# Urban Anthropology

## Chapter One

### Introductory Remark

We live in an urban world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, more than 3 billion persons—about half of the world's population—lived in urban areas. By 2030 this number is expected to increase from 3 to more than 5 billion persons—some 60 percent of the total world population. Most of this increase will occur in the developing world, much of it in megacities where many if not most persons live in shantytowns, and with incomes below the poverty level (United Nations, 2007). This will be the first urban century in human history, and the well-being not just of families and households but of human society more generally will depend upon our creating a safe and just urban environment—something that human populations have not been particularly adept at doing. A beginning point in this very significant challenge is the study of urban anthropology, which will give us the tools for understanding not just how urban regions grow and develop. But also, for understanding the impact of urban life on persons living in cities, suburbs, and metropolitan regions, and the even greater impact of world urbanization on human societies and the natural environment. This is the goal of our course, and this is your subject of study for the upcoming semester.

### 1.1 Defining Urban Anthropology

At the simplest level, urban anthropology is the study of cultural systems and identities as well as the various political, social, economic and cultural forces that shape urban forms and processes. 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 behaviors observed among these populations.

### 1.2 Development of Urban Anthropology

Anthropologists were conducting research on life in cities and on processes related to urban places long before the term "urban anthropology" began to be used widely in the 1960s. When the discipline of anthropology began to emerge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's, its central subject matter was the cultures of so-called primitive peoples living in areas remote from the civilizations of Europe and North America. As anthropologists began to redefine their task as the study of human beings every- where and throughout history, the conceptual foundation for the study of the cities and societies by socio-cultural anthropologists was laid.

#### *The Early Years: 1930s to 1950s*

From the 1930s to the 1950s, cultural anthropologists increasingly turned their attention to the study of peasants, those small-scale food producers who are incorporated economically, politically, and culturally into nation-states dominated by cities. For example, Robert Redfield's research in Mexico, especially his 1926-1927 community study of the village of' Tepoztlan and his team project, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (1941). He raised a number of questions about such topics as the impact of cities on relatively isolated peasant villages and the contrast between the moral and ideal life in folk communities and the technical and impersonal life in cities.

Oscar Lewis also did research on Tepoztlan, in the 1940s, and then turned his attention to the migration of some villagers from Tepoztlan to Mexico City and to their lives in the metropolis. After challenging U.S.-derived sociological models about urban life in his influential paper *"Urbanization Without Breakdown" (1952),* Lewis shifted from community studies to family studies in his subsequent publications. His *Five Families* (1959) was controversial because of his attention to what Mexican critics termed "lurid" aspects (i.e., sexual exploits, criminal activities, and immoral acts) of life in Mexico City. He was accused of defaming the Mexican national, and character by a group of elite intellectuals, but the Mexican courts found him innocent of the charge. Urban anthropological research during this period obviously held risks not found in more traditional fieldwork.

By the 1950s, a number of anthropologists were conducting research on urban phenomena. For example, V. Gordon Childe, an archaeologist, opened the decade with an article called *"The Urban Revolution"*, and a year later Ralph Beals, a cultural anthropologist, published *"Urbanism, Urbanization, and Acculturation."* In mid-decade, in a manner similar to what Lewis had done for Mexico City, William Bascom offered a test of some Western theories in his article *"Urbanization Among the Yoruba."* In the same year, Gideon Sjoberg, a sociologist, published a model for what he termed the *"preindustrial city*," a form of urban place that stood in contrast to the kinds of cities that developed after the European industrial revolution. Meanwhile, in Europe, several anthropologists were discovering that social-network analysis provided key insights about personal interaction in urban settings. Of special importance was Elizabeth Bott's *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and Extended Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families (1957).*

By the end of the 1950s, anthropologists and other social scientists were combining ethnographic observations drawn from specific case studies with national- level census data to develop new ideas about trends in urbanization in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. For example, the United Nations organized a conference in 1959 on the theme of urbanization in Latin America, at which Peruvian anthropologist Jose Matos Mar presented the now-classic paper, *"Migration and Urbanization: The Barricades of Lima."* This paper, and others like it, set the research agenda for the following generation of scholars interested in rural- urban linkages, peasant migrants to cities, and squatter settlements as arenas of urban adaptation.

***The 1960s***

The growing interest in urban phenomena among anthropologists, especially those in the United States, was a result of the recognition that the traditional subject matter of anthropological fieldwork-tribal and peasant people-were increasingly being integrated into urban-dominated world. After 1963, when John laid out an agenda for urban anthropology, the War on Poverty in the United States and the expansion of funding for international development projects-especially in Latin America, America, and Asia-substantially increased opportunities for anthropologists and other social scientists to carry out significant urban research.

There was a steady expansion of urban research by anthropologists during the 1960s, with particular attention given to rural-urban migration, urban adaptation, ethnicity, and poverty. Among the most often cited works of the period are:

- Andrew Whiteford's pioneering comparative ethnography of Popayan, Colombia, and Queretaro, Mexico, published as *Two Cities in Latin America* (1964);
- Kenneth Little's analysis, *West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change* (1965);
- Lewis's *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (1965);*
- Elliot Liebow's study *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street corner Men* (1967);
- John Gulick's monograph *Tripoli: A Modern Arab City* (1967);
- Owen Lynch's study *The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India* (1969);
- J Clyde Mitchell's edited volume *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analysis of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns (1969);* and
- Ulf Hannerz's outsider perspective on Washington, D.C., titled *Soul side: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community (1969).*

The decade of the 1960s ended with the publication of papers delivered at the 1968 Southern Anthropological Society conference as *Urban Anthropology: Research Perspectives and Strategies*, edited by Elizabeth Eddy (1968). Two similar conferences, one held at an American Anthropological Association meeting and the other at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, also took place in 1968. Their joint results appear in The *Anthropology of Urban Environments*, edited by Thomas Weaver and Douglas White (1972).

***The 1970s***

By the beginning of the 1970s, urban anthropology finally was being defined by most of its practitioners as a distinctive domain within cultural anthropology, the major exception being Anthony Leeds (1972), who urged instead an interdisciplinary approach rather than a sub-disciplinary perspective on city systems. The result was a tremendous growth in textbooks, readers, and reviews aimed at undergraduate and graduate students taking new courses in urban anthropology.

*Peasants in Cities: Readings in the Anthropology of Urbanization*, edited by William Mangin, was published in 1970. By 1973, with the appearance of Aidan Southall's edited volume *Urban Anthropology: Cross Cultural Studies of Urbanization*, the subfield of urban anthropology took its place among the burgeoning number of specializations within socio-cultural anthropology"(e.g., educational anthropology, medical anthropology, psychological anthropology, visual anthropology). The widespread recognition of the emergence of the subfield is also reflected in John Gulick's chapter *"Urban Anthropology"* in the massive *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, edited by John J. Honigmann (1973).

The distinctive problems of doing fieldwork in urban setting is considered in *Anthropologists in Cities*, edited by George M. Foster and Robert V. Kemper (1974), a follow-up to Mangin's earlier volume. The focus on urban adaptation is also visible in *"Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration*," by Nancy Graves and Theodore Graves (1974), the first article about urban anthropology to appear in the prestigious *Annual Review of Anthropology.* In the same year, another reader was published, *City Ways: a Selective Reader in Urban Anthropology*, edited by John Friedl and Noel J Chrisman.

The first integrated textbooks devoted to urban anthropology appeared before the end of the 1970s. In 1976 Douglas J. Uzzell and Ronald Provencher co authored the slim volume *Urban Anthropology*, soon followed by another textbook. jointly written by Edwin Eames and Judith Granich Goode and titled *Anthropology and the City* (1977), which focuses on cities in a cross-cultural perspective, urban ethnography, "what to do and what not to do," and includes a chapter on the culture of poverty. By contrast, in *Urban Anthropology: Cities in Their Cultural Settings (1977),* Richard G. Fox identifies five different types of cities-regal-ritual cities, administrative cities, mercantile cities and city-states, colonial cities, and industrial cities-and discusses the relationship between cities and the societies in which they are embedded. In 1978 Richard Basham wrote *Urban Anthropology: The Cross-Cultural Study of Complex Societies* in which he provides a comprehensive discussion of the study of urban and complex societies; the origin and evolution of cities; rural-urban migration and the growth of cities; kinship in the city; migrants and urbanites; class, caste, and ethnicity; and urban ethnology and ethnology.

During this same period, anthropologists continued to carry out a wide range of urban case studies around the globe. Within the United States, James Spradley opened the decade by publishing his prize- winning research, based on fieldwork in Seattle, titled *You Owe Yourself a Drunk: An Ethnography of Urban Nomads* (1970). Carol Stack published her ethnographic case study of a fictitious Midwest city, "Jack- son Harbor," as *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (1974).

**The 1980s**

During the 1980s there appeared a second generation of readers, textbooks, and surveys of the subfield of urban anthropology, as well as a continuing torrent of case studies of specific urban populations and places. In 1980, two readers were published to compete for the market in urban anthropology courses. The first, *Urban Life,* edited by George Gmelch and Walter P. Zenner, contained thirty contributions under the rubrics of urbanism, migration and the adaptation of migrants to city life, family and kin in urban society, ethnicity and class in the city, the urban poor, and urban fieldwork. The second, *Urban Place and Process,* edited by Irwin Press and M. Estellie Smith, contains thirty-four contributions arranged under the categories of urbs ("the city") and urbanism, the study of the urban milieu, the development and differentiation of cities, urbanization, units of urban organization, urban places, economic and cultural differentiation in the city, and the urban future. In the same year, another set of conference papers from a meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society appeared, under the title *Cities in a Larger Context*, edited by Thomas W. Collins. In 1981, UlfHannerz published another general text, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology.*

Collectively, these four volumes set the stage for a decade in which urban anthropologists raised their sights (and also their sites) from local, isolated urban communities to the linkages among communities within regional, national, and international cultural and political-economic systems. The resultant transformations in the work of urban anthropologists involved not only a change of geographical scale but also more attention to historical issues. A cursory review of major works published during the 1980s makes clear the shift in fieldwork strategies and theoretical frameworks in urban anthropology.

In the United States, Herbert Applebaum wrote *Royal Blue: The Culture of Construction Workers* (1981), and William Pilcher published *The Portland Long shoremen* (1972). Michel Laguerre describes Haitians *in American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City (1984);* and Louise Lamphere combines the themes of

ethnicity, labor, and immigration with gender issues in *From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community* (1987). Ida Susser describes a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, in *Norman Street: Poverty and Politics in an Urban Neighborhood* (1982), Sally Merry gives a new twist to community studies in *Urban Danger: Life in a Neighborhood of Strangers* (1981), and Brett Williams considers Washington, D.C., in *Upscaling Downtown: Stalled Gentrification in Washington*, D. C. (1988). Ethnicity is an important theme in works such as *The Urbanization of American Indians* by Russell Thornton et al. (1982). *Barrio Gangs: Street Life and Identity in Southern California* by James Diego Vigil *(1988). Chinatown: Economic Adaptation and Ethnic Identity of the Chinese* by Bernard Wong (1982); *Transforming the Past: Tradition and Kinship among Japanese Americans* by Sylvia Yanagisako (1985); and *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* by Patricia Zavella (1987).

The agenda for research in Latin America was established by the general survey volume, *Latin American Urbanization*, by Douglas Butterworth and John Chance(1981), which covers: the city in history; why people *move;* who moves from where-selectivity and migration; return migration, brokerage, and effects on the community. Others are also migrant adaptation-kinship, networks, and small groups; the urban class structure; voluntary associations; housing, poverty, and politics; and international migration. Important works issued during the 1980s on these themes included:

- Diane Austin's *Urban Life in Kingston, Jamaica: The Culture and Class Ideology of Two Neighborhoods (1984);*
- Nancy Foner's *Jamaican Migrants: A Comparative Analysis of the New York and London Experience (1983);*
- Michael Higgins's *Somos Tocayos: Anthropology of Urbanism and Poverty* (1983);
- Peter Lloyd's *The "Young Towns" of Lima: Aspects of Urbanization in Peru (1980);*
- Susan Lobo's *A House of My Own: Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru (1982);*
- Kathleen Logan's *Haciendo Pueblo: The Development of a Guadalajaran Suburb* (1984); and
- Carlos Velez- Ibanez's (1983) *Bonds of Mutual Trust: The Cultural Systems of Rotating Credit Associations Among Urban Mexicans and Chicano; (1983).*

**Contemporary Concepts and Methods**

Whereas the efforts of urban anthropologists in the 1960s and 1970s were focused on issues *(e.g.,* migration, family and kinship, social networks, poverty, ethnicity, and urban adaptation) derived from or contrasted with traditional rural-based fieldwork. By the 1980s, anthropologists had expanded their interests to include virtually every dimension of urban life-from individual life stories to city neighborhoods and institutions (e.g., hospitals, schools, jails) to linkages among places and populations of different scales within the overall urban system. Anthropologists began explicitly to turn their attention to class-based models of cities and their contexts, the impact of colonialism on cities, and their integration into a worldwide economic system. As a result, urban anthropology became more integrated into the discourse of the other social sciences, and urban anthropologists cited non-anthropological works more frequently and with less hesitation.

The focus on extended communities in the contemporary period simply reflects the ethnographic reality confronting humans throughout their daily lives. Four splendid examples of this broadened approach to urban systems are:

- For Mexico, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi examines mountain Zapotec migrant associations in Mexico City in the monograph *Cultural Capital* (1993), and in a prize-winning volume, *Shadowed Lives* (1992), Leo R. Chavez illuminates the undocumented Mexican immigrants in Southern California;
- For the Caribbean, George Gmelch describes the lives of Barbadian migrants abroad and back home in his study *Double Passage* (1992), and Eugenia Georges examines migration, development, and cultural change in the Dominican Republic in *The Making of a Transnational Community (1990).*

A critical perspective on urban history and culture is reflected in two outstanding works: *Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Tejas (1990)* by Douglas E. Foley, and *Social Inequality in Oaxaca: A History of Resistance and Change* by Arthur Murphy and Alex Stepick (1991). On the other hand, concerns with the symbols of community as place and space are evident in the first two volumes published in the series, Contemporary Urban Studies, edited by Robert V. Kemper and M. Estellie Smith. Robert Rotenberg and Gary McDonogh have assembled a revealing volume of original contributions in *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space* (1993); and Ruth H. Landman discusses cooperatives and community gardens in Washington, D.C., in her monograph *Creating Community in the City (1993).*

**1.3 Definition of "Urban"**

"Urban" is not what is "Rural". We cannot conceptualize either "Urban" or "Rural" without comparison. To understand about urban it important to define urban settlement:-

***a) Urban settlement****:* defining the concept urban settlement is not an easy task. There is no single definition to which everybody agrees. Thus, different approaches have been developed to define the concept "urban settlement" focus on *economic, demographic, political/administrative/legal, cultural/social relations, and multiple factors definition.*

***Economic definition****:* focuses on occupation. Accordingly, an urban settlement is where the majority of the inhabitants area engaged in other than agriculture like trade, industry. It does not mean that the total absence of agricultural activities. It's to mean that agriculture is not dominant.

