

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION: THE ADDIS ABABA EXPERIENCE

*Andargatchew Tesfaye**

ABSTRACT: *Urbanization, in Ethiopia began gradually and even today the majority of Ethiopians live in rural areas. However, since the 1950s the rate of urbanization began to accelerate rapidly that the growth rate of cities such as like Addis Ababa became overwhelming in terms of the attempts to provide the minimum social and economic needs of citizens. By the end of 1991 due to a large influx of war displaced people it is believed that Addis has more than two million people, from only 100,000 in the mid-1930s.*

The social consequences of such a rapid urbanization have reached an alarming stage. The crowded situation in the city has led to great shortages not only in terms of employment but also adequate housing with proper facilities and other social amenities. The coping mechanisms adopted by the people to meet their daily requirements has led to a congested, unsanitary and insecure existence. Thus, the social, health, moral and security status in the city cannot be expected to be anything but appalling. The discussion of these problems is the major theme of this paper.

INTRODUCTION

Accelerated urbanization is a social phenomenon that has become very much observable in developing countries such as Ethiopia. Ethiopia was mainly a closed rural society until the reign of Emperor Menelik (1885-1913) when Western ideas started penetrating. This was particularly so after the construction of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway (1917) linking Addis Ababa to the outside world through the port of Djibouti (Jonathan Baker 1990: 213). As a result, Western ideas along

* *Ph.D. Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University.*

with Western trade gradually penetrated the country. The establishment of Addis Ababa as the capital city of the empire and the introduction of elements of modernization such as schools, hospitals, radio and telephone communications and so forth, gradually opened up the country to the elements of urbanization (Mesfin Wolde Mariam; 1966:16).

Urbanization is usually identified by four common characteristics found at different levels of complexity depending on the rate and intensity of urbanization. These characteristics include:

- 1) dominance of commercial, industrial, and service occupations;
- 2) extensive division of labour, accompanied by corresponding social complexities;
- 3) high density of population; and,
- 4) the development of coordination and control mechanisms based on membership approaches (Baskoff 1962:13-14)

Urbanization can, therefore, be simply defined as a complex of social, ecological, and cultural trends which produce positive, and possibly negative developments in any or all of these four aspects (Boskoff 1962:13-14).

It is an established fact that the urbanization process brings about pronounced changes in the way of life of people. These changes take place in all aspects of socio-economic and cultural lives of people. In the first place, urbanization introduces different patterns of population distribution. Unlike in rural areas, urban populations are generally heterogeneous; coming from different backgrounds as a result of migration. Such heterogeneity introduces many differentiating factors

such as differences in language, race, norms, values, and ethical systems, among the population.

In urban areas work habits of people become differentiated. People are no more dependent on family based activities such as farming and animal breeding for their livelihood. In urban areas people are employed in diversified commercial and industrial enterprises or in the many service areas for which some kind of specialized skills or knowledge are required. This creates a lot of mobility, bringing together people from different regions, speaking different languages, belonging to different religious and cultural groups. Such mobility may be caused due to diverse reasons. But on the whole, in developing countries, they are caused by unemployment and underemployment and the abject poverty in rural areas. People may also be attracted by the apparent glamour of city life. Such mobility upsets the political, economic, social and cultural life of the people that originally occupied the area. On the other hand the new comers will find no time to establish their own cultural and social systems consistent with their own values (Kaitz & Hyman 1971: 3-6).

Mass migrations have a number of consequences. Swift changes brought about by mass population movements tend to break down or strongly minimize informal, personal relationships that had existed earlier. As a result people resort to secondary contacts. At the initial stage secondary contacts may lead to increased face to face interactions. Yet such interactions are mainly impersonal, superficial and temporary in nature. This may result in more freedoms for individuals because personal and emotional controls from intimate groups such as the family which are strongly eroded (Shsevky & Well 1955: 7-8).

But such freedoms are not without cost. People in urban areas, especially the poor, have less control over services that were once performed by informal and personal arrangements. Their relationships to their neighbors also become more impersonal as people keep on

moving in and out of neighborhoods and residential quarters. Therefore, services that were performed by families and neighbors are now taken over by less responsive and depersonalized bureaucratic organizations like municipalities (Kailz & Hyman, 1971:6).

