



# **Dilla University**

**College of Social Sciences and Humanities**

**Department of Social Anthropology**

**Reading Material for Second Year Social Anthropology Students**

**Course: Urban Anthropology (SoAn2063)**

**Prepared by- Robel M.**

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## Table of Contents

Chapter One.....	- 1 -
1. Introduction to Urban Anthropology.....	- 1 -
1.1. The Subject Matter of Urban Anthropology.....	- 2 -
1.2. The Domains of Urban Anthropology .....	- 3 -
1.3. Historical Development of Urban Anthropology .....	- 4 -
4. Intraactionism.....	- 9 -
5. Archaeology .....	- 9 -
1.5. Basic Concepts Urban Anthropology.....	- 9 -
1.6. Basic Premises in Urban Anthropology.....	- 10 -
1.7. Research Tradition and Critics in Urban Anthropology .....	- 12 -
1.8. Contemporary Urban Anthropology and Urban Anthropologists .....	- 13 -
Chapter Two.....	- 14 -
2. Historical Perspective: Origin and Growth of Urban Centers.....	- 14 -
2.1. Urbanization and Urbanism: An Overview .....	- 14 -
2.2. The Genesis and Growth of Urban Centers .....	- 15 -
2.3. The Origin of Cities .....	- 17 -
2.4. World First Cities .....	- 18 -
2.5. Theoretical perspectives on the origin of cities.....	- 21 -
2.6. Contemporary Theories of Urbanism .....	- 25 -
2.7. The Basis of a City.....	- 27 -
2.8. Phases of Urbanization .....	- 28 -
2.9. Factors that Encourage Urbanization .....	- 30 -
CHAPTER THREE .....	- 33 -
3. Theories of Urbanization .....	- 33 -
3.1. Theoretical Approach in Urban Studies .....	- 33 -
CHAPTER FOUR.....	- 38 -
4. Urbanization in Advanced and Developing Nations.....	- 38 -
4.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Urban Centers.....	- 40 -
4.2. Urban poverty .....	- 41 -
4.3. Urban Human Settlements and Natural Disasters .....	- 41 -

CHAPTER FIVE.....	- 43 -
5. Urbanization in Ethiopia .....	- 43 -
5.1. Aspect of Urbanization in Ethiopia .....	- 43 -
5.2. Urbanization and Urban Development in Ethiopia.....	- 45 -
5.3. Characteristics of Contemporary Ethiopian Towns .....	- 47 -
5.4. Problems of Urbanization in Ethiopia.....	- 50 -
CHAPTER SIX.....	- 51 -
6. Cultural Roles and Primary Urban Types .....	- 51 -
1. Regal-ritual cities.....	- 51 -
2. Administrative cities.....	- 52 -
3. Mercantile cities .....	- 52 -
4. Colonial cities .....	- 53 -
5. Industrial cities.....	- 53 -
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	- 54 -
7. Basic Characteristics of Rural and Urban Areas Differences .....	- 54 -
7.1. Rural-Urban Contrast.....	- 54 -
CHAPTER EIGHT .....	- 56 -
8. Urban Pathologies, Decay and Renewal.....	- 56 -
8.1. Urban Problems.....	- 56 -
8.2. Urban Decay.....	- 60 -
8.3. Urban Renewal.....	- 62 -
References .....	- 67 -

## **Chapter One**

### **1. Introduction to Urban Anthropology**

Urban Anthropology is a contemporary subfield of anthropology. The origins of modern anthropological thought usually attributed to major British, American, German, and French scholars of the nineteenth century. Among these, two significance figures were Edward B.Tylor in England and Lewis H. Morgan in United States. Tylor contributed the first significance definition of core concept of culture. Early anthropologists mainly studied small communities in technologically simple societies. Such societies are often called by various names, such as, traditional, non-industrialized or simple societies. Anthropologists of the early 1900s emphasized the study of social and cultural differences among human groups. Here, many of the indigenous peoples of the non-western world and their social and cultural features were studied in detail and documented. This approach is called ethnography.

Meanwhile in the first decades of the twentieth century, anthropological fieldwork was conducted among colonized peoples who were administratively incorporated in to national empires. Malinowski did his work among the Trobriand Islanders who were under the political domination of Australia, and Radcliffe Brown did his work among the Andaman Islanders who were controlled by the British as part of their India domain. Followers of these British anthropologists worked primary in African area dominated by the British.

Although world war II and its aftermath stimulated certain changes in anthropological emphasis, other events had occurred even before the war that led to a changing constituency for the researcher. Many anthropologists were no longer doing fieldwork in isolated tribal societies, but were going to agriculturally based communities. The war itself gives greater impetus to such village studies in peasant societies.

Peasant societies are characterized by a higher rate of per capital productivity than tribal societies because they have developed techniques for controlling water, soil nutrients, and soil quality. Moreover' the complex system of social differentiation in such societies necessitates integrative centralized economic and political institutions. Once the peasant society was defined, the anthropologist had to recognize the impact of cities within such a

society. From this it was a logical and predictable move to studies of people in cities and thus to urban anthropology.

### **1.1. The Subject Matter of Urban Anthropology**

Urban anthropology is a sub field in social anthropology which primarily examines the social organization of the city, looking at the kind of social relationship and the pattern of social life unique to the cities and comparing their cultural and historical context. In more theoretical terms, urban anthropology involves the study of the cultural systems of cities as well as the linkages of cities to larger and smaller places and populations as part of a worldwide urban system. Thus, urban anthropology emphasizes ethnographic research on the cultural systems of selected populations, compares the cultural systems of these populations, and offers contextual explanations for the attitudes and behaviours observed among these populations.

Urban anthropology emerges in the mid-sixties, and at present this subject is one of the rapidly growing areas within the discipline of anthropology. To understand why it has been emerged, one so must look at the history of the larger discipline, its conceptual basis and the major standards that have had a direct impact on urban anthropology. As a scientific discipline, cultural anthropology has its roots in the 19th c. the expansion of western European nation's status as a colonial power lead to contact with remote tribal groups. Despite the short coming groups of specialist did emerge who were concerned with the study of tribal, folk, modern societies. They were comparing those societies to one another and to western societies. Thus the comparative approach was a vital element of early cultural anthropology.

To a certain extent British and American anthropologists took different stand, the British anthropologists were defined their field as comparative sociology i.e. concerning on society, while the American anthropologists defined their field as the study of culture. As a result, many of the boundary maintenance problems of American anthropology (particularly in relation with sociology) have not been important to the British.

To a large extent the transformation of traditional peasant societies and the mass migration to the city explain the new interest of anthropologists in urban research. Beyond this many

of us are genuinely concerned with the social, ethic and economic problems. So, clearly seen in cities; we believe that anthropology along with other social sciences, can help to ameliorate these problems together these events and convictions have created a new field, urban anthropology.

In contrast to the earlier studies on urbanism, urban anthropology applied anthropological concepts and field research methods to urban populations having the city as the context of the research rather than the phenomenon under study. Urban Anthropology also studies social problems which are characteristics of larger cities such as crime, social disorder, poverty and homelessness. These research focuses examine the social organization and cultural practices of distinct groups within the cities such as gangs, kinship network, homeless, alcoholics, ad criminals.

## **1.2. The Domains of Urban Anthropology**

There are three different types of studies from which the field of urban anthropology has taken its direction.

1. The study of peasant migrants in the city
2. Problem-centered studies
3. Traditional ethnographic studies by using the city as a laboratory

**1. Peasant in cities:** within the scope of urban anthropology, some of the studies found that traditional anthropology delighting up on rural-urban migration and the initial adaptation of rural peasants to the new urban environment. The type of research was an extension of village studies, because there was a frequent movement of different groups of people from village to city. After some time, they started to study peasants in the city.

The basic assumptions of their focus on peasant in city were:

- ✚ New social environment for the new comer
- ✚ Confronted with unfamiliar people and place
- ✚ Faced with new situation and institutions
- ✚ New behavioural codes
- ✚ Reorient their daily schedule and change their attitude as per the urban environment requires

Few peasant migrants have relation on ties with their rural people. They do maintain relationship with people and the property they left in the village. They do have practice of exchange of gifts and money during their visit either occasionally or during vacation, religious ceremony, family crises and life cycle events. There is a contrast between migrants in different cities and as well as various regional and tribal groups in the same city, among them one moves short distance and other moves so far. The phenomena of **Circular migration** (repeated movement between rural and urban areas) and **Step or Stage migration** (movement in sequence for small to increasingly larger settlements).

**2. Problem-centered approach:** a strong recognition of the anthropologists and their research data, sometimes used by particular dominant groups and western colonial forces lead to some of the studies we are naming the problem-centered approach. The problem oriented urban anthropologists were followers of urban sociology, which emphasized on the study of social deviant and minority groups. In anthropological study the approach usually emphasized the role that dominant classes and ecological factors that play a great role to create the problems. Anthropologists expect that the largest component of problem oriented study is literature on poverty with the span of 10 years, some of the studies clarified that the value and the behaviour of people description was poor in social science. The first guy who started to write on “poverty” in anthropological concern was Oscar Lewis

**3. Traditional analytical approach:** this approach mainly concerned with two words of urban anthropology, concept and theory than policy. This approach is more interesting to study urban structure than migrant adaptation. This approach results from the transportation of the long term theoretical problem of the discipline to the city. Some of the question raised in urban setting such as social structure, social process, culture and cognition as well as general anthropological theories –kinship theory, socialization theory, or cultural theory.

### **1.3. Historical Development of Urban Anthropology**

Urban anthropology crept up gradually and was almost unnoticed until the late 1940's; its roots lie more in the sociological study of industrial societies than traditional anthropology. Its roots lie rather in sociology as the study of industrial societies. Therefore early

sociologists were the first to turn their attention towards urban life. From the 1930's to the 1950's, there was a grow of cultural anthropologists' interests in the study of peasants and the impact of cities on their lives (Redfield 1947). By the 1950's already a number of anthropologists and sociologists were conducting research on urban phenomena (Childe 1950, Bott 1957, Sjoberg 1960).

Urban Anthropology emerged as a separate sub-discipline of social anthropology during the 1950's and 60's. In contrast to other social science fields, anthropologists are late comer in urban research. More than eighty years sociologists began a systematic research on American cities, especially through the effort of the University of Chicago. They also able to developed the theory of urbanism as a discipline type of social life. Most of the researches conducted by sociologists in the 20th century were dealt with urban phenomena. The expansion of urban anthropology in 1960's reflects the recognition that traditional target groups, such a tribal and peasant people, become increasingly integrated in to urban world. In contrast the earliest anthropological research of cities was conducted after the Second World War. Thus until the end of 1980s the discipline was not well established. Most of their research lacks the following points:

- ✚ The parameter of the field were not defined
- ✚ Inappropriate research strategies
- ✚ Research topics were not well defined

When anthropology emerged as a formal science at the end of 19th c it was concerned with exclusively with "primitive people". Most anthropologists were interested in the study of society which is presumed to be untouched by the outside world, as the tradition was adopting the "isolationist" perspective.

The first major shift of interest of anthropologists on the study if society about in the 1940s. Interest began to shift to study the peasant community, the rural dimension of traditional culture. Then most indigenous culture of united state America had already changed as a consequence of white contact. So, the aim of field research in United State was to draw up the memories of the oldest surviving Indian to reconstruct as completely as possible the "untouched" pre-contact situation.



The expansion of Urban Anthropology in the 1960's reflects the recognition that traditional target groups, such as tribal and peasants people became increasingly integrated in an urbanized world. Particular attention was given to rural-urban migration, urban adaptation, ethnicity, and poverty (Lewis 1968, Hannerz 1969). By the 1970's, UA was already being defined as a distinctive field within cultural anthropology, with the result of a significant growth in textbooks, readers, and reviews (Chrisman and Friedl 1974, Gulick 1973, Southall 1973). Additionally, the first integrated textbooks appeared: Fox (1977) identifies five different types of cities, and discusses the relationship between cities and the wider society they are embedded in. Basham (1978) offers a discussion of the study of urban societies and various related topics. During the 1980's, a second generation of textbooks and studies emerged (Collins 1980, Gmelch and Zenner 1980, Hannerz 1981, Press and Smith 1980).

Though anthropologists made two major revolutionary shifts in the history of the discipline, anthropologist's dedication to field work as their primary data gathering strategy remains constant. From the beginning, concerning on urban research anthropologists had differed similar research of other social scientists.

1. Anthropologists were interested on the growing cities of Latin America, Africa and Asia, while others were concerned on Europe and America.
2. Regarding on theoretical orientation, anthropologists were interested on urbanization (the process by which rural migrants settle and adjust to the new urban life in cities).

As anthropologists were accustomed to working on small "bounded" rural communities, they faced difficulties in dealing with amorphous heterogeneous population of large cities. As a solution for this problem Anthony Leeds (1968), cited that anthropologists started by concentrating on slums, squatter settlement, or ethnic minorities, by assumption that they are analogous to small rural villages, which were familiar to them.

Critics against the earlier approach of urban anthropologists pointed out that:

- ✚ They have been given a less attention to those African who were resident in urban areas for a considerable length of time than to migrants

- ✚ Problem with defining a population in a holistic context taken for granted in rural field work. Alternatively the population may be defined in social terms, as a member of religious sect, voluntary association, a professional or occupational category.