***Demographic definition****:* focuses on statistical considerations. According to this approach, urban settlements are those settlements that have certain number of population. This certain number varies from country to country. For example in: *Botswana ≥5000, Canada ≥1000, Ethiopia ≥2000 Japan ≥50,000, USA ≥2500, Denmark ≥250, and Peru ≥100.*

***Administrative definition (legal):*** A place is said to be an urban settlement through declaration (charter granting) by authorities.

***Social relation definition****:* defines urban as a locality which has bec0ome large and the inhabitants do not know another. There is greater face to face contact but the chance of people to know each other is low.

***Multiple factors definition****:* since no single definition gives us sufficient meanings for urban settlement, several factors have to be considered. In this regard, **Alvin Boskoff** defines an urban locality as *"a community or complex*

*of communities characterized by dominance of commercial, industrial and service occupations, and extensive division of labor and corresponding social complexity; an accompanying high density of population and the development of coordination and social control on non-kinship basis"*. This definition is probably the most comprehensive one.

In order to avoid confusion, the UN has tried to develop its own definition particularly for the purpose of international comparison. This definition is based on demographic factors. The UN has identified 3 categories of urban settlements: big city=has at least 0.5 million population, city=has at least 100,000 population and urban locality=has at least 20,000 population

UN uses this classification when publishing statistical data. But the problem with this classification is that it is not adopted by many countries since different countries make their own local definition, there is a problem of standard meaning for an urban settlement. We can think of an urban settlement as being composed of three functionally interrelated and distinct parts such as: cities, suburbs and exurbs.

***Suburbs*** are settlements, which develop around the city. These are adjacent to the city and are established for different purposes; commercial; industrial, residential, etc. such suburbs together with the city are referred to as metropolitan center.

***Exurbs*** are recent phenomena, which came after suburbanization. Exurbs refer to those settlements beyond the suburbs. Such communities are found within 50 to 80kms away from the city center. Exurbs are part of the urban pattern since their inhabitants have the same lifestyle to the residents of the city. They work in the city or in adjacent suburbs. Exurbs are particularly common experience of developed countries. The spread of exurbs is very much connected with private vehicles and advanced road facilities.

**1.4"Urbanization", Urban and Urbanism"**

Urbanization is defined as "*the proportion of population resident in urban places"*. It is the social process transforming society's way of life. Urban and Urbanizations are defined, for the purpose of demographic analysis, as "*agglomerations of a given size as the proportion of total population living in places of a given size*". As Tisdale Eldridge, Urbanization involves two elements: *multiplication of point of concentration, and increase in the individual concentrations*, which increase urban population size.

Despite these issues, definition of urban varies in which some define on the base of

1. ***Administrative/political***- as if center of political administrations are considered as "urban" whatever the other requirements are or
2. ***Historical*** – having historical significance OR
3. ***Cultural considerations*** OR
4. ***Demographic*** such as "where >= 3000 population reside in a place"

In reality, combinations of these parameters are employed. *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 growth and rate of urbanization.*

- ♣ level of urbanization(ratio) = $\frac{\text{urban population}}{\text{Rural population}}$

Or

- ♣ level of urbanization(%) = $\frac{\text{urban population}}{\text{Rural population+ urban population}} \times 100$

➲ rate of urbanization = $\frac{\text{current year urban population} - \text{previous year population}}{\text{Previous year population}} \times 100$

For anthropologists the city as a type of human organization and settlement is a relatively recent innovation. Earliest archeological evidences show that human's sedentary settlement came from 8000 B.C to perhaps 2000 years after the end of foraging to agriculture and domestication of plants and animals. However, the Emergence and Development of Cities are the functions of four factors: *the size of total population, the control of natural environment, technological development, and the development of social organization.*

***The Size of Total Population:*** Population size is necessarily a factor in urban development because to permit any agglomeration of human beings there must be some minimum number to, sustain group life; and to achieve large urban agglomeration relatively large total populations are required.

***Environmental amenability/ the control of the natural environment/:*** The environment must be amenable to control in the sense that it meets at least minimal requirements for aggregative living. Thus, although earliest cities apparently were located in river valleys and alluvial plains, the ingenuity of man has permitted the use of a wide variety of natural environments for urban development. In any case, the natural environment by means of relatively primitive technology, provided the necessities for survival food, shelter, protective clothing, and, of course, an adequate water supply.

***Technological Development:*** Permanent human settlement had to await technological innovation-the innovations of the Neolithic revolution. It was with the achievement of domesticated plants and animals that it becomes possible for man to lead a relatively settled existence. Apart from these requirements, however, other techniques were involved and certainly played a major role in determining the size of the agglomeration could reach. Foremost among these was the development of agricultural technology to a point where surplus was possible, that is, food supply in excess of the requirements of the cultivators themselves.

The emergence of the crafts and their proliferation was necessary a function of the size of the surplus permitting some persons to engage, at least part time, in activities other than agricultural. With improved technology, including the wheel, the road, irrigation, cultivation, stock breeding, and improvements fishing, the surplus became larger enough to support a sizeable number of persons freed from the production of food. Certain it is that developments of this type were associated with the first units of settlement ten times and more the size of any known Neolithic villages as revealed in the archaeological findings in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Basin.

***Developments in Social Organizations:*** The development of relatively large agglomerations of population required more, however, than an increasingly efficient technology. Relatively large aggregations of population required more complex social organizations, including improved communication, and social and political mechanisms permitting some form of exchange among the emergent specialists, agricultural and non-agricultural.

Chief among the social organizational requirements was the working arrangement between the population agglomeration and the hinterlands, its source of food and raw materials. In the history of cities there is evidence of great variation in forms organization by means of which integration and coordination of activities was achieved between city and hinterland and within the city. The rise and fall of empires, as recorded in ancient history may be read in large measure as a chronicle or developments in social organization by means of which the ancient cities acquired the hinter land. The Roman legion may be interpreted as a form of social organization enabling the city to achieve effective working arrangements with the hinterland. The same function centuries later was performed by emergence of the market mechanism including money as instrumentality of exchange.

It was not until the nineteenth century that mankind had achieved both the level of technological development and social organization that permitted that relatively widespread appearance of very large cities. On the technological side the developments included techniques that greatly increased productivity in agriculture as well as in nonagricultural commodities. A critical factor in increased productivity was, of course, the utilization of nonhuman energy in production, the emergence of machine, powered first by water or wind, then by steam, and now by minerals fuels or electric derived there form, with atomic energy in prospect. Technological advance proceeded at an exponential rate under the impetus of the scientific revolution.

Social organizational developments paralleled the technological. Strong central governments evolved, bringing relative peace and tranquility to increasingly large areas and permitting the development of local, regional, national, and international markets. Increasing division of labor and specialization were accompanied by various forms of formal and informal organizations providing essential integration and coordination. New social institutions evolved or were invented to meet the needs of the increasingly complex and interdependent social and economic orders. A full account of the emergence of large city in the context of its antecedents is yet to be achieved; if indeed it ever can be documented. But the available literatures certainly provide a basis for at least pointing to the major factors associated with the emergence of the city and/or relatively highly urbanized nations.

***Urbanism:*** refers to the cultural component associated with urbanization. It includes a range of beliefs, values and rules of behavior, 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 (Lewis Wirth).

## 1.5. Descriptive Comparison of Rural and Urban

Sorokin and Zimmerman consider the principal criterion of difference between rural and urban societies to be occupational. From this difference a further series of differences could be developed, most of which are related in some way to the basic one. Eight characteristics in all are given as a means of comparing what are called the rural and urban 'worlds,' they are: *occupation; environment; size of community; density of population; heterogeneity and homogeneity of population; social differentiation and stratification; mobility; and system of interaction.*

| Variable/s | Rural | Urban |
|---|---|---|
| **Occupation** | *Totality of cultivators and their families. In the community, there are few representatives of several non-agricultural pursuits.* | *Totality of people engaged particularly in manufacturing, mechanical pursuits, trade, professions, governing and other non-agricultural occupations.* |
| **Environment** | *Predominance of nature over* | *Greater isolation from Nature and* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *anthropo-social environment.* | *predominance of man-made environment over nature.* |
| **Size of Community** | *Open farms or small communities; 'agriculturalism' and size of community are negatively correlated.* | *The size of urban community is much larger than the rural community. In other words urbanity and size of community are positively correlated.* |
| **Density of Population** | *The density is lower than an urban community. Generally density and rurality are negatively correlated.* | *Have Greater Population Density. Urbanity and density are positively correlated.* |
| **Heterogeneity & Homogeneity of the Population** | *Compared with urban populations the populations of the rural communities are more homogenous in racial and psychosocial traits (negative correlation with heterogeneity).* | *More heterogeneous than rural communities. Urbanity and heterogeneity are positive correlated.* |
| **Social Differentiation & Stratification** | *Less differentiation and stratification than urban.* | *Differentiation and stratification show positive correlation with urbanity*. |
| **Mobility** | *Territorial, occupational & other forms of social mobility of the population are comparatively less intense.* | *Urbanity and mobility are positively correlated.* Mobility then is of the very nature of the urban environment. |
| **System of Interaction** | *Less numerous contacts' per man; narrower area of the interaction system with its members and the whole aggregate; more prominent part is occupied by primary contacts; predominance of personal and relatively durable relations; comparative simplicity and sincerity of relations; 'Man is interacted as a human person'.* | *more numerous contacts; wider area of interaction system per man and per aggregate; predominance of impersonal, casual and short-lived relations; greater complexity, manifoldness, superficiality and standardized formality of relations; man is interacted as a "number' and an 'address'.* |

# Chapter Two

## Historical Perspective: Origin and Growth of Urban Centers

### 2.1 The Rise of the First Cities

The origin of urban life—the period when humankind was transformed from hunters and gatherers to city dwellers—is shrouded in the distant past. Yet we know that cities and urban civilizations appeared in many different areas of the world independent of one another in the relatively recent past. Urbanization, or the building of and living in compact, densely populated places, appeared as early as 10,000 years ago. Continuously used, densely populated settlements can be found in the Middle East dating back over 6,000 years and in the Indus Valley in India dating back over 4,000 years. Other centers of ancient urban life include the Minoan civilization of Crete (1600 BC) and the cities of China (circa 1600 BC). The origins of the earliest urban settlements are shown in Table 2.1.

**TABLE 2 .1 World's Earliest Cities**

| ***Region*** | ***Location*** | ***Approximate Date*** |
|---|---|---|
| Mesopotamia | Tigris and Euphrates rivers | 3900 BC |
| Egypt | Nile River valley | 3200 BC |
| India | Indus River valley | 2400 BC |
| Eastern Mediterranean | Crete | 1600 BC |
| China | Yellow River valley | 1600 BC |
| Mexico | Yucatan Peninsula | 200 BC |

The population of ancient cities tended to be small by present-day standards. The great city of Ur, home of Abraham, likely had a population of 65,000 in 2000 BC, when it was the largest city in the world. At its peak in the fifth century BC, classical Athens, the birthplace of Western art, architecture, and philosophy, had no more than 150,000 inhabitants. Until the late Middle Ages, no European city could compare with ancient Rome, which housed more than 1 million people in the first century AD.

According to Gideon Sjoberg(1960), cities were the sites of power. In order to be secure, it was necessary for early cities to exercise their strength and dominate the hinterland (the relatively less developed area outside the boundaries of the large city). Then, in order to prosper, it was necessary to expand the hinterland sphere of domination. As sites of wealth, ancient cities were protected by fortifications, and warfare between cities was quite common. We have many accounts of the destruction of early cities in the writings that have come down to us from the earliest urban civilizations. The section of the Old Testament called Lamentations was written by the prophet Jeremiah, who was a court official in Jerusalem when the city was conquered by the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BC. In Lamentations, the ancient Hebrews lament the loss of their city from their exile in Babylonia. In *The Trojan Women*, the Greek author Euripides wrote about the destruction of the ancient city of Troy.

The domination of urban settlements by successful rulers in search of increased wealth and treasure led, in turn, not only to increased trade and commerce, but also to continued conflict as the new city-states sought to exercise power over the countryside. Early urban existence constituted a drama involving such interwoven spheres of

everyday life as agricultural production, regional and foreign trade, military conquest and rule, and the pursuit of arts and sciences based on the relative success of economic and political activities. In his great work *The City in History*, Lewis Mumford asks us to consider the implications of this history when he notes that the civilizations that survived this period of human history were those that were the most warlike and able to destroy their competitors (Mumford, 1961).

Most discussions of early cities focus on the division of labor and economic activities around which the concentrated population was organized. In this way, city life is presented as a progression from limited to complex specialization of work and functional organization. Not only were cities the locus of agriculture, trade, and manufacturing; they created *social spaces* that had religious meaning and significance. Cities did not simply appear because certain fundamental economic activities had matured. Cities had to be produced, or constructed, by humans through the conscious intent of individuals and groups. In ancient societies, urban settlements were built using a shared set of symbols and a model of space that was inherently meaningful to each group. Early cities, such as Ur in ancient Sumer, were produced using cosmological codes that mandated geometrical relations between the city and the heavens, such as an east-west axis, and within the city through geometrical arrangements of the buildings. In this way, the built environment of even the earliest urban settlements had important social, political, and religious connections that created a sense of shared history and identity among the urban inhabitants.

Religious codes distinguished between sacred and profane spaces and endowed particular structures and spaces with the protection of the gods. Around 500 BC, the Etruscans, ancestors of the Romans, built cities by first plowing a “sacred furrow” as a large enclosure in a religious ceremony. The city could be built only within this space, signifying the sacred domain, separated from the profane space of the rest of the world. Only later, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe, did cities first appear without religious or cosmological codes guiding the construction of space. At this time, and continuing to the present day in Europe (and the United States), the meaning of a building (such as a bank) corresponded to the function it performed in the society with no necessary connection to any particular social or religious meaning. In contrast, in the earliest human settlements, and through at least the time of the medieval city, there was a strong connection between buildings and the way individuals living within the city conceived of the meanings of those buildings (such as ,for instance, the sacred treasuries Olympus in ancient Greece).

As the socio-spatial perspective suggests, the ancient city was the combined product of political power, economic functions, and overarching symbolic meanings that expressed deeply held beliefs of the inhabitants.

In the following Box attempts have been made to show some of the nature early cities have had during their heyday.