Therefore, urbanism is characterized by heterogenous population with diversity of interest and background; by people that live very close to each other and yet are very much apart and by a population that is overwhelmed by complex divisions of labour, class structure and the mere physical dimension of the population size. Such conditions are likely to produce divergent group norms and values as well as conflicting social roles. These are conditions of far reaching social consequences (Clinard & Meier 1979:130-134).

ADDIS ABABA AND ITS URBANIZATION PROCESS

Addis Ababa was founded, by Emperor Menelik II in 1886 when he moved his royal camp to the present location from the heights of mount Entoto. Much is not known about the city's earlier growth rate. But one could piece together opinions of foreign travellers that visited the city, and come up with some idea as to how the city looked like then.

One of the earliest comments on Addis Ababa was that of Merab who visited the city around 1900. According to him, Addis Ababa was a city (a royal camp) whose landscape was dominated by tents and tukuls. He further commented that "aside from the market quarters and the Ghibbi¹ compound, which have all the sadness of a city without having its splendor, one can say that the capital of Ethiopia is more countryside than city" (Marina Ottaway 1976:36). To emphasize the rural characteristics of Addis Ababa, Merab added that even the palace

¹The Ghibbi literally meaning the compound is the palace of the King.

such as differences in language, race, norms, values, and ethical systems, among the population.

In urban areas work habits of people become differentiated. People are no more dependent on family based activities such as farming and animal breeding for their livelihood. In urban areas people are employed in diversified commercial and industrial enterprises or in the many service areas for which some kind of specialized skills or knowledge are required. This creates a lot of mobility, bringing together people from different regions, speaking different languages, belonging to different religious and cultural groups. Such mobility may be caused due to diverse reasons. But on the whole, in developing countries, they are caused by unemployment and underemployment and the abject poverty in rural areas. People may also be attracted by the apparent glamour of city life. Such mobility upsets the political, economic, social and cultural life of the people that originally occupied the area. On the other hand the new comers will find no time to establish their own cultural and social systems consistent with their own values (Kaitz & Hyman 1971: 3-6).

Mass migrations have a number of consequences. Swift changes brought about by mass population movements tend to break down or strongly minimize informal, personal relationships that had existed earlier. As a result people resort to secondary contacts. At the initial stage secondary contacts may lead to increased face to face interactions. Yet such interactions are mainly impersonal, superficial and temporary in nature. This may result in more freedoms for individuals because personal and emotional controls from intimate groups such as the family which are strongly eroded (Shsevky & Well 1955: 7-8).

But such freedoms are not without cost. People in urban areas, especially the poor, have less control over services that were once performed by informal and personal arrangements. Their relationships to their neighbors also become more impersonal as people keep on

compound was a mixture of rural and urban with large buildings and cabbage fields, piped water and grazing animals, churches and stables all thrown together in a disorderly manner (Ottaway 1976:36). Another important factor reported by Merab was the population composition. The population mainly consisted of retainues of the emperor and the powerful aristocrats of the day. The emperor's retainues alone were estimated to be around 15,000. Merab also pointed out that half of the population of the city were composed of slaves and domestic servants making the city one big unmovable imperial camp (Ottaway 1976:36).

Unfortunately, between the accounts of Merab in the early 1900s and the first census of 1961 there were no reliable data on the growth rate of the city population. However, according to Jean Comhaire the growth of Addis Ababa was accelerated by the time of the completion, in 1917, of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway when the size of the population grew from a mere 35,000 to 100,000. He further estimated that during the 40 years before the first census of 1961 the population was estimated to have grown at a rate of more than 7 percent per year reaching 443,728 (Jean Comihaire 1976:98; 105; See also Jonathan baker 1990: 212-213).

Addis Ababa definitely grew at unexpectedly faster rate as shown by the censuses of 1961 and 1967 which recorded a population of 443,728 and 644,190 respectively. This was a growth of 65 percent per year. The growth rate of the population for both the pre-and post-1960 periods is shown in Table 1.

Due to the prevailing political and economic conditions of the country, the growth rate of Addis Ababa in the early years was not as fast as compared to the post World War II periods when it was estimated to have grown at the rate of 4 to 6.8 percent up to 1975. The growth rate seems to have slowed down since the 1980s possibly due to the acute shortage of housing and the containment attitudes of both Peasants' and Urban Dwellers' Associations, created after the 1974 socialist revolution.

