos, Arba Minch and Nekemte are having much lesser CBR and TFR. The variability in TFR for in-migrant women followed by the variability in CBR for the total population is relatively very high among the major cities (Tables 4.6.b.1 and 4.6.b.2.)

Table 4.6.b.2. Average Parity (Average Number of Nhildren Ever Born for Women Aged 45-49) by Kind of Population

Stable population		***New in-migrant***	
Maximum value: Assela	7.10	9.17	Maximum value: Assela
Minimum value: Arba Minch	3.00	2.58	Minimum value: Nekemte
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	5.49	4.94	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*16.6*	*27.3*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

c) **Age Structure**

The non-migrant (stable) population of the 18 major cities is relatively young. The mean age amounts to 16.2 and 17.4 years for males and females, respectively. There is a high variability in the average age among stable population of the various cities. Harar, with a mean age of about 21 years has the "oldest" population among the major cities, while Arba Minch, is characterized by having an extremely young population with the mean age of 11 years (Table 4.6.c.1).

Table 4.6.c.1. Mean Age of Resident Population (Stable Population) by Sex

Males		**Females**	
Maximum value: Harar	20.3	22.5	Maximum value: Harar
Minimum value: Arba Minch	11.1	11.2	Minimum value: Arba Minch
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	16.2	17.4	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*14.2*	*17.7*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

Migrant population, on the other hand, appears to be older than the stable population. The mean age of the new migrants of all the cities turns out to be 25 and 21 for males and females, respectively. Females among the new migrants are younger than males, while the reverse situation holds true in the case of stable population. The oldest male new migrants are observed in Debre Markos (29 years) and the youngest are in Assela (22.7 years). Similarly, the oldest female migrants are observed in Desse (23 years) and the youngest are in Arba Minch (21 years). In general, migrants to all the cities have homogeneous mean ages with relatively not significant variability among the cities (Table 4.6.c.2).

Table 4.6.c.2. Mean Age of the New In-migrants (Residents for No More than 5 Years) by Sex

Males		**Females**	
Maximum value: Debre Markos	29.0	23.0	Maximum value: Desse
Minimum value: Assela	22.7	20.5	Minimum value: Arba Minch
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	25.0	21.7	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, *percent*	*6.2*	*4.2*	*Variation* coefficient, *percent*

Examination of the mean age of male migrants by area of previous residence indicates that male migrants from rural areas (32.5 years) are older than their counterparts from urban areas (30.8 years). The oldest of the rural migrants headed towards Desse (36.9 years), while the oldest of the urban migrants moved to Gondar (33.3 years). On the other hand, the youngest of the rural migrants moved to Nekemte (27.9 years), while the youngest of the urban migrants migrated to Arba Minch (27.9 years). Among the cities, there appears to be

relatively high variability in the mean age of male migrants by area of previous residence when compared with the mean age of the over all case and less variability than that of the stable population (Table 4.6.c.).

Table 4.6.c.3. Mean Age of Male In-migrants by Area of Origin (Urban vs. Rural)

Urban males		Rural males	
Maximum value: Gondar	33.3	36.9	Maximum value: Desse
Minimum value: Arba Minch	27.9	27.9	Minimum value: Nekemte
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	30.8	32.5	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	6.3	7.6	Variation coefficient, percent

c) **Marital Status**

Comparison of the proportion of widowed and divorced females aged 50 years among both the stable and migrant population of the different cities reveals that migrants have higher mean proportion (8.4 percent) than stable population (3.4 percent). The statistics of variability confirms the prevalence of high variability among the different cities in the distribution of divorced and widowed women of the stable population. Early age at marriage, beginning from the age of 10 years, is the main factor for the observed high frequency of divorce among migrants. A divorced woman is not accepted by the society, hence, she has to get married as soon as possible, some how, or has to migrate to the near by cities and towns. As observed earlier (Table 2.3.6 of Chapter 2), among migrants, divorced females significantly out number divorced males. In general, therefore, the propensity to move is higher among widows and divorced women than widows and divorced men.

The highest and the lowest proportions of widows and divorcees among the stable population are observed in Debre Markos (8.3 percent) and Arssi (0.4 percent), respectively. On the other hand, the highest and the lowest proportions of divorced and widowed migrants are observed in Mekele (11.1 percent), followed by Bahr Dar (11 percent), and Nekemte (5.1 percent), respectively. It should be noted at this juncture that Mekele, Bahr Dar and Debre Markos are located in areas characterised by early age at marriage (Table 4.6.d.1).

Table 4.6.d.1. Widowed and Divorced Females Aged 50 Years Per 100 Females of the Same Age

Stable population		In-migrant	
Maximum value: Debre Markos	8.3	11,1	Maximum value: Mekele
Minimum value: Arssi	0.4	5.1	Minimum value: Nekemte
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	3.4	8.4	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*62.2*	*17.7*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

b) **Religious Composition**

A great variability characterizes the proportion of Muslims among the stable population of the various cities. Kombolcha, with 67 percent followed by Dire Dawa, with 52 percent; constitute the highest proportion of Muslims among the stable population, while Debre Markos, with 1.5 percent followed by Debre Zeit, with 2.8 percent constitute the lowest proportion. The coefficient of variation turns out to be 93.3 percent and the mean proportion amounts to 20.2 percent (Table 4.6.e.1.), thus indicating relatively signisicant variation among cities in terms of the distribution of Muslims.

Table 4.6.e.1. Percentage of Muslims Out of Resident (Stable Population) and In-migrant Population

Stable population		New in-migrant	
Maximum value: Kombolcha	66.7	48.7	Maximum value: Kombolcha
Minimum value: Debre Markos	1.5	1.4	Minimum value: Debre Markos
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	20.2	17.8	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*93.3*	*82.0*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

There is an equally high variability among the cities in the composition of Muslim among the new immigrants. Kombolcha, with 48.7 percent followed by Dire Dawa, with 42 percent Muslim migrants, have the greatest attraction for the Muslims than Debre Markos, with 1.4 percent Muslim migrants followed by Debre Berhan, with 2.6 percent Muslim migrants. In general, it must be stressed that cities with highest or smallest proportion of Muslims among their stable population have greatest or least attraction for migrants, respectively, thus, clearly indicating the action of pull factors with regards to Muslims (Table 4.6.e.1).

The great majority of Muslims to Debre Markos (83.6 percent) came from urban areas, while the majority of Muslim migrants to Addis Ababa moved from rural areas. However, the mean value of migrants coming from rural areas (52.1 percent) is higher than urban areas (47.9 percent) (Table 4.6.e.2.).

Table 4.6.e.2. Share of Muslim In-migrants by Area of Origin (Urban vs. Rural)

Urban		Rural	
Maximum value: Debre Markos	83.6	71.1	Maximum value: Addis Ababa
Minimum value: Addis Ababa	28.9	16.4	Minimum value: Debre Markos
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	47.9	52.1	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*28,7*	*26.4*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

c) Educational Composition

Although, urban areas are relatively characterized with higher proportion of literacy, when compared with the rural areas, there still prevail quite a significant number of illiterate persons in the cities. An average of 26 percent among the stable population and 24.8 percent among the migrant population is still illiterate. Among the cities, Mekele (40 percent) and Bahr Dar (38.7 percent) have the highest proportion of illiterates in the stable and migrant population, relatively. Addis Ababa, as expected, has the least proportion of illiterates, both among the stable (14.7 percent) and migrant population (8.4 percent), indicating higher literacy among migrants than stable population and thus confirming that literate persons are more liable to move than illiterate persons. Finally, cities in their composition of literate persons, appear to be more variable in terms of migrants (CV 37.6) than stable population. (CV 22.3) (Table 4.6.f.1.)

Table 4.6.f.1. Percentage of Illiterate among Population Aged 5 and Over Out of Resident Population (Stable Population) and Out of New In-migrant

Stable population		New in-migrant	
Maximum value: Mekele	40.1	38.7	Maximum value:Bahr Dar
Minimum value: Addis Ababa	14.7	8.4	Minimum value: Addis Ababa
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	26.0	24.8	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*22.3*	*37.6*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

Pertaining to educational attainment, Addis Ababa, as expected, is the city with more educated stable people both at low and at a higher level of education, while Harar is the town with well-educated migrant population. Kombolcha and Shashamane are two towns with the

lowest level of educational attainment by both the stable and migrant population, respectively. There is a great variability among the cities in the educational attainment of their stable and migrant population (CV 178.4 and 62.8, respectively) (Table 4.6.f.2.)

Table 4.6.f.2. Proportion of Population with 12th Grade of Education Completed and above (Per 100 Population Aged 5 and Over)

Stable population		New in-migrant	
Maximum value: Addis Ababa	20.8	20.5	Maximum value: Harar
Minimum value: Kombolcha	0.5	2.4	Minimum value: Shashamane
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	3.2	7.9	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*178.4*	*62.8*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

d) Economic Activity

Economic activity rates are, as expected, much greater among in-migrants than among stable population. In the latter group, activity rates are in general smaller in those towns where the mean population age is lower and the proportion of children higher. In this respect, three groups of towns are observed. These include cities with activity rates of stable population ranging from 40-45, between 30 and 40 and between 20 to 25 percent. According to the grouping, Dire Dawa, Addis Ababa and Debre Zeit fall in the first group, while Awassa, Arba Minch and Mekele belong to the second group and the remaining town are in the third group. The mean activity rate of the stable population of all towns amounts to 34.5 percent.