***Development of cities in China***

- *In China too, the broad principles of Urban-related social, cultural and political changes which brought the emergence and development of cities in Middle East are generalizeble.*
- *The China's historical traditions were rooted in long pre history of evolving local settlements and indigenous traditions.*
- *The first China City was believed to emerge during Xia Dynasty although archeological findings are suspecting this claim. However, recent archeological findings show city development in China emerged during Shang dynasty 1600 B.C.*
- *The physical motilities of the then China Cities show that the cities were not only administrative but center of industries.*
- *The population were highly stratified and consisted of royal families and nobles, slaves, and different officials.*
- *As true for the pre-industrial cities, the early China city were walled which segregates some population and activities and also to protect some from external attack.*

***Development of Cities in Mesoamerica***

- *In Mesoamerica, cities developed later than Mesopotamia or China.*
- *The first sedentary settlement, long distance trade and other factors show that cities emerged around 1200 B.C in Mexico, typical Mesoamerica.*
- *The Olmec (The Mesoamerican civilization that arose around 1200 B.C. Notable features of this civilization were irrigated agriculture, urbanism, and the beginnings of calendar and writing systems) fostered development of market cites, manufacturing development and succession of regional empires*

*Two main features distinguish early Mesoamerican urban centers;*

1. *The urban centers are ceremonial than being commercial centers*
2. *Their populations are not housed in walls (as it is the case in other pre-industrial urban centers) but outspread in large areas.*

- *Some scholars, with some disagreements on the accuracy of the time, the first Mesoamerican cities emerged around 500 B.C.*
- *Other cities emerged around 300 B.C. in the valleys of Oaxaca in Central Mexico.*
- *Urbanization during Mayan Civilization featured on increasing population, increasing nucleation of population, craft specialization, growth of wealth and health power of urban elite, expanding bureaucracy, increased social stratification, and an increase in competition among cities*

## 2.2 Subsequent City Developments

If urbanization was to escape its early limitations, it needs a region more open to innovation and new conceptions. The region that saw a later and greater urban development was the Greco roman world of Europe, flourishing approximately during the period from 600 B.C to 400 A.D. Iron tools and weapons, alphabetic writing, improved sailboats, cheap coinage, more democratic institutions, systematic colonization all tended to increase production, stimulate trade and expand the effective political unit. Towns and cities become more numerous and the degree of urbanization greater.

The full potentials of the ancient world to support a large city were realized only with the Romans. Thorough their ability to conquer, organize, govern an empire and to use the immediate hinterland to fruitful cultivation as well as the use of force and trade to bring slaves, goods, food and culture to the imperial capital. The Romans were able to create the largest city ever known in the world until the rise of the London in the nineteenth century.

In Western Europe, the development of cities not only reached the stage that the ancient world had achieved. But, kept going on the basis of improvements in agriculture and transport, the opening of new lands and new trade routes and above all the rise of productive activity first highly organized handicraft and eventually in a revolutionary new form of production of the factory run by machinery and fossil fuel. The transformation thus achieved in the nineteenth century was the true urban revolution for it meant not only the rise of a new scattered towns and cities but the appearance of genuine urbanization in the sense that a substantial portion of the population lived in towns and cities.

## 2.3 The World Tend From 1800 to 1950

It was the industrial revolution that brought about truly far reaching changes in city life. Viewed in the light of Europe's pre industrial era two factors are evident. These are the expansion of European power in to other continents and the development of technology based on inanimate rather than animate sources of energy and the expansion of European trade and exploration. Not only induced the growth of cities in Asia, in parts of non-urban Africa and in the Americans but also helped to raise the standards of living of European themselves that made possible the support of more specialists.

- The knowledge gained through the application of the scientific method is the major factor that made the modern city possible. This active experimental approach has enabled man to control the forces of nature to an extent undreamed during the pre industrial era.
- The dramatic upsurge of knowledge and a fundamental development of the experimental approach termed the scientific revolution provide the basis of the industrial revolution and the industrial city.
- The advent of industrialism brought vast improvement in agricultural implements, farming techniques and food preservation, as well as in the transportation and communication.
- Improved water supply and more efficient methods of sewage disposal allowed more people to concentrate in cities. The key invention was the steam engine which provided new and much more bountiful sources of energy.
- The factory system with its mass production of goods and mechanization of activity began to take hold. With it emerged a new kind of occupational structures that depend in highly specialized knowledge and that functions effectively only when the activities of the component occupations are synchronized.

In general the industrial revolution has led to fundamental changes in the city's social geography and social organization. The industrial city is marked by a greater fluidity in the class system; the appearance of mass education and mass communication as well as the shift from the center of the city to the suburban outskirts.

## 2.4 Urbanization in Europe

The fall of Roman Empire disintegrated the urban outpost. Subsequently, other Europeans, cities/towns started to gain influence in response to trade. The cities, during these subsequent developments, still walled for protection and their growing numbers of inhabitants were squeezed within these walls, making them vulnerable to repeat the epidemics of disease. Looking the big turn during this time, some historians consider Industrial Revolution not as sudden transformation, but as the culmination of a gradual economic progress that took place over several centuries. For example;

- Evidences show that in 16$^{th}$ century there were local industrialization specialized in textiles and metals;
- Population increased tenfold in Liverpool; and
- Trading and monetary economy expanded

Industrial revolution improved, relatively, the living condition of the society (which was attributed to increase in agricultural production and use of agricultural inputs) evidenced in decrease in death rate and thus population increase. According to Davis (1955), *"the transformation thus achieved in 19$^{th}$ century was the true urban revolution, for it meant not only the raise of few scattered towns and cities, but the appearance of genuine urbanization in the sense that the substantial proportion of the population lived in towns and cities."*

The rate of urbanization varies across European countries and for some countries (E.g. Netherlands, Portugal and Spain) it is sponsored by imperial trade than by industrial growth. Urbanization, defined as the proportion of population living in place called "urban", can be due to natural population increase (few death rate compared with birth rate) and migration to urban centers. In 19$^{th}$ century Europe, however, the urban growth was attributed to the cities' continual drawing of labor force from rural hinterland through migration. The increase in urban population was attributed to growth of the number urban places and the growth in the size of individual cities. Generally speaking, the industrial revolution presented the alteration of urban for it sprang technology and economics of factory of production by increasing the efficient way and resource of production. With these advantages, however, industrial revolution produced many social as well as psychological problems. There are three major dimensions of industrial revolution namely:

- *Social Organization*
- *Enriched human experience*
- *Its relationship with the hinterland*

### A. Social Organization

The following are some of the changes in social organization:

- Industrial Revolution, due to increasing demand in formal organizational relationship and new arrangements between the workers and employers, new discipline for the problem of social control emerged;
- Alternative and attractive sources of recreation was marked to be the incidence that underlined the importance of public housing;

- The extremely rationalized labor division raised the importance and formalization of bureaucracy leading rationalization of social organization;
- The differentiation and specialization produced new statuses and occupations which was not only different social classes but between males and females of the same classes (E.g. in Germany males are earned high pay than females);
- Unemployment & streetism were found to be the dysfunctions of urbanization; &
- Increased Urban poverty was exhibited, and the destitutions forced women to be prostitutes and many children became delinquents.

**B. Urban Experience in the industrialized city**

- The monotonous & repetitive work environment dehumanized human experience;
- Child labor experienced the children to have "hard times" & being socialized to longer working times created frustration and family breakdown;
- The crowded and poor ventilation brought worst experience and the urban workers had no garden in which to grow vegetables and domesticate animals;
- Poorly serviced housing with poor sanitation and unreliable water service and the cities remained unhealthy to live and work leading the death rate to be high;
- The poor were segregated; and
- The working conditions were dangerous causing physical disabilities (temporary or permanent) and death sometimes.

**C. Cities and Hinterland relationships**

- Hinterlands were the major source for the food and raw materials( with cheap price) used for manufacturing, exerting more territorial influence;
- Rapid urbanization can be safely concluded to be in part, a bi-product of the complementary processes of colonialism & industrialization rather than causing independent change it has brought a fundamental influence on the process as a whole;
- The exploitative relationship of urban was not only with rural hinterlands but larger urban centers dominated smaller towns politically and economically;
- Changes in transportation and communication strengthened these influences;
- During 20th century, urban growth became more generalized and its causes more varied urban growth. The poorer countries experienced more urbanization although industrialization typically played the modest role; and
- Urban saturation point-the proportion of agriculturalists would take at a given level of technological development to sustain the reminder of population- increased;

In 20th Century, the big history of urbanization was in Africa, Asia and less urbanized nation of Latin America. Comparing industrial and pre-industrial cities may give insight to understand the urban characteristics in developed and developing countries. Three criteria can explain the preindustrial cities, according Gideon Sjoberg *ecological conditions, economic conditions and social organization.*

**A. Ecological Organization**

Preindustrial cites depend for their existence upon food and raw materials obtained from rural hinterland; for this reason they are marketing centers. And they serve as centers for handicraft manufacturing. In addition they fulfill important political, religious, and educational functions. Some cities have become specialized, for example,

Benares in India and Karbala in Iraq are best known religious communities, and Peiping in China as a locus for political and educational activities.

The proportion of urbanites relative to the peasant population is small, in some societies about 10 per cent, even though a few preindustrial cities have attained populations of 10,000 or more. Growth has been by slow accretion. These characteristics are due to the non industrial nature of the total social order. The amount of surplus food available to support an urban population has been limited by the un-mechanized agriculture, transportation facilities utilizing primarily human or animal power, and inefficient methods of food preservation and storage.

The internal arrangement of the preindustrial city is closely related to the city's economic and social structure. Most streets are mere passage ways for people and for animals used in transport. Buildings are low and crowded together. The congested conditions, combined with limited scientific knowledge, have fostered serious sanitation problems.

More significant is the rigid social segregation, which typically has led to the formation of quarters or wards. In some cities (e.g., Fex, Morocco, and Aleppo, Syria) these were sealed off from each other by walls, whose gates were locked at night. The quarters reflect the sharp social divisions. Thus ethnic groups live in special sections. And the occupational groupings, some being at the same time ethnic in character, typically reside apart from one another. Often a special street or sector of the city is occupied almost exclusively by members of a particular trade; cities in such divergent cultures as medieval Europe and modern Afghanistan contain streets with names like street of the goldsmiths. Lower-class and especially outcaste groups live on the city's periphery, at a distance from the primary centers activity. Social segregation, the limited transportation facilities, the modicum of residential mobility, and the cramped living quarters have encouraged the development of well defined neighborhoods which are almost primary groups.

**B. Economic Organization**

The economy of the preindustrial city diverges sharply from that of the modern industrial center. The prime difference is the absence in the former of industrialism which may be defined as that system of production in which inanimate sources of power are used to multiply human effort. Preindustrial cities depend for the production of goods and services upon animate (human or animal) sources of energy applied either directly or indirectly through such mechanical devices as pulleys and wheels. The industrial urban community, on the other hand, employs inanimate generators of power such as electricity and steam which greatly enhance the productive capacity of urbanites. This basically new form of energy production, one which requires for its development and survival a special kind of institutional complex, effects striking changes in the ecological, economic, and social organization of cities in which it has become dominant.

Other facets of the economy of the preindustrial city are associated with its particular system of production. There is little fragmentation or specialization of work. The handicraftsman participates in nearly every phase of the manufacture of an article, often carrying out the work in his own home or small shop nearby and, within the limits of certain guild and community regulations, maintaining direct control over conditions of work and methods of production.

In industrial cities, on the other hand, the complex division of labor requires a specialized managerial group often extra-community in character, whose primary function is to direct and control others. And for the supervision and coordination of the activities of workers, a factory system has developed something typically lacking in preindustrial cities. (Occasionally centralized production is found in pre-industrial cities- e.g. where the state organized slaves for large-scale construction projects.) Most commercial activities, also, are conducted in pre-

industrial cities by individuals without a highly formalized organization; for example, the craftsman has frequently been responsible for the marketing of his own products. With a few exceptions, pre-industrial community cannot support a large group of middlemen. The various occupations are organized into what have been termed guilds-are an association of people for mutual aid or the pursuit of a common goal. These strive to encompass all, except the elite, who are gainfully employed in some economic activity. Guilds have existed for merchants and handicraft workers (e.g., goldsmiths and weavers) as well as for servants, entertainers, and even beggars and thieves. Typically the guilds operate only within the local community and there are no large scale economic organizations such as those in industrial cities which link their members to their fellows in other communities.

Guild membership and apprenticeship are prerequisites to the practice of almost any occupation, a circumstance obviously leading to monopolization. To a degree these organizations regulate the work of their members and the price of their products and services. And the guilds recruit workers into specific occupations, typically selecting them according to such particularistic criteria as kinship rather than universalistic standards.

The guilds are integrated with elements of the city's social structure. They perform certain religious functions; for example, in medieval European, Chinese, and Middle Eastern cities each guild had its patron saint and held periodic festivals in his honor. And, by assisting members in time of trouble, the guilds serve as social security agencies.

The economic structure of the preindustrial city functions with little rationality. This is shown in the general non-standardization of manufacturing methods as well as in the products and in marketing. In preindustrial cities throughout the world a fixed price is rare; buyer and seller settle their bargain by haggling. Often business is conducted in a leisurely manner, money not being the only desired end.

Furthermore, the sorting of goods according to size, weight, and quality is not common. Typical is the adulteration and spoilage of produce. And weights and measures are not standardized: variations exist not only between one city and the next but also within communities, for often different guilds employ their own systems. Within a single city there may be different kinds of currency, which with the poorly developed accounting and credit systems, signalize modicum of rationality in the whole of economic action in pre-industrial cities.

**C. Social Organization**

The economic system of the preindustrial city articulates with a characteristic class structure and family, religious, educational and government systems. Of the class structures the most striking component is a literate elite controlling and depending for its existence upon the mass, even in the traditional cities of India with their caste system. The elite are composed of individuals holding positions in the governmental, religious, and/or educational institutions of the larger society, although at times groups such as large absentee landlords have belonged to it. At the opposite pole are the masses, comprising such groups as handicraft workers whose goods and services are produced primarily for the elites benefit. Between the elite and the lower class is a rather sharp division, but in both groups there are shifts in rank. The members of the elite belong to the "correct families" and enjoy power, property, and certain highly valued personal attributes. Their position moreover is legitimized by sacred writings.

Social mobility in preindustrial city is minimal; the only real threat to the elite comes from the outside not from the city's lower classes. And a middle class typical of industrial urban communities, where it can be considered the dominant class is not known in the preindustrial city. The system of production in the larger society provides goods, including food, and services in sufficient amounts to support only a small group of leisured individuals;

under these conditions an urban middle class, a semi leisured group, cannot arise. Nor are a middle class and extensive social mobility essential to the maintenance of the economic system.

Significant is the role of the marginal or outcaste groups (e.g., the Eta of Japan), which are not an integral part of the dominant social system. Typical they are lower than the urban lower class, performing tasks considered especially degrading, such as burying the dead. Slaves, beggars, and the like are outcastes in most preindustrial cities. Even such groups as professional entertainers & itinerant merchants are often viewed as outcastes, for their roving expose them to foreign ideas from which the dominant social group seeks to isolate itself.

The isolation of women from public life has in some cases been extreme. Industrialization, by creating demands and opportunities for their employment outside the home, is causing significant changes in the status of women as well as in the whole of the kinship system in urban areas. Moreover, a formalized system of age grading is an effective mechanism of social control in preindustrial cities. Among the siblings the eldest son is privileged. Children and the youth are subordinate to parents to parents and other adults.

Formal education typically is restricted to the male elite, its purpose being to train individuals for positions in the governmental, educational or religious hierarchies. The economy of preindustrial cities does not require mass literacy, nor, in fact, does the system of production provide the leisure so necessary for the acquisition of formal education. Considerable time is needed merely to learn the written language, which often is quite different from that spoken. The teacher occupies a position of honor, primarily because of the prestige of all learning and especially of knowledge of the sacred literature, and learning is traditional and characteristically based upon sacred writings. Students are expected to memorize rather than evaluate and initiate, even in institutions of higher learning.