Migration

What were the reasons for such an accelerated growth? Various studies indicated that the population of the city was growing mainly due to in-migration. A survey by the Central Statistical Office in 1972 indicated a growth rate of 7 percent that is 4.1 percent in-migration and 2.9 percent natural growth (Central statistical Office 1972:1). It was estimated that in Addis Ababa between 1970 and 1978, 64 percent of the annual growth of population was the contribution of in-migration (Hailu Belachew 1983:328). This has been more or less substantiated by various earlier studies as well. For instance, the sample survey of 600 household heads carried out in Addis Ababa in 1960 revealed that only 15.7 percent were born in the city while the remaining 84.3 percent were migrants from different parts of the country (S. Comhaire-Syulvian 1960:14). Similarly a sample survey carried out in Kirkos area of Addis Ababa in 1972/73 showed similar results. The average in-migration was 55.7 percent. About 85.6 percent of all the adults over 25 years of age were born outside Addis Ababa (Lennart Freij et al, undated:42).

It is believed that migration to the city has been mainly motivated by unemployment and under-employment in the country as a whole. For example, the 1960 sample survey indicated that out of 506 household heads that migrated to Addis Ababa 57.5 percent did so in search of employment (S.Chomhaire-Syulvian 1960:24). The problem of unemployment in Ethiopia was particularly acute in the mid-1960s, thus attracting a large number of people to urban areas. Between 1964 and 1969, 84,135 job seekers were registered in the few labor exchange offices in the country. Out of these only 15 percent were assisted by the employment offices to get jobs. At the same time 3326 workers were laid off by private enterprises in 1968 which was higher by 58 percent over those that were laid off in 1967 (Marina Ottaway 1976:82). In Ethiopia, between 1961-1969 agriculture was growing at the rate of 2.2 percent per year while the population was growing at the rate of 2.5 percent. On the other hand manufacturing and service outputs were growing at 9.3

percent and 7.9 percent respectively, indicating a state of stagnation of the agricultural sector (Hailu Belachew: 1983:331). People were forced to migrate to urban areas due to such stagnation in the rural areas and hoping to get better incomes in urban areas. By 1970 the unemployment rate through the country was estimated to be between 15 to 20 percent of the total labor force (Planning Commission, Ethiopian Government:1972:19).

These conditions are clearly substantiated by the figures in Table 2 showing the number of job seekers in the few employment exchange offices in the major urban centers.

From the figures in Table 2 we observe that during the ten years, from 1978/79-1987/88 a total of 770,353 job seekers were registered in various parts of the country and these consisted of 54.4 percent males and 45.65 percent females. A look at the figures for each year reveals that the number of job seekers who were registering were declining. This was so not because there were less job seekers in the 1980s but because of the fact that job placements were so limited that people lost hope and opted not to register. Out of those registered over the ten year period only 18.8 percent (14.1% males and 4.7% females) were placed on jobs (Andargatchew Tesfaye:1989:3). As the figures in Table 2 indicate young people between the ages of 15-19 and 20-29 were the largest group of job seekers (70.8% of the total). In most cases these were school dropouts particularly those who sat for the Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination and failed to be admitted to third level educational institutions. Some migrated to Addis Ababa hoping to get employed.

Unemployment

If this is what the overall employment conditions look like, what were the situations in Addis Ababa? The unemployment problem in Addis Ababa has been quite serious over the years. The figures in Table 3 clearly illustrate the situation.

In Addis Ababa in 1976, out of a total labor force of 356,236 about 90.4 percent were employed and 9.6 percent were unemployed. Out of the employed people 57.2 percent were males and 33.2 percent were females. Out of the 9.6 percent unemployed 5.3 percent were males and 4.3 percent were females.

The comparative situation, as far as unemployment in Addis Ababa was concerned, as shown in Table 4, was not any different in 1984. Out of the total labor force of 470,308 some 10.5 percent were unemployed and consisted of 5.2 percent males and 5.3 percent females. What appears to be of more concern, from the figures in Table 4, is the fact that young people between the ages of 15 - 29 constituted the largest group of the unemployed. While this age group makes up 45.3 percent of the labor force in Addis Ababa yet the unemployed in this age group make up 73 percent of all the unemployed. Therefore, unemployment was more acute among younger persons of both sexes though the unemployed young females were slightly more than the males of the same age group.

Facilities and Amenities in Addis Ababa

The attraction of Addis Ababa for migrants was not only the fact that it contained a very large portion of the country's modern economic establishments that provided employment but also because it is the center of all communication and transport networks (Markakis 1974:162). Other regions have to be reached through Addis Ababa and in some cases, those who drop in between destinations decided to make Addis Ababa their homes.