Thus selecting and delineating the urban population segment to be investigated is the critical first step in urban anthropological research. Generally the history of urban anthropology lie under five segments such as;

- 1) Early urban sociology
- 2) Chicago school of sociology
- 3) The community study approach
- 4) Interactionism
- 5) Archaeology

### **1. Early urban sociology**

Ferdinand Tonnies (1887) made his distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) on the basis of the concept that impersonal, contractual bonds characterize the capitalist society in contrast to the intimate relationships and collective activities of the feudal community.

Emile Durkeim, who introduces the term “anomie”, followed this school of thought. In his study on “suicide” (1897), he suggested that anomic suicide as being characteristic of those who live in isolated, impersonal worlds. Both concepts are rooted in the theoretical assumptions about what constitutes the essence of urban and urban life.

More important to the later development of urban anthropology was sociologist, Louis Wirth’s essay on “urbanism as a way of life” (1938). He developed a type of theoretical influence regarding on urban life on social organization and attitudes. He argued that urban life is marked by impersonal, instrumental contacts which tend to free individuals from the strong controls of such primary groups as the extended family.

Robert Redfield (1947) adapted Wirth’s formulation of these characteristics to his folk-urban continuum concept, by characterizing the urban pole in Wirth’s terms, and the folk pole as its opposite (small, homogeneous, isolated, traditional communities which were

economically self-sufficient and has only a rudimentary division of labor). He went a step further by elaborating the role of cities as “Great Tradition” as opposed to the “Little Tradition” of local villages. Both scholars’ influence on the development of the anthropology of complex society was significant. Critiques, however, addressed that the concept of “urbanity” as typically western and “the rural” as non-western are Eurocentric ideal-types.

## **2. The Chicago school of urban sociology**

A major contribution to urban sociology was come from Robert E. Park and his school at the University of Chicago. His research focused on demographic and census information, interviews and historical data and emphasized cities’ social problems rather than exploring an abstract theory of urban life. In this school of thought, cities were viewed as ecosystems requiring energy to maintain their structure and which are segmented into “natural areas” subject to laws of residential succession (natural areas are for example slums neighbourhoods, and vice areas). A major premise was the “concept of succession”. With this model, scholars analyzed changing residential patterns, for example the development of ghettos for the African Americans who moved to Chicago in search for jobs (Duncan and Duncan 1957). Later on this school shifted to empiricist, quantitative and statistical reworking of those census data.

## **3. The community study approach**

This approach in early urban anthropology was the most “anthropological” in the traditional sense. It was developed partly in reaction to the abstract empiricism of the later Chicago school. One of the key figures of this approach was Carolyn Ware who in “Greenwich Village”, 1920 to 1930, examined the incorporation of Greenwich Village in to New York through the expansion of metropolis and the process by which it maintained its distinctive character. Though this study represent one of the earliest community study research agendas, it is still very relevant in the contemporary debates on global integration.

Lloyd Warner also contributed for this approach by conducting ethnographic research in the Australia aborigines with information gathered from formal interviews for his social study of the New England city the so- called Yankee city. Generally in its conception, it was

most familiar with anthropological research approach and their method of participant observation was one indicator.

#### **4. Interactionism**

This movement can also be interpreted as a response to the lifeless empiricism of the later Chicago school. The most prominent work (not only in urban anthropology) was Erving Goffman's micro study of human interaction, "the presentation of self in everyday life" (1959). He defined human interaction through dramaturgical metaphor and analyzed human behaviour as a series of performances of parts. The value of this research for urban anthropology lies in its emphasis up on the element of subtle play in human interaction. Urbanites are especially required to continually present fragmentary aspects of themselves to others, strangers, or people who know them only as inhabitants of discrete occupational or ethnic categories. Urbanites are confronted every day with a number of different types of people and setting. The study therefore, offers a workable tool for the understanding of urban social structure.

#### **5. Archaeology**

It is important to know that the path breaking contribution to the study of civilization and urban spatial systems came from archaeologists. The term "urban revolution" was introduced by Gordon Childe (1950), a Marxist oriented old world historian, to describe the process by which complex, civilized societies emerged. The basic criteria for Childe isolated are: classes of full time specialists and elites exempt from subsistence tasks, mechanisms such as taxes or tributes by which the "social surplus" could be concentrated in the hands of elites, massive public buildings, writing system, extensive foreign trade, and the emergence of political organization. So archaeologists with their genuine focus on civilization in complex societies particularly in urban setting was a dutiful for the emergence of the discipline of urban anthropology.

#### **1.5. Basic Concepts Urban Anthropology**

**Sub-culture-** groups with similar or distinctive culture characteristics of pattern of life with in a larger society or culture, to which they belong. E.g. ethnic groups, middle man minorities, homosexual groups.

**Ethnic group** – refers to a group of people who shared the same culture, history, language, geography and ideologies (that transmitted from generation to generation). Anthropologist Barth defined based on boundaries, the boundaries of ethnic groups are constituted through ‘self-ascription’ where by people choose to utilize few cultural attributes often such as features of dressing, language, house form, and similar style of life. But this definition was criticized as not considering genealogical representation.

**Class-** is hierarchy or a division where by the people of a certain community are situated in different social group. In urban setting the units are based up on the division of:

- ✚ Economy-rich/middle/ poor
- ✚ Education- illiterate/literate
- ✚ Occupation- upper/middle/working

**Social institutions** – are institutions where by individuals assembled as units to accomplish a common objective. There are two types of institutions, formal and informal institutions. Anthropologists are more interested in the informal institutions, as they are important in the lives of the urban community.

**Formal institution-** it denotes institution where rules and tasks are officially and strictly observed. In most cases they are established by not the members of themselves but rather imposed by others.

**Informal institution** – institution which are established by members of themselves voluntarily. E.g. *ikub, idir*, religious institution like *mahiber* or *senbete*.

## 1.6. Basic Premises in Urban Anthropology

### The concept of “isolationist”

There was a long tradition among anthropologists to look for a society which presumed to be “isolated”, believing to them to ideal for ethnographic research. As a result most of the ethnography becomes central to the description of such concept of ‘isolated’ system. Consequently they used to look culture in the context of related society. As a result culture in cultural anthropology becomes closely tied with the unit society.

Based on the ethnographic descriptions, which follow the isolationist perspective:

- ✚ Culture is bounded- it is mapped to a specific places and society.

- ✚ Culture is an integrated whole (holistic approach)
- ✚ Culture couldn't be understood according to the universal standards or can't be judged based on the standards of other culture (absolute relativist).

Thus this long tradition of isolationist perspective affects the perspective of many cultural anthropologists like evolutionists. The evolutionary perspectives criticized the isolationist perspective based on the following stands

- A. All cultural systems are in the process of continual adaptive interaction with their environment.
- B. The majority of cultural systems in the contemporary world are adaptively interacting with each other, world system.
- C. There is continual process of various cultural systems with in the world system, since each individual culture is in adaptive interaction with the whole.

Based on this assumption culture is not bounded in time and place, it is a process, its context is not limited one specific unit 'society' but to many other parts of society of the world. Therefore anthropologists must consider the fact that city as part of the larger social, economic, cultural and political field. This perspective shows the interdependence of the world system is an ideal approach for such urban studies.

### **Urban field work**

Most anthropological studies in urban areas conducted among the poor, ghetto, and squatter settlements. It was because

- A) The tradition of anthropologists to collecting data especially participant observation, were designed or working with a fairly homogenous groups- localized in one area. The condensed neighbourhoods of the urban poor offer a field situation more suitable to the anthropologist methods than the spread out dormitory sub-urban of the middle class.
- B) The poor are more accessible. On the other hand the poor are not as resistant to being studied as those the strata above them.
- C) In most societies the middle and upper class are less willing to tolerate the intrusion of anthropologists and their endless questions.
- D) Anthropologists are primarily concerned with people and societies which are marginal in terms of national and political power and health.

In the field work at urban setting, the **disadvantages** are:

The people in the urban setting are less observable as compared to the rural people. As most of their activities are indoor-especially the middle and upper class. The nature of urban work make the researcher difficult to find informants (for most of them are employees, time is money for them). Thus the researcher must adjust his time schedule based on the time convenient to the informants.

### **Advantages**

-Availability of statistical data from administrator or other institutions

-Feeling of easiness- for anthropologists they escape stress insecurities of field situation.

-Anthropologists can continue their contact with their own societies (for the availability of telephone, or any other form of communication).

## **1.7. Research Tradition and Critics in Urban Anthropology**

### **1. Anthropology of Urban Poverty**

According Richard G. Fox (1977), different research traditions within urban anthropology maintain continuity with traditional anthropology and its methods not by focusing on urbanism itself, but through analysis of smaller units within cities. One example is the anthropology of urban poverty. Oscar Lewis introduces the term “culture of poverty”, which he understood as a form of life that exists independent of economic and political deprivation. Naturally this evoked a series of critiques. Ghetto research and the exclusive study of migrant populations again reflect the traditional anthropological quest for the exotic, minorities, ethnic enclaves, and small scale units. This research agenda is contrary to the integrated approach of urban anthropologists who are interested in the interweavement and interrelatedness of different modes of cultural, social, and economic life within the urban context.

### **2. Net Work Research**

More traditional research areas are household and family research and social network research. Network analysis was rooted in the study of rural communities and was transferred to cities with the publication of Elizabeth Bott’s “family and social network” (1957). This book was part of an interdisciplinary study of “ordinary” families in London.

The derived Bott's hypothesis is based on the assumption that the degree of segregation in the role-networks within a community. She outlined three kinds of organization: complementary organization, independent organization and joint organization. She thus established the idea of a relationship between the internal structure of the family and the pattern of its external contacts.

### **3. Anthropology of Urbanization**

The anthropology of urbanization (rural-urban migration) stands at the interaction between the urban and the rural. This field has been developed in African research, mainly carried out by the British anthropologists, and in Latin American studies, dominated by American researchers. Emphasis is on large scale physical movement of rural people to cities. The question of how these immigrant populations adapt to their new environment-focusing on the alteration social structure, interpersonal ties, and collective identities within the cities.

#### **1.8. Contemporary Urban Anthropology and Urban Anthropologists**

Today, urban anthropology distinguished itself from urban sociology mainly in terms of a different perspective: while sociological studies are more focused on fragmented issues, urban anthropology on the one hand theoretically directed by holistic approach. Urban anthropology in the 1960 and 70 focused on particular issues like migration, kinship, and poverty derived from the traditional-based field work of urban anthropology. By the 1980 they expand their interests to any aspect of urban life. As a result urban anthropology becomes more integrated in to the discourse of the other social sciences.

Urban Anthropology merged with geography, ecology and other disciplines. Along with the traditional theoretical interest and conceptualization of urban space and urbanism, contemporary issues in urban anthropology include rural-urban migration, demography, adaptation and adjustment of human in densely populated environments, the effect of urban setting up on cultural pluralism and social stratification, social networks, the function of kinship, employment, the growth of cities, architecture, crime, and other practical urban problems such as housing, transport, use of space, waste management, infrastructure, demography and others.



## Chapter Two

### 2. Historical Perspective: Origin and Growth of Urban Centers

#### 2.1. Urbanization and Urbanism: An Overview

The concept of urbanization refers to the shift from a rural to urban society. The urban world increases at the expense of rural world. The process of urbanization can be defined at least in three ways: demographic urbanization, structural urbanization, and behavioural urbanization.

##### **Demographic urbanization**

It is about the process of population concentration. It refers to a rise of proportion of the population living in towns, cities, or any other urban site. This can be done either by a multiplication of urban points or by faster population growth in urban settings than in rural districts. According to this approach, urban settlements are those settlements that have certain number of population. This certain number varies from country to country. E.g.in Japan  $\geq 50000$ , Botswana  $\geq 5000$ , USA  $\geq 2500$ , Ethiopia  $\geq 2000$ , Canada  $\geq 1000$ , Denmark  $\geq 250$ , and Peru  $\geq 100$ .

##### **Structural urbanization**

It focuses on the concentration of economic activities to a certain places, irrespective of population development. Structural urbanization is often but not always correlated with demographic urbanization and the city is imagined as an economic organization. Urban behaviours are not place bound and they can be observed in meagrely as well as densely populated areas.

##### **Behavioural urbanization**

It refers to the process where behaviours, cultural norms, attitudes, beliefs, thoughts, and other customs that are supposed to characterize the life styles of urban people are spread to an even large proportion of the total population of a nation or region. The city is seen as a social system- people acting within a coherent domain of social norms and not primarily as an economic organization. During the period of strong population growth (example, during industrialization), cities will sooner or later grow outside their administrative

borders and suburbs will emerge. Suburbanization and urban sprawl are concepts used to describe and analyze the spread of urban settlements over rural land at the outskirts of an urban area. Together a city and its suburbs make up an urban region or metropolitan area. Generally, urbanization is the process of population concentration in urban areas. It involves the movement of people particularly from rural areas to urban areas. There are two simple measures of urbanization: level of urbanization and, rate of urbanization.