Migrants, on the other hand, as expressed earlier, have higher activity rates than stable population, with the mean being 51.5 percent. According to the variation statistics, towns are relatively less variable in the activity rates of migrants than activity rates of stable population. In this respect, Dire Dawa (63.7 percent) has the highest, while Debre Zeit (43.6 percent) has the least activity rate for migrants (Table 4.6.g.1).

Table 4.6.g.1. Activity Rates, Percent Population, of Resident Population (Stable Population) and of New In-migrant

Stable population		New in-migrant	
Maximum value: Dire Dawa	43.5	63.7	Maximum value: Dire Dawa
Minimum value: Mekele	24.0	43.6	Minimum value: Debre Zeit
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	34.5	51.5	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*16.7*	*11.2*	Variation coefficient, percent

Among the migrants coming from urban areas, the activity rates of those residing in Addis Ababa are much greater when compared with other cities. This is due to the fact that the majority of economic activities including industry, infrastructures and roads network are concentrated in the capital city than in the other cities. On the other hand, among migrants coming from rural areas, the activity rates of those residing in Arba Minch is much greater when compared with other cities (Table 4.6.g.2.).

Table 4.6.g.2. Activity Rates, Percent Population by Area of Origin (Urban vs. Rural)

Urban		Rural	
Maximum value: Addis Ababa	63.6	62.3	Maximum value: Arba Minch
Minimum value: Arba Minch	37.7	36.4	Minimum value: Addis Ababa
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	49.7	50.3	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*5.7*	*15.5*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

Activity rates of people employed in governmental jobs are greater in the capital city of each region, with the maximum observed in Awassa (41.8 percent). On the other hand, activity rates of unpaid family workers are very low in the biggest cities, with the maximum observed in Debre Markos (10.1 percent). Towns, such as Shashamane and Awassa, have the lowest government and unpaid family workers, respectively. The cities show high variability in their composition of unpaid family workers than government workers (Table 4.6.g.3.).

Table 4.6.g.3. Activity Rates, Percent Population by Kind of Eemployment

Government employee		**Unpaid family worker**	
Maximum value: Awassa	41.8	10.1	Maximum value: Debre Markos
Minimum value: Shashamane	13.5	1.3	Minimum value: Awassa
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	29.3	4.2	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*26.8*	*54.9*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

e) **Characteristics of Housing Unit**

Examination of the number of households occupying per housing unit reveals that the crowding standards are not so high among the total population. The average number of households per dwelling is 1.08 and the variability is very low among the 18 cities. Over crowded dwellings are more frequent among in-migrants households than total population. It is observed that variability of crowdiong is much greater for the migrants than for the total population (Table 4.6.h.1.).

Table 4.6.h.1. Average Number of Households Per Housing Unit

Total population		**New in-migrant**	
Maximum value: Dire Dawa	1.1	1.5	Maximum value: Debre Berhan
Minimum value: Arba Minch	1.0	1.0	Minimum value: Shashamane
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	1.1	1.2	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*4.7*	*15.2*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

The number of persons per household is high both among the total population (6.2) and the migrants (5.8). The minimum value, 5.2, which is observed in Harar for the total population is slightly higher than the minimum value observed in Kombolcha for the migrant population. Number of persons per housing unit is relatively more variable for the migrant population than the total population (Table 4.6.h.2.).

Table 4.6.h.2.Average Number of Persons Per Household

Total population		**New in-migrant**	
Maximum value: Shashamane	6.9	6.5	Maximum value: Debre Markos
Minimum value: Harar	5.2	5.0	Minimum value: Kombolcha
Mean (not weighted) of all cities	6.2	5.8	Mean (not weighted) of all cities
Variation coefficient, percent	*6.9*	*7.4*	*Variation coefficient, percent*

4.3 The Population of Addis Ababa

4.3.1 An Overview

Over the years, demographic increment, economic development and historic and political events have profoundly and quite naturally changed the characteristics of Addis Ababa since it was founded in 1887 by Emperor Menelik and Queen Taytu. In the course of its development, the city showed a modest and irregular town-planning, now replaced by modern urbanisation, which began during the Italian occupation and a cosmopolitan, articulate and diversified structure, varying from the luxurious hotels to

the *bidonvilles* suburbs. It hosts the largest market in Africa, covering a whole urban area, which includes food, textile, leather, mechanical, glass and cement factories. The city is, quite naturally, the main railway, road and airway junction.

In this chapter, we will refer to some of the demographic and social characteristics, as they were pointed out by the 1994 census of the Addis Ababa population[8]. Following the recent administrative reform, it is important to notice that the city has now become a region in itself. The structure of the new geographic subdivision, resulting from this reform, has profoundly altered the territorial asset of the capital, which now covers 486 square kilometres. First of all, it is important to stress the demographic dimension of the administrative and territorial subdivisions of the city, which is organised and divided as follows:

4.3.2 Administrative Sub-divisions

a) **Zones: -** The city has six zones with the average dimension of 352 thousand inhabitants each. Zone 6,which located in the southern area of the city is the smallest and has 94,786 inhabitants, whilst the largest one is Zone 4, in the north eastern part of the city, with 461,313 inhabitants.

b) **Weredas: -** There are 28 Weredas in the city, with the average population of 75 thousand inhabitants each. The peculiarity of this subdivision resides in the fact that 5 Weredas (Wereda 17, 19, 26, 27 and 28) include both an urban and a rural area. The smallest Wereda, Wereda. 22, has 36,722 inhabitants (in zone 2, in the west), while the largest Wereda, Wereda 17, has 130,249 including 5,610 inhabitants in the rural part of the Wereda (it is located in zone 3, in the central-eastern part of the city).

c) **Kebeles*:* -** Kebeles are the smallest administrative subdivision of the city. These amount to 305 in number, with an average population of 6,900 inhabitants each. This final division was created with the purpose of adapting the administrative structure to a complex and not easily defined geographical area, and, also, to facilitate the monitoring of the population of the region. To these kebele you can also add 23 rural farmers associations.

Considering the urban kebeles of the city only, the smallest is Kebele 18, with 1,496 inhabitants and it is located in Wereda 24, in zone 2, situated in the south-western part of the city. It occupies an enormous area and includes 316 households (with the average dimension of 4.7 components) and 312 housing units (i.e. 1.01 households for every housing unit). The most populous kebele is kebele 55 and has 37,061 inhabitants. It is located in Wereda 19, Zone 3. It is on the borders of the oldest part of the city. It includes 7,912 house (with the average dimension of 4.7) and 7,632 housing units (i.e. 1.04 households for every housing unit).

[8] In the 1994 census the Central Statistical Authority published a rich and detailed volume which gives an accurate and detailed statistical account of the region of Addis Ababa describing the zones, the Weredas and, in some cases, the kebeles. This publication includes important demographic studies, with the estimation of indicators in matters of migration, fertility, mortality, and population projections (CSA, 1995).

This data clearly shows great variability related to the demographic dimension of the administrative units. The ratio between the smallest and the largest is 1:4.9 for the zones, 1:3.0 for the Weredas and finally 1:24.8 for the kebeles. Variability represents a further element of complexity in the knowledge and management of the city, which we will refer to later on.

At a first glance, the city is very varied, with areas, which differ from socio-economic, demographic and household points of view. In order to make an accurate and detailed analysis of some of the demographic and social characteristics of the population using the data available from the 1994 census, we will focus our attention on the Weredas. This is due to the fact that the zones are too few and too big and the kebele are too many and too small.

4.3.3 Population Size and Increase

In the previous paragraphs, we have shown the estimated population of the Addis Ababa from 1950 to date (as estimated by the Population Division of the United Nations and some of the data worked out by the CSA). According to national sources, in 1994, the city had a population of 2,112,737 inhabitants, of which 1,023,457 are males and 1,089,285 are females. The majority, 98.7 percent, reside in the urban areas of the city.

The 1999 Labor Force Survey showed 2,186,649 individuals lived in conventional households, which, if compared to the 2,081,346 residents in the same kind of household in 1994, reveals a variation of 105 thousand units, corresponding to an annual average increment rate of 1.0 percent. If we observe the development of the whole population since 1984, the increment between 1984 and 1994 is of 740 thousand individuals (an average increment rate of 4.0 percent)[9] (Table 4.7).

However, the situation is certainly destined to alter considerably over the next few years if the population increment of Addis Ababa grows as estimated by the following sources.

- Data from the Population Division of the United Nations from 2000 to 2015 shows an increment of 2,456 million (related to the 2,639 initially estimated), practically a doubling of the whole population, with an annual average increment of 164 thousand people, equal to a rate of 4.5 percent (see Table 4.2);

- The Central Statistical Authority estimates a population of 2,495 million for the year 2000 and 3,792 for the year 2015. The increment would therefore be of 1,297 million by head count (nearly half of those considered in the other projection), with

[9] Synthesising and considering these indications as true, the increase rate for the 15 years considered would be of +3.1 percent. Nevertheless such a flexion in the increment rate during the period considered is certainly due to the kind of source considered to esteem the population size in the three years considered. As a matter of fact it is renown that the Labor Force Survey is based on a sample of limited dimensions and it is important to note that the rural part of Addis Ababa cannot be considered at an independent reporting level (Central Statistical Authority, Statistical Report on the 1999 Labour Force Survey, Addis Ababa, November 1999, p. 7). This latter circumstance is also reflected on the portion of rural population, esteemed at 1.3 percent in the 1994 census and valued around 1.1 percent in the Labor Force Survey.

an annual average increment of 86 thousand people, equal to a rate of 2.9 percent (CSA, 1998).