In addition, the city has monopolized, for long, second and third level educational facilities and other social services like health. In general, it enjoyed a near monopoly of all urban facilities and amenities. "In 1975/76 Addis Ababa, along with Asmara accounted for 75 percent of the communication services, 54 percent of the power capacity, and 38 per

cent of all weather roads. Similar situations existed in 1987" (Mulatu Wubneh and Yohanes abate 1988:140). The figures in Table 5 clearly illustrate the advantages Addis Ababa had over the rest of the country as far as services are concerned.

From the figures in Table 5, if we take a few years, as illustration, and analyze the situation, we observe that Addis ababa has been more privileged, compared to the rest of the country in relation to the availability of educational facilities. In 1973/74 Addis Ababa had 8.3 percent of all primary schools, 22 percent of all junior secondary schools and 32.5 percent of all secondary schools. Yet, Addis Ababa had about 3.4 percent of the total population of the country around that period of time. In 1980/81 the city of Addis Ababa still had 7.2 percent of the primary schools, 24.2 percent of the junior secondary schools and 17.9 percent of the secondary schools for a population of only 3.6 percent of the total population. The situation did not very much change in 1987/88. Still 3.3 percent of all primary schools, 23.5 percent of all junior secondary schools and 18.9 percent of all senior secondary schools in the country were located in Addis Ababa which accommodated only 3.5 percent of the total population. Definitely such a privileged position in a country where people are thirsty for education has been a strong magnet for attracting, particularly young people into the city.

The same could be said as far as health services are concerned. Table 6 indicates the various health facilities that have been serving the residents of Addis Ababa and how they compare, in terms of percentages, with the over all health facilities in the country. For instance, in 1975/76 Addis Ababa had 1.6 percent of all clinics, 15.1 percent of all hospitals, 29 percent of all hospital beds, 51.1 percent of all the doctors in the country, 45 percent of all nurses, and 26.2 percent of all other health personnel. Ten years later, that is in 1983/84 the situation did not change very much. The shares of other parts of the country made little improvement while Addis Ababa continued to have 6.8 percent of all clinics, 5 percent of all health centers, 16.5 percent of

all hospitals, 28.8 percent of all hospital beds, 45.3 percent of the doctors, 33.8 percent of all nurses and 20.6 percent of all other health personnel.

It should not be surprising if Addis Ababa, with all these advantages over the rest of the country should act like a magnet for people of all walks of life and from all corners of the country. However, the unfulfilled dreams of in-migrants had resulted in various undesirable consequences leading to various serious social consequences that have proved difficult to resolve.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ACCELERATED URBANIZATION

Addis Ababa is a city that has grown naturally with very little attempts at site planning. It is a city where high rising structures or modern villas are seen side by side with dilapidated and run down houses whose days of existence are numbered. A recent statement in a UNICEF report seems to summarize aptly the state of the city.

With a population of 1.5 million, Addis Ababa is already one of the largest cities in Africa, and at its current growth rate the population is due to double within ten years. Though shanty towns have not mushroomed around *many parts of it are unplanned and overcrowded, with poor housing and little sanitation" emphasis added* (UNICEF 1984:12)

The Housing Problem

Some writers have attributed the lack of proper planning due to "the lack of well established tradition of substantial and enduring urban settlements in Ethiopia" prior to the late 1880s and the fact that Addis

Ababa grew in a very short span of time (Amos 1960: 105-106). It is to be recalled that kings and emperors that reigned over the country had been shifting their capitals from place to place until Emperor Menelik decided to settle in Addis Ababa. As a result of this practice permanent dwellings did not become a tradition until much latter in the life of the nation except may be in certain parts of the country where they built relatively more durable and sturdy houses. This tradition of building less durable housing which has persisted to this day has been aggravated by the sheer poverty of urban dwellers. It is estimated that 90 percent of the households in urban areas earn below 300 Birr per month and out of these 60 percent earn below 100 Birr per month. Therefore, the low income of households and the ever-increasing cost of construction have been the major bottleneck to the expansion and improvement of housing in urban areas (Hailemikael Liku 1983:29).

The problem of housing in Addis Ababa has been both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitatively houses in Addis Ababa are generally classified into three categories (1) houses built with stone, bricks or blockets with roofs covered with sheet-metals;(2) houses built with chica (wattles daubed with mud plaster) and covered either with sheet-metals or thatch;(3) the third category consists of improvised shelters made mostly of waste materials such as pieces of wood, metal-sheets, plastic sheets, card boards, etc.