***Level of urbanization = urban population, for ratio***

***Rural population***

***Or***

***Level of urbanization = urban population x 100, for percentage Rural population***

***Rate of urban = current year urban population –Previous year urban population  
Previous urban population***

***Urbanism*** refers to the cultural component associated with urbanization. It includes a range of beliefs, values and rules of behaviour which are assumed to be associated with urbanization. Urbanism reflects the patterns of culture and social interaction resulting from the concentration of large population in a relatively small geographic area. It refers to an organization of society (community) in terms of a complex division of labor, high level of technology and social mobility.

## **2.2. The Genesis and Growth of Urban Centers**

It is commonly considered that the history of human civilization is really the history of urban life. Archaeological records indicate the cradle of urban development was located in the lower Middle East the “**fertile Crescent**” its beginnings have been dated between 9,000 B.C in the Neolithic Age. Whether or not it was from the Middle East alone that this important “revolution” spread to other parts of the world, or whether there were other independent centers of urban growth, is still a matter of controversy among historians and anthropologists. However, somewhat later in time very important centers of urban civilization appeared in the Northern China, in the Indus Valley of Northern India and in the lower Nile Valley.

What was the force behind the slow development of these communities in which a large number of people lived in units much larger than a village of scattered homesteads? Is it appropriate to refer to these communities as towns? Were they perhaps no more than large scale peasant's settlements? After all, when does a village become a town? The last two questions in particular have rebalanced to the history of urban life in Africa.

Though the archaeological record still is not complete, Urban development has its roots in inventions and discoveries of very great magnitude and in changes from food-gathering and hunting to food-producing, from being preyed upon by animals to their domestication, and from an uncertain extended based up on a subsistence economy to the production of food surplus. In short, urban development was rooted in the *agricultural revolution* which, in turn, gave rise eventually to get another transformation of perhaps even greater significance namely, industrial society.

It may be desirable to supply some conceptual shorthand in order to identify and label the main characteristics of this great transformation because some scholars have suggested that the basis of urban life in Africa historically is so very recent that we still are able to detect some of these early characteristics in many of the towns in Africa. Whether this is a really creative approach to understanding African urbanization is a matter to be discussed in the next section.

The change from a subsistence economy to one which rests progressively on the ability to create a surplus of food can also be described as a change from a nomadic-based society to a village-based society. For the sake of shorthand we can say that this is a change from hunters and food-gatherers to peasantry, from a high degree of mobility to settled village life. To identify a form of human settlement as a village is to suggest an important intermediate step in the movement from band societies to urban life. As the size of these settlements grew so did the sometimes positive, but more often negative, competition between them.

While we should keep our conceptual options open and accept the premise that industrial urban life has its historical roots, the view that we shall develop in this chapter is that the

link between tradition and modernity has been all but severed in African urban life. It will also be argued that, unlike the experience of the Western countries of Europe and North America, in colonial Africa the process of urbanization was in no way associated with the process of industrialization, in fact, the towns were the sumps into which the needed cheap labor was flowing. In an attempt to reverse this trend for instance the post-independence policymakers in Nigeria aimed at industrialization without urbanization and achieved urbanization without industrialization consequently the rapid urban growth in the post-independence periods had a 'dysfunctional' effect as it failed to take account the specific conditions, traditional values and the human and material resources of the people.

It is important to recognize that tradition, be it in the realm of material and non-material culture, must be nurtured and reinforced by total complex that is by habits ideas and behaviour. And by social, economic and political institutions which reject any alternatives to tradition. Because this is not the case in Africa today, despite the subsistence economy which still prevails over most of the continent. It might be necessary to apply to the study of urban life in Africa a rather different set of premises. Failure to do this would gravely distort any reading of the historical development of towns in Africa, their contemporary structure and the problems they face.

We have said that tradition, culture and history are not the same. Tradition are conventions which change, while culture is the constant presence of the ideational, institutional and material roots of a society as a living people, sharing a recognition, and perhaps a pride in their past. It is this past which is important to some people rather than, as we have been told over the years, the conventions or the traditional practices of a people. Whereas history, as a view of past events and ideas, is not compelled to adjust itself to the present conventions and concerns with every behaviour, everyday demands, hopes, failures and successes.

### **2.3. The Origin of Cities**

It is widely accepted that the invention of agriculture was the primary factor for the evolution and development of state and earliest cities. After the invention of agriculture

around 12,000 years ago, populations grew and People migrated outward from the early agricultural hearths, carrying their knowledge of farming with them.

In any location where cities later are found there is a historical shift from mobile to sedentary settlement patterns, which is related to the availability of a secure reliable and predictable source of food. Such condition is mainly possible based up on the security and expandability of agricultural production. Many agreed that cities didn't emerge immediately following the beginning of domestication of plants and animals. Food production led to the early village farming community, were the earliest sedentary settlement patterns started. Such communities may have a large population, perhaps comprising several thousands. But almost every one living there obtains their living means of agricultural work.

In such village community of farming some members of the group have other specialized roles, in addition to production of food. This might include jobs-such as adjudicators of dispute, shaman or priest, weavers, wood workers or potters. The agricultural surplus which could be produced was not such a high order that a significant percentage of the people had less time on their hand. Thus they can't be fulltime specialists of non-agricultural products. But certainly the foundation had been laid for greater diversification of interest of activities. It is more likely that the several new occupational groups began to appear, fairly rapidly, such as traders, scholars, religious leaders, administrators, craft men etc. A good example of such settlements is Jaricho, which was found in the present day Israel, and established around 10,000 years ago.

## **2.4. World First Cities**

### **Uruk: The Earliest City**

The first cities in the world were built by the Sumerians, the people who forged the earliest state-level society in the land between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers known as Mesopotamia. During the Uruk period (3600-3100 B.C.), the institutions of complex society-such as writing, centralized political control, a specialized economy, and class stratification were evolving. Population was growing and many new settlements were founded. Most of these were small farming villages and hamlets. Uruk was the largest

settlement, and by the end of this period it covered three-quarters of a square kilometer and had a population of several thousand. The transition to the Early Dynastic period (2900-2300 B.C.) saw enormous growth at Uruk, which expanded to cover four square kilometers with a population of about fifty thousand people. This explosion of urbanization was accompanied by the near abandonment of the surrounding countryside. People gave up their homes in isolated villages and moved into the city, the earliest example of rural-to-urban migration. There are two likely explanations for this change, both related to the social and political context of Sumerian society.

This was the time when kings first appeared in Sumeria. We know from later history that when a state-level society takes over and tries to control peoples who are not used to obeying kings and rulers (i.e., tribal and other non-state peoples), a common practice is to force people to live in towns and cities where they can be watched and controlled more easily than if they live scattered across the landscape. The first kings of Uruk may have felt they needed to have their subjects close at hand, living in the city near the palace.

The second explanation for the rapid migration of farmers into the city is warfare. Uruk was not the only place with a king and state-level institutions.

### **Mohenjo-Daro of the Indus Valley Civilization**

The cities of the Indus Valley civilization, which flourished in Pakistan and western India, offer a contrast to Uruk and the other Sumerian cities. We know far less about this society because only a few sites have been excavated and the Indus Valley writing system has not yet been deciphered. Nevertheless, the Indus Valley cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are among the most impressive urban centers of the ancient world. The Early Indus period (2800-2300 B.C.) saw the development of a number of walled towns.

These cities differed from the early Sumerian cities not only in their size, but also in the extent of urban planning and the presence of impressive public buildings. Mohenjo-Daro was dominated by a huge raised platform or acropolis built of fired brick known as the Citadel. It supported a number of impressive public buildings, carefully constructed with high-quality architecture and materials.

## **The Sacred Khmer City of Angkor in Ancient Cambodia**

The kings of early state-level societies in Southeast Asia carried the notion of the sacred city to its greatest development. When they combined the idea of the city as a replica of the cosmos with the concept that the king is a god on earth who must be worshipped, the result was a tradition of spectacular temple-cities rising out of the Cambodian jungle. King Jayavarman II in **A.D. 802** was the first Khmer king to declare himself a god to be worshipped. He and his successors dedicated their reigns to warfare and temple building.

Khmer cities were laid out around square temple complexes, each one focused on a central series of towers leading up to a highest tower or pinnacle in the exact center. These complexes were designed as models of the universe, and the highest tower represented the sacred Mount Meru, home of the gods.

As the Khmer kings continued their conquests to expand the empire, new and larger temple complexes were built. King Suryavarman II, who ruled from 1113 to 1150, was one of the most powerful kings and built the huge complex called Angkor Wat. By then, Khmer influence had spread throughout Southeast Asia, from Burma to the China Sea. The Angkor Wat compound, which covers nearly two square kilometers, is the largest religious building in the world. The central tower rises to over sixty meters in height. The various towers, rooms, causeways, pools, and gates were built with great precision using measurements based on sacred combinations of numbers. Hundreds of sculptures of gods, people, and scenes from daily life decorate the temple compound, which is surrounded by a moat 250meters wide. Waterworks were also built for more practical ends, including many large reservoirs and canals for irrigation agriculture. Irrigated farming was highly productive and formed the economic backbone that supported the elaborate and costly construction programs of the Khmer kings.

## **Egypt in the Old Kingdom: Civilization without Cities?**

The Old Kingdom (2680-2134 B.C.) under Pharaohs controlled a vast territory along the Nile River, which they ruled through an extensive bureaucracy of scribes who recorded all sorts of economic and social information for the king. The Pharaoh was a divine king, believed to be the son of Ra, the sun god.

In comparison with other ancient civilizations, Egypt's lack of large urban centers stands out. This is especially unusual given the high degree of political control exerted by the Pharaohs; powerful and centralized ancient states like this almost always had large capital cities. Indeed, Egypt has often been called a "civilization without cities." But, this title makes sense only if one follows the demographic definition of cities discussed earlier. There were simply no large urban settlements with tens of thousands of inhabitants before the New Kingdom (1550-1070 B.C.), when the heretic Pharaoh came to power.

As the Egyptian state grew in power at the start of the Old Kingdom period, walls were built around many settlements in the Nile Valley. These towns became the administrative centers of the Pharaoh's government. Each included a major temple, some workshops, and living quarters for priests, scribes, and other people who worked for the temple or for the state, all surrounded by walls of mud brick.

### **Mesoamerican urban tradition**

Mesoamerica is a culture area covering central and southern Mexico and northern Central America. It was home to a wide diversity of peoples and cultures, of which the Maya and Aztecs are the best known. The Mesoamerican urban tradition began with the earliest towns and cities around the time of Christ. In the following Classic period (A.D. 100-800), complex urban civilizations flourished in the tropical jungle lowlands of southern Mesoamerica (the Maya) and in the temperate highlands (e.g., Teotihuacan near Mexico City and Monte Albin in the state of Oaxaca). The Post classic period (A.D. 800-1520) was a time of change and growth throughout Mesoamerica, with general trends leading to groups of smaller states and more widespread interaction between regions, including commercial exchange and the spread of ideas and information. The ancient cities and towns of Mesoamerica varied greatly in their size, social composition, economic institutions, administrative role, and religious institutions. Nevertheless, a basic pattern of urban planning was found in most cities and towns.

### **2.5. Theoretical perspectives on the origin of cities**

The origin of social and political stratification in states, which is the basis of urbanism and city life, has been the subject of study for decades, different explanations were and are



proposed. To understand the origin of cities we need to think for a bit about both the social and environment characteristics, which allowed for the origin of and development of this settlement form. Just as the economic underpinning of the city is its agricultural base, the cultural and social essence of the city is its complexity. Thus an understanding of the development of cities will incorporate an understanding of the rise of the ranking and stratification in the political organization of states. It refers to the entire process of increasing complexity in social, political, economic organization which had occurred in those instances where the state had emerged.

### **FERDINAND TONNIES (1855-1936)**

- ✚ Tonnies considered the social structure of city.
- ✚ He defined and described two basic organizing principles of human association or two contrasting types of human social life, a typology with a continuum of pure type of settlement:

I) Gemeinschaft (community) and

II) Gesellschaft (association).

#### **A. Gemeinschaft (community)**

- ✚ Gemeinschaft is characterized country village; people in rural village have an essential unity of purpose, work together for the common good, united by ties of family (kinship) and neighbourhood and land worked communally by inhabitants.
- ✚ Social life characterized by intimate, private and exclusive living together, members bound by common language and traditions, recognized common goods and evils, common friends and enemies, sense of WE-ness or OUR-ness, humane.
- ✚ There are three types of Gemeinschaft relationships: kinship, friendship, and neighbourhood or locality.

1. Kinship Gemeinschaft is based on family;

- ✚ The strongest relationship being between mother and child, then husband and wife, and then siblings.

- ✚ Gemeinschaft also exists between father and child, but this relationship is less instinctual than that of mother and child. However, the father-child relationship is the original manifestation of authority within Gemeinschaft.

2. There is also friendship or Gemeinschaft of the mind, which requires a common mental community (e.g. religion).

3. Kinship develops and differentiates into the Gemeinschaft of Locality, which is based on a common habitat.

### **B. Gesellschaft (association)**

- ✚ Gesellschaft characterized large city, city life is a mechanical aggregate characterized by disunity, rampant individualism and selfishness,
- ✚ Meaning of existence shifts from group to individual, rational, calculating, each person understood in terms of a particular role and service provided.
- ✚ It deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the Gemeinschaft in so far as the individuals peacefully live together yet whereas in Gemeinschaft people are united in spite of all separating factors, in Gesellschaft people are separated in spite of all uniting factors.