In general, it is postulated that industrialization is key variable accounting for the distinction between preindustrial and industrial cities. Extensive industrialization requires a rational and centralized extra community. The economic organization in which recruitment is based on *more universalism than particularism; a class system stresses achievement than ascription; a small and flexible kinship system; and a system of mass education*, which is emphasized universalistic rather than particularistic criteria.

## 2.5 The City in Modern Industrial Society

### 2.5.1 Metropolis

The word comes from the Greek *mētēr* meaning "mother" and *pólis* meaning "city"/"town", which is how the Greek colonies of antiquity referred to their original cities, with which they retained cultic and political-cultural connections. The word was used in post-classical Latin for the chief city of a province, the seat of the government and, in particular, ecclesiastically for the seat or see of a metropolitan bishop to whom suffrages bishops were responsible. This usage equates the province with the diocese or Episcopal.

In modern usage the word has come to refer to a metropolitan area, a set of adjacent and interconnected cities clustered around a major urban center. Although there is no clear definition or classification of what a metropolis constitutes, it is a term that is generally used to represent a large city or urban area. Urban areas of less than one million people are rarely considered metropolises in contemporary contexts. Big cities belonging to a larger urban agglomeration, but which is not the core of that agglomeration, are not generally considered a metropolis but a part of it. A metropolis is usually a significant economic, political and cultural center for some country or region, and an important hub for regional or international connections and communications.

## A. Metropolitan Area

A metropolitan area is a region consisting of a populous urban core with a high density of employment plus surrounding territory that is socio-economically linked to the urban core by commuting. A metropolitan area is also sometimes known as a commuter belt or a labor market area. A metropolitan area usually combines an urban agglomeration (the contiguous built-up area) with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, but closely bound to the center by employment or commerce. These zones are also sometimes known as a commuter belt, and may extend well beyond the urban periphery depending on the definition used. It is mainly the area that is not part of the city but is connected to the city.

In practice the parameters of metropolitan areas, in both official and unofficial usage, are not consistent. Sometimes they are little different from an urban area, and in other cases they cover broad regions that have little relation to the traditional concept of a city as a single urban settlement. Thus all metropolitan area figures should be treated as interpretations rather than as hard facts. Metro area population figures given by different sources for the same place can vary by millions, and there is a tendency for people to promote the highest figure available for their own "city". However the most ambitious metropolitan area population figures are often better seen as the population of a "metropolitan region" than of a "city".

There has been no significant change in the basic metropolitan area "concept" since its adoption in 1950, though significant changes in geographic distributions have occurred since, and is expected to further evolve through time. Because of the fluidity and evolution of the "term" metropolitan statistical areas, the colloquial reference by the general population and media to define a metropolitan statistical area is with a more familiar reference to "metro service area, metro area, metro, or metropolitan statistical area ". And widely intimated to mean the total geographic area inclusive of not only a well known city population. But also, its inner city, suburban, exurban and sometimes rural surrounding populations, all which are influenced by employment, transportation, and commerce of the more largely well known urban city.

## B. Components of Metropolis

The four major components metropolises are:

i. The central business complex;
ii. Manufacturing and its satellites;
iii. Metropolis housing and residential areas; and
iv. Open land.

## I. The Central Business District

A central business district (CBD, also called a central activities district) is the commercial and often geographic heart of a city. The term CBD or Central Business District is the central district of a city, usually typified by a concentration of retail and office buildings.

The term city centre is similar to central business district in that both serve the same purpose for the city, and both are marked by a higher-than-usual urban density as well as often having the tallest buildings in a city. *City centre* differs from *downtown* in that the latter can be geographically located anywhere in a city, while a city centre is generally located near the geographic heart of the city.

The shape and type of a central business district or downtown almost always closely reflect the city's history. Cities with maximum building height restrictions often have a separate historic section quite apart from the financial and administrative district. In cities that grew up suddenly and more recently, such as those in the western half of North America, a single central area will often contain all the tallest buildings. It has been said that

downtowns (as understood in North America) are therefore a separate phenomenon. Central business districts usually have very small resident populations.

The following characteristics are typical of (though not always present in) most central business districts, downtowns, or city centers:

- houses large public buildings such as libraries, churches, stations and town halls;
- contains specialist shops and branches of major department stores;
- contains social amenities such as cinema halls, clubs and theatres;
- contains little housing, but often hotels;
- contains little or no industry;
- contains offices and other professional buildings;
- contains buildings that tend to be taller than buildings in other parts of the city (because land prices tend to be at a premium, making high-rise buildings economically favorable);
- has high pedestrian levels and the greatest parking restrictions;
- (often) is the geographical centre of the settlement;
- (often) is the area with the highest land value;
- is well connected by public transport, with large numbers of passengers; and
- Has a high traffic level.

Land users, whether they be retail; office; or residential, all compete for the most accessible land within the central business district. The amount they are willing to pay is called bid rent. This can generally be shown in a 'bid rent curve'. The more accessible the land, generally in the centre, is the more expensive land.

Commerce (in particular large department stores/chain stores) is willing to pay the greatest rent to be located in the inner core. The inner core is very valuable for them because it is traditionally the most accessible location for a large population. This large population is essential for department stores, which require a considerable turnover. As a result, they are willing and able to pay a very high land rent value. They maximize the potential of their site by building many stories. As you move from the inner core, the amount commerce is willing to pay declines rapidly. Industry, however, is willing to pay to be in the outer core. There is more land available for their factories, but they still have many of the benefits of the inner core, such as a market place and good communications. As you move further out, so the land is less attractive to industry due to the reducing communication links and a decreasing market place. Because the householder does not rely heavily on these and can now afford the reduced costs (when compared with the inner and outer core) is able to purchase land. The further you go from the inner core and outer core, the cheaper the land. This is why inner city areas are very densely populated (terraces, flats and high rises), whilst the suburbs and rural areas are sparsely populated (semi and detached houses with gardens).

**II. Manufacturing and its Satellites**

Increase in volume of production and changing technology with requirements of more space made it out to the periphery. Three technical factors that gave rise to the amount of land per worker in modern factory are:

- mechanization and automation of production;
- there is a switch from traditional buildings to one story production building plant leads to increase demand for ground area; and
- the new practice of combining open land around the plant.

## III. Metropolis Housing and Residential Areas

Housing takes the lion share in terms of the occupied land. Housing is one of the main problems of metropolis i.e. the emergence of slum and segregation of people according to their income and race. In all metropolises slum areas are found in the inner-city. But it does not mean that all the inner-cites have slum. Mostly income correlates with place of residence. The haves move out while the have-not remains. Sometimes there are forced displacements in the inner city for developmental activities and relocate people to the periphery.

Suburb mostly refers to a residential area. They may be the residential areas of a city or separate residential communities within commuting distance of a city. Some suburbs have a degree of political autonomy, and most have lower population density than inner city neighborhoods. Suburbs grew in the 19$^{th}$ and 20$^{th}$ century as a result of improved rail and later road transport.

The characteristics of many suburbs are summarized as follows.

- Lower densities than central cities, dominated by single-family homes on small plots of land, surrounded at close quarters by very similar dwellings.
- Zoning patterns that separate residential and commercial development, as well as different intensities and densities of development. Daily needs are not within walking distance of most homes.
- Subdivisions carved from previously rural land into multiple-home developments built by a single real estate company. These subdivisions are often segregated by minute differences in home value, creating entire communities where family incomes and demographics are almost completely homogeneous.
- A road network designed to conform to a hierarchy, leading to larger residential streets, in turn leading to large collector roads, in place of the grid pattern common to most central cities and pre-World War II suburbs.
- A greater percentage of one-story administrative buildings than in urban areas.
- Compared to rural areas, suburbs usually have greater population density, higher standards of living, more complex road systems, more franchised stores and restaurants, and less farmland and wildlife.

## IV. Open Land

Metropolitan open land is open land areas for “parks”, “green spaces”, and other open areas. The landscape of urban open spaces can range from playing ground fields to highly maintained environments to relatively natural landscapes. They are commonly open to public access, however, urban open spaces may be privately owned. Areas outside of city boundaries, such as state and national parks as well as open space in the countryside, are not considered urban open space. Streets, piazzas, plazas and urban squares are not always defined as urban open space in land use planning.

The term metropolitan open land can describe many types of open areas. One definition holds that, as the counterpart of development, urban open space is a natural and cultural resource, synonymous with neither unused land nor park and recreation areas. Others define it as land and/or water area with its surface open to the sky, consciously acquired or publicly regulated to serve conservation and urban shaping function in addition to providing recreational opportunities. In almost all instances, the space referred to by the term is, in fact, green space. However, there are examples of urban green space which, though not publicly owned/regulated, are still considered urban open space.

Generally considered open to the public, urban open spaces are sometimes privately owned. Some examples of such places include higher education campuses, neighborhood/community parks or gardens, and institutional or corporate grounds. These areas still function to provide "aesthetic & psychological relief from urban development". Nevertheless, most commonly the term is used to reference spaces that are public &"green".

The benefits that metropolitan open land provides to citizens can be broken into the following basic forms:

- **Recreational: -** Urban open space is often appreciated for the recreational opportunities it provides. Recreation in urban open space may include active recreation (such as organized sports and individual exercise) or passive recreation, which may simply entail being in the open space. Time spent in an urban open space for recreation offers a reprieve from the urban environment is offered.
- **Ecological:-**The conservation of nature in an urban environment has direct impact on people for another reason as well. Metropolitan open lands also serve as islands of nature, promoting biodiversity and providing a home for natural species in environments that are otherwise uninhabitable due to city development.
- **Aesthetic:-**The aesthetic value of urban open spaces is self-evident. People enjoy viewing nature, especially when it is otherwise extensively deprived, as is the case in urban environments. Therefore, open space offers the value of "substituting gray infrastructure."
- **Public health:-** Significant research supports the notion that urban open spaces offer health benefits to city residents through exposure to a natural environment. Urban open spaces offer citizens relief from the strains of urban environments and everyday demands. That respite can come in the form of a walk or run, time spent sitting or reading, watching the birds, essentially any time spent in the natural environment the open space offers. Research shows that when open spaces are attractive and accessible, people are more likely to engage in physical activity, which has obvious inherent health benefits.

The environment of an urban open space significantly influences how that space is perceived and used. Some green spaces maintain a natural environment with a native and self-sustaining ecosystem. Depending on factors such as the location of the city and the location of the space within the city, this natural open space may be a grassy field, woodland, or something aquatic such as a stream, swamp, pond or lake. Other areas may be more heavily influenced by its purpose and use. Examples of open space that would match this description are playing fields, gardens, or imposed ecosystems.

## C. Challenges Associated with Metropolis

**i. Slums:** Due to rising population, the absolute number of slum dwellers is rising. The majority of these come from the fringes of urban margins, located in legal and illegal settlements with insufficient housing and sanitation. This has been caused by massive migration, both internal and transnational, into cities, which has caused growth rates of urban populations and spatial concentrations not seen before in history. These issues raise problems in the political, social, and economic arenas. Slum dwellers often have minimal or no access to education, healthcare, or the urban economy.

**ii. Homelessness:** Metropolises often have significant numbers of homeless people. The actual legal definition of homelessness varies from country to country, or among different entities or institutions in the same country or region.

**iii. Traffic Congestion:** Traffic congestion is a condition on road networks that occurs as use increases, and is characterized by slower speeds, longer trip times, and increased vehicular queuing.

**iv. Urban Sprawl:** Urban sprawl, also known as suburban sprawl, is a multifaceted concept, which includes the spreading outwards of a city and its suburbs to its outskirts to low-density, auto-dependent development on rural land, with associated design features that encourage car dependency. As a result, some critics argue that sprawl has certain disadvantages, including, longer transport distances to work, high car dependence, and inadequate facilities e.g.: health, cultural. etc. and higher per-person infrastructure costs.

**v. Environmental Problems:** Air pollution is the introduction of chemicals, particulate matter, or biological materials that cause harm or discomfort to humans or other living organisms, or damages the natural environment, into the atmosphere. Many urban areas have significant problems with smog, a type of air pollution derived from vehicular emission from internal combustion engines and industrial fumes that react in the atmosphere with sunlight to form secondary pollutants that also combine with the primary emissions to form photochemical smog. Smog is also caused by large amounts of coal burning, which creates a mixture of smoke and sulfur dioxide. World coal consumption was about 6,743,786,000 short tons in 2006 and is expected to increase 48% to 9.98 billion short tons by 2030. China produced 2.38 billion tons in 2006. 68.7% of China's electricity comes from coal. The USA consumes about 14% of the world total, using 90% of it for generation of electricity.

# Chapter Three

## Theories of Urbanization and Urbanism

### 1. Modernization Theory and Urbanization

Modernization Theory asserts that **industrial employment attracts people to urban areas**, where they work in modern sector occupations that facilitate national economic expansion. According to classical economists, rural inhabitants are pulled to urban areas by high industrial wages. **Industrialization has been the engine of urbanization** in the past will continue to be so in the future. People will continue to migrate to town ward as long as their expected urban wages exceed their current rural wages. Despite the increasing costs associated with urban expansion, modernization theory generally views **urbanization as a positive phenomenon**:

1. *Urbanization supposedly facilitates economic growth by increasing "modern Sector" output in developing countries.*
2. *City life is conducive to the formation of modern ideas necessary for economic growth and overall development.*
3. *Increasing industrialization, education and urbanization may provide more opportunities for women to advance economically and socially.*

It is clear that the developing world continues to urbanize at a rapid rate. Despite such growth, it also clear that slums, unemployment and crime in the Third World Cities call into question the positive features of the modernization perspective.

### 2. Dependence Theory and Urbanization

Dependency oriented research on urbanization can be divided into three parts:

1. Traditional dependency and World system arguments claim that **foreign investment in Third World agriculture displaces peasants and "pushes" them to the city.**

2. The Dependent development arguments assert that **foreign investment in manufacturing increases both urbanization and economic growth**. Dependent development perspective is concerned with factors that lead to 'modern sector' (manufacturing and related) development and economic expansion in developing countries.

3. Recent developments in the Third World economy may have profoundly alerted arguments associated with the Third World urbanization and development. Qualitative studies completed in the last few years show that the global debt crisis and IMF pressure increase over-urbanization, restrain economic growth, and physical quality and increase in political protest and domestic riots.

### 3. Urban Bias Theory and Urbanization

Urban Bias arguments state that the **disparity in welfare between country and city increases rural to urban migration and thereby expands urbanization**. Urban bias theorists argue that many under developed nations implement investment, tax, pricing, and other policies that disproportionately favor urban areas. The state enacts these policies because of pressure from various urban based groups such as industrialists, small-scale capitalists and urban workers. This bias in favor of city areas has created a disparity between country and city with respect to consumption, wage and productivity levels. Such disparities translate into a higher standard of living from urban citizens and draw migrants from poorer (rural) areas. Instead of being a sign of development, over-urbanization is a sign of economic illness.