In both cases, the population increment is very high, but, should the United Nations projection be true, then from an economic, social and urban point of view, the annual increment would not be sustainable. It is ,therefore necessary to monitor accurately and regularly the trends of the urban population in order to intervene promptly with dynamic and attentive political solutions adapted to a city, which is continually changing.

Table 4.7 Total Population of Addis Ababa, 1984-1994

Years	**Population**	
	Total	*Conventional*
1984	1,423,182	n.a.
1994	2,112,737*	2,081,346
1999	n.a	2,186,646

n.a = not available
* Population is 2,084,588 excluding the rural population.
Source: 1984 and 1994 census, and 1999 labor force survey

4.3.4 Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics of the city-region of Addis Ababa differ from those of the entire country (Table 4.8), but the properties of both areas depend mainly on the deeply rooted differences between rural and urban areas. These differences exist both within Addis Ababa and in the country as a whole and they combine in different ways according to the percentage of rural population present in the area considered. The rural population, which is demographically behind the urban one, accounts for 86.3 percent of the entire Ethiopian population, but in Addis Ababa for only 1.33 percent.

The most important difference lies in the presence of children and youths. Table 4.8 shows the differences in population aged 0-14 years. Considering the whole country, it is interesting to note that the population between 0 and 15 years of age accounts for 38.0 percent of the entire population in the urban areas and for 46.6 in the rural areas. In Addis Ababa, the same variables consist respectively of 31.6 and 42.9 percent. The high proportion of young people shows, for both now and the future, that there is a need for consistent and continuous investment in education (dynamically differentiated by level, considering the fertility rate has reduced in recent years).

It seems very difficult, especially in rural areas, to ensure youths a high level of education and there will inevitably be a large increase in juvenile work. The latter statement is also based on the fact that the dependency ratio, considering the very large number of youths, is exceptionally high in the Ethiopian rural areas, where one can find 9 youths under 15 for every 10 adults between the ages of 15 and 65. In Addis Ababa, the situation is different. The dependency ratio is extraordinarily low and it will

remain so for the next decades, ensuring the city, a large proportion of adult labor force.

Table 4.8 Some Demographic Indicators for the Country and Addis Ababa, Urban and Rural, 1994

Area	Indicator			
	100M/F	%P 0-4	%P 65+	Old +young dependency ratio
Country total	101.3	14.8	3.2	94.6
Addis Ababa total	94.0	8.1	2.7	52.3
Country urban	93.3	10.8	3.0	69.4
Addis Ababa urban	93.8	8.0	2.6	51.9
Country rural	102.6	15.4	3.2	99.3
Addis Ababa rural	106.6	14.9	4.5	90.0

Source: own calculations on CSA data

a) Rural and Urban Population

We have already mentioned that 5 of the 28 Weredas contain a rural area (not a very large one if we consider the demographic consistency, but territorially very important). They are Weredas 17 and 28, which surround the eastern part of the city and Weredas 19, 26, 27, which are located in the south. 28,149 citizens live in the rural part of the city and they represent 1.3 percent of the total population of the city. The urban population therefore represents 98.7 percent of the total population. Within these 5 Weredas, the rural population is mostly present in Wereda 26, where it accounts for 14.8 percent of the whole population and less in Wereda 19, where it represents 2.4 percent (Table 4.9).

a) Distribution of the Population by Sex

Considering the distribution of the population by gender in the city of Addis Ababa, the element which is most striking is the slight prevalence of women. With a masculinity-ratio (sex ratio) of 94.0, which by head count means there are 67 thousand women more than men. A similar value of the ratio to the other Ethiopian cities is 93.3. Analysing the data available for each Wereda, only three of these, Weredas 6, 11 and 25, show a majority, even if modest, of men (the ratio varies between 102 and 104.5).

Table 4.9 Some Demographic Indicators of Population by Wereda, 1994

Wereda	**Population**		**100 M/F**	**P_{0-4} %**	**P_{65+} %**	**Old+Young dependency Ratio %**
	A .V	***%***				
01	52,927	2.5	91.3	6.4	3.0	47.5
02	41,430	2.0	94.5	6.3	2.4	43.9
03	82,513	3.9	94.7	7.1	3.1	49.2
04	74,028	3.5	94.1	7.0	2.8	49.7
05	85,187	4.0	100.0	6.7	3.0	51.1
06	72,837	3.5	102.4	7.2	2.7	52.4
07	86,162	4.1	94.0	7.0	2.8	51.5
08	87,895	4.2	96.0	8.2	2.7	55.2
09	52,994	2.5	85.8	6.4	3.6	47.7

Table 4.9, Continued

Wereda	Population *A .V*	Population %	100 M/F	P_{0-4} %	P_{65+} %	Old+Young dependency Ratio %
10	80,404	3.8	92.0	8.4	3.3	56.4
11	89,766	4.3	104.4	8.1	2.8	53.3
12	59,739	2.8	89.4	8.0	3.1	53.3
13	64,853	3.1	90.1	6.5	3.4	45.1
14	57,886	2.7	90.5	6.5	3.2	46.7
15	66,402	3.1	86.7	6.3	3.1	44.3
16	74,632	3.5	85.7	8.0	3.3	50.7
17 U+R	130,249	6.2	88.6	9.0	2.0	50.2
17 U	*124,639*	*5.9*	*87.9*	*8.6*	*1.9*	*48.7*
17 R	*5,610*	*0.3*	*104.9*	*15.7*	*4.3*	*94.3*
18	61,973	2.9	89.0	6.9	2.7	44.0
19 U+R	119,650	5.7	92.4	10.0	1.8	57.3
19 U	*116,830*	*5.5*	*92.1*	*9.9*	*1.7*	*56.6*
19 R	*2,820*	*0.1*	*106.0*	*14.0*	*5.2*	*89.5*
20	82,078	3.9	93.5	8.4	2.4	51.4
21	82,589	3.9	98.7	6.4	2.9	42.1
22	36,722	1.7	90.3	6.8	3.0	45.9
23	105,478	5.0	91.1	9.0	2.1	56.3
24	120,371	5.7	98.8	10.0	2.0	59.5
25	80,884	3.8	104.5	9.5	2.0	58.8
26 U+R	43,926	2.1	96.2	10.7	2.6	70.4
26 U	*37,404*	*1.8*	*93.3*	*9.9*	*2.2*	*66.8*
26 R	*6,522*	*0.3*	*114.4*	*15.2*	*5.1*	*94.3*
27 U+R	50,860	2.4	96.0	10.6	2.3	67.6
27 U	*46,863*	*2.2*	*95.1*	*10.3*	*2.2*	*66.6*
27 R	*3,997*	*0.2*	*107.7*	*14.0*	*3.6*	*80.9*
28 U+R	68,302	3.2	95.6	11.0	2.1	62.8
28 U	*59,102*	*2.8*	*94.6*	*10.4*	*1.8*	*59.3*
28 R	*9,200*	*0.4*	*102.1*	*14.7*	*4.4*	*88.8*
Total	**2,112,737**	**100.0**	**94.0**	**8.1**	**2.7**	**52.3**

Source: own calculations on CSA data

In the rural areas, concordantly with what we can observe in the inner Ethiopian rural areas, there is a clear majority of men (there are from 102 to 117 men for every 100 women). In the rural areas of the whole country, the sex ratio of the population is 102.6

These sex ratios differences are mainly caused by two factors. On the one hand, in the rural areas, the fertility rate is much higher and there is therefore a higher proportion of children (amongst which the sex ratio is, as known, much higher) and a higher mortality of mothers. On the other hand, in the urban areas, there is a lower fertility and mortality rate and consequently, a higher proportion of elderly people (amongst which the sex ratio is much lower).

The estimates of fertility and mortality for Addis Ababa (CSA, 1998) based on the 1994 data are given below.

- A total fertility rate (adjusted measures) of 2.1 children per woman for the urban population (the lowest of all the Ethiopian urban areas) and 7.4 for the rural population (the highest of all rural Ethiopian)

- A life expectation of 56.6 years for males and 60.7 for females in the urban areas and 51.4 and 52.1 in the rural areas, rerspectively.

Among the 6 zones of the city, the one with the lowest sex ratio, 91.0 percent, is Zone 4, where the fertility rate is the lowest, 1.5 children per woman, against the average of 1.8 (not adjusted measures) for all Addis Ababa. The zone with the highest fertility is Zone 6, with 2.9 children per woman and a sex ratio of 96.1 (CSA, 1995)[10].

b) Population Distribution and Age Groups

MIgration and the very different geographical values of fertility and mortality are the major determinants of the age structure of Addis Ababa, which is characterised by a high variability. Considering the only totally urban Wereda, the highest percentage of the population in the 0-4 age group resides in Wereda 24, with a value of 10.0 percent against 8.1 percent of the whole local population. The minimum value, related to the same age group, is that of Weredas 2 and 15, with 6.3 percent. Naturally, considering the higher fertility rates of the rural areas, the mixed Weredas show much higher values of child population, ranging from 14.0 percent (Weredas 19 and 27) to 15.7 percent (Wereda 17).

This proportion would be much higher if, considering the whole Addis Ababa, the children of the rural areas between the ages of 1 and 5 weren't subject to a mortality rate which exceeds by 51 percent that of the urban areas (162 against 107 every thousand children (CSA, 1998)). Exceptionally strong are the differences between zones within the city. Zone 6 has a child mortality of 97 percent higher than that of Zone 2 (173 against 88 every thousand children) and, consequently, a life expectancy which is 11 years shorter (50.5 years against 61.3) (CSA, 1995).