### **EMILE DURKHEIM (1858-1917)**

- ✚ Social solidarity is the bond between all individuals within a society. He developed model of contrasting social order types: both types are natural.

#### **A. Mechanical Solidarity**

- ✚ Mechanical solidarity refers to social bonds constructed on likeness and largely dependent upon common belief, custom, ritual, routines, and symbol,
- ✚ People are identical in major ways and thus united almost automatically, self-sufficient; social cohesion based upon the likeness and similarities among individuals in a society.
- ✚ Common among prehistoric and pre-agricultural societies, and lessens in predominance as modernity increases.

#### **B. Organic Solidarity**

- ✚ In organic solidarity: social order based on social differences,

- ✚ Complex division of labor where many different people specialize in many different occupations,
- ✚ Greater freedom and choice for city inhabitants despite acknowledged impersonality, alienation,
- ✚ Disagreement and conflict, undermined traditional social integration but created a new form of social cohesion based on mutual interdependence, liberating;
- ✚ Social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals in more advanced society have on each other.
- ✚ Though individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interests, the order and very survival of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specific task.

### **GEORGE SIMMEL (1858-1918)**

- ✚ He considered the importance of urban experience, i.e. chose to focus on urbanism (life within the city) rather than urbanization (development of urban areas),
- ✚ "The Metropolis and Mental Life" is an essay detailing his views on life in the city, focusing more on social psychology.
- ✚ Unique trait of modern city is intensification of nervous stimuli with which city dweller must cope, from rural setting where rhythm of life and sensory imagery is slower, habitual and even, to city with constant bombardments of sights, sounds and smells.
- ✚ Individual learns to discriminate, become rational and calculating, develops a blasé attitude – matter-of-fact, a social reserve, a detachment, respond with head rather than heart, don't care and don't get involved.
- ✚ Urbanites highly attuned to time. Rationality is expressed in advanced economic division of labor, and the use of money because of requirement for a universal means of exchange.

### **MAX WEBER (1864-1920)**

- ✚ The city is a relatively closed and dense settlement. Defined urban community, an ideal type, required:

- ✚ Trade or commercial relations, e.g. Market;
- ✚ Court and law of its own;
- ✚ Partial political autonomy;
- ✚ Militarily self-sufficient for self-defence; and
- ✚ Forms of associations or social participation

## **2.6. Contemporary Theories of Urbanism**

Clearly there is a relationship between the rise of cities and;

- The use of agricultural production to support elites
- The emergence of fulltime no agricultural specialists
- Increasing social order
- The establishment of hierarchical organization of control

Among the major explanations on the origin of cities, the tripartite explanation of Kent Flannery (1972) was the objective of most modern inquires on the rise of city. He suggested that an explanation of the rise of complex societies must be based on the understanding of

1. The process of cultural change
2. The mechanism by which change occurs
3. The stress which motivate the change and select the mechanisms actually employed

Bruce F. Byland ( in his article at Urban Life 1980 ), believed that for the fact that there were difficulties in articulating the three parts of the explanation of Flannery, and few satisfying answers have been found. Byland argues that the changes observed in human behaviour are best understood by the process of human social interaction, which are complementary – either cooperation or completion. The stress which drive these processes in to action are socio- environmental in nature, based on the premise;

1. Most of the cultural changes in the past rely on ecological relations of their motive force.
2. Root causes of changes are been growing out the biological character of human population.

**Robert Carneiro**, on his perspective of the origin of cities, suggested that competition grow out of stress imposed by limited of circumscribed environment in the face of population growth is such a case. In this case the social change is seen as a result of the efforts of various groups to insure their access to the limited resources of the region in which they live, when population rise. For him competition increases thus imposing a hierarchy of communities. The successful competitors will rank higher than the losers and will develop central administrative roles.

**Karl Marx**, As non-agricultural specialization began, competition arose because of emerging difference in access to wealth generated by labor. As modern Marxist anthropologist see it – the sequence of the cause and effect begins, with increasing wealth which can be produced given a productive agricultural technology.

Surplus product means that some members of the society can become craft specialist at least part time. Craft people could exchange their products for the agricultural products of their neighbours and thus began to amass wealth. This represents the beginning of socio-economic class differentiation – the rich and the poor craft producers and agriculturalist. This has different interest in the operation o the economic system. Both groups want their products to have high value relative to the other so that their status will be elevated. Hence class conflict and eventual formulation of the state as the mechanism to maintain the position.

**Wittfogel**, for him the rise of administrative structure is seen as a consequence of the development of technological solution to the problem of maintaining high agricultural productivity. Progressively large irrigation system required cooperation among large groups of people. For such a system to success much planning has to go and coordination of effort has to be organized. Thus central institution of control would develop gradually to insure that the public utility, in this case the irrigation works, would continue to function for the common good. The development of managerial elite would result the rise of the state.

In all the explanations made earlier the rise of the state as the political institution is defined by the development of controlling elites (either powerful communities, or powerful classes, or powerful managers) in response to the ecological stress. The rise for city as a place where the many services controlled by these elites are available is, in a circular way, the direct result of the existence of service. We can stipulate that the development of elites and the elite governance is defined as a certain limitation of the access to positions of power within societies. The limitations of the number of positions of power means that the central service performed by the people in such a positions of will necessary be restricted in a space. Cities function as central places where these services and other are congregated so that communication up and down the hierarchy is maximized at minimum cost.

## **2.7. The Basis of a City**

There is no any universally accepted definition of a city, which can be sufficient to include every settlement which we might wish to wish of a city. What is required a set guide lines or considerations which can be considered as a basis to understand what a city is. It may help us to avoid a poor generalization. We should be understood what a city is. We should be very careful in defining a city. For instance if we take the population density as a sole criteria to define a city, we may find many villages with high concentration of people than a city. We may commit the same mistake if we profession as a criterion, as we may get a village where most a nearby factors.

The most important criteria up one which we can define a city is the diversity of both cities and the cultural environment which in which are found. Clearly cities are more complicated places, in which to live than villages. The people who inhabit the cities are by virtue their membership in the complex political organization will have a wide variety of specialized role.

One of the most fundamental tasks to be done is the production of food, which is agricultural surplus, which make possible the support of other people who don't grow their own food. The full time specialists, which don't produce food may include; administrative specialists (leaders and bureaucrats), religious specialist (priests or shamans), craft specialist, merchants, soldiers.

On the other hand some system of re – distribution of food must exist so as the full time specialists may have access to enough food. This may include the means of gathering food from the producers which implies some sort of taxation or tribute. The taxes must be stored and parceled out to the specialists. Which means the administrative structure involving? Still more specialized. The relative value of the labor or product of the labor of non-agricultural in terms of food production must be established (it might be the first issue of conflict in the early cities).

As products, both agricultural and non-agricultural come to the cities from different angles, the city becomes central places for distribution of different kind of products. The city also becomes central place of political importance. The elite people living in cities provide services to the residents of the city and to the city and people living in the surrounding communities. The people from the countryside feed the specialists in the city, in return for their administrative support and the specialized goods and products there.

## **2.8. Phases of Urbanization**

**Urbanization:** in its own historical perspective is more related to natural evolvement of human existence and growth in relation to population of people in a given geographical location. In the work of Jason (2006) “the results of our work show the existing models for the origin of ancient cities may in fact be flawed, urbanism does not appears to have originated with a single powerful ruler or political entity, instead it was the organic outgrowth of many groups coming together, “he further expresses that, to understand patterns of population growth in the earliest urban areas, archaeologists at Tell Brak, located in Northern Mesopotamia, In what is today called northern Iraq and northern Syria.

The emergence of city from the village was made possible by the improvements in plant cultivation and stock – breeding that came with Neolithic culture; in particular, the cultivation of the hard grains that could be produced in abundance and kept over from year to year without spoiling. With the surplus of man power available as Neolithic man escape from a subsistence economy, it was possible to draw a larger number of people into other forms of work and service: administration, the mechanical arts, warfare, systematic thought, and religion. So, the once – scattered population of Neolithic times, dwelling in

hamlets of from ten to fifty houses was concentrated into cities and regimented on a different plan (Childe, 1954).

These early cities bore many marks of their village origins, for they were still in essence agricultural towns this early association of urban growth with food production governed the relation of the city to its neighbouring land far longer than many observers now realize. This means that one of the chief determinates of large-scale urbanization has been nearness to fertile agricultural land. One of the outstanding facts about urbanization is that, while the urban population of the globe in 1930 numbered around 415,000,000 souls, or a fifth of the total population, the remaining four fifths still lived under conditions approximating that of the Neolithic economy [Sorre, 1952].

In the **first stage** of urbanization measured with the number and size of cities varied with the amount and productivity of the agricultural land available. Cities were confined mainly to the valleys and flood plains, like the Nile, the Fertile Crescent, the Indus and the Hwang Ho. Increase of population in any one city was therefore limited. The **second stage** of urbanization began with the development of large-scale river and sea transport and the introduction of roads for chariots and carts. In this new economy the village and the country town maintained the environmental balance of the first stage; but, with the production of grain and oil in surpluses that permitted export, a specialization in agriculture set in and. Along with this, a specialization in trade and industry, supplementing the religious and political specialization that dominated the first stage. Both these forms of specialization enabled the city to expand in population beyond the limits of its agricultural hinterland; and, in certain, cases, notably in Greek city of Megalopolis.

The **third stage** of urbanization does not make its appearance until the nineteenth century, and it is only now beginning to reach its full expansion, performance, and influence. If the first stage is one of urban balance and cooperation, and the second is one of partial urban dominance within a still mainly agricultural framework, behind both is an economy that was forced to address the largest part of its manpower toward cultivating the land and improving the whole landscape for human use. The actual amount of land dedicated to urban uses was limited, if only because the population was also limited. This entire



situation has altered radically during the last three centuries by reason of a series of related changes. The first is that world population has been growing steadily since the seventeenth century, when the beginning of reasonable statistical estimates, or at least tolerable guesses, can first be made (Woytinskys, 1953).

Thanks to World War II, the idea of building such towns on a great scale, to drain off population from the overcrowded urban centers, took hold. This resulted in the new Towns Act of 1947, which provided for the creation of a series of new towns, fourteen in all, in Britain. This open pattern of town – building, with the towns themselves dispersed through the countryside and surrounded by permanent rural reserves, does a minimum damage to the basic ecological fabric. To the extent that their low residential density, these towns not merely maintain a balanced micro-environment but actually grow garden produce whose value is higher than that produced when the land was used for extensive farming or grazing [Block, 1954].

## **2.9. Factors that Encourage Urbanization**

### **Population growth**

There are three components of urban population growth: natural growth of urban population, rural-urban migration and the reclassification of areas previously defined as rural. Natural increase provides a base for urban population growth rates, and rural-urban migration and reclassification supplement this growth. Anyhow the natural increase of the population in the city often declines sharply together with the urbanization process that has happened for example, in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

### **Poverty**

Poverty is hard to define. Poverty means that human needs are not met. Poverty is everyday life in every country, even in developed areas. In every country can be identified individuals who have so small income that they cannot afford even the very basic goods. These physical needs are adequate diet, housing, work, water supply, sanitation and health care. For humans a few mental demands are also important, like basic civil and political rights and feeling of safety.

Poverty can be measured by income level. This is not always the best way to define poor people because some level of personal income cannot substitute problems with health, crime, physical violence or life expectancy. Still using this kind of income level is normal in every country. People whose income is under this minimum level are considered poor. At least 20 per cent of the world's population lives in absolute poverty. More than 90 percent of these live in the developing countries. These numbers are only rough averages because it is in reality difficult to estimate the amount of people who suffer from absolute poverty.

### **Standard of living**

The differences in standard of living are major issues when considering factors that encourage urbanization. Higher living standards and higher salaries in the city attract people to move to the cities. As long as the income gap between rural and urban areas is big, people tend to move to the cities. Economic factors and employment are the main reasons for migration. Sometimes the employment in rural areas is non-existing. In these cases moving to the city, even for very low salaries, is more profitable than staying in the countryside. Political and social factors are also better in the urban areas and they are one reason for migration.

In the city health care and social relations are much easier to organize which makes the inhabitants feeling more secure. In the city people may more easily have their voices heard by joining different political groups and by this poor people can require better living standards and services.

### **Environmental pressure**

The biggest environmental pressure for rural people is the lack of profitable land. The land inherited from the parents is divided to the children and their children. At last the land per farmer becomes so small that it is unprofitable to farm. On the other hand erosion and land deterioration makes farming even more difficult. Even when poor farmers have enough land space they can't always afford and compete for non-sufficient water resources or fertilizers. Water is sometimes much polluted and regulations forbid the use of that kind of water because of food contamination. This gives no opportunity to the poor farmers. They

can either continue farming with contaminated water and get caught with the contamination of crops or try to find some other livelihood. This is the problem in lower basins of many rivers in developing countries (Sajor 2001).

Water shortage increases social inequity. Poor farmers cannot sink boreholes to the necessary depths to extract water. Wealthier farmers can benefit by moving inland to buy up more land or water. The only way to survive for these poor farmers is to move to cities to find some non-agricultural livelihood.