## 4. Theories of Urban Problems

Early observations of city life saw immigrants from rural areas with stable family traditions turning to alcoholism, robbery, child abuse and prostitution. Something about living in large cities, it was suggested, **created social disorganization-broken families and broken lives-and this in turn led to all sorts of urban problems.**

Wirth believed that **primary group relationships** (among family & kin) are replaced **by secondary group relationships** (neighbors & co-workers) in urban society. Secondary relationships are based on temporary, superficial and impersonal social interactions. As a consequence urban life produces anonymity & distance among urban dwellers that rarely get to know even those people with whom they interact daily (shopkeepers, fellow commuters etc). Wirth believed that secondary relations eventually lead to family break up, alcoholism, crime & other negative aspects of urban life.

Herbert Gans(1986) argued that urban environment does not have a major effect on people's lives. Instead differences between city and sub-urban behavior can be explained by differences in class background, age and lifestyle orientations of city and sub-urban residents. So called urban problems are really consequences of the demographic characteristics –the social compositions of the population (class, marital status, race, educational attainment and income etc). Gans referred to these demographic characteristics of urban population as *compositional factors.*

Compositional theories of urbanism assert that urban unconventionality and urban–rural differences are due mainly to the social characteristics (i.e., class, race/ethnicity, age) of city dwellers. The density and heterogeneity that define the urban environment do not affect how people relate to one another or cause people to deviate. In other words, there are no independent effects of city life on people's behaviors.

Compositional theory developed in the 1960s largely in reaction to determinist models of urbanism that assumed cities had harmful effects on people's well-being. The prevailing ideology of Louis Wirth (1938) and other determinists was that large, dense environments with a mix of different types of people create conditions harmful to people's social and psychological well-being and contribute to the development of social problems, like crime, illegitimacy, and so on. The high concentration of people in an area was thought to overload one's senses, leading urban dwellers to retreat into social isolation as a means of adapting to continual stimuli. Further, density or crowding might cause greater friction among people, leading to interpersonal violence, greater withdrawal, and "urban malaise" (i.e., loneliness, depression, and anxiety)

Claude Fischer (1975) claimed that the compositional view neglected special role cities play in social interaction. Life in city intensifies local cultures and sub-cultures. All forms of deviance flourish within urban environment because there are more individuals who support these sub-cultures. Urban life does not automatically lead to social disorganization, but it does increase opportunities to be exposed to deviance and negative effects on one's behavior.

## 5. The Socio-spatial Perspective/Theory

Spatial environment plays an important role in human interaction. Social problems in particular caused by poverty, racial exclusion, gender differences and the patterns of uneven development within settlement space that result in differential access to resources and determine one's life chances. In short, ways of life result from an interaction between social factors and spatial organization. Cities are not unique in having acute social problems, but the spatial nature of large cities and densely populated suburbs makes the uneven development resulting from

the inequalities of race, class, gender and age particularly severe. According to the socio-spatial approach the following factors are the most significant:

- *City as a built environment concentrates people and resources. Social problems and such as drugs and poverty have a greater impact in large central cities and densely populated suburbs than in less dense areas;*
- *Over the years urban populations have been disproportionately affected by the internationalization of the capitalist economies. For example, large metropolitan regions such as Los Angeles or New York are the destinations of choice for most immigrants from poorer nations who have left their countries in search of a better life;*
- *Large cites are major centers of the global economy. Extreme wealth is created within their boundaries, and the sings of money are highly visible in the city such as expensive restaurants, departmental stores, luxury housing etc;*
- *Close by in the concentrated space of the city, are also people who suffer the most terrible consequences of abject poverty, such as homelessness, malnutrition & chronic unemployment; and*
- *In summary, social problems that can be considered uniquely urban derive from the concentrated nature of metropolitan space and the scale of changes in compositional factors.*

The socio-spatial perspective is inspired by the work of Lefebvre and can be distinguished from other approaches by the following characteristics. First, it considers real estate development as the leading edge of changes in the metropolitan region. While other approaches tend to focus only on economic changes in industry, commerce, and services, the SSP adds to these important dimensions an interest in the way real estate molds metropolitan growth, including how real estate declines. Second, the SSP considers government intervention and the interests of politicians in growth as a principal factor in metropolitan change. The SSP considers the state as relatively autonomous—that is, with officials having interests of their own—and, more specifically, considers politics as being strongly linked to the concerns of property development (Gottdiener, 1986). Third, the socio-spatial perspective considers the role of cultural orientations (such as class, race, income, gender, age and ethnicity) as critical for an understanding of metropolitan life. Finally, the SSP takes a global view of metropolitan development. The most local areas today are tied to the activities of multinational corporations and banks. Changes in the way they invest affect each of us. By emphasizing global economic changes, however, the socio-spatial perspective also seeks to understand how local and national factors interrelate with international links.

**6. Sub-cultural Theory**

Sub-cultural theory proposes that those living in an urban setting are able to find ways of creating a sense of community despite the prevailing alienation and anonymity. The beginnings of subculture theory involved various theorists associated with what became known as the Chicago School. Sub-cultural theory emerged from the work of the Chicago School on gangs & developed through the symbolic interactionism school into a set of theories arguing that certain groups or subcultures in society have values & attitudes that are conducive to crime & violence. The work associated with Birmingham University's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was most responsible for the association of subculture with groupings based around spectacular styles (example-punks (rock music admirer), skins (friendship solidarities), motorbike boys etc).

Though the emphasis of the theorists varies, the school is most famous for a conception of subcultures as deviant groups, whose emergence had to do with 'the interaction of people's perceptions of themselves with others' view

of them'. This is, perhaps, best summarized in Albert Cohen's theoretical introduction to a study of 'Delinquent Boys' (1955). For Cohen, subcultures consisted of individuals collectively resolving societal status problems by developing new values which rendered status-worthy the characteristics they shared. Acquisition of status within the subculture entailed being labeled and, hence, excluded from the rest of society, something the group would respond to through its own hostility to outsiders, to the extent that non-conformity with dominant norms often became virtuous. As the subculture became more substantive, distinctive and independent, members would become increasingly dependent on each other for social contact and validation of their beliefs and way of life.

The themes of labeling and sub cultural dislike of 'normal' society are also emphasized in Howard Becker's work which, among other things, is notable for its emphasis on the boundaries drawn by jazz musicians between themselves and their values as 'hip' and their audience as 'squares' . The notion of increasing polarization between subculture and the rest of society, as a result of outside labeling, is developed further in relation to drug-takers in Britain by Jock Young (1971) and in relation to media moral panics surrounding Mods and Rockers by Stan Cohen. For Cohen, the generalized negative images of subcultures in the mass media both reinforced dominant values and constructed the future form of such groupings.

## 7. Sociological Theories of Urbanism

**I. Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936)**: He sketched out an evolutionary view of the development of human society. The great period of industrialization that transformed European societies beginning in the late 1700s signified a change from community to association. He defined and described two basic organizing principles of human association or two contrasting types of human social life: gemeinschaft (community) and gesellschaft (association). His ideas are often used to highlight differences between village life of the preindustrial period and urban life of the industrial period, and between small-town life and that of the large city more generally.

***A. Gemeinschaft (community):*** The very existence of *Gemeinschaft* rests in the consciousness of belonging together and the affirmation of the condition of mutual dependence which is posed by that affirmation. 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 neighborhood 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 neighborhood or locality. Kinship Gemeinschaft is based on family; the strongest relationship being between mother and child, then husband and wife, and then siblings. There is also friendship or Gemeinschaft of the mind, which requires a common mental community (e.g. religion). Kinship develops and differentiates into the Gemeinschaft of Locality, which is based on a common habitat.

***B. Gesellschaft (association):*** is 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. Whereas in Gemeinschaft people are united in spite of all separating factors, in Gesellschaft people are separated in spite of all uniting factors.

***II. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)*** also wrote about the changes brought about by industrialization. In *The Division of Labor in Society,* Durkheim discussed many of the same issues presented in Töennies's earlier essay, this time under the labels of *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity*.

**A. 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. Individuals were held together by the mechanical bonds of kinship and social interdependence—mechanical because they were predetermined and could not be changed as long as the individual remained within the local village. Common among prehistoric and pre-agricultural societies, and lessens in predominance as modernity increases.

**B. Organic Solidarity:-** In the industrial city, individuals were no longer bound by the mechanical bonds of kinship; instead they could work at new types of jobs and have greater opportunities for interaction with a wider range of people. These were organic bonds that flowed naturally from the increased social differentiation brought about by the division of labor. 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. Common among industrial societies as the division of labor increases. 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.

**III. 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. He was more concerned with patterns of activity and ways of thinking that were found in the city. Simmel was concerned with modernity, or the transition from a traditional society characterized by social relations based on intimacy or kinship (known as "primary" relations). And, by a feudal economy based on barter to an industrial society situated within cities and dominated by impersonal, specialized social relations based on compartmentalized roles (known as "secondary" relations) and by a money economy based on rational calculations of profit and loss.

Urbanites highly attuned to time. Rationality is expressed in advanced economic division of labor, & the use of money because of requirement for a universal means of exchange. Acknowledged freedom, transcendence of pettiness of daily routine, new heights of personal & spiritual development but sense of alienation could override it. Not to feel like a cog in machine they do something different. Economic exchange is a form of social interaction. When monetary transactions replaced earlier forms of barter, significant changes occurred in the form of interaction between social actors. Money promotes rational calculation in human affairs, furthering rationalization characteristic of modern societies. Money replaces personal ties by impersonal relations that limited to a specific purpose. Money in modern world is standard of value & means of exchange. Above economic functions, it symbolizes & embodies modern spirit of rationalism, calculability & impersonality. Money is a common denominator of all value.

**IV. Louis Wirth:** was inspired by the work of Simmel. The Chicago sociologists came to view spatial patterns in the city as the result of powerful social factors, such as competition and the struggle for survival among individuals and groups within the city. He emphasized the way the city, as a spatial environment, influenced

individual behavior. Wirth wanted to know what it was about the city itself that produced unique behaviors that might be called an "urban way of life." Given his study emphasis, Wirth naturally returned to Simmel. However, while Simmel attributed much of the city way of life to the influence of larger systemic forces, especially capitalism and its money economy, Wirth aimed for a general theory that ignored forces having origins outside the city. He studied the characteristics of people in the city and how life there might produce a distinct "urban" culture. In his important essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1948), Wirth focused on three factors. Urbanism was produced in relatively large and densely populated settlements containing groups of persons of different backgrounds; that is, urbanism was a product of *large population size, density, and heterogeneity of the population*—that interact with one another to produce a specific urban way of life. Here are some of the effects of the variables as Wirth described them:

***The effect of size:*** The greater the size of the population, the greater the specialization and diversity of social roles we find within the city—and so too the diversity of the population itself. Because the population lacks a common identity, competition and formal mechanisms of social control would replace primary relations of kinship as a means of organizing society. Because human relationships are highly segmented, there is increased anonymity and fragmentation of social interaction. These effects can be liberating (one has greater anonymity and can do as one likes) but may also lead to anomie and social disorganization.

***The effect of density:*** The increased density of the urban population intensifies the effects of large population size, increases competition among individuals and groups, and thereby creates a need for specialization. Greater density produces greater tolerance for living closely with strangers but also creates greater stress as groups that do not share a common identity come into contact with one another.

***The effect of heterogeneity:*** Individuals in the city have regular contact with persons and groups that differ from them in many ways: ethnicity, race, and social status, as described above. Increased heterogeneity leads to greater tolerance among groups as ethnic and class barriers are broken down. But the effect also is to compartmentalize individual roles and contacts, and, as a result, anonymity and depersonalization in public life increase.

The increased size, density, and heterogeneity of urban areas leave us with an urban environment where individuals are alienated and alone, where primary groups have been splintered. The individual is now subject to the influence of the mass media and mass social movements where the individual must "subordinate some of this individuality to the demands of the larger community."

**V. Max Weber (1864-1920):** The city is a relatively closed and dense settlement. Defined urban community, an ideal type, required:

a) *Trade or commercial relations, e.g. market;*
b) *Court and law of its own;*
c) *Partial political autonomy;*
d) *Militarily self-sufficient for self-defense; and*
e) *Forms of associations or social participation whereby individuals engage in social relationships and organizations.*

Weber recounts a process in which the development of the rational-legal institutions that characterize the modern city enabled the individual to be free from the traditional groups and therefore develop his individuality.

## ***8. Theories of Urban Ecology***

Robert Park and Ernest Burgess developed ideas that were for many years the chief bases of theory and Research in Urban Sociology, and came to be known as "urban ecology". They prefer a biologically based way of conceptualizing urban life. For them urban analysis was a branch of human ecology. Their ideas brought them closest to the work of the philosopher Herbert Spencer, who also viewed society as dominated by biological rather than economic laws of development. Economic competition, in this view, was a special case of the Darwinian struggle for survival. All individuals in the city were caught up in this struggle and adjusted to it in various ways

According to Park, the social organization of the city resulted from the struggle for survival that then produced a distinct and highly complex division of labor, because people tried to do what they were best at in order to compete. Urban life was organized on two distinct levels: the biotic and the cultural. The *biotic level* refers to the forms of organization produced by species' competition over scarce environmental resources. The *cultural level* refers to the symbolic and psychological adjustment processes and to the organization of urban life according to shared sentiments.

In Park's work, the biotic level stressed the importance of biological factors for understanding social organization and the urban effects of economic competition. In contrast, the cultural component of urban life operated in neighborhoods that were held together by cooperative ties involving shared cultural values among people with similar backgrounds. Hence, local community life was organized around what Park called a "moral order" of cooperative, symbolic ties, whereas the larger city composed of separate communities was organized through competition and functional differentiation. In his later work, however, the complex notion of urbanism as combining competition and cooperation, or the biotic and the cultural levels was dropped in favor of an emphasis on the biotic level alone as the basic premise of urban ecology. This led to some of the earliest critiques of the ecological perspective, faulting it for ignoring the role of culture in the city and for neglecting the basis of community (Alihan, 1938), which was social and not biological.

According to Burgess, the city constantly grew because of population pressure. This, in turn, triggered a dual process of central agglomeration & commercial decentralization; that is, spatial competition attracted new business & commercial activities to the center of the city but also repelled other activities to the fringe area. This process forced other activities out & away from the core, and so the fringe itself was pushed farther out from the city, and so on.

The city continually grew outward as activities that have lost out in the competition for space in the central city relocate to peripheral areas. This sorting and survival of the fittest led, in turn, to further spatial and functional differentiation as activities were deployed according to competitive advantages. In Burgess's theory, the city would eventually take on the form of a highly concentrated central business district that would dominate the region and be the site for the highest competitive land prices.

After joining popularity in the 1920s and 30s, urban ecology entered, however, a period of dispute as it was associated with "Social Darwinism". In the 1950s and 60s it was revived with some changes introduced by the writers such as Amos Hawley who shifted its stress from competition and invasion to interdependence through differentiation. Later, some authors began to think human community is a product of the interaction of four factors to maintain biotic and social equilibrium:

i. population;
ii. material culture, i.e. technological developments;

iii. nonmaterial culture, i.e. customs and beliefs; and
iv. natural resources of the habitat.