These values testify the critical health situation of some urban areas, which are close to the threshold of epidemics, not only for hygienic reasons, (referring to the constant provision of drinkable water), overcrowding and malnutrition, but also for the severe want of medical equipment. The territorial differences within the city are the direct evidence of the limits in the sanitary provision, which are stressed further by the inefficiency and non accessibility of these services for the majority of the population due to financial and location reasons (Patassini, 1993). A new hierarchic health system, which ranges from the general zone hospitals to the first aid station in the various kebeles, would surely bring a reduction of the infant and child mortality rates and reduce the inequalities before death, which are present in the urban reality of Addis Ababa.

Such remarkable differences in the 0-4 age group in the urban area of the city revealed, shortly after 1994 problems related to the organisation of the education

[10] The TFR based on reported region is 1.8 children per woman both in the Country report and in the Addis Ababa report. In the Country report an adjusted measures is also quoted, which is 2.1 children per woman.

system, which must be dynamic and varied enough, in order to face the heterogeneous demand in the various Weredas. It is also needed to react promptly and in different ways to the reduction of the birth rate registered in recent yearsand and to the increase expected between the year 2000 and 2010, of the school population between 7 and 12 years of age. The school age population in this age group will grow from 254 to 338 thousand children. It is also nedded to react promptly to the reduction of the age group 13-14, which will decrease from 123 to 96 thousand and of the age group 15-18, which will decrease from 286 to 179 thousand (CSA, 1998).

These predictions are obviously quite uncertain due to the possible and unpredictable changes in fertility and mortality. Apart from these predictions, there remains the fact that in the 1994 census there were 613 thousand youths between 10 and 19 years of age and in 10 years time they will be replaced by the 390 thousand children between 0 and 9 years registered by the survey. Bearing in mind the high mortality rate, we can assume that every group of 10 youths between 10-19 years in 1994, after 10 years, i.e. in the year 2004, will be replaced by 5 or 6 youths in the education system. The demographic reduction could therefore represent an opportunity to contain the overcrowding of classes and double or triple shifts.

As a result of the past and present birth and mortality rates, the Ethiopian ageing process has only just begun. According to estimates of the CSA, in 1995 the portion of the population over 65, of the whole urban population, is 3.2 percent, whereas in the Addis Ababa region it is 2.7 percent. The highest percentage of elderly people can be found in Wereda 9, with a value of 3.6 percent, the lowest in Wereda 19, with a value of 1.8. Within the five urban and rural Weredas, the rural population is older, with a percentage of population over 65 included, beig between the values of 3.6 and 5.2 percent.

Considering the economic potentiality, with a relatively small proportion of children and elderly people related to the high proportion of adults, Addis Ababa is in a particularly positive phase of demographic development. The dependency ratio[11] is 52.3 percent owing 48.3 points to the young component and 3.2 to the elderly one. This value is much lower than that of the whole country (amongst the urban areas, the highest value is that of the Somali region, 86.7 percent, owing 82.2 points to young people and 4.5 to the elderly one) and very low as an absolute value. Such a situation generates a high production and income capacity, as long as there are high production and occupational levels, which will value this high portion of population in working age. This favourable situation, induced by the reduced number of young and elderly people in relation to the population of working age, should last, according to the population predictions, for a long time, at least thirty years.

Considering the data of Table 4.9, we can establish that within the city, the highest old and young dependency ratio is that of Wereda 26, with 70.4 percent. This dependency ratio is only partially influenced by the value of the rural area, which is, as for all rural areas, much higher than any urban area. The lowest dendency is in Wereda 21, with a value of 42.1. Moreover, Maps 4.7 clearly shows how: the young population is proportionally more frequent in the southern parts of Addis Ababa. The old population is more concentrated in the core of the city, its oldest part. The shief relationship

[11] Young people (0-14) plus old people (65+) devided by the population aged 15-64.

between values of young people and dependency ratio is the weight of the old people is very low.

4.3.5 Social Characteristics

a) Religion

It is important to bear in mind that religion and religious life have been very important in the history of the country and in identifying deeply rooted feelings and the behaviour of people and families. To make just one reference for this element, the 1955 constitution stated "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, founded in the fourth century on the doctrine of Saint Mark, is the established church of the Empire and is, as such, supported by the state". The events of the last decades have brought along a major change in the official and unofficial status of all religions.

Up until some years ago, statistical data on religious affiliation, like those on ethnic groups, was unreliable. Some sources state that most Orthodox Christians are Amhara and Tigraway and when members of these two groups are combined with others who have accepted Orthodoxy. The total Christian population might amount to roughly 50 percent of all Ethiopians. Muslims have been estimated to constitute 40 percent of the population. The largest ethnic group associated with Islam is the Somali (Ethiopia, 1991). From another international source, Muslims are estimated around 45-50 percent and Ethiopian Orthodox around 35-40 percent (CIA, 2000). In reality, as shown by the 1994 census, Muslims were overestimated, since they were 33 percent of the total population, and Orthodox Christians were underestimated, since they were 51 percent. If we add to these those of other Christian faiths, we reach a proportion of 62 percent (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Percentage Distribution of Population by Religion, Urban and Rural, 1994

Area	Religion					
	Christian orthodox	***Christian protestant***	***Christian catholic***	**Christian Total**	**Muslim**	**Traditional**
Country total	*50.6*	*10.2*	*0.9*	61.7	32.8	4.6
Addis Ababa total	*82.0*	*3.9*	*0.8*	86.7	12.7	0.01
Country urban	*69.2*	*5.4*	*0.6*	75.2	24.0	0.2
Addis Ababa urban	*81.8*	*3.9*	*0.8*	86.5	12.8	0.02
Country rural	*47.6*	*10.9*	*0.9*	59.4	34.2	5.3
Addis Ababa rural	*95.7*	*0.9*	*0.01*	96.6	3.0	0.01

Source: own calculations on CSA data

As far as religion is concerned, as clearly shown by the 1994 census, the situation in Addis Ababa is very different to that of the whole country. In fact, the proportion of Christians in the city is much higher than the national average value, while it is much lower for Muslims. In the first place, this difference is due to historic reasons, since the ties between the imperial authorities and the Orthodox Church have always been very strong, especially in the capital city. Secondly, there is a structural reason. Islam is strongly present in rural areas. Thirdly, Muslims are concentrated in particular geographic regions, i.e. in the Somali region, where they represent 98.8 percent of the population, in Dire Dawa, 63.1 percent and in the Oromiya region, 44.3 percent.

If we examine the territorial subdivisions of Addis Ababa, the percentage of Christians, who represent 86.8 percent of the city's population, is higher than that of Muslims or any other religion in every Wereda in the city. Many Weredas, 16 out of 28, present a proportion of Christians, which exceeds 90 percent and in particular, Wereda 12 has the highest percentage, 96.3, while Wereda 5, the least homogeneous from a religious point of view, has 66.1 percent of Christians (Table 4.11).

As far as the followers of the Islamic religion are concerned, the highest percentage lives in Wereda 5, with a percentage of 33.8, followed by Wereda 7 with 28.4, while the smallest one is in Wereda 12, with 3.4 percent. Map 4.8 clearly shows the counterposition of settlement of Christian vs Muslims. In the various Weredas of the city, where the frequency of Christians is high or low, that of Muslims is low or high, respectively or vice versa. This data clearly shows that Christians and Muslims are concentrated in diverse ways within the city, in the sense that a high percentage of Christians corresponds to a very small percentage of Muslims, if any.

It is interesting to compare the Wereda with the highest percentage of Muslims against the one with the highest percentage of Christians (Table 4.12). Considering that such a comparison is statistically[12] perfect, some outcome needs to be underlined.

- Wereda 5 (with a large proportion of Muslims) shows a smaller proportion of children between 0 and 5 years if compared to Wereda 12 (where the population is largely Christian), which could testify a smaller fertility rate in Wereda 5;

- The illiteracy rate of males and females is much higher in Wereda 5 than in Wereda 12 and higher than the average value for the whole city;

- The ethnic composition is truly diverse. In Wereda 5, Gurages prevail in a quite a large number, while in Wereda 12 Amharas are numerically more consistent.

- There is a difference, which refers to the population's mother tongue. In the Wereda with a majority of Christians, *amarigna* is the language mostly spoken, while in Wereda 5 *guragigna* is spoken by 22.5 percent of the population, which is 10 times as much as it is spoken in Wereda 12;

- The housing conditions are much better in Wereda 12 than in Wereda 5. There is a higher percentage of home owners. The proportion of houses with two or three rooms is higher, while the degree of crowding and rent are lower.

With all cautions, we can conclusd that the socio-economic conditions of the Weredas are very different and that of Wereda 12 are slightly better than Wereda 5.

[12] In the first place it is not perfect because Wereda 5, with highest percentage of Muslims, shows a majority of Christians. In the second place since it is not possible to keep under statistical control the socio-economic conditions of the population of two Weredas, which can differ for reasons that have nothing to do with religion itself.