### **Modernization Theory**

The modernization theory means that industrial employment attracts people from rural to urban areas. In the urban areas people work in modern sector in the occupations that facilitate national economic expansion. This means that the old agricultural economics is changing to a new non-agricultural economy. This is the trend, which will create a new modern society. This theory states that inequality in welfare between country and city increases rural to urban migration and thereby expands urbanization. The city's "bright lights" are the main pull factors to the people. The divergence ultimately reduces economic growth and efficiency in the developing world.

To sum up, causes of urbanization can be seen as:

#### **Push factors**

- Land deterioration, lack of adequate land, unequal land distribution, droughts, storms, floods, and clean water shortages.
- Lack of modern resources, firewood shortages, religious conflicts, local economic declines, are also major reasons for moving to the urban areas.

#### **Pull factors**

- High industrial wages
- Freedom from oppressive lifestyle, access to better health care and education, are the "bright lights" for rural people.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. Theories of Urbanization

#### 3.1. Theoretical Approach in Urban Studies

The urban setting is characterized by complexity and heterogeneity as compared to the homogeneous and small scale tribal societies, which were interest area of anthropologists for inquiry. Cities are the composite of both discrete and overlapping units and sub-systems (if we consider city as a functional whole). Moreover, these sub-systems enjoy an independent existence and at the same time a blending groups in a specific aggregate of population takes place.

In response to the problem of understanding such a diverse population, anthropologists have restricted the scope of their inquiries to small segmented groups within a complex urban mosaic. In the process of selecting and analyzing the sub-cultures of urban centers, urban anthropologists tried to adopt the different conceptual frame works among which the most important are:

- ✚ Determinist theory –also called the Wirthian theory or the theory of urban anomic; argues that urbanism increase social and personality disorder over those who found in rural places.
- ✚ Compositional Theory-denies such the effects of urbanism; attributes the differences between urban and rural behaviour to the composition of the different populations.
- ✚ Sub-cultural theory-(ethno-scientific approach) adopt the basic orientation of the compositional school of thought but holds that urbanism does have a certain effects on people of the city, with consequences much like the ones determinists see as evidence of social organization.

#### **1. Determinist Theory**

Determinist theory of urbanism can be found in Park's 1995 paper, but the full exposition of this theory was achieved in Wirth's essay after 23 years. Wirth's argument was based on the two levels one a psychological argument and argument of social structure.

- ✚ Psychological analysis draws heavily on the George Simmel 1905, his essay on “the metropolis and mental life”, he tried to focus on individual mind and personality in the city. “The psychological basis of metropolitan type of individuality consists in the intensification of nervous stimulation which results from the swift and uninterrupted change on inner and outer stimuli.

The city’s most profound effects, Simmen maintained are its profusion of sensory stimuli sights, sounds, smells, actions of others, their demand and interfaces. So, individuals must protect themselves, they must adapt. Their basic mode of adaptation is to react with their heads instead of their hearts. This means urban dwellers tend to become intellectual, rationally calculating and emotionally distant from one another, at the same time, these changes promote freedom for self-developed and creativity.

- ✚ His analysis of social structure, Wirth reaches the same conclusion as he does in his psychological analysis but he posits different process. Economic process of competition, comparative advantage specialization, the size, density, and heterogeneity of the population. An important aspect of this community differentiation is that it is reflected in people’s activities. Their time and attention come to be divided among different and disconnected places, and people. For instance a business executive might move from breakfast with his/her family, to discussions with office co-worker, to lunch with business contacts, to a conference with clients, to golf with friends from the club, and family to dinner with neighbours. At the community level, people differ much from each other as their jobs, their neighbourhoods, and their life styles that moral consensus becomes difficult.

To sum up, on the psychological level, urbanism threatens to the nervous system that then lead people to separate themselves from each other. On the level of social structure, urbanism induces of isolating people, a society in which a social relation are weak provides freedom for individuals, but it also suffers from a debilitated moral order, a weakness that permits social disruption and promotes personal disorder.

## ***2. Compositional Theory***

The determinist theory has been challenged and the compositional approach evolved. Compositionalist emerged from same Chicago school of tradition as the determinist, but they describe the city as a “mosaic of social world”. These worlds are intimate social circles based on kinship, ethnicity, neighbourhood, occupation, life style, or similar personal attributes.

In contrast to determinist, social scientist like Gans and Lewis do not believe that urbanism weakens small, primary groups. They maintained that these groups persist undiminished in the city. People are torn apart from because they must live simultaneously in different social world, but protected by their social worlds. This point of view denies that ecological factors particularly the size, density, and heterogeneity of the wider community have any serious direct consequences for personal social world.

In compositionist term, the dynamic of social life depend largely on the non-ecological factors like social class, ethnicity, race, and stage in the life cycle. Individuals’ behaviour is determined by their economic position, cultural characteristics, and by their marital family status. The same attributes also determine who their associates are and what social worlds they live in it. It is not the size of the community or density that shapes the social and psychological experience.

Compositionalist do not suggest that urbanism has no psychological and social consequences but they do argue that both the direct psychological effects on the individual and the direct anomic effects on social worlds are insignificant. If community size does have any consequences, these theorists stipulate, they result from ways in which size effects positions of individuals in the economic structure, the ethnic mosaic, and the life cycle. For example larger communities may provide better paying jobs, and the people who obtain those jobs will be deeply affected. Thus the compositional approach acknowledges urban-rural psychological differences and can account for them insofar as these differences reflect variations in class, ethnicity and life style.

The contrast between determinist and compositional approach can express this way: both emphasize the importance of social worlds in forming the experiences and behaviours of

individuals, but they disagree sharply on the relationship of urbanism to the viability of those personal milieus. The determinist theory argued that urbanism has a direct impact on the coherence of such groups, with serious consequences to individuals. Compositional theory on the one hand maintained that these social worlds are largely not influenced to ecological factors, and that urbanism has no serious effects on groups or individuals

### ***3. Sub-culture (ethno-scientific) theory***

This theory contends that urbanism independently affect social life however, by destroying social groups as determinism suggests, but instead by helping to create and strengthen them. The most significance social consequences of community size is the promotion of diverse sub-cultures, culturally distinct groups, such as college or university students. Like compositional theory, sub-cultural theory maintained that intimate social circles persist in the urban environment. But like determinism, ecological factors do produce a significance effects in the social worlds of communities, precisely by supporting the emergence of and vitality of distinct sub-culture.

Like determinist and compositional theory, the sub-cultural position holds hatt people in cities live in meaningful social worlds. These worlds are inhabited by persons who share relatively distinct traits like ethnicity or occupation and who tend to interact especially with one another and who manifest relatively distinct set of beliefs and behaviours. For instance on the South side of Chicago heavily populated by workers in the new steel mills. These workers together form a community and occupational sub-culture with particular habits, interests and attitudes. But they are further divided in to even more specific sub-cultures by ethnicity and neighbourhood; thus there are for example the recent immigrated Serbo-Croatian steel workers in one area and the earlier generation one, elsewhere, each group somewhat different from the other. In both sub-culture and compositional theory, these sub-cultures persist as meaningful environments for urban residents.

However, in contrast to compositional analysis which discounts any effects of urbanism, sub-cultural theory argues that these groups are affected directly by urbanism, particularly by the effects of “critical mass”. Increasing scale on the rural-urban continuum creates new sub-cultures, modifies existing ones, and brings them into contact with each other.

The sub-cultural theory holds that there are two ways in which urbanism produces Park's "Mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate".

A) Large communities attract migrants from wider area than do small towns, migrants who bring them a great variety of cultural backgrounds, and thus contribute the formation of a diverse set of social worlds.

B) Large size produces the structural differentiation stressed by the determinists occupational specialization, the rise of specialized institutions, and of special interest groups. To each of these cultural units usually attached subcultures. For example, policy, doctor, and administration tend to form their own milieus as do students or people with political interests or hobbies in common. In this way urbanism can generate a variety of social world.

✚ So, generally sub-cultural theory is the synthesis of the determinist and compositional theories: like the compositional approach, it argues that urbanism does not produce mental collapse, anomie, or interpersonal estrangement; that urbanites at least as much as ruralites are integrated in to viable social worlds. However, like the determinist theory, it also argued that cities do have effects on social groups and individuals- that the differences between rural and urban persons have other causes than the economic, ethnic, or life-cycle circumstances of those persons. Urbanism does have direct consequences.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. Urbanization in Advanced and Developing Nations

After agricultural revolution the period of industrial revolution (the second half of 18th c and the first half of 19th c), played a great role for the emergence of many urban centers in the western world, Europe and North America which sought a rapid growth of urban industrial cities. A good example for such rapid growth of such cities was Chicago. It started as a village in the early 19th c and within a century had become metropolis of over 3 million. In developing countries like in Africa, urbanization is a recent phenomenon thought there are few pre-colonial urban centers in some pocked area of Africa. It is after the Second World War that the cities of many developing countries flourish and the area began to experience rapid urbanization.

Unlike the developed countries, in developing countries the growth of urban centers has been in large measures to the city ward migration of rural people. Since the Second World War, the increase in urban migration has been a phenomenon. Mexico City was the most striking example of rapid urban growth following the WW II.

Though Africa is the least urbanized of the continent of the world and its urban history is less well documented than that of Asia and Latin America, it has fastest rate of urban growth. In addition to this, unlike the towns developed countries, the towns of developing ones grew in size primarily as a result of massive migration from rural areas; whereas industrial towns of the west and Japan have been expanding as a result of natural increase of the urban population. Thus urbanization in developing countries are characterized a gap between the growth and availability of resource. In deed the relation between urban migration and the socio-economic development has become an increasing concern in developing countries.

Among the major characteristics of towns of the developing countries are, which are not common for the cities of developed world are;

-Heavy unemployment rate which range from a minimum of 10% to a maximum of 30% of males over age of 14- which in turn makes life in urban areas of developing countries as

one of the struggle and tension. As migration to the town increases, unemployment rises at an ever increasing rate of inequality, poverty and misery steadily increase.

-Unlawful tenant settlement rise faster than they can be removed by government offended by urban blight, under which condition the town become tidier boxes of discontent. Unable to cope with constraints, many cities in developing countries are stressed by wide spread of poverty.

The majority of the urban dwellers live in slum areas, which poor sanitary conditions and absence of proper health facilities made most of them vulnerable to health hazards. There is no greater political, economic and social distance between the few rich and the mass of the poor peoples. Many of the consequences associated with over urbanization are developing in the cities of the 3rd world, which might arise from the social and economic circumstances create extremely difficult and frustrating condition for the urbanites. Not only cause number of people competes aggressively for the limited jobs, but what is equally serious is that basic services (schooling, health, and infrastructural etc).

When we see the other characteristics, there are some commonalities between the developed and developing countries (at least some big cities of developing ones). To begin with let's look the Anderson's basic characteristics of developed countries.

-High degree of specialization in labour and production of goods and services.

-Total commitment to mechanical power, both in work and out work situation-increasing detachment from traditional control and greater dependency on secondary institution like government and non-government bureaucracies.

-High mobility in the daily movement, change of job and residence, as well as change in social status.

-Almost complete subordination of individuals and groups on mechanical time and increasing control by clock time over appointments and coordination of movement.

-Expectation and devotion to continuous change

Though, the above characterization is common where one looks for urban centers of developing countries (especially metropolis) when looked at the totality of the urban centers. Anthropologists looked for small groups (sub-groups), within the urban system.

They found out the existence of intense intimate relationships. Many researchers have described neighbourhood, work place, family life, religious communities and other urban settings in which people know one another and treat each other in terms of intimacy and interdependence.

#### **4.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Urban Centers**

##### **The positive role of cities**

Cities are center of power and prestige –economic, political and social. They are crucial for economic productivity. Almost half of the gross domestic product (GDP) of many countries is generated in cities. The fact that cities concentrate production and population gives them some obvious advantages over rural settlements or dispersed population. High densities mean much lower costs per household and per enterprise for

- ✚ The provision of piped, treated water supplies
- ✚ Increased energy efficiency for heating cooling of clustered housing
- ✚ The collection of household and human waste
- ✚ Advanced telecommunication
- ✚ Increased access to education, jobs, health care and social services
- ✚ Collective community based recreational facilities
- ✚ Cheaper provision of emergency services- for instance, fire fighting and the emergency response to acute illness and injury.
- ✚ Infrastructural facilities such as housing, road, railway, power and water supply.

##### **The negative spill over**

In the absence of good governance cities can be unhealthy and dangerous place in which to live and work. Each household and enterprise can reduce their costs by passing their environmental problems of solid and liquid wastes and air pollution to others. Some of the environmental problems due to human activity in cities may be enumerated as follows:

- ✚ The temperature of cities is always warmer than that of the surrounding rural areas. Because of combustion of fossil fuels for industry, transportation, and heating supply provide extra heat to the atmosphere. Thus, cities often referred to as heat island.

✚ Air pollution is the major problem in urban areas. The sources of air pollution include industrial and vehicle emissions and energy production. Some of the problems are:

a) Chemical smog

b) Acidic rain

c) Depletion of ozone layer

d) Enhanced greenhouse effect

✚ Water pollution- dumping of wastes in to water way is most common in cities.