Generally, human beings adapt to their environment through “differentiation”, i.e., specialization of groups and occupational roles. Groups upon which many others depend will have a dominant position reflected in their spatial centrality, e.g. banks or insurance companies are found in the central area because of the functions they fulfill. Alternatively, those who can afford so, “sort themselves” away from functions or elements of the population that they regard as disgusting or dirty while those without the economic means are neglected to the residual areas.

# Chapter Four

## Urbanization and Urban Growth

The world reached a turning point in 2008, for the first time in history that more than half of its human population people live in urban areas. Such rapid urban expansion is particularly notable in Africa and Asia where the urban population will double between 2000 and 2030. By 2030, the towns and cities of developing countries will make up 81 percent of urban humanity (UN Habitat, 2010). While cities command an increasingly dominant role in the global economy as centers of both production and consumption, rapid urban growth throughout the developing world is seriously outstripping the capacity of most cities to provide adequate services for their citizens. Over the next 30 years, virtually all of the world's population growth is expected to be concentrated in urban areas in the developing world (Cohen, 2005). This growth has a major implication in land use pattern, energy and water consumption as well as socio-economic aspects in household consumption and inequality.

The concept of urbanization can be viewed and perceived to mean a lot of thing by different peoples. Most commonly it can be viewed as characteristics of social and economic progress and interaction affecting both population and land use. For instance, physical scientists particularly ecologists define urbanization from stand point of the built-up environment. Hence, urbanization has powerful social and physical transformation force throughout the world. It became the driving force for settlement change in periphery area.

Urban growth is basically a combination of three basic processes. First is rural-urban migration: it is a key source of urban growth since the origin of cities. Rural-Urban migration is driven from perceived economic opportunities, insecurity in rural areas, climate or economic problems, etc. Second is natural population increase: this is a combination of increased fertility and decreased mortality rate. Third is Re-classification of land from rural to urban categories: Many cities are rapidly growing into their fringe, engulfing former villages and farm lands and transforming them into urban.

This is a general definition for rural farming displacement due to urban expansion as "*persons or group of persons who are forced to leave their lands or homes or their possessions as a result of extended urban settlement towards their territory (area) that affects their livelihood.*"

### 4.1 Driving Forces for Urbanization and Changes Peripheral -urban area

Economic, legal, and private sectors participation are forces that derive urbanization and change in settlement pattern on per-urban zones. Each of these forces can either positively or negatively influence the livelihood of farmers in per-urban area. The intervention of central government was considered as the primarily factor for expansion of peri-urban areas (Jonkory, 2009).

Due to government intervention by installation of large scale infrastructure to increase the supply of serviced land and accommodate urban growth, the demand for new economic activities was raised. Accordingly, large parts of predominantly agricultural lands have therefore converted to residential, commercial, industrial and other urban land uses. The land conversion influences the change of economic base of the per-urban areas. Various factors are contributed in rapid change in per-urban areas. However the pattern and pace of change in developed and developing countries are quite different. The main deriving forces in Europe and America are: re-distribution of companies in periphery -urban areas with relatively cheap land price, more activities of research and development located in the areas with beautiful scenery and environment, and demand of low density residential lands leads to sprawl towards peripheral -urban areas. On the other hand, the factors that lead to peripheral -urbanization in East

Asian countries were foreign direct investment, easily availability of cheap labour force and development of residential houses with cheap land prices (Yuan,2008).

### 4.2 The Socio-Spatial Concept of Peri-Urban Zone

The term 'peri-urban' could be used to denote a place, concept or process. As a place, it can refer to rural agricultural areas located between urban built-up areas in cities and predominantly rural agricultural areas. As a concept, peri-urban could be seen as an interface between rural and urban activities and institutions where rural and urban development processes meet, mix and interact on the edge of cities. As a result, it is difficult to establish clear and more or less permanent institutional arrangements that strictly deal with the peri-urban land. Consequently, peri-urban dwellers are confronted with both urban and rural laws and institutions which have been breeding a situation of legal pluralism and conflicts. For instance, in many African countries, statutory and customary laws co-exist in the transitional peri-urban areas whereby both formal and informal land market transactions are equally important.

Peri-urban areas are of capital importance in modern societies because it is there that most of the transformations resulting from the dynamics of society are concentrated. Much of the current urban growth is taking place in the peri-urban areas and as a result the competition for land between agriculture and non-agriculture (urban housing) is intense there. Urban expansion and the lively competition for land which may latter on result in changes in land use, ownership, property rights regime and land tenure. The competition for secure, serviced land as a result of rapid urbanization increases the importance of peri-urban land still further. Thus, peri-urban areas are the centre of almost all new developments that range from urban expansion both formally and informally to the decline of agricultural land and rural employment opportunities.

The penetration of urban areas into the peri-urban areas is also affecting the existing land tenure relations. Peri-urban areas are places where new property rights emerges and at the same time the existing traditional or customary rights may disappear or dissolve. As a result two contending perspectives have been reflected on the impact of rapid urban growth in peri-urban areas. The first perspective sees urbanization and growth in population as a factor for the development of new markets, and the conversion of property rights from rural/customary tenure into various forms of privately held rights. Both of these forces lead to greater entrepreneurialism, and the transformation of the local economy from agrarianism to a bustling, dynamic free market of commerce, services, small-scale industry and commercial agriculture. Another perspective sees rapid urbanization as the destruction of the existing property system and agricultural livelihoods without necessarily replacing them with any alternative form of economic activity. Loss of agricultural livelihoods leads to the rapid growth of an informal economy that often grows only by absorbing more participants without an accompanying increase in overall economic output.

Both perspectives see urbanization as a driving force for the emergence of new property system and institution both formally and informally. In many parts of the developing world mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa, it has been observed that growing population pressure and development of market economies as a cause and consequence of urbanization are leading to significant changes in land tenure practices and related property rights. Thus, urbanization largely in sub-Saharan Africa is accompanied by the erosion of the existing local peri-urban land tenure relations and implantation of new and urbanized form of land/property rights.

## 4.3 Causes, Forms and Consequences of Urban Expansion

### 4. 3.1. Causes of urban expansion

Worldwide, urban systems are expanding into lands that are valuable for agricultural and forest production and impinging on the health and resilience of socio-ecological systems. These land use changes produce current benefits at the cost of eliminating future options for ecosystem goods and services. Urbanization in worldwide has resulted in cities that are rapidly growing and expanding to be able to host their increasing population and this expansion is termed as urban sprawl. The expansion of urban to the neighboring rural environment is caused by two factors: spatial urban growth and increase in urban population due to high birth rate and rural to urban migration.

### 4.3.2. Consequences of urban expansion

Rapid urbanization is presently taking place in developing countries in general and in countries with the lowest levels of economic development in particular. Consequently, dramatic urbanization over the past two or three decades has been concentrated in these countries, where the urban population has been expanding at rates that are twice the observed rate in the countryside (World Bank, 2004). Urban expansion and the attendant's social and environmental changes it introduces remain to be a topic of popular debate and active policy formulation. Hence, there is no specific theory to study the consequences of urban expansion on rural farming community in the urban neighbors. However, Scholars in the field of development studies have argued the issues of urban development and growth from different perspectives. Accordingly, urban expansion has the following consequences:

#### 4.3.2.1. Social consequences of urban expansion

Urban expansion results in displacement, dislocation and segregation of urban neighbors in general and neighboring farmers in particular that result in social makeup disorder. They usually do not participate in the planning and design of resettlement and dislocation options as well as the distribution of associated costs or benefits. Since social infrastructure is concentrated in the centre people in the extended area rely on proximity to facilities. This involves long commute or travel for work, market and other basic social needs. Specifically, low-income households will continue to live in such sever social constraints in the periphery.

According to Mejia (1999) there is also a possibility of urban neighbors isolation from the city development and sandwiched between the rich creating class differences. This began to accelerate the migration of the disadvantaged groups particularly the farming community who already inhabited the area. Even urban rich or middle class incomers whose income permits to commute perhaps many could be attracted to the liveliness and benefits of the facilities in the centre. Thus the community in the periphery could face problems of survival strategies, solidarity network, and systems of power to which the social and economic activities are linked to their original location.

#### 4.3.2.2. Environmental consequences of urban expansion

Egypt lost more than 10 percent of the country's productive farmland to extended urban settlement. On the other hand, urban expansion is not accompanied by environmental protection system. Urban waste relay on open canals, open drains in the road side and holes in the ground as regular means of waste disposal particularly in expansion areas. This exposes the dwellers to sanitation related disease and air pollutions.

#### 4.3.2.3. Economic consequences of urban expansion

In developing countries people are migrating from rural areas to urban centers and from the centre the poor also move to the periphery for urban renewal or squatting. These areas need provision of infrastructure like road, power line, water pipes and drainage line. This requires high development cost that draws on the financial capacity of the municipal government. In many cases the municipality cannot afford to provide and people remain deficient of basic means of life. Because of this most of the residents are exposed relatively to high cost of living. Also limited work opportunity in the area. The challenge is more intense to the dislocated and evicted farming community since they lose their means of livelihood.

### 4.4. Effects of Urban Expansion on Neighboring Rural farming Communities

Long list of research findings revealed that urban expansion has many negative effects on the neighboring communities in general and farmers in particular.

#### 4.4.1. Negative effects of urban expansion

Urbanization has also some negative effects to its surrounding peri-urban areas in different aspects especially, in relation to displacement of farmers from their farmland and to degradation of valuable agricultural land. This is because as the nation's population increase, cities must grow spatially to their peri-urban areas to accommodate more people and to serve different services for them per year. Furthermore, it is estimated that by 2025, the World's, African's, and Ethiopian's population rate will reach 58%, 52%, and 32% respectively (Wabster R.D, 2005).The reason for an optimistic prediction towards the urbanization growth is that, it will have the following negative effects of urban expanding on their peri-urban areas.

#### 4.4.1.1. Loss of farmland

As pointed out by Dayong (2004) uneven urban expansion will occupy considerable valuable farmland around urban centers, which causes to sensitive contradiction and conflicts with the farmers who are displaced from their farmland. Urbanization negatively affects the peri-urban areas in different ways. As urban centers, expand by occupying fertile farmland, and displacing farmers cause to reduce the amount of production and number of family farmers and move to the nearby urban centers.

In Ethiopia, land taking by regional governmental for expansion of cities and towns is raising rapidly because urbanization leads to outward expansion of cities and results to change in land use and landscape where by the federal and regional agencies and the municipality are expropriating of agriculture land for public purposes. In addition, the federal law on rural land expropriation and compensation, have been crafted by the agencies that are taking land seem to disfavor that are losing the land.

As a result, the farmers with their large family size will be exposed to unemployment and poverty (food insecure) for the reason that they are not well educated and skilled rather depending on their agricultural production. It is understood that, people without basic qualification or literally skilled are unable to compete and get job in the labour market.

#### 4.4.1.2. Solid waste disposal and land degradation

Tvedten (2002) assure that urban centers produce more solid waste products than they can absorb within their own borders. Predominantly urban centers pollute the rural landscape. Industrial, residential and institutional waste in urban area is often dumping directly on to the farmland of their peri-urban areas. These solid wastes,

hazardous, plastic, and medical product wastes degrade or structurally change in its size and quality of production of the landscape.

In line with this Tacoli (2004) claimed that inadequate and improper municipal waste collection and disposal methods are increasingly becoming major sources of land degradation in the peri-urban areas and in turn affect the health and quality of life of the peri-urban residents.

#### 4.4.1.3. Encloses the surrounding villages to urban territory

Tvedten (2002) stated that expansion is one of the causes/effect of population growth of urban centers. According to them, about 10-15% percent of urban growth of the developing world stems from boundary expansion or change while their livelihood style is based on agriculture which is not the core issue of the urban centers administration unit.

#### 4.4.1.4. Over-exploitation of natural resources

According Tacoli (2004), rapid urbanization leads to over exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources of their peri-urban areas (especially, land). Because people who live in urban areas have vary and different consumption pattern than these who live in the peri-urban areas. The demands made by urban centers greatly exceed the carrying capacity of their own territory. Urban centers, in view of; Kamete(2002), take up 2% of the earth's surface but consumes 75% of the world's resources. They draw on the material resources of vast and scattered peri-urban areas and are dependent on the skin capacity of the environment to a degree, which greatly exceeds the immediate area. This results over exploitation of resources of the peri-urban areas and finally degradation and environmental pollution.

As noted above, the world's resource use is concentrated in urban centers. Urban consumers account for most consumption of fire wood, charcoal, construction materials and land for urban expansion and infrastructure provision which leads to the depletion of rural-based natural resources such as farmland, forests, wildlife and quarry sites, hence often results irreversible damage to the human environment.

#### 4.4.1.5. Urban expansion causes conflict

Currently urbanization causes for enormous conflicts associated with land acquisition. The most sources of conflict are found at the borders of the urban and rural, common and private, smallholder and investors land. In Ethiopia, the peri-urban land use is changing rapidly from rural agricultural use to other urban activities such as industry, commerce, housing, infrastructure and other services. Thus, transferring of the farmlands from rural to urban land use is increasing from time to time through land acquisition. Such kind of transfer has been the sources of an increasing numbers of land conflicts.

### 4.4.2 Positive effects

Urban centers have positive role on the development of their surrounding peri- urban areas through different ways. The following are the major ones:

**a) Center of market area**

Urban centers act as access to market which is the pre-requisite to increasing rural agricultural incomes. Proximity also contributes to minimize the risks of perishable products to produce timely to market areas and to get affordable transportation.

**b) Access to employment**

As to the view of Kamete and Tvedten (2006) assure that people who live around urban centers, because of their proximity, have a better access to employment and modern way of living than those who far rural dwellers. Besides, urban centers create employment opportunities through the development of small and micro enterprises and cooperatives.

# Chapter Five

## Urban Places, Urban Decay and Urban Renewal

### 5.1 Significance of Urban Places

Places are common units of urban investigation. They are fairly well demarcated, with usually clear boundaries. Places are physical things, with some degree of permanency and consistency of sensory impact. Their form, content and the organization of parts both create and limits to the functions they fulfill. Thus a study of places is also a study of people, their needs, and their life-styles, in so far as all human action occurs in one place or another.

Places provided excellent entry points for the study of any community. A simple census of them can tell us much about the nature of local roles, types of association, economic complexity, social stratification, age-grading, cultural homogeneity or heterogeneity and political structure; to mention but a few. More in-depth analyses of who does and does not use specific types of places, of who uses them by choice and who by default of use patterns that characterize limited versus general-function places all produce solid information about the community and nature of its inhabitants. Cross-cultural comparison of urban places offers significant insight to basic societal differences in addition to the manner in which different cities organizes themselves and their functions in space.

#### 5.1.1 Types of Urban Places

Examples of different kinds of urban places include: public places, tenements, city-center neighborhoods and city-periphery squatter settlement.

**A. Public places**

Public places are important:

- Since all urban dwellers come into contact with a great many of their fellows in public places.
- Usually, public places are focal points of shared identity and concerns.
- Public es are culturally managed, arranged and used differently by the different societies and even among different groups. It is possible to identify different types of urban public places for different social purposes such as: other leisure time places (parks, play-grounds, zoos etc); market places and service institutions (i.e., spatially defined service giving institutions such as schools, hospitals and government agencies).