Table 4.11 Some Social Indicators of Population by Wereda, 1994

Wereda	*Religion*		*Education*			
	Christian %	***Muslim %***	***Illiterate per 100 population****	***Male illiterate per 100 males***	***Females illiterate per 100 females***	***F illiterate per 100 illiterate***
01	75.9	23.7	15.0	8.1	21.2	74.3
02	80.9	18.2	13.3	7.2	19.0	74.1
03	83.2	16.5	18.7	10.4	26.3	73.2
04	85.4	14.3	16.1	8.8	22.9	73.6
05	66.1	33.8	24.0	14.3	33.4	70.7
06	74.0	25.8	22.0	14.2	30.0	67.3
07	71.5	28.4	21.3	12.5	29.3	71.7
08	79.9	19.7	15.7	10.0	21.0	68.9
09	90.6	9.0	14.0	7.6	19.4	75.4
10	94.5	5.3	17.7	11.5	23.3	69.3
11	95.5	4.0	21.3	15.7	27.0	62.4
12	96.3	3.4	13.8	7.5	19.3	74.7
13	94.9	4.8	13.3	6.1	19.6	78.3
14	92.8	6.9	14.7	7.6	21.0	75.6
15	93.4	6.2	11.2	5.6	15.9	77.3
16	91.9	5.5	14.7	8.6	19.8	73.5
17U+R	89.1	8.8	15.8	10.1	20.7	70.3
17 U	*88.6*	*9.2*	*13.4*	*7.4*	*18.4*	*74.5*
17 R	*98.5*	*1.5*	*78.2*	*72.2*	*83.9*	*52.3*
18	91.6	7.9	13.8	8.0	18.8	73.4
19 U+R	91.1	8.3	16.8	10.7	22.3	69.8
19 U	*91.0*	*8.5*	*15.9*	*9.7*	*21.4*	*71.1*
19 R	*98.4*	*1.6*	*61.1*	*54.7*	*67.9*	*54.2*
20	90.8	8.7	12.9	7.9	17.5	70.8
21	90.9	8.7	16.3	8.9	23.6	73.1
22	93.8	5.7	13.9	7.0	20.1	76.3
23	89.3	10.4	16.6	10.4	22.0	70.3
24	81.4	18.3	19.3	12.1	26.4	68.8
25	76.9	22.9	18.7	12.0	25.8	67.1
26 U+R	92.5	7.2	28.9	22.1	35.4	62.7
26 U	*92.0*	*7.6*	*22.9*	*15.1*	*30.1*	*68.6*
26 R	*95.6*	*4.4*	*67.0*	*61.0*	*74.3*	*49.9*
27 U+R	91.4	8.3	25.2	17.9	32.1	65.8
27 U	*91.2*	*8.4*	*24.6*	*17.3*	*31.4*	*66.2*
27 R	*93.6*	*6.2*	*27.5*	*24.2*	*31.5*	*51.8*
28 U+R	95.6	3.9	21.7	15.7	27.2	64.8
28 U	*95.1*	*4.2*	*15.4*	*9.3*	*21.0*	*71.0*
28 R	*97.9*	*2.1*	*65.3*	*58.5*	*72.2*	*54.8*
Total	**86.8**	**12.7**	**17.4**	**10.7**	**23.5**	**70.3**

* Among people aged ten years and over
Source: own calculations on CSA data

Table 4.12 A Comparison Between the Wereda with the Highest Share of Muslims and Christians

Indicators	Wereda 5 33.8% Muslims	Wereda 12 96.3% Christian	*Mean value for all 28 Wereda*
Religion			
Christian	66.1	96.3	*86.8*
Muslims	33.8	3.4	*12.7*
Population			
Size	85,187	59,739	*75,455*
M/F*100	100.0	89.4	*94.0*
% P 0-4	6.7	8.0	*8.1*
% P 65+	3.0	3.1	*2.7*
Dependency ratio	51.1	53.3	*52.3*
Education			
% male illiterate	14.3	7.5	*10.7*
% female illiterate	33.4	19.3	*23.5*
Ethnic group			
% Amhara	26.2	67.8	*48.3*
% Guragie	50.8	4.9	*17.5*
% Oromo	14.5	17.7	*19.6*
% Tigraway	4.6	5.6	*7.6*
Mother tongue			
% Amarigna	65.9	83.1	*72.6*
% Guragigna	22.5	2.4	*8.7*
% Oromigna	6.9	8.6	*10.0*
na	2.6	3.5	*5.4*
House			
% tap water	99.6	95.5	*96.7*
% no toilet	15.7	21.5	*25.2*
% no bathing	97.0	96.6	*90.4*
% no radio	32.4	31.6	*29.9*
% owner occupied	17.8	46.0	*34.6*
% rented from public	69.9	25.3	*40.5*
% three or more rooms	30.6	50.3	*40.5*
Person per room	2.6	1.9	*2.1*
Average rent (birr)	26.94	24.33	*40.98*

Source: own calculations on CSA data

b) **Education**

Although, Addis Ababa is the main education and university centre of the country, the level of education of the resident population is very low and the illiteracy rate is very high. During the 1994 census, within the population of 10 and over, 17.4 percent, nearly one person out of six, was illiterate. In particular, the values for this indicator were of 10.7 percent for males, one out of nine, and 23.5 for females, one out of 4. If we exclude the Weredas with a rural area within them, the ones with the highest illiteracy rate are Weredas 5 and 6, in which 22-24 percent of the population declares they cannot read nor write. The Weredas with the smallest proportion of illiterates are Weredas 15 and 20, where the percentage reaches 11-12 percent. The differences are highly sensitive and are in the ratio of 2 to 1. Even,

more problematic is the situation of the Weredas including rural areas, in which, with the exception of Wereda 27, the illiterate rates reach 61-78 percent.

Despite the fact that the school enrolment rates are so low, the gap between demand and supply is very large due to various reasons. The fact is that in a great number of Kebeles primary schools are completely absent and, in an even larger number, the junior secondary schools don't exist, generating pendularism, worsened by a severe shortage of transport facilities. The standards of crowding by class and by school are very high, well above the international ones fixed by UNESCO and, as mentioned before hand, double and triple shifts at schools are increasing. Another problem, which has arisen in recent years is that related to school structures (Patassini, 1993).

These problems, which have been present for a long while, add up with those which rise from the diversified consistency of the flow of students reaching different levels of education, which are themselves generated by the demographic flows, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs. These problems need to be considered together with those, of even larger proportion, deriving from financial difficulties in funding a basic level of education for such a large proportion of young people[13]. An extraordinarly expensive plan (named the *master plan* of Addis Ababa of 1983-1985) was designed, in which it had been planned to build, considering both Coptic and Koran schools, 175 nurseries, 92 primary schools, 112 lower secondary schools, 21 higher secondary schools and 4 higher education colleges, not at university level (Patassini, 1993).

Particularly difficult is the women's situation in the city, which register illiteracy rates more than twice as high as those of men. In general, nearly two thirds of the Addis Ababa illiterates are women. The worst situation is that of women in Wereda 5, where 33.4 percent are illiterate, while the lowest value of this indicator is that of Wereda 15, with 15.9 percent. In the rural areas, these proportions are even higher, reaching the level of 83.9 percent in Wereda 17. Ensuring equal education to women involves not only guaranteeing equal social treatment, but also favouring the economic development and reducing the fertility rate, in particular in the rural areas, where it is so high. For these reasons and in order to ensure women a full and easier access to the labour market and to accelerate the diffusion of a Malthusian mentality, the woman's question was set as a central element of discussion during the World Conference held by the United Nations on *Population and Development* in Cairo in September 1994. The final recommendations stressed the need to ensure women an education equal to men's.

c) Ethnic Groups

The ethnic classification of the Ethiopian population is a complex matter. If classified by language used, they would probably end up in one ethnic group but if a different criterion were used they would probably end up in another. Other considerations are that ethnicity is, on the one hand, the subjective response to historic experience and the current situation, while on the other hand, reasons are diverse as a result of inter-ethnic weddings. From historic point of view, entities defining themselves in ethnic terms reacted or adapted to the Amhara domination in various ways. In some

[13] It is useful to consider that according to the 1995 United Nations estimates, the Italian school population between the ages of 6 and 17 was equal to 12.4 percent of 57.3 million inhabitants (i.e. 7.1 million), while the Ethiopian population of the same age group was 30.3 percent of 55.4 million inhabitants (i.e. 16.8 million).

areas, individuals who adapted to the domination considered the change not so much as a process of becoming Amhara, but as one of taking on an Ethiopian and urban identity (Abate, 1991).

The tables created by CSA to classify Ethiopian ethnic groups in the 1994 census list 61 different groups and 19 subgroups, in which we find classified 53,025,203 of the 53,132,276 Ethiopian inhabitants these predictions. The other 107,073 are classified under "other Ethiopian national groups". The four most important groups from a numerical point of view, Oromo, Amhara, Tigraway, Guragie, together sum up to 73 percent of the entire population, with enormous differences between urban and rural areas. In the urban areas, the Amhara are the first ethnic group, while in rural areas the Oromo are at the top of the list. In the rural areas, the distribution of the population by ethnic groups is much more fragmented, so that we have four ethnic groups, which amount to 71 percent of the entire population, against 81 percent in the urban areas. The situation in Addis Ababa is only partially similar to other areas of Ethiopia. In the capital city, the Oromo and the Tigraway are less present, whilst the Amhara and above all the Guragie are well represented. In any case, in this city, the ethnic concentration is much higher. These four ethnic groups cover 93 percent of the entire population (Table 4.13).

One way of grouping Ethiopia's population is on the basis of language. At present, 59 main languages are spoken as mother tongues. Many millions speak a few of these and others only by a few hundred people. It is well known that Amharigna is the most important Ethio-Semitic language. The total number of Amharic speakers, according to the results of the 1994 census, is 42.3 percent of the population, 32.7 using it as a first language and 9.6 using it as a second language (Table 4.14).