✚ Unlike soil roads and urban buildings do not absorb rain and liquids, this increase the amount of liquid wastes.

#### **4.2. Urban poverty**

As many studies showed pointed out that at least 160 million people in the developing and underdeveloped countries live very poor conditions as compared to developed ones. Many of them squatters with inadequate water provision, sanitation, drainage garbage collection, and other basic services. Millions of households with low economic status live in illegal or informal settlements-for instance, on flood plains, steep slopes with high risk of landslides and mudslides. They live here because these are the only land sites that they can afford. Some of the undesirable features of these settlements are:

✚ Poor planning

✚ Vulnerable to high environmental risk

✚ Inadequate public awareness

✚ Inadequate to education access

✚ Limited financial resource

✚ Environmental degradation

#### **4.3. Urban Human Settlements and Natural Disasters**

About 50% the world's largest cities in situated along the major earth quake belts or tropical cyclone tracks. The average number of disaster the victims is 150 times greater in the developing countries compared to the developed world. The economic loss, as the GNP percent is 20 times greater. The concern over the risk to mega cities, particularly in the developing countries, in their growing vulnerability caused by their hyper-concentration of

population, dependence on complex and aging infrastructure and outspread local institutions.

Natural disasters impact on human settlements in a variety of ways. Disaster can cause many injuries and the tragic loss of human lives. It disrupts economic activities, and urban productivity, particularly for the lower income groups. Disaster causes wide spread environmental damage such as the loss of fertile agricultural land and the contamination of water resources. Finally, it causes forced major human migration. Over the past two decades, it has been caused an estimated 3 million deaths and affected 800 million people worldwide.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. Urbanization in Ethiopia

#### 5.1. Aspect of Urbanization in Ethiopia

In this sub topic an attempt is made to show some breakthroughs of urbanization taking place in Ethiopia, even if it is relatively short lived due to geographical, political and socio-cultural factors. It could be stated that the failure of real urban development was at the root of the stagnation of the Ethiopian civilization.

One of the most remarkable facts in the long history of Ethiopia is the general absence of urbanization. This country never had a sustained capital city. The three prominent capitals of Axum, Lalibela and Gondar were exception to this fact. The then geo-political condition of the country compels the kings and the regional lords to use a mobile capital city without sustained infrastructure facilities and permanent dwellers, which in turn has a negative effect on urban development. Now let see some aspects of urbanization within the three historical capital cities of Ethiopia in their chronological order.

Although not much is known of their size, Ethiopia of the Axumite period had a number of functional important towns. According to (Mesfin, nd) at that time Ethiopia poses more cost line than it does now not only along red sea but also along the gulf of Eden and probably along the Indian Ocean. The red sea and the gulf of Eden were then, as now important high way for trade between Orient and Mediterranean Greco-roman world. Ethiopian's position in relation to high way was obviously favorable to the development of trade with both Orient and the Mediterranean world.

The Ptolemies of Egypt established the ports of petolemies, now suakin, and adolis, the present day *Zula*. Settled soldiers, artisans of all kinds built a temple and the houses of the town at petolemies which become busy sea port in the subsequent centuries. The town of adule or adolis, which stood on bay of the red sea, also became a very important sea port exporting slaves, elephants' ivory incense and importing clothes, meals, glass and some other finished products. These commercial developments along the cost were not without their effects on the hinterland. As Bugrd, rightly observed Axum must have profited much

from the development trade. At that time Axum was not a chief center of trade and commerce in the region, but also had showed performance in a construction technology which is an excellent peculiar future of urbanization.

With the fall of Axumite civilization the art of building and related elements of urbanization declined. Although there were brief periods of revival. The magnificent rock hewn church of Lalibella in the 13th century was a good example of this revival. These rock hewn churches are demonstration of skill and art. As cited by Mesfin (nd), Doresse observed ‘the architectural skill required to work this massive rock was of all incredibly high order’. He also makes the significant comment that the rock hewn churches of Lalibella “have preserved in every detail the characteristic art of Axum, and are in fact the perfect culmination of its development”.

But these magnificent churches of Lallibela denote really become centers of urban agglomeration. Nor did these churches suggest the spread of such solid structures for other purposes, such as for dwelling houses. The skill that was used to produce the churches of Lallibela, it seems, must have been stifled or suppressed. According to Lewis Mumford, the ceremonial meeting place is the first germ of the city. But it seems that in Ethiopia the influence of the church do not extend to the development of urbanization. On the other hand European travellers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries refer numerous “Grout” towns in the north part of Ethiopia.

In the sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries, the advent of the Portuguese was accompanied by the introduction of some new ideas or rater the re-introduction of long forgotten ideas such as construction of better houses and the use of carriage. Gondar was with its imposing casteless and churches are the product of the period. However, because of religious quarrels, the Portuguese were expelled from Ethiopia the skill of constricting houses, bridge, etc. It seems a gain was driven out of Ethiopia with the Portuguese. It is important to note also the fact that many centuries elapsed between Lalibela and Gondar.

Amongst many of the travels in the nineteenth century, records show more observations about the conditions of most of the towns in the north half of Ethiopia. Thus, Axum was

made up of a vast number of walled and many of the houses were built. Adwa was by far the most important commercial town of Abyssinia and it was visited by merchants not only from all over Ethiopia but also from the Sudan and Arabia. But the battle of Adwa had left it almost empty and ruins. Mekele was a most charmingly situated town and before the battle of Adwa had an estimated population 15,000 which had been reduced to about the half by the war and famine. Likewise many other towns were adversely affected by the war. Wide dismissed Addis Ababa was very disappointing and not be compared to grate many of the northern towns. Generally, the Ethiopian nation remained for many centuries primarily rural, living in small or larger villages, and dependent.

## **5.2. Urbanization and Urban Development in Ethiopia**

Dear students, in these part we will see the process of urbanization and urban development in Ethiopia. According to Akalu (n.d), the urbanization process of pre-20th century Ethiopia is intimately related to the rise of political capitals. This historic process acquired new momentum beginning from the late 19th century. As a result urban development in Ethiopia showed discernable change in scale during the first quarter of the 20th century. Important factors contributing to the changing states of urbanization during this period were- territorial expansion, development of new system of administration and the development of communication and commerce. Let us see each factor one by one.

### **1. Territorial Expansion**

The period between 1889 and 1925 was a time when Ethiopia began to take its present form. Specifically, it was during this time that the country pass multiple historical deeds, among them the following appears very relevant for our discussion here. First, Ethiopia largely signed the geographic size agreements. Second, the country was divided in to smaller administrative unit governed by nobles and military chiefs who were subject to the emperor. Third, the ministerial system of government administration, which characterizes Ethiopian bureaucracy today, was first initiated.

As the country geographically expands garrisons were set up all over newly acquired territory to hold down the acquired people. To maintain the army, part of the concord land, indeed even the concurred people themselves as “Gebar” were assigned to the soldiers.



This policy contributed significantly not only to the social mobility of the military elites, but to the growth and functional transformation of garrisons as well. For sure many of the garrisons were relatively small; nonetheless they performed a primary service in the urbanization movement of the period.

## **2. Development of New System of Administration**

The territorial expansion, which we had discussed above, is done by different emperors before the coming of Minilike II in to power. Earlier patterns of territorial expansion lack the means of control and organizational ability for raising surpluses to meet the large outlay which such effort require. According to Akalu in the period government service was divided essentially in to two phases, activist oriented and specially oriented. On the one hand there was some nine department of central administration, the minister of justice, war, interior, commerce, finance, agriculture, pen, public works and place. These comprised the bulk of the imperial bureaucracy. On the other hand, the country was divided in to six major administrative unites, each of which had its Owen organs of local governments, all but always subordinate to the central government. Thus, the various ministers and their staff, together with their hither officials of the administrative unit formed a part of Minilik's imperial bureaucracy.

Naturally such a system is bounded to some impact on urban growth. To mention some, it helped to raise the National level of administration of the capital as well as the garrison towns which were used as regional administrative center. Besides, it brought significant groups of new comers, both as temporarily and permanent residence, in to both the capital and the regional centers. The mobile resident who periodically increased the size of urban center came in to the palace as tents to deliver the product of the land to the aristocratic elite, as internal traders to depose of their merchandise in the weekly markets, as farmers to sell their agricultural products, and as litigates to settle law suits.

Another course of the temporary urban residents was the custom for regional civil or military officials periodically to pay visits to the emperor in his capital. When such officials came to the capital they often were accompanied by a large group of retainers and by their army. Travellers have frequently noted that the total number of individuals accompanied a

district governor as high as 30, 000 and sometimes even reached 100,000. In turn those officials were visited in their own administrative centers by a lower cadre of official under their jurisdiction. If the effects of such temporary residents on the actual demographic growth of urban centers were small, their impact on the economic and physical growth was comparatively significant.

However, from the stand point of urban growth perhaps more important were the permanent residents who came from the various parts of the empire in various forms and capacities. First, there were those who came to carry on the expanded volume of government activities as clerks, runners, and other functions. Second, there were those who were brought from the conquered as slaves to provide domestic services to the household of government officials or to do other duties normally considered minimal by the aristocratic elite. Third, there were those, and this was mostly true of the capital, who voluntarily or otherwise came into satisfy the large demand of labor for construction work such as public buildings, walls, roads and bridges.

### **3. Development of Communication and Commerce**

The major development at the end of the 19th century was the construction of Djibouti - Addis Ababa railway, a future which not only spurred the countries forging and domestic trade but also proved to be an important tentacle. By 1917, when the railway reached Addis Ababa, some thirty four stations, potentially capable of becoming urban center, had been set up along this railway. Today nearly all of them constitute some form of urban establishments. Of these at least fifteen are important towns. Motor car, tractor engines, bicycles, telephones, and telegraph have further facilitated the growth in and around the route. In consequences the system of communication sense essential for commerce and urban growth was greatly improved.

### **5.3. Characteristics of Contemporary Ethiopian Towns**

Now let us present some of the basic characteristics of Ethiopian towns today. This information, although dull to read, is important because it clarifies the characteristics of the phenomenon of urbanization and will help you to understand the function and importance of towns today.

### **5.3.1. Size and Growth of the Urban Population**

Out of the Ethiopian total population, about one tenth is estimated to live in the 185 towns with more than 2000 inhabitants in 1970 which is a relatively small proportion when compared with the degree of urbanization in the rest of Africa. However, the town population is mainly concentrated to a few towns, reflected in the more than three-fifth of the town population live in the fourteen urban areas (defined as town with more than 20,000 inhabitants) ,and out of them Addis Ababa alone accommodates one third of the total town population and almost 60% of the urban one. Actually, the Ethiopian capital is the biggest city in central and east Africa. Other towns following Addis Ababa include Dire Dawa, Desse, Jimma, Adama, and Gondar, in addition to Addis Ababa.

Further comparison with the rest of Africa shows that the Ethiopian urban population growth is slightly faster than the average Africa while it appears as slower than the east African average. The rate of growth of the Addis Ababa is 7.0% yearly. This growth the cumulative result of two factors- the natural increase of the population (birth- death) and the yearly in migration from rural areas, the later estimated to 4.1% of the town population. Almost 100,000 rural dwellers migrate to towns each year which is accounted to 0.4% of the rural population. In -migration to the capital accounted for almost half of the total rural- urban migration of the country.

### **5.3.2. Demographic Characteristics**

According to the second round of the urban survey, there were about 11% more women than men living in towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants. This excess of female over male-migration to towns and/ or a large male than female out migration from towns are the major factors responsible for the sex discrepancy. In Addis Ababa, the female population is growing faster than the male one, indicating a significant female migration to the capital, especially from other urban areas. The male net-immigration to the 50 biggest towns exceeded that of the female by about 25% during the second half of the 1960s and only in four of these towns, including the capital, did the female population grow faster than the male counter.

### **5.3.3. Housing**

The large proportion of the town inhabitants being single and divorced are counted in a comparatively small average household size in towns, only 3.7 persons compared to 4.7 in surveyed rural areas. Two-fifths of all town households had less than three members. About two-thirds of all houses in the town were made of “chika” with corrugated iron roof. Addis Ababa constituted a striking exception. The capital had a higher percentage chika houses than any other urban agglomeration in the country. Due to a high percentage stoned houses, there were relatively few chika houses in Harar and Dire Dawa towns.

The facility of piped water was fairly common in the capital while less than half of the households in the rest of towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants had access to this type of water supply. The water situation was in general more satisfying in the bigger towns than in the smaller ones. Towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants had in general no flush toilets. Excluding Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, less than 3% of the urban households utilized this type of toilet.

### **5.3.4 Urbanization and Employment**

The most important characteristics of the occupational structure of the Ethiopian towns is that the very small proportion of their population is engaged in industrial jobs. Ethiopia has a very low level of industrialization and whatever industry exists is mostly concentrated in two locations, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. This means that in the other towns, industry play a very minimal role. Moreover, what is listed out as industrial establishment in many towns is most often a small workshop employing only few people. Most of the employment in Ethiopian town is concentrated in the commercial and service sectors. Here one should not forget the importance of civil service as a source of employment in towns.