**B. Tenements (Apartment Buildings)**

Buildings are places too, for many, it symbolizes urban life, and it is a convenient unit of study with clear physical boundaries and a family concise head count. An apartment is a self-contained housing unit (a type of residential real estate) that occupies only part of a building. Apartments may be owned by an owner/occupier or rented by tenants.

### C. City-Center Neighborhoods

The city-center neighborhood is both a part of the wider city. Its residents are strongly affected by the neighborhood's image, its history resources and physical structure. There are different types of city-center neighborhoods, and slums and ghettos are particular kinds of urban neighborhoods.

#### I. Slum

A slum, as defined by the United Nations agency UN-HABITAT, is a run-down area of a city characterized by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security. According to the United Nations, the percentage of urban dwellers living in slums decreased from 47 percent to 37 percent in the developing world between 1990 and 2005. However, due to rising population, and the rise especially in urban populations, the number of slum dwellers is rising. One billion people worldwide live in slums and the figure will likely grow to 2 billion by 2030.

The term has traditionally referred to housing areas that were once relatively affluent but which deteriorated as the original dwellers moved on to newer and better parts of the city, but has come to include the vast informal settlements found in cities in the developing world. Many shack dwellers vigorously oppose the description of their communities as 'slums' arguing that this results in them being pathologised and then, often, subject to threats of evictions.

Although their characteristics vary between geographic regions, they are usually inhabited by the very poor or socially disadvantaged. Slum buildings vary from simple shacks to permanent and well-maintained structures. Slums are usually characterized by urban decay, high rates of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. They are commonly seen as "breeding grounds" for social problems such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, high rates of mental illness, and suicide. In many poor countries they exhibit high rates of disease due to unsanitary conditions, malnutrition, and lack of basic health care.

In many slums, especially in poor countries, many live in very narrow alleys that do not allow vehicles to pass. The lack of services such as routine garbage collection allows rubbish to accumulate in huge quantities. The lack of infrastructure is caused by the informal nature of settlement and no planning for the poor by government officials. Additionally, informal settlements often face the brunt of natural and man-made disasters, such as landslides, as well as earthquakes and tropical storms. Fires are often a serious problem.

Many slum dwellers employ themselves in the informal economy. This can include street vending, drug dealing, domestic work, and prostitution. In some slums people even recycle trash of different kinds (from household garbage to electronics) for a living - selling either the odd usable goods or stripping broken goods for parts or raw materials.

#### II. Ghetto

A ghetto is a section of a city occupied by a group who live there especially because of social, economic, or legal pressure. A ghetto is now described as an overcrowded urban area often associated with a specific ethnic or racial population. A ghetto is formed in four distinct ways:

- as ports of illegal entry for racial minorities, and immigrant racial minorities;
- when the majority uses pressure (typically violence, hostility, or legal barriers) to force minorities into particular areas;
- when economic conditions make it too difficult for minority members to live in non-minority areas; and
- when the minority actively chooses to segregate itself physically and socially from the majority.

**D. City-Periphery Squatter Settlements**

Squatting consists of occupying an abandoned or unoccupied space or building, usually residential, that the squatter does not own, rent or otherwise have permission to use. In many of the world's poorer countries, there are extensive slums or shanty towns, typically built on the edges of major cities and consisting almost entirely of self-constructed housing built without the landowner's permission. While these settlements may, in time, grow to become both legalized and indistinguishable from normal residential neighborhoods, they start off as squats with minimal basic infrastructure. Thus, there is no sewage system, drinking water must be bought from vendors or carried from a nearby tap.

Squatter settlements are neither new nor confined to urban milieus. Squatter settlements are most objectively perceived as collective of houses that are rather hastily constructed on lands that have not been formally conveyed to build on occupants through legal channels. Most observers tend to equate them with slums, perceiving them as densely populated collectives of substandard houses populated by the urban poor. Even in this sense, however, they differ from slum in that the later are usually composed of aging, often decaying properties within or fairly close to a commercial area (the central business district or factory area). Squatter settlements, on the other hand, are new housing units, most frequently found out near the town dumps (or tree plantation, as in the case of Ethiopia) which often provide the materials from which shanty towns are constructed.

In many countries, squatting is in itself a crime; in others, it is only seen as a civil conflict between the owner and the occupants. In many cases where squatters had *de facto* ownership, laws have been changed to legitimize their status. Squatters often claim rights over the spaces they have squatted by virtue of occupation, rather than ownership; in this sense, squatting is similar to (and potentially a necessary condition of) adverse possession, by which a possessor of real property without title may eventually gain legal title to the real property.

## 5.2 Urban Pathology and Therapy

### *5.2.1 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 disenfranchisement, crime, and a desolate, inhospitable city landscape. Urban decay occurs when a part of a city falls into disrepair and abandonment. Characteristics of urban decay include high unemployment rates, high crime rates, depopulation, desolate-looking landscapes, abandonment of buildings and split families. Urban decay does not have one single cause, but rather a combination of many, including poor urban planning, redlining, poverty, suburbanization and racial discrimination.

- ***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.
- ***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. 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. 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.

- ***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.
- ***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 in 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.
- ***Racial Discrimination:*** contributes 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 neighborhoods. 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.

In general, urban decay is related to Post-World War II large-scale developments of *suburbs*, and the segregation of poor people in the *inner-cities*, and the decay of the latter due to financial crisis.

**A. Suburbanization**

Suburbanization is a term used to describe the growth of areas on the fringes of major cities. It is one of the many causes of the increase in urban sprawl. Many residents of metropolitan regions work within the central urban area, choosing instead to live in satellite communities called suburbs and commute to work via automobile or mass transit. Others have taken advantage of technological advances to work from their homes, and chose to do so in an environment they consider more pleasant than the city. These processes often occur in more economically developed countries, especially in the United States, which is believed to be the first country in which the majority of the population lives in the suburbs, rather than in the cities or in rural areas. Proponents of containing urban sprawl argue that sprawl leads to urban decay and a concentration of lower income residents in the inner city.

Suburbanization can be linked to a number of different push and pull factors. Push factors include the congestion and population density of the cities, pollution caused by industry and high levels of traffic and a general perception of a lower quality of life in inner city areas. Pull factors include more open spaces and a perception of being closer to "nature", lower suburban house prices and property taxes in comparison to the city, and the increasing number of job opportunities in the suburban areas.

Improvements in transportation infrastructure encourage suburbanization, as people become increasingly able to live in a suburb and commute in to the nearby town or city to work. Developments in railways, bus routes and roads are the main improvements that make suburbanization more practical. The increase in the number and size of highways is a particularly significant part of this effect.

Some of the impacts of suburbanization are discussed as follows.

**i. Effects on Psychological Health**

Historically it was believed that living in highly urban areas resulted in social isolation, social disorganization, and psychological problems, and that living in suburbs would be more conducive to overall happiness, due to

lower population density, lower crime, and a more stable population. However, many studies indicated that that people living in suburbs had neither greater satisfaction with their neighborhood nor greater satisfaction with the quality of their lives as compared to people living in urban areas.

**ii. Economic Impacts of Suburbanization**

The economic impacts of suburbanization have become very evident since the trend began in the 1950's. Changes in infrastructure, industry, real estate development costs, fiscal policies, and diversity of cities have been easily apparent, as "making it to the suburbs", mainly in order to own a home and escape the chaos of urban centers. These impacts have many benefits as well as side effects and are becoming increasingly important in the planning and revitalization of modern cities.

**iii. Suburbanization's Impact on Industry in the City**

The days of industry dominating the urban cores of cities are gone. Companies are increasingly looking to build industrial parks in less populated areas, largely to match the desires of employees to work in more pleasant areas. Also contributing to the flight of industry from the city are government economic policies that provide incentives for companies to build new structures, as well as the lack of incentives to build on "brownfield" land (previously used industrial land).

As companies continue to build on pieces of land in less populated areas, it will become increasingly difficult to build in high-density areas. The main factor that causes this is that if any of the side effects of industry (noise, excessive lights, heavy traffic) affect residential areas, there is resistance from the homeowners. Another potential impact of industry leaving the city is that generally, when industry is separated from an urban area by some open space, as well as infrastructure, the open space between the city and the company becomes more intensely used. As this land becomes used more and more, the value of properties very often increases, causing many landowners in that open space to sell their land.

**iv. Impact on Real Estate Development Costs**

For residential properties, suburbanization allows for home prices to decrease, so people can drive until they can find an area in which they can afford to buy a home. However, these homes may lack certain things such as parks and access to public transit. Also, the prices of homes in downtown center usually decreases as well to compete with the inexpensive homes in the suburbs. One of the main benefits of living in the suburbs is that one gets a much larger piece of land than one would in the city. Therefore, as the size of lots increases, the supply of housing is more limited.

**v. Suburbanization's Effect on Diversity within the City**

In the 1950's when the trend of suburbanization took hold, many of the people who left the city for the suburbs were white. As a result, there was a rise in black home ownership in central cities. As white households left for the suburbs, housing prices in transition neighborhoods fell, which often lowered the cost of home ownership for black households. This trend was stronger in older and denser cities, especially in the northeast and Midwest, because new construction was generally more difficult.

While there are many benefits to suburbanization, there are also many negative aspects also. Because suburbs are more spread out, there are much higher transportation costs, as people are forced to often drive on freeways to get from community to community. There is also the cost incurred by local and federal governments to build the new infrastructure, many times at the expense of maintaining other existing infrastructure. There are often negative environmental aspects of suburbanization as well because the efficiency of the bigger lots is so low.

**B. Central–Cities (Inner-cities, or City-centers)**

In the United States, United Kingdom and Ireland, the term "inner city" is sometimes used with the connotation of being an area, perhaps a ghetto, where people are less wealthy and where there is more crime. These connotations are less common in other Western countries, as deprived areas are located in varying parts of other Western cities. In fact, with the gentrification of some formerly run-down central city areas the reverse connotation can apply. In Australia, for example, the term "outer suburban" applied to a person implies a lack of sophistication. In Paris, the inner city is the richest part of the metropolitan area, where housing is the most expensive, and where elites and high-income individuals dwell.

In the developing world, economic modernization brings poor newcomers from the countryside to build haphazardly at the edge of current settlement. However, there is a growing movement in North America called "New Urbanism" that calls for a return to traditional city planning methods where mixed-use zoning allows people to walk from one type of land-use to another. The idea is that housing, shopping, office space, and leisure facilities are all provided within walking distance of each other, thus reducing the demand for road-space and also improving the efficiency and effectiveness of mass transit.

### *5.2.2 Urban Renewal*

#### (a) Urban Renewal and Gentrification

Urban decay is not a one-way process, but stimulates various counter trends, particularly those towards urban renewal or gentrification. Dilapidated areas or, on a small scale, buildings, may become renovated as more affluent groups move back into them. Such a renewal process is called gentrification, because those areas or buildings become upgraded and return to the control of urban “gentry” (high-income dwellers) rather than remaining in the hands of the poor.

There are cases in which city governments have successfully mobilized private interests for the purpose of inner-city renewal. To that end, they have sufficiently used the mechanisms such as tax deductions or tax grace periods to entice investors to build luxury hotels, shopping molls or apartments. They have tried to set in motion another process by which urban renewal is achieved, namely, through attracting business to a specific developmental area in order to lift the face of that area.

Urban renewal can be traced conceptually back to the earliest days of urban development, and often stems from an expansive style of governance. Its potential value as a process was noted by those who witnessed the overcrowded conditions of 19$^{th}$ century London, New York, Paris and other major cities of the developed world affected by the industrial revolution. From this a reform agenda emerged, using a progressive doctrine of that renewal would reform its residents. Such reform could be argued on moral, economic, and many other grounds. Another style of reform – for reasons of aesthetics and efficiency – could be said to have begun in 1853, with the recruitment of Baron Haussmann by Louis Napoleon for the redevelopment of Paris. Both strands of slum abolition valued the destruction of degraded housing and other structures above the welfare of slum-dwellers who, then as now, are often dispersed and might well discover themselves to be less well-off than before a slum clearance program.

Gentrification is a process of change in the social and economic condition of urban neighborhoods where poorer original residents are replaced by newcomers from middle class and professional groups. Urban gentrification brings change in an urban area associated with the movement of more affluent individuals into a lower-class area. Urban gentrification causes demographic shifts like increase in the median income, reduction in household size, and a decline in the proportion of particular groups.

Gentrification is a highly controversial process in which urban developers convert lower income neighborhoods and inner-city ghettos into more upscale communities with condominiums, loft apartments and wealthier tenants for renovated homes. Since the current residents often cannot afford to pay the higher rents or assume a mortgage, gentrification efforts usually force them into even lower class areas with even higher crime rates. Meanwhile, local businesses which formerly catered to the needs of working-class residents may either have to relocate, close or sell out to new investors. Gentrification does achieve its stated goal of renovation and renewal, but it can also create an entirely new set of social and economic problems for those who have been displaced.

The concept of planned urban renewal is not a new one, but the practice of gentrification first appeared in the 1950s as many city planners looked for ways to eliminate urban blight. Local landlords and politicians also appreciated the economic wisdom of inner-city renovation as a means to attract middle and upper class workers to the area. Government funds earmarked for urban renewal were commonly used to finance the wholesale gentrification of working-class or poor neighborhoods.

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.

There are several approaches that attempt to explain the roots and reasons behind the spread of gentrification. Bruce London and J. John Palen (1984) compiled a list of five explanations: *demographic-ecological; socio-cultural; political-economical; community networks; and social movements.*

**A. Demographic-ecological Explanation**

The first explanation, demographic-ecological, attempts to explain gentrification through the analysis of demographics: population, social organization, environment, and technology. This explanation 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 demands. The baby boomers in pursuit of housing were very different, demographically, from their house-hunting predecessors. They got married older and had fewer children. 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. Socio-cultural Explanation**

The second explanation proposed by London and Palen is based on 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. These new pro-urban values were becoming more salient, and more and more people began moving into the cities. London and Palen refer to the first people to invade the cities as "urban pioneers." These urban pioneers demonstrated that the inner-city was an "appropriate" and "viable" place to live, resulting in what is called "inner city chic". 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-economical Explanation**

The third explanation of gentrification is political-economic and 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 (new civil rights legislation, antidiscrimination laws in housing and employment, and desegregation) 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" (London and Palen, 1984). Once the inner city becomes a source of revenue, the powerless residents are displaced with little or no regard from the powerful.

**D. Community-network Explanation**

The community-network approach 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 neighborhood 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 neighborhoods are gentrified because these neighborhoods are being revitalized.

**E. Social Movements Explanation**

The fifth and final approach is 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 and lending institutions) to revive the inner-city. Those who are in opposition are the people who currently reside in the deteriorated areas. They develop counter movements in order to gain the power necessary to defend themselves against the movements of the elite. This countermovement can be unsuccessful, though. The people who support reviving neighborhoods are also members, and their voices are the ones that the gentrifiers tend to hear.