Amharigna currently is the main language in Ethiopia and it is replacing Oromigna, even though the Oromo ethnic group is larger. According to the 1994 census, 34.5 percent of the population spoke Oromigna, of which 31.6 as mother tongue and 2.9 as a second language. An important point to consider is that the Amhara are not a cohesive group, politically or otherwise, and they do not exhibit the differences of religion and characteristic modes of livelihood as the Oromo do. It is therefore natural that Amarigna is becoming the main language of the Ethiopian population.

Table 4.13 – Percentage Distribution of Population by Ethnic Group, Urban and Rural, 1994

Area	Ethnic group				
	Amhara	**Guragie**	**Oromo**	**Tigraway**	**Others**
Country total	30.1	4.3	32.2	6.2	27.2
Addis Ababa total	48.3	17.5	19.6	7.6	6.9
Country urban	42.4	9.1	22.5	9.4	16.6
Addis Ababa urban	48.6	17.7	18.9	7.7	7.1
Country rural	28.2	3.5	33.7	5.7	28.9
Addis Ababa rural	22.9	4.8	70.5	1.0	0.8

Source: own calculations on CSA data

This last statement is nevertheless true for Addis Ababa, where the Amhara account for 48.3 percent of the population (a presence superior to that of the urban areas of the rest of Ethiopia (Table. 4.13)). However, 72.6 percent of the population

uses Amharigna as their mother tongue (Table 4.14) and 24.5 percent as a second language, a total of 97.1 percent. In the capital city, by choice or as a necessity, Amharigna is becoming the language spoken by everybody and therefore an element of social and economic cohesion.

Table 4.14 – Percentage Distribution of Population by Ethnic Group and Mother Tongue, 1994

Area	Ethnic group				
	Amhara	**Guragie**	**Oromo**	**Tigraway**	**Others**
Country total	30.1	4.3	32.2	6.2	27.2
Addis Ababa total	48.3	17.5	19.6	7.6	6.9
	Mother tongue				
	Amharigna	Guragigna	Oromigna	Tigrigna	Others
Country total	32.7	3.5	31.6	6.1	26.1
Addis Ababa total	72.6	8.7	10.0	5.4	3.2

Source: own calculations on CSA data

In the city, there are a large number of Oromo, 19.6 percent, but those who use Oromigna as their mother tongue are only 10.0 percent, and of Guragie groups, 17.5 percent (but only 8.7 percent use Guragigna as their mother tongue). There are also a considerable number of Tigraway, approximately 7.6 percent of the population (Table 4.14).Within the city, the situation varies from Wereda to Wereda, highlighting clear territorial characteristics related to ethnic group and language spoken. In one Wereda, we can notice,on the one hand, a considerable mixture of ethnic groups and on the other a larger concentration of single groups (Table 4.15 and map 4.9).

- Against an average value of 48.3 percent of Amhara, in Wereda 5, which also has the highest presence of Muslims, they account for only 26.2 percent of the population and in Wereda 6 for 25.3. In Wereda 12 (the one with the highes‧ presence of Christians) and Wereda 13, however, they account for 67.8 percent;

- Amarigna as a mother tongue is spoken on average by 72.6 percent of the population, but in Wereda 10 the values rises to 86.9 and in Wereda 25 it drops to 62.4. Figure 4.2 easly demonstrates how in all Weredas Amharigna is spoken as a mother tongue by a fraction of the population, which is often much higher than those who declare to belong to the Amhara ethnic group. This is probably a consequence of the influence of schools and of the cultural and working environment of the capital city. We can also assume that the Amharigna language is carrying out the important task of creating a homogeneous culture.

- The Oromos, aginst an average value of 19.6 percent, the constitute11.8, 44.9 and 45.3 in Weredas 2, 26, and in 27, respectively. In the rural areas, they are even more consistent, reaching a presence of 70.5 percent;

- Oromigna is spoken as a mother tongue by approximately 10.0 percent of the city's population, corresponding to half the ethnic group. Within the Weredas, there is a perfect correspondence between ethnic groups and Oromigna. A minimum value in Wereda 2 with 6.2 percent and a maximum value in Weredas 26 and 27, with 27.2 and 23.7. In the rural areas, Oromigna is the mother tongue to 65.7 percent of the population.

- Divergences and concentrations between Weredas can easily be found also for the Guragie and the Tigraway. The former have a maximum concentration in Wereda 5 with 50.8 percent (which results in Guragigna spoken as mother tongue

Figure 4.2 – Distribution of Wereda by Percentage of People Belonging to the Amhara Ethnic Group and by Percentage of People Who Speak Amharigna as Mother Tongue

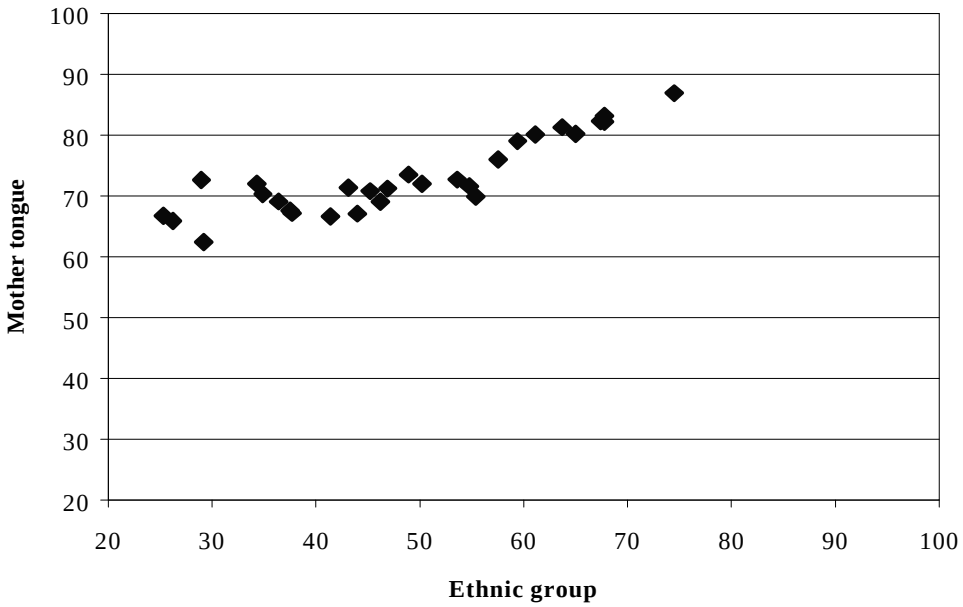


Table 4.15 Percentage Distribution of Addis Ababa Population by Wereda, Ethnic Group and Mother Tongue, 1994

Wereda	*Ethnic Group*					*Mother Tongue*				
	Amhara	*Guragie*	*Oromo*	*Tigraway*	*Others*	*Amarigna*	*Guragie*	*Oromigna*	*Tigrigna*	*Others*
01	48,9	19,8	14,2	12,0	5,0	73,5	10,9	6,8	7,1	1,8
02	44,0	23,9	11,8	12,3	8,0	67,1	14,1	6,2	9,5	3,1
03	36,4	23,4	15,3	17,0	7,9	69,1	11,3	6,6	10,6	2,3
04	34,3	31,3	19,2	8,6	6,6	72,0	12,7	8,0	6,0	1,3
05	26,2	50,8	14,5	4,6	3,9	65,9	22,5	6,9	2,6	2,1
06	25,3	47,9	18,7	2,8	5,4	66,7	22,1	7,5	1,5	2,1
07	34,9	34,0	19,7	6,4	5,0	70,3	15,1	8,8	3,5	2,3
08	43,1	19,4	23,9	4,6	9,0	71,4	9,2	11,9	2,6	4,9
09	63,7	9,6	15,6	6,6	4,4	81,3	4,9	7,9	4,0	1,9
10	74,5	5,6	14,6	2,8	2,5	86,9	2,7	7,5	1,9	1,0
11	53,6	5,1	14,6	3,6	23,2	72,7	2,8	7,7	2,4	14,3
12	67,8	4,9	17,7	5,6	4,0	83,1	2,4	8,6	3,5	2,4
13	67,8	7,3	14,7	7,0	3,2	82,2	3,9	7,6	5,1	1,2
14	59,4	15,4	14,3	6,4	4,5	79,0	8,1	7,0	4,0	2,0
15	65,0	9,5	12,8	7,8	4,9	80,2	5,7	6,7	5,5	1,9
16	67,4	6,7	14,9	5,7	5,3	82,3	3,4	7,7	4,4	2,1
17U+R	54,8	8,0	18,6	9,4	9,2	71,6	4,5	12,3	7,0	4,5