The central statistics office failed to measure unemployment in its study of Ethiopian towns. It has measured the size of the population and the number of people employed in various occupations. unfortunately this information is not sufficient to calculate employment rates for two reason: first, people employed in marginal occupation were probably missed in the survey; and second even if we know exactly how many people are working, we could not assume that all of those without a job are employed, that is, people willing to get a job but unable to do so because of absence of job are available. For instance,

students are a group of working age people who have no job but cannot be considered unemployed.

Further difficulty occurs in measuring underemployment. Many people in Ethiopia, in the rural areas as well as the towns, are only working part of the time, because there are not enough jobs to do, as it is claimed. A peasant cultivating half hectare land is underemployed, because the time needed to cultivate such a small plot is much less than a full work day. A daily laborer who can only get a job a few days of a week is also considered underemployed. Underemployment is even more difficult to measure than unemployment.

#### **5.4. Problems of Urbanization in Ethiopia**

Urbanization has various social consequences, some of which may have universal characteristics. Though there is a complete shortage of literature, it is generally felt that urbanization in Ethiopia is having its own toll. People, young and old, are being uprooted from the closed, static patterns of rural life and are being thrust into the uncertain turbulence of the city where every man is a stranger. They are forced to learn to survive in an environment that is the sense of the community they have lost in the transition process.

The number of problems that newcomers encounter is limitless. There is a lack of employment coupled with a lack of marketable skills; the problem of unmet physical needs such as housing; people feel loneliness in the middle of a huge crowd; the problem of family breakdown because of new situations and different stress and strains. All these pressures may eventually boil up into various social ills including the problem of youth and juvenile delinquency, housing problem, problems related to land use and administration, environmental pollution and degradation, slum and squatter settlements, urban unemployment issues, transportation and water and sewerage services are the most dominant socio-economic problems in the current urban problems of Ethiopia.

Despite many mechanisms and strategies taken place to alleviate these multi-dimensional problems at different times, the problems are increasing in number and extent. The next section describes the major policy documents and packages of urban development which are currently implemented by the existing government.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6. Cultural Roles and Primary Urban Types

For the urban anthropologist, the cultural role of the city has been a major area of speculation and study. Redfield viewed the cultural role of the city in three ways; integration, continuity and change.

Cities have frequently been the source of integration of large cultural region. In addition to representing the political authority of the state or ruler, the city also represents the common ideology of a diverse and segmented population. Religious ceremonies, sport events and festivals serve to bring the city together the city population and segments of the hinterland population. Cities serve to establish identity for regional populations.

Fox classified a typology of five urban types based on their function, socio-cultural heterogeneity, economy, power (economic, political and religious), historical context in which cities arise. So, he suggested that there are five functional types of cities.

- ✚ Regal- ritual cities
- ✚ Administrative cities
- ✚ Mercantile cities
- ✚ Colonial cities
- ✚ Industrial cities

#### 1. Regal-ritual cities

According to Fox ritual settlements are typically provide a blend of ideological, religious or other socio-cultural ceremonies. They are developed on the basis of sacred geography of religion or sect. On the other hand those cities which are not built in a profane place. The centralizing process in such centers is political in nature, but full control of ideology and ritual display is essential to governance. Whereas, elites have a political function based in ideology and religious expression.

These cities have a limited productive or distributive function in an economic sense: there are specialists who producing elite goods and rural part-time produces of goods living in the country side. Fox (1977) links these types of cities to decentralized political forms with

relatively weak bases for authority and power. But they are much more linked with religious and ritual power. They are small in number in relation to other types of cities. And mostly identical with those who found in rural areas and they have no clear distinction with rural people. Buildings like temples, mosques, churches, and other sacred architectures are most common in ritual cities.

## **2. Administrative cities**

Cities which characterized by dependent urban economy and bureaucratic state power having political or administrative role. Cities consist of law, military, and political institutions. Administrative cities were the habitations of the state rulers. Their major cultural role was to serve as the locus of state administration. State offices and officers had an urban location, from which they exercised a political control and economic exploitation of the surrounding rural areas quite unknown in ritual cities. Administrative cities also had a qualitatively different demographic and social complexity. They contained large populations, densely settled, often ethnically varied, with heterogeneous occupations. Such cities were nodes of communication and transportation and centers of commerce, crafts, and other economic functions for the surrounding countryside.

## **3. Mercantile cities**

Mercantile cities appeared at the geographic margins characterized by performing marketing or trading activities. A place consisting of different peoples like buyers, sellers, money lenders, and other merchants together. The mercantile city's links with the wider culture were disjunctive rather than, as with the administrative city, supportive. A class of powerful and wealthy merchants not completely beholden to the state rulers grew up in such cities and, left unchecked, could grow strong enough to effectively challenge the state rulers. This merchant class, and the mercantile cities it occupied, depended for their wealth and political autonomy on the profits of international trade, money lending, or investment in cash cropping of export agricultural commodities (as, for example, vineyards and olive groves in the Mediterranean). The city produced wealth and capital in its own right rather than simply sucking it from rural agriculture.

The cultural role of mercantile cities grew out of their independent economic productivity and their political autonomy. They played a very strong heterogenetic role. They were strongholds of a merchant class and other social strata based on acquired wealth, against the landed aristocracy of the agrarian empire. Because they were often under attack from the aristocracy, these cities came to symbolize freedom and social mobility: “city air makes one free.” Being embattled, mercantile cities also became bastions of cultural innovation.

#### **4. Colonial cities**

Colonial cities arose in societies that fell under the domination of European countries (England, France, German, Italy, and Belgium etc) and North America in the early expansion of the capitalist world system. The colonial relationship required altering the productivity of the colonial society in order that its wealth could be exported to the core nations, and colonial cities centralized this function. Their major cultural role was to house the agencies of this unequal relationship: the colonial political institutions bureaucracies, police, and the military-by which the core ruled the colony, and the economic structure banks, merchants, and moneylenders through which wealth drained from colony to core.

#### **5. Industrial cities**

Industrial cities appeared after the full development of industrial capitalism in the core nation-states of the late 18th-century world system. Their urban cultural role fit well with the capitalist economic order that came to dominate all other social institutions. Capitalism depended on the production of commodities through wage labour in the interests of capital accumulation. The city became a centre of such production processes and the location for the industrial factories in which this production most typically took place. It was also the residence for the other “commodity” necessary to its productivity, wage labourers. Ancillary urban functions banking, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and communications modality grew up to expedite the factory production or the provisioning of the labour force.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### 7. Basic Characteristics of Rural and Urban Areas Differences

#### 7.1. Rural-Urban Contrast

There are some sociologists who treat rural-urban as dichotomous categories and have differentiated the two at various levels including occupational differences, environmental differences, differences in the sizes of communities, differences in the density of population, differences in social mobility and direction of migration, differences in social stratification and in the systems of social interaction.

Another view regarding rural and urban communities has been given by Pocock who believe that both village and city are elements of the same civilization and hence neither rural urban dichotomy, nor continuum is meaningful. Maclver remarks that though the communities are normally divided into rural and urban the line of demarcation is not always clear between these two types of communities. There is no sharp demarcation to tell where the city ends and country begins. Every village possesses some elements of the city and every city carries some features of the village. P.A Sorokin and Zimmerman in 'Principles of Rural-Urban sociology have stated that the factors distinguishing rural from urban communities include occupation, size and density of population as well as mobility, differentiation and stratification.

We can have at least eight characteristics in which the urban settlement varies from rural settlement:

1. **Occupation:** there is substantial difference between rural and urban areas with respect to occupation, agricultural occupations dominate in rural areas and non-agricultural activities dominate in urban areas. One way of distinguishing urban areas from rural areas is by looking at the occupational pattern. Occupation seems to be the most.
2. **Environment:** in rural areas the influence of man on nature is very limited, and natural environmental features predominate. In urban areas the environment is more of artificial or changed.
3. **Community size:** in rural areas people live in small villages, communities, and the urban communities are large and complex.

4. **Density of population:** in rural areas there is sparse population settlement while in urban areas the settlement pattern is dense.

5. **Heterogeneity and homogeneity of population:** the population of urban areas is highly heterogeneous and that of rural areas homogeneous. In urban areas different people come from different socio-cultural and economic experiences (culture, language, ethnicity, religion, custom, etc.) in rural areas villagers have similar life styles dominated by kinship ties.

6. **Social differentiation and stratification:** there is extensive division of labor in urban areas and as a result a variety of specializations and professions exist. In rural areas the job opportunities are limited and so there is no wider gap between income groups. The level of stratification is low in rural areas.

7. **Social mobility:** social mobility is the movement of people from one social class to another. In urban areas social mobility is open while in rural communities it is not open to everybody. In rural communities there is no free movement of individuals in the social strata. But one can upgrade his social status through achievement in education, training or work if he is an urbanite.

8. **System of interaction:** in rural areas primary forms of interaction dominate while in urban areas secondary/formal/interaction prevails more.

Occupation seems to be the most important characteristic distinguishing urban from rural settlements.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### 8. Urban Pathologies, Decay and Renewal

#### 8.1. Urban Problems

Both in developed and developing world's cities, regardless of their social class, racial and ethnic differences, and dwellers face certain common problems. Crime, prostitution, divorce, air and noise pollution, chronic unemployment, overcrowded schools, urban homelessness, inadequate housing, transportation. These unpleasant realities and many more are increasing features of contemporary urban life. Before proceeding to explain some urban problems in detail, let us see classical and contemporary angle of understanding about these events.

**Classic sociology** considered social problems to be the result of the disintegrating influences of the city. That is, they are typically associated with the dense, mixed, heterogeneous, disorderly populations of large urban centers. Classical sociologists' originally analytic interest was – how people adapt or mal-adapt to the processes of industrialization and urbanization. This is where “social problems” come in. They are considered undesirable adaptations, or mal-adaptations, to urban living, requiring constructive reform.

**Contemporary theorists** tend to see all social problems as social constructions tied to economic and political inequalities. Even what is defined as a social problem is determined by power relations\_\_ social problems are created and fashioned by political domination and socio-economic control. Where classical urban sociology examined “social problems as social constructions”\_ contemporary urban sociology examines “the social construction of social problems”

While explaining the social construction of social problems, many more contemporary social theorists, argue that “even social problems” are defined by power dynamics in the city. Which means, a social condition or form of conduct labeled as a problematic by a powerful group? Which implies social problems are social constructions; they are made not discovered. Like any other social process social problems are generated out of the interplay between culture, power and ideology this means that social conditions {say, the black

“slum”} does not become social problems until some powerful group makes them an issue. That is, targets them, labels them deviant, and attempts to put them on the social agenda. By conceptualizing it as a process, we recognize that a social problem is an interaction – often a struggle – between society’s powerful and powerless groups over whose ways are the “right” ways. This reflects that the black youth become a social problem only when we ask “for whom they are a problem”.

As to the most theorists, if people are asked to make a list of urban problems, most of them would name “crime” at the top of their list. Because, crime is one issue that has been a consistent concern of urban dwellers and urban media. Homelessness has not always had similar import. For instance, it did not become an important social issue in Canada until the 1980s – it wasn't even included in the 1970 survey of urban issues (CMHC, 1979). While homelessness still concerns many people, particularly in large cities (Toronto coalition against homelessness 1996), in some ways it has become so much a part of urban life that even where the homeless are both numerous and visible, homelessness is sometimes seen as more of a nuisance than a tragedy. So, social problems are not only phenomenon to be understood as social constructions, but the social constructions are often rooted in largest social issues. To understand what goes on in cities we must look at these some social issues one by one.

### **1. Slums and squatter settlements;**

Slums are characterized by unsanitary housing condition that is deteriorated or degenerated due to lack of care. In squatter settlements, housing is constructed by the settlers themselves from discarded material including crates from loading docks and loose lumbers from building projects. Squatting takes place mostly in marginal lands and steep slopes that is not good for development. Squatters occupy these areas and erect structures using plastics and old board to shelter themselves.

This type of settlement is very typical in the world’s developing nations. In such countries, new housing has not kept pace with the combined urban population growth resulting from births and migration from rural areas. In addition squatter settlements swell when city

dwellers are forced out of housing by astronomical jumps in rent. By definition, squatters living on vacant land are trespassers and can be legally evicted.

Since the land is not demanded for development, they often escape the attention of municipal authorities. They can also develop in the main area in times of political transition. In Ethiopia they are called “Chereqa bet” and have different names in different countries. Settlers are poor who work in the informal sector. They do not have regular income and cannot pay housing rent. Squats develop in to slums and shanty towns. Governments have varying attitudes toward slums. In 1960’s slum eradication was the rule of the day. Later in 1970’s it became clear that it is meaningless to bulldoze informal settlements (slums and squats) as it reduces the housing stock. It was understood that owner occupied houses are well cared than rented houses. So if owners of informal houses are given title deeds, the settlements will be improved up to the standard of municipalities. So the prevailing agreement is to make slum upgrading programs instead of demolishing slums. In contrast there are people who argue that this will encourage lawlessness.