# Chapter Six

## Urbanization in Ethiopian

### 6.1 Ethiopian Urbanization in Historical Perspectives

Ethiopia remains one of the least urbanized countries in the world. Using the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency's definition of urban, which includes cities as small as 2,000 in population, Ethiopia's urbanization rate is only 16 percent. Using an alternative definition of urbanization based on a minimum city size of 50,000, but including surrounding areas of high population density outside of municipal boundaries, Ethiopia's urbanization rate is lower: 14.2 percent. By comparison, using the same definition, the average for sub-Saharan African countries is approximately 30 percent.

Ethiopia was under-urbanized, even by African standards. In the late 1980s, only about 11 percent of the population lived in urban areas of at least 2,000 residents. There were hundreds of communities with 2,000 to 5,000 people, but these were primarily extensions of rural villages without urban or administrative functions. Thus, the level of urbanization would be even lower if one used strict urban structural criteria. Ethiopia's relative lack of urbanization is the result of the country's history of agricultural self-sufficiency, which has reinforced rural peasant life. The slow pace of urban development continued until the 1935 Italian invasion. Urban growth was fairly rapid during and after the Italian occupation of 1936-41. Urbanization accelerated during the 1960s, when the average annual growth rate was about 6.3 percent. Urban growth was especially evident in the northern half of Ethiopia, where most of the major towns are located.

Addis Ababa was home to about 35 percent of the country's urban population in 1987. Major industrial, commercial, governmental, educational, health, and cultural institutions were located in these two cities, which together were home to about 2 million people, or one out of twenty-five Ethiopians. Nevertheless, many small towns had emerged as well. In 1970 there were 171 towns with populations of 2,000 to 20,000; this total had grown to 229 by 1980.

At that time, the expansion of "Shoan hegemony" over much of Ethiopia resulted in the establishment of a series of garrison towns (which performed political and military functions) especially in southern Ethiopia. The founding of Addis Ababa itself is related to this expansion. One of crucial developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ethiopia and which is relevant to urban growth was the improvement of communication. Improvement of communication came with the establishment of a modern postal system, the advent of telephones and the telegraph, and the introduction of motor vehicles.

The origin of a modern postal system dates from 1894 during which time the first postage stamps were issued. By 1898 post offices were established in Addis Ababa and Harar and a mail went through Djibouti once a week. A decade later Ethiopia become a member of the International postal system dates from 1894 during which time the first postage stamps were issued. By 1898 post offices were established in Addis Ababa and Harar and a mail went through Djibouti once a week. A decade later Ethiopia became a member of the International postal Union. In the meantime telephone wires were put up between Addis Ababa and Harar and began to operate in 1897.

The pace of urbanization quickened dramatically during the Italian occupation (1936-1941). This period witnessed an unprecedented spasm of town founding and the urbanization of the Ethiopian population proceeded rapidly. Urban decline followed the departure of the Italians who left Ethiopia with a war- torn economy, but slowly during the late 40's and 50's and then rapidly during the 60's towns flourished as they never have before

in Ethiopia. Over Ethiopia as a whole, towns appear to be strikingly similar in terms of the economic functions or activities they perform; however, in terms of the economic functions or activities they perform; however, in terms of ethnic and cultural features, there is variation from region to region.

In sum, urban development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was related to the following new pattern of imperial control:

A. *one facet of this pattern that was pertinent to urban development was the creation of military administration in garrisons which, in time, developed to urban centers;*

B. *a second facet of the new pattern of imperial control was the creation of a comparatively efficient system of state bureaucracy and taxation which, in addition in insuring centralization, helped to increase the functional level of differentiation of administrative centers in general and of the capital in particular;*

C. *a third facet of the new pattern was the stress on improvement of commerce and communication aside from the primary development of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway and associated urban forms, telephone lines were built radiating out from the capital leading to the establishment of a network of small communication centers. Interregional connections were also facilitated by the introduction of the telegraph. Finally during this period motor vehicles were introduced which, even though they may not have opened wider prospects, at least revealed different ones.*

Ethiopian towns have changed greatly in their characteristics and economic functions since the 19th century, becoming much less an artificial implant on a basically rural society and much better integrated into the economic life of the country. The towns no longer simply exact tribute from the rural areas, a tribute which is then spent on the conspicuous consumption of small elite. This limited development in the cities nevertheless contributed significantly in the last decades to political and social change. The economic transformation that accompanied urbanization created new classes in Ethiopian society, above all a class of merchants and more recently one side and a small industrial proletariat on the other. Again, one should remember that these changes were quite recent, and that they were very small in absolute terms, but that they constituted an important change in a society where land had been central to all political and social relations. There is no doubt thus that the development of urban centers has had important consequences for the transformation of Ethiopian society, in a political and social as well as in an economic sense.

**6.2 Ethiopian Urban Development**

Before the founding of Addis Ababa, only a small number of towns existed in Ethiopia. A substantial number of these were exogenous centers in that they were trading centers providing services for the caravans passing through Ethiopia. Central Ethiopia contributed very little to the foreign trade and as such was little more than a set of land over which the caravans passed; the towns were port-like resting places along the way. During the end of the 19th century and especially in the 20th century, Ethiopia has rapidly urbanized as a consequence of a variety of new forces.

Emperor Menelik II moved Ethiopia's capital to Addis Ababa in the south-central highlands (1886) to gain control of southern Ethiopia. According to Bahiru Zewude (1991), there are four primary factors allowed Addis Ababa to escape the fate of its predecessors and become the permanent capital city:

- Perhaps the most important event was Ethiopia's victory over Italy at Adwa in 1896. This stunning defeat of a European power brought peace and stability to the region, along with recognition and prestige for Menelik and his Ethiopian army. Finished with their duties at war, the nobility settled in Addis Ababa, further concentrating the

power of the empire in the capital and giving rise to the "*Safars"*. As Menelik¹s fame and fortune grew, foreigners flocked to Addis Ababa to trade and conduct business in the capital of the 'Champion of Adwa.' Menelik II, Ethiopia and hence Addis Ababa, had gained credibility and the respect of the world.

- By investing heavily in Addis Ababa, these foreigners from Europe, Arabia, and India, played a direct role in preventing a relocation of the capital. The tradesmen, including merchants and craftsmen, settled in the area at the base of Menelik's hill near the Arada, while foreign diplomats and advisors, known as the 'legations', lived on the northern fringe of the town. Most of the foreign population of Addis Ababa had high stakes in the local economy and constructed elaborate homes and shops in the area.
- The completion of the railway connecting Addis Ababa to the French port of Djibouti on the Gulf of Arden in 1917 provided access to trade and transport by sea and firmly established Addis Ababa as the political, commercial and cultural capital of Ethiopia.
- When Addis Ababa, like capitals before, was stricken by shortages of wood for fuel and building materials, Menelik plotted another relocation of the capital to a site 40 miles away, but foreign merchants and legations objected fiercely. Effort was taken to plant Eucalyptus trees, imported from Australia, on every available plot of land in and around the city. Menelik recognized the potential for the development of this resource, not only distributing seedlings at low prices, but exempting lands planted with Eucalyptus from taxation. This massive reforestation effort created a greenbelt surrounding the city which has solved the ever present dilemma of wood shortages. Since 1925, when the capital was sometimes referred to as 'Eucalyptopolis', this greenbelt has spread further, covering 20 square kilometers by 1936 and more than doubling in area to 45 square kilometers by 1964. In 1969, ninety percent of the buildings in the burgeoning metropolis of Addis Ababa were constructed of Eucalyptus wood.

The period 1967-1975 saw rapid growth of relatively new urban centers. The population of six towns-Akaki, Arba Minch, Awasa, Bahir Dar, Jijiga, and Shashemene- more than tripled, and that of eight others more than doubled. Awasa, Arba Minch, Metu, and Goba were newly designated capitals of administrative regions and important agricultural centers. Awasa, capital of Sidamo, had a lakeshore site and convenient location on the Addis Ababa-Nairobi highway. Bahir Dar was a newly planned city on Lake Tana and the site of several industries and a polytechnic institute. Akaki was growing into important industrial town, while Jijiga and Shashemene had become communications and service centers.

Urban centers that experienced moderate growth tended to be more established towns, such as Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, and Debre Zeyit. A few old provincial capitals, such as Gonder, also experienced moderate growth, but others, such as Harer, Dese, Debre Markos, and Jima, had slow growth rates because of competition from larger cities. By the 1990s, Harer was being overshadowed by Dire Dawa, Dese by Kembolcha, and Debre Markos by Bahir Dar.

Overall, the rate of urban growth declined from 1975 to 1987. With the exception of Arba Minch and Awasa, urban centers grew an average of about 40 percent over that twelve-year period. This slow growth is explained by several factors. Rural-to-urban migration had been largely responsible for the rapid expansion during the 1967-75 period, whereas natural population growth may have been mostly responsible for urban expansion during the 1975-84 period. The 1975 land reform program provided incentives and opportunities for peasants and other potential migrants to stay in rural areas. Restrictions on travel, lack of employment, housing shortages, and social unrest in some towns during the 1975-80 period also contributed to a decline in rural-to-urban migration.

Although the male and female populations were about equal, men outnumbered women in rural areas. More women migrated to the urban centers for a variety of reasons, including increased job opportunities. As a result of intensified warfare in the period 1988-1991, all urban centers received a large influx of population, resulting in

severe overcrowding, shortages of housing and water, overtaxed social services, and unemployment. In addition to beggars and maimed persons, the new arrivals comprised large numbers of young people. These included not only primary and secondary school students but also an alarming number of orphans and street children, estimated at well over 100,000. Although all large towns shared in this influx, Addis Ababa, as the national capital, was most affected.

### 6.3 Obstacles to Urban Development in Ethiopia

#### A. Physical Obstacles

The physical conditions of the country played a definitely negative role by hindering easy contact between the peoples. The rugged and difficult terrain gashed and incised by swelling and territorial rivers, precluded easy transportation and communication for economic purposes. On the contrary, the mountainous nature of the country promoted strong regionalism and regional isolation. The physical conditions imposed stringent limitations on social and economic development. The wheel disappeared with the fall of Axum, although the Portuguese had reintroduced it, it could not survive in this corrugated country. Trade both internal and external, was undeveloped and negligible. Consequently, the dominant economy of the country becomes subsistence farming.

The location of Ethiopia was also unfavorable to social and economic development. For centuries Ethiopia did not have strong and effective stimulus from its surrounding neighbors who were as poor or poorer. This fostered complacency and self-glorification among Ethiopians. Erosion assisted by the inefficient farm practices of the peasantry with almost no idea of soil conservation, the slope and the heavy downpours of the summer rain left the bare rock. Hence it was necessary for the peasants to look for other areas for cultivation.

#### B. Social Obstacles

The limitations imposed on the mobility of people, goods and ideas by the physical conditions reflected strongly on the social outlooks and attitudes of the people. Vital occupational groups such as blacksmiths, weavers, potters and merchants together with whatever skills they possessed were despised. They were considered as “subhuman”. Land ownership was the “sacred” right of the selected few and artisans were denied that right. Moreover, there was no monetary compensation for social stigma and ill-treatment which they were made to suffer. The social and economic disadvantages of using one’s hands discouraged and arrested the development of manual skills even including writing.

Ethiopian society also bestowed prominent social status on the fighter who was the object of awe and admiration. Embodiment of the ideal masculine courage and daringness, the man who could kill without any compunction in agreement for any damage, however, slight, to his or her relatives’ honor. He was the pride of his kin, the idol of women and his name was loudly sung in public.

#### C. Political Obstacles

The political condition in Ethiopia was fluid. Peace was rare and seldom desired. Peace could only appreciated by peoples who have invested their mental, physical and material resources to productive use. In Ethiopia, the many regional lords with their own private “armies” spent their energies in rivalry and continual fighting.

It is significant to note that the two Amharic words “Sefer”- camp and “Ketema”- town or city have a definite relation to the political conditions of the past. As indicated above, sefer means a temporary camp of a chief and his followers. “Sefer” was temporary because warfare and the need for plundering forced them to move constantly. Lack of strong economic base, political instability, intrigue and counter intrigue between rival factions

created a condition of perpetual motion. The word “ketema” seems to come from a verb “ketteme” that signifies an end or completion; here it suggests perhaps, the end or completion of perpetual motion, perhaps a desire to settle down.

The resultant insecurity and constant turmoil was perhaps associated with the prevalent fatalistic philosophy of life. The future was considered as incomprehensive and dark. Life itself was temporary and so were the conditions of life. The absence of a minimum degree of stability extinguished any assurance in as well as hopes and aspirations for future opportunities. Instead people become fatalists, firmly convinced by past events that their lives were not on their own and that they were powerless to shape their destiny. People plan and work hard when they confidence in the efficiency of their legal and administrative systems. Yet underlying all of this there was relative permanency and stability. This was the peasantry that had remained through the political turbulence as solid, imperturbable and stable as the earth it was tied to.

The peasantry remained as economic backbone of the nation. All non-farm population, one way or another, depressed the peasants by living off as efficient parasites. The constantly moving and fighting forces robbed the peasantry since they had no income or provision. The resources of the peasantry were exhausted by all sorts of feasts, religious as well as secular. The itinerant students institutionalized and moralized begging and lived off the peasants. Consequently the peasants’ production for subsistence was the only source of all the idle but respectable classes of Ethiopian society.

Generally, under these combined physical, social and political conditions urbanization could not develop. Urbanization is the direct result of economic growth and economic diversification which, in turn, are determined by physical, social and political conditions. These conditions were clearly unfavorable in Ethiopia. Socially the Ethiopian society failed because it did not develop a workable and progressive system that could provide proper solutions socio-political problems. Economically, Ethiopian society failed because it could not create the minimum conditions for economic development. The farmer and the land were almost the only source of wealth. The society failed to respect work and productivity, the very foundation of economic development. Instead great respect was bestowed upon men who were idle; who vainly boasted with a dignified sense of righteousness, and at the same time mercilessly exploited the farmer and his land. This condition could but only perpetuate poverty from generation to generation.

It seems therefore, that although the configuration of the land produced peaceful contacts and easy movements, political conditions and pressure of population forced slow but persistent movements of large numbers of people. The movement of soldiers and their families was destructive because they did not plunder the meager provisions of the peasants, but they also wantonly destroyed the forest, thereby causes for facilitating erosion. Although at wider intervals, the peasants also moved as pressure of population; and impoverishment of the soil made their already precarious living impossible. That meant dispersal and further destruction of forests. The resultant scattered family settlements and low density can hardly be conducive to Ethiopian urban development.

Most of Ethiopian rulers did not found cities and they spent most of their lives in camp. Deforestation was both one of the effects and one of the causes of this political nomadism. Even the incessant regional wars, are to a certain extent, attributed to the absence of a real urban melting-pot. The lowly status of artisans and merchants did not only stifle large-scale development of specialized skills and services. It did not also contribute to the stagnation of Ethiopian agricultural methods. The great majority of the peasants were constantly tied to land, engaged in subsistence farming. Whatever increase in agricultural production was needed for growing population was not by improved agricultural technology but by the gradual extension of the cultivated land.