Table 4.15, Continued

Wereda	*Ethnic Group*					*Mother Tongue*				
	Amhara	*Guragie*	*Oromo*	*Tigraway*	*Others*	*Amarigna*	*Guragie*	*Oromigna*	*Tigrigna*	*Others*
U	*56,8*	*8,3*	*15,5*	*9,8*	*9,6*	*74,4*	*4,6*	*8,9*	*7,3*	*4,7*
17 R	*10,2*	*1,7*	*87,6*	*0,3*	*0,2*	*10,7*	*0,9*	*88,0*	*0,1*	*0,2*
18	57,5	9,9	14,4	11,3	6,9	76,0	6,2	7,4	7,8	2,6
19 U+R	46,2	9,8	27,0	10,0	7,0	69,0	5,7	14,2	8,6	2,6
19 U	*46,5*	*10,0*	*26,2*	*10,2*	*7,1*	*69,4*	*5,8*	*13,4*	*8,8*	*2,6*
19 R	*37,0*	*1,5*	*60,5*	*0,6*	*0,4*	*50,2*	*1,2*	*48,0*	*0,5*	*0,1*
20	45,2	11,4	18,9	15,2	9,3	70,8	6,4	8,4	11,9	2,5
21	46,9	12,1	15,3	15,7	10,1	71,2	7,5	6,8	12,2	2,4
22	61,1	9,0	16,7	8,6	4,6	80,1	5,2	7,2	6,2	1,2
23	50,2	11,6	21,3	8,4	8,4	72,0	5,6	10,0	7,5	4,9
24	37,5	28,4	24,2	4,4	5,4	67,6	14,2	12,2	3,0	3,0
25	29,2	37,7	19,3	3,1	10,7	62,4	19,9	8,9	2,0	6,8
26 U+R	41,4	8,7	44,9	2,2	2,7	66,6	4,2	27,2	1,3	0,8
26 U	*44,7*	*9,4*	*40,2*	*2,6*	*3,1*	*72,8*	*4,6*	*20,3*	*1,5*	*0,9*
26 R	*22,3*	*5,0*	*71,9*	*0,3*	*0,4*	*30,6*	*2,2*	*66,8*	*0,3*	*0,1*
27 U+R	37,7	10,5	45,3	4,5	2,0	67,2	5,5	23,9	2,9	0,6
27 U	*38,6*	*9,7*	*45,2*	*4,5*	*2,0*	*69,3*	*4,5*	*22,8*	*2,9*	*0,5*
27 R	*27,3*	*19,9*	*47,2*	*3,8*	*1,8*	*42,7*	*16,9*	*36,7*	*2,9*	*0,8*
28 U+R	55,4	5,4	27,9	6,4	4,9	69,9	3,0	20,2	4,3	2,6
28 U	*60,1*	*6,1*	*21,0*	*7,3*	*5,5*	*76,3*	*3,4*	*12,5*	*4,9*	*2,9*
28 R	*24,8*	*1,1*	*72,4*	*0,9*	*0,9*	*28,9*	*0,6*	*69,3*	*0,5*	*0,7*
Total	**48,3**	**17,5**	**19,6**	**7,6**	**7,0**	**72,6**	**8,7**	**10,0**	**5,4**	**3,2**

Source: own calculations on CSA data

by 22.5 percent of the population). The latter are mostly present in Wereda 21 with 15.7 percent (here Tigrigna is spoken as mother tongue by 12.2 percent);

- The four main ethnic groups cover on an average 93.0 percent of the entire population of the city, ranging from 98.0 in Wereda 27 to 76.8 in Wereda 11, where there is a strong concentration of Weilata (21.4 percent) and, in particular, of Gamo and Dorzie tribes.

4.3. 6 Housing Characteristics and Conditions

The housing characteristics and conditions in Addis Ababa are much better than those of the rest of the country (Table 4.16). In particular, in the capital city one finds: -

- The proportion of houses without tap water is extraordinarily lower than that of the rest of Ethiopia, even, when compared to the urban areas only. In fact, in Addis Ababa, excluding the small rural areas, nearly all households have tap water;
- In the urban area, approximately 1 house out of 4 does not have a toilet and this proportion rises to 1 out of 2 in the urban areas of the rest of the country. In the rural areas, the situation in both cases is dramatic, since households without toilets are nearly 100 percent;
- In all cases, households with a radio are much more frequent;

- Property owners are far less than in the rest of the country and, in particular, than in the rural areas.
- Rented properties from public authorities are far more frequent. Rented property is on average 45 percent more expensive than in the remaining part of the country, presumably because they are larger.
- The lower crowding index for the capital, which is 2.1 compared to 2.3 in the other Ethiopian urban areas is probably due to both larger houses and smaller family units.

Table 4.16 Some Housing Characteristics and Conditions, Urban and Rural, 1994

Area	No tap water %	No toilet %	No radio %	Owner occupied %	Rented from public %	Average rent per housing unit birr	Average number of persons per room
Country total	86.5	86.5	84.0	47.0	25.2	28.33	3.2
Addis Ababa total	3.2	25.2	29.9	34.4	40.7	40.98	2.1
Country urban	27.0	42.3	50.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2.3
Urban Addis Ababa	2.2	23.9	29.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2.1
Country rural	96.0	93.6	89.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.4
Rural Addis Ababa	76.7	93.9	64.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.0

Source: own calculations on CSA data

The design of buildings and household conditions depend, quite evidently, on how the urban soil is occupied and utilised, on the economic situation of the city and on the speed of the demographic development. In order to make a rough estimate of the future demand for houses, one must consider the average size per housing unit (which in the 1994 census was 5.5) and the average annual population increment (see paragraph 4.3.2). The Population Division of the United Nations estimated 164 thousand people for every year between 2000 and 2015 and the CSA estimated 86 thousand people. Taking the average annual additional number of people[14] and the average number of people per household as constant, the estimated number of new houses per year is 30 thousand, considering the Population Division of the United Nation's estimate and 16 thousand according to the CSA estimate[15]. In both cases, large and prolonged building investments are necessary, which will involve good management and town planning. This is, especially, to avoid the segmentation of demand, deriving from the many differences, in income existing between social and ethnic groups (which in some degree emerge from the data of Table 4.17) and a very weak demand arising from the more vulnerable and poorer social groups, which could provoke a growth of *bidonvilles.*

[14] Without considering the housing demand deriving from weddings and today's shortage in the housing stock. In an evaluation made some years ago the need, estimated at 16,500 new houses per year, was 5 times the average production of that time and was generated by 67 percent new family units, by 20 percent substitution and requalification of the existing stock, and by the remaining 13 percent overcrowding (Patassini, 1993).

[15] The demand would increase even more if we considered a gradual and progressive reduction of people per household.

Observing the situation of the Weredas, based on the 1994 census, consistent differences emerge amongst all indicators (Table 4.17). Considering only three of these aspects, which illustrate some aspects of family life, the social and economic one, one finds the following situations.

a) The crowding index. This index, with the minimum value of 1.7 people per room is for Wereda 17, where 31.1 percent of the households have bathing facilities. The maximum value is 2.6 people per room, which is nearly an extra person and a high level of crowding is observed in Weredas 5 and 7. In these Weredas, only 3.0 and 4.1 percent of the households have bathing facilities.

b) The *rent*. The rent for the Weredas, excluding rural areas, varies between an average of 23.27 birr in Wereda 7 and an average of 59.33 birr in Wereda 23. However, in Wereda 7, 66 percent of the houses are publicly owned, 20 percent do not have a toilet and 96 percent have no bathing facility. In Wereda 23, 23 percent of the rented houses are privately owned, 37 do not have a toilet and 88 have no bathing facility. Thus, there does not seem to be any direct relationship between the rent and the housing equipment.

For the Weredas, including rural areas, the average rent is much more variable. The minimum is 13.14 birr in Wereda 26 (where 56 percent of the households have a toilet), which is one of the poorest in the city. The maximum is 104.60 and 141.89 birr in Weredas 28 and 17 (where 19 percent of the households do not have a toilet). Wereda 28 has the highest concentration of governmental offices and Embassies, while in Wereda 17, there are new buildings, including the nicest villas of the city, inhabited by the well-off population of the city.

c) Radio. The frequency of the possession of a radio indicates that the maximum value is 78 percent for Weredas 2 and 17 and the minimum values are 57 and 59 percent for Weredas 26 and 27.

Table 4.17 Housing Characteristics and Conditions of Addis Ababa by Wereda, 1994

Wereda	No tap water %	No toilet %	No radio %	Owner Occupied %	Rented from Public %	Average rent per housing unit birr	Average number of persons per room
01	0.1	13.9	28.1	17.6	64.6	30.25	2.4
02	0.0	11.5	21.9	13.9	65.1	55.21	2.2
03	0.1	18.7	30.2	17.8	65.8	25.40	2.4
04	0.1	16.1	25.3	21.7	62.7	24.25	2.2
05	0.2	15.7	32.4	17.8	69.9	26.94	2.6
06	0.0	19.5	31.1	22.6	58.8	23.41	2.4
07	0.1	20.1	31.5	18.9	65.9	23.27	2.6
08	5.2	24.3	26.0	43.1	35.6	36.03	2.0
09	0.1	18.5	28.6	24.9	54.1	38.46	2.2
10	1.4	28.2	33.2	41.4	33.7	33.33	2.1
11	2.3	36.3	37.3	32.1	37.5	26.22	2.2
12	4.5	21.5	31.6	46.0	25.3	24.33	1.9
13	0.1	21.1	27.8	23.3	55.5	31.62	1.9