## **2. Homelessness**

Some analysts define homelessness as "sleeping rough on the streets". Another frequently used alternative definition based on "affordability criteria", which would categorize a household paying more than 50% of income towards rent as being "at risk of homelessness,". But United Nations definition of homeless refers those who have no home and who live either outdoors or in emergency shelters or hostels, and people whose homes do not meet basic standards of adequate protection from the elements, access to safe water and sanitation, affordable prices, secure tenure and personal safety, and accessibility to employment, education and health care.

Irrespective of its differing definition, homelessness is evident in both industrialized and developing countries. According to estimates the number of homeless persons in USA, numbered at least 705,000 on given night in 2001, and as many as 3.5 million Americans may experience homeless for some period each year. Given the limited amount of spaces in public shelters at a minimum hundred thousands of people in USA are homeless and without shelters.

### **3. Water pollution**

Fresh water is very scarce and polluted by modern technology like pesticides, mercury, lead etc. This is due to dumping of waste materials by both industries and local governments which has polluted streams, rivers, and lakes. Consequently, many bodies of water have become unsafe for drinking, fishing and swimming. Around the world the pollution of the oceans is an issue of growing concern.

### **4. Air pollution**

As to world resource institute (1998) explanation, more than one million people on the planet earth are exposed to potentially health- damaging levels of air pollution. Unfortunately, in cities around the world, residents have come to accept smog and polluted air as 'normal'. Air pollution in urban areas is caused primarily by emissions from automobiles and secondarily by emissions from electric power plants and heavy industries. Urban smog not only limits visibility; it can lead to health problems as uncomfortable as eye irritation and as deadly as lung cancer. Such problems are especially severed in developing nation. As to WHO (1999) estimation up to 700000 pre-mature deaths per year could be prevented if pollutants were brought down to safer levels. So, to reduce this serious problem which resulted from smokes of cars and industries, some countries developed electrified travelling and bicycles are encouraged to minimize pollution.

### **5. Solid and liquid wastes management**

There is an accumulation of waste materials, which causes environmental pollution. Organic wastes can be recycled to produce fertilizer and other useful products. The problem is they are not recycled. Sewer problem is also a serious problem polluting underground water.

### **6. Transportation**

There are too many vehicles and the goods are overcrowded. A large amount of urban land is used for parking. Parking shops are built in different parts of cities. In order to minimize congestion inner and outer ring roads are built. Different mechanisms like intersection traffic, zebra crossing, overpasses, underpasses, tube way systems, one way or two way streets are used. Adjusting working hours or separating schooling hours is also used.

Other problems are urbanization: it also has got many problems like anomie, depression, crime, substance abuse, suicide and many other dirty and vice things. Counselors and psychiatrists became very important.

## **8.2. Urban Decay**

Urban decay is the process whereby a previously functioning city, or part of a city, falls into disrepair and decrepitude. It may feature deindustrialization, depopulation or changing population, economic restructuring, abandoned buildings, high local unemployment, fragmented families, political disintegration, crime, and a desolate, inhospitable city landscape.

Since the 1970s and 1980s, urban decay has been associated with western cities, especially in North America and parts of Europe. Since then, major structural changes in global economies, transportation, and government policy created the economic and then the social conditions resulting in urban decay. As far as transportation is concerned, there was a change in means of from public to private. Especially the specifically, the private motor car – eliminated some of the cities' public transport service advantages, e.g., fixed-route buses and trains. This was facilitated, following the western economies policy on tariffs. Meaning, after WW II, western economies lifted tariffs and outsourced most of their manufacturing industries and businesses overseas, where foreign labor is cheaper than domestic. During the change from a manufacturing to a services economy, buying an automobile became economically feasible for most people.

### **8.2.1 Causes of Urban Decay**

A wide variety of factors may cause urban decay. Most of these factors arise as a result of troubled socioeconomic conditions. When job opportunities are scarce as a result of shifting conditions or discriminatory concerns, most citizens of an urban center will move away in search of opportunities. The few citizens who are left behind may compete for scarce opportunities and seek to draw welfare benefits. Some of the major factors for the urban decay are the following:

#### **A. Poor urban planning**

Urban planning involves planning for land use and transportation. A city could propose to use land in poor ways so as to accelerate the urban decay. For example, when a major employer in the city decides to move outside the city, the city would experience high rates of population decline because people would move with the employer. A city could have made the company stay by offering more appealing offers, but instead, the moving of the company leaves more land unused and buildings abandoned. In cities like Detroit, entire neighbourhoods have been virtually abandoned, largely because high paying manufacturing jobs have vanished and the workers along with them. In addition, companies that were related to the automobile industry were also forced to close up shop. Even basic services such as grocery stores were adversely affected, as the neighbourhood residents who used to shop there moved away.

### **B. Redlining**

Redlining occurs when services--such as banking, insurance and access to jobs and healthcare--are denied to certain races or classes of people through increasing the costs. Actually, the term was coined in the late 1960s to refer to targeting of certain areas of Chicago where banks would not invest due to racial discrimination. This meant that ethnic minorities could only obtain mortgages in certain areas, and resulted in a large increase in the residential racial segregation in the United States. As a result, those areas would remain underdeveloped, as no one was willing or able to invest there. The lack of investment increases the levels of unemployment and poverty, which in turn contributes more to urban decay.

### **C. Poverty**

Poverty contributes to urban decay by helping to reinforce the shoddy and desolate urban landscape. High levels of poverty contribute directly to higher drug and street gang activities. Both are causes for suburbanization, as the middle class feel more and more unsafe living in the city. The drug and gang activities often increase the level of crime, which contributes to urban decay. As the level of crime increases, the property value of buildings in this area decreases, leading to higher levels of building disrepair and eventual abandonment.



#### **D. Suburbanization**

Suburbanization helps further urban decay by removing people who are better off economically, leaving the area to those who are usually poorer, which contributes to higher unemployment rates, a characteristic of urban decay. Historically, at the end of World War II, many political decisions favored suburban development and encouraged suburbanization, by drawing city taxes from the cities to build new infrastructure for remote, racially-restricted suburban towns. In the case of the United States, the white middle class gradually left the cities for suburban areas because of the perceived higher crime rates and danger caused by African American migration north toward cities after World War I---the so-called "*white flight*" phenomenon.

#### **E. Racial discrimination**

During the 1960s, the phenomenon of white flight became a common occurrence in many urban neighbourhoods. White flight occurs when white residents abandon a neighbourhood in large numbers because of the increasing presence of individuals or families of color. Of course, the presence of non-white residents is not the source of urban decay. Instead, urban decay occurs in this instance during the later stages of white flight, when white residents literally abandon their homes, sometimes because they cannot find buyers for them. In USA, such kind of changes in neighbourhood demographics has laden with discriminatory intension. Such racial discriminations contribute to urban decay by providing for higher rates of unemployment. African-Americans were most likely to be declined jobs and loans, both of which would help their economic status as well as the health of their neighbourhoods. Discrimination, thus, promotes unemployment, which in turn promotes poverty, street gangs and illegal drug-trafficking activities and other crimes. Discrimination stifles opportunities which would normally be available to certain races and in turn stifles the growth of a city by promoting urban decay

#### **8.3. Urban Renewal**

Urban renewal is a program of land redevelopment in areas of moderate to high density urban land use. Renewal has had both successes and failures. Its modern incarnation began in the late 19th century in developed nations and experienced an intense phase in the late

1940s – under the rubric of reconstruction. The process has had a major impact on many urban landscapes, and has played an important role in the history and demographics of cities around the world.

Urban renewal may involve relocation of businesses, the demolition of structures, the relocation of people, and the use of eminent domain (government purchase of property for public use) as a legal instrument to take private property for city-initiated development projects.

### **1. Long-term implications**

Urban renewal sometimes lives up to the hopes of its original proponents – it has been assessed by politicians, urban planners, civic leaders, and residents – it has played an undeniably important role. Urban renewal can have many positive effects. Replenished housing stock might be an improvement in quality; it may increase density and reduce sprawl; it might have economic benefits and improve the global economic competitiveness of a city's centre. It may, in some instances, improve cultural and social amenity, and it may also improve opportunities for safety and surveillance.

Developments such as London docklands increased tax revenues for government. In late 1964 the British commentator Neil Wates expressed the opinion that urban renewal in the USA had 'demonstrated the tremendous advantages which flow from an urban renewal programme,' such as remedying the 'personal problems' of the poor, creation or renovation of housing stock, educational and cultural 'opportunities'.

As many examples listed above show, urban renewal has been responsible for the rehabilitation of communities; as well as displacement. Replacement housing – particularly in the form of housing towers – might be difficult to police, leading to an increase in crime, and such structures might in themselves be dehumanizing. Urban renewal is usually non-consultative. Urban renewal continues to evolve as successes and failures that examined and models of development and redevelopment are tested and implemented.

### **2. Gentrification as urban renewal strategy**

Gentrification and urban gentrification are terms referring to the socio-cultural displacement which results when wealthier people acquire property in low income and working class communities. Consequent to gentrification, the average income increases and average family size decreases in the community, which sometimes results in the eviction of lower-income residents because of increased rents, house prices, and property taxes. This type of population change reduces industrial land use when it is redeveloped for commerce and housing. In addition, new businesses, catering to a more affluent base of consumers, tend to move into formerly blighted areas, further increasing the appeal to more affluent migrants and decreasing the accessibility to less wealthy natives.

Urban gentrification occasionally changes the culturally heterogeneous character of a community to a more economically homogeneous community that some describe as having a suburban character. This process is sometimes made feasible by government-sponsored private real estate investment repairing the local infrastructure, via deferred taxes, mortgages for poor and for first-time house buyers, and financial incentives for the owners of decayed rental housing. Once in place, these economic development actions tend to reduce local property crime, increase property values and prices and increase tax revenues. Political action, to either promote or oppose the gentrification, is often the community's response against unintended economic eviction caused by rising rents that makes continued residence in their dwellings unfeasible. The rise in property values cause's property taxes based on property values to increase; resident owners unable to pay the taxes are forced to sell their dwellings and move to a cheaper community.

There are several approaches that attempt to explain the roots and the reasons behind the spread of gentrification.

A. ***Demographic-ecological***, attempts to explain gentrification through the analysis of demographics: population, social organization, environment, and technology. This theory frequently refers to the growing number of people between the ages of 25 and 35 in the 1970s, or the baby boom generation. Because the number of people that sought housing increased, the demand for housing increased also. The supply could not keep up with the demand; therefore cities were "recycled" to meet such the baby boomers in pursuit of

housing were very different, demographically, from their house-hunting predecessors. They got married older, had fewer children, and the children they did have were born later. Women, both single and married, were entering the labor force at higher rates which led to an increase of dual wage-earner households. These households were typically composed of young, more affluent couples without children. Because these couples were child-free and were not concerned with the conditions of schools and playgrounds, they elected to live in the inner-city in close proximity to their jobs. These more affluent people usually had white-collar, not blue-collar jobs. Since these white-collar workers wanted to live closer to work, a neighborhood with more white-collar jobs was more likely to be invaded; the relationship between administrative activity and invasion was positively correlated

**B. A socio-cultural explanation of gentrification.** This theory argues that values, sentiments, attitudes, ideas, beliefs, and choices should be used to explain and predict human behavior, not demographics, or “structural units of analysis” (i.e. Characteristics of populations) this analysis focuses on the changing attitudes, lifestyles, and values of the middle- and upper-middle-class of the 1970s. They were becoming more pro-urban than before, opting not to live in rural or even suburban areas anymore. The opposing side of this argument is that dominant, or recurring, American values determine where people decide to live, not the changing values previously cited. This means that people choose to live in a gentrified area to restore it, not to alter it, because restoration is a “new way to realize old values”

**C. Political-economic** which is divided into two approaches: traditional and Marxist. The traditional approach argues that economic and political factors have led to the invasion of the inner-city, hence the name political-economic. The changing political and legal climate of the 1950s and 60s had an “unanticipated” role in the gentrification of neighborhoods. A decrease in prejudice led to more blacks moving to the suburbs and whites no longer rejected the idea of moving to the city. The decreasing availability of suburban land and inflation in suburban housing costs also inspired the invasion of the cities. The Marxist approach denies the notion that the political and economic influences on gentrification are invisible, but are intentional. This theory claims that “powerful interest groups follow a

policy of neglect of the inner city until such time as they become aware that policy changes could yield tremendous profits” once the inner city becomes a source of revenue, the powerless residents are displaced with little or no regard from the powerful.

D. ***The community-network approach.*** This views the community as an “interactive social group.” Two perspectives are noted: community lost and community saved. The community lost perspective argues that the role of the neighbourhood is becoming more limited due to technological advances in transportation and communication. This means that the small-scale, local community is being replaced with more large-scale, political and social organizations the opposing side, the community saved side, argues that community activity increases when neighbourhoods are gentrified because these neighbourhoods are being revitalized.

E. ***Social movements.*** This theoretical approach is focused on the analysis of ideologically based movements, usually in terms of leader-follower relationships. Those who support gentrification are encouraged by leaders (successful urban pioneers, political-economic elites, land developers, lending institutions, and even the federal government in some instances) to revive the inner-city. Those who are in opposition are the people who currently reside in the deteriorated areas. They develop countermovement in order to gain the power necessary to defend themselves against the movements of the elite. These counter movements can be unsuccessful, though. The people who support reviving neighborhoods are also members, and their voices are the ones that gentrifiers tend to hear.

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