Table 4.17, Continued

Wereda	No tap water %	No toilet %	No radio %	Owner Occupied %	Rented from Public %	Average rent per housing unit birr	Average number of persons per room
14	0.0	23.4	31.3	19.6	60.7	27.53	2.2
15	0.1	19.5	25.3	26.5	49.3	49.89	2.0
16	2.6	26.8	29.3	36.2	32.4	44.63	2.0
17U+R	4.7	18.8	21.7	50.9	16.3	141.89	1.7
17 U	*0.2*	*14.9*	*19.4*				
17 R	*97.5*	*97.3*	*68.0*				
18	0.0	17.9	23.1	30.9	42.3	65.6	1.9
19 U+R	3.9	27.7	27.4	43.8	23.0	54.83	2.0
19 U	*2.0*	*25.8*	*26.8*				
19 R	*76.9*	*100.0*	*53.2*				
20	0.1	21.7	27.3	39.2	29.1	44.57	2.1
21	0.0	17.1	28.0	19.4	57.1	38.15	2.2
22	0.2	14.0	27.3	28.5	49.6	34.34	2.1
23	1.3	36.8	34.5	44.4	22.7	59.33	2.0
24	6.7	33.3	30.3	54.4	18.4	36.92	2.0
25	3.6	24.5	35.1	41.6	26.3	32.45	2.2
26 U+R	17.2	55.8	42.8	44.7	35.7	13.14	2.5
26 U	*4.9*	*49.8*	*38.3*				
26 R	*99.6*	*95.6*	*73.1*				
27 U+R	6.2	59.1	41.0	44.2	33.7	15.34	2.5
27 U	*2.7*	*56.4*	*39.1*				
27 R	*44.3*	*87.8*	*62.7*				
28 U+R	26.3	39.3	35.6	65.9	5.6	104.6	2.5
28 U	*20.0*	*30.0*	*31.0*				
28 R	*64.1*	*94.1*	*63.2*				
Total	**3.2**	**25.2**	**29.9**	**34.4**	**40.5**	**40.98**	**2.1**

Source: own calculation on CSA data

The global situation of the households testifies a somewhat varied urban morphology, considering old structured and unstructured areas, social and economic stratification (see also map 4.10). The beauty of Addis Ababa remains intact, as its political and cultural importance to the entire African continent remains intact. Due to overcrowding, shortage of housing units, schools, hospitals, etc., and the expected demographic increment, the government, the local authorities and the international community will be forced to face enormous challenges.

4.4. Prospects and Challenges for Urbanization in Ethiopia

During 1980-2000, according to estimates of the Population Division of the UN (1999), the Ethiopian population grew from 36.4 m to 62.6 m, at a rate of 2.71 a year on average (doubling time is 26 years). Population prospects predict that for the first two decades of this century, the annual increase could vary between 2.52 percent (medium variant; doubling time is 28 years) and 2.30 percent (low variant; doubling time is 30 years). The absolute increase could be, respectively be 40.3 m or 35.9 m. In 2020, after a twenty year period, total population might reach 103 m or 98 m, respectively

If these 36 to 40 m additional people remain with a low level of education or even, if increased in comparison with current very low levels[16] and confined to the traditional agriculture, it is very unlikely that available land can assure even the present so low living standards, unless a sustained rise in farm productivity is reached. To escape from the limitations of peasant agriculture (even considering the 1993 estimates arable land is only 12 percent of all Ethiopian land), there should be incentives to push poor farmers to make technical advances that are needed to reinforce the economy (Europa Publications Limited, 1998).

Moreover, since the agricultural sector is so central to the economy, both in terms of employment and its share of GDP, improvements in the sector will inevitably lead to advances in the economy as a whole. Indeed, the Government has set an ambitious target, namely to double GDP per capita over the next 15 years. At the same time, the Government may support rural development through road construction, the provision of education, health facilities and in the funding and dissemination of agricultural research. Strengthening macro-economic stability and development must, of course, remain a first rank priority for the Government. But this may be complicated by the economic and political federalism. Research suggests that a federal state tends to be more costly than a unitary one and that this additional cost is exacerbated in poor countries.

As, desideratively, peasants prosper, one can expect a more or less huge fall, both in relative and in absolute terms, in the agricultural labor force. As a consequence, there will be expulsion of the labor force from the primary sector and of people from rural areas, a parallel strong increase in migration pressure both due to internal rural to urban and international migration. The labor force supply in all sectors but agriculture should very rapidly increase not only for demographic reasons and the modernization of agriculture, but also due to the rise of the education level, especially for women, and of the GDP per capita. But it is doubtful that the labor force demand in others sectors could grow at the same pace as supply. During the demographic transition and economic transformations, as already happened in almost all countries, these four factors should lead, other things being equal, to a very massive and huge increase of population's propensity to move.

According to the most recent world urbanization prospects (Population Division, 2000), in the period 2000-2020, the Ethiopian urban population is expected to increase at an annual rate of 4.94 and in the period 2000-*2015* Addis Ababa could grow at a rate 4.39 percent a year[17]. The whole picture of the estimated and expected trend of the past twenty years and the next is given in Table 4.18.

According to these current forecasts, one can distinguish some main challenges.

a) **The *rural population*** is expected to increase from 32.6 to 73.2 m in only forty years (1980 to 2020). Indeed, the annual change rate of the rural population in the next twenty year period might be about one third of the previous one, but the absolute increase could be about three million more, reaching almost 22 million. The problem is to accommodate

[16] According to the *Human Development Report 2000*, the adult illiteracy rate among people aged 15 and over in 1998 was 63.7 percent (57.9 for males and 69.5 for females).
[17] For the urban agglomerations the UN prospects arrive just to 2015.

both in a proper sense and in a larger sense[18], in rural areas, such a large additional number of people. The problem is, therefore, to avoid rural poverty and the inadequacies in the provision of services in rural areas, beginning from water supply and sanitation. It has to be stressed, however, following adequate policies, rural-urban linkages can be positive and the extent to which high-value crops can support rising prosperity in rural areas and encourage a more decentralized pattern of urban development[19];

Table 4.18 – Estimated and Projected Rural, Urban, and Addis Ababa Population, 1980-2020

Population	Population size (000s)			Population increase (000s)		Annual change rate (%)	
	1980	2000	2020	1980-00	2000-20	1980-00	2000-20
Rural	32,562	51,523	73,249	18,961	21,726	5.00	1.76
Urban	3,061	11,042	29,686	7,981	18,644	6.41	4.94
*Addis Ababa**	*1,486*	*2,639*	*5,095*	*1,153*	*2,456*	*3.83*	*4.39*

*For Addis Ababa figures are referred respectively to 1985, 2000 and 2015 (see footnote 5) and, therefore, changes to periods 1985-00 and 2000-15
Source: Own calculations on Population Division (2000) data

b) The annual change rate of the ***urban population*** in the next twenty years period could be only slightly minor of the previous one, but in any case very high, about 5 percent. If one would like to maintain for the new comers at least the same standards of living of the already existing population, this means that all the resources – financial, economic, administrative, managerial – should increase at the same rate to face a so high change rate. The challenge is to accommodate in the urban areas an additional number of 932 thousand people on average *a year* along a twenty year period;

c) The annual change rate for ***Addis Ababa*** in the next fifteen years period might reach the value of 4.49 percent versus 3.83 percent of the previous one. In only thirty years, the population of Addis Ababa might be multiplied 3.4 times. A very rapid and intense growth, which requires an enormous amount of resources, financial, economic, administrative, managerial, that must be found at a domestic and international level (bilateral and multilateral) and through new partnerships. Resources necessary for housing, service, jobs, infrastructure, environmental protection, and more in general for economic development.

These prospects that should be causes and consequences of a rising territorial mobility, and social too, could be largely modified or upset by a speed of modernization and development of the economy, different from that which is at the base of the forecast. But the internal mobility could vary also in function of the level of international migration. Indeed, everywhere a strong interplay between international, long-range internal and rural to urban migration can be observed. If the social and economic development is more rapid than in the

[18] Considering not only houses and food, but also schools, hospitals, sanitation, roads, jobs, and so on.
[19] According to *The World Factbook 2000. Ethiopia* available on Internet by CIA, permanent crops constitute only 1 per cent of Ethiopian land (and arable land 12 percent).

past, it seems plausible to imagine more massive population international movements such as that prospected by Population Division[20].

In all cases, and taking into account all possible factors that are at the base of population movements and urbanization, for the period 2000-2020, one can imagine for the Ethiopian population, a mobility and an urbanization process much greater than in 1980-2000. The Ethiopian further urbanization can actually contribute to the nation's wealth, even by enriching the domestic market and its international trade. Moreover, cities can provide better services because they benefit from the economies of scale. In reaching large number of people, metropolitan centers and medium size cities have the possibility to reduce energy costs, offer more efficient transportation systems, provide better educational and health services at lower unit costs and construct more habitable space (Habitat, 1996). But if actually the *unit* costs for all urban infrastructure and services can be reduced by economies of scale, the *total* cost of them is increasing with the total amount of the increase of urban population. If urban population in Ethiopia should really grow, as predicted, at a rate of 5 percent a year along a twenty years period (and over) it is hard to imagine that the necessary resources can grow at the same rate, they can be found only domestically and slums and consequent poverty, inequality, and discrimination can be avoided.

Recent wars have forced the Government to spend resources on the military and to scale back development plans. Moreover, in recent years, foreign investments have declined significantly. Estimate of the total GDP for 1999 (purchasing power parity) is $33.3 billion. The GDP per capita is $560[21]. According to the *Human Development Report 2000*, for Human development index, Ethiopia is ranked 171 out of 174 countries. Looking only to domestic resources, there appear to be few possibilities for a real and significant economic and human development. For Ethiopia, as well as all least developed countries, what seems to be necessary is a strong and multiway international cooperation based on foreign investments in the country, foreign aid specially devoted to health and education, liberalization of trade and major importation of Ethiopian products at reasonable prices.

[20] In the period 2000-2020 the medium variant projection of the UN forecasts an average annual increase of 2,049 thousands people and a net emigration per year of 30 thousands (Population Division, 1999).
[21] For 1998 the GDP per capita is estimated $574. As comparison: Eritrea $833, Kenya $980.