A sample survey carried out in 1960 in Addis Ababa identified that only the first group of houses could be considered of permanent duration. However, 86 percent of the houses in Addis Ababa were of the second category. These were houses built of non-durable materials with no proper foundation and floor. These houses in most cases did not have proper ceilings either (Amos 1960:105).

The 1967 Addis Ababa Housing and Population Census confirmed the classification of houses indicated above. However, according to this census, if business establishment were excluded 48.9 percent of the

houses in Addis Ababa were considered as permanent, 49.9 percent as semi-permanent and 1.2 percent as improvised. On the other hand, a sample survey of households carried out in 1972/73 in Kirkos area of the city estimated the distribution of the three categories of houses as 63.7 percent, 35 percent and 1.3 percent respectively (Freij et al, undated: 23).

The report of the 1976 Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey revealed a lot of information on the housing conditions. Of the total of 228,287 housing units, 80.1 percent were residential houses, 13.5 percent served both as residences and business units, 5.4 percent were business establishments while the remaining one percent served other purposes (Central Statistical Office 1977:44). Out of the total number of houses 62.3 percent were rented houses, 29.1 percent were owner occupied, 8.5 percent were rent free* houses and the status of the remaining 0.1 percent were not stated (Central Statistical Office 1977:45). As far as the quality of housing were concerned, the report indicated that 92.8 percent were built of wood and mud, 2.9 percent of bricks, 1.2 percent of stones and the remaining 3 percent were built of different materials (CSA 1977:47).

Another indicator of the conditions of housing in Addis Ababa is the material with which the floor is made. In this connection one could conclude that the majority of the houses in Addis Ababa in 1976 were indeed of very poor quality. The majority of the houses (64.7%) had earthen floors while 27.4 percent were made of wooden floors. Some 3.6 percent had cement floors whereas 1.8 percent were made of tiles. The remaining 2.4 percent were made of different floor materials (CSO 1977:49).

A much more disturbing information regarding the housing condition in Addis Ababa was revealed by the 1978 housing census conducted by

*Rent free houses are mostly houses occupied by persons whose houses were nationalized in other parts of the country and were allowed to occupy rent free the houses they had rented in addis Ababa prior to the Revolution of 1974.

the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. According to this report 87 percent of the houses in the city were made up of less durable materials such as wood daubed with mud. Houses with stone and cement walls accounted for only 4.2 percent while houses built of bricks and blockets were 1.9 percent and 0.8 percent respectively (Solomon Mulugeta 1985:46).

The same report also indicated that 45.5 percent of the housing units were built without any foundation, 53.4 percent of the houses were without ceilings and 53 percent of the houses were of dirt floors. Another alarming condition was that, except for 27 percent of all the houses, the rest were run down and badly in need of repairs.

The quality of housing did not very much improve in the 1980s as revealed by the 1984 population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Out of 259,555 housing units in Addis Ababa the majority of 82.8 percent were made of wood and mud, 6.2 percent were houses built with stone and cement, 3.3 percent were constructed from bricks and cement, 2.0 percent were made of stone and mud, 1.7 percent were built of blockets and cement and 3.7 percent were constructed from various other materials. The materials out of which the remaining 1.3 percent of the houses were built were not specified (Central Statistical Authority 1987: 297). Very little improvement was reported regarding the quality of the materials with which the floors of the housing units were built of.

Shortage of housing is another serious consequence of the accelerated rate of urbanization. No serious action was taken to meet the needs of the influx of people that poured into the city. The situation was simply left to the slow, unplanned growth of qualitatively and quantitatively inadequate housing units to accommodate new comers into the city.

The highly overcrowded nature of living conditions in the city were reported as early as the 1960s. The Social Survey of Addis Ababa of 1960 indicated that the then existing houses, in many parts of the city,

were overcrowded as the figures in Table 7 indicate. As could be observed from the figures in the Table, 56.6 percent of the sample population were living in conditions where 2 to 5 people had to double up per room. Another sample survey carried out in 1972-73, almost 13 years later, indicated the same problem of over-crowdedness as shown in Table 8.

Out of a sample of 563 (Kirkos Area) 33.4 percent of the people were occupying a one-room housing unit with an average of almost 4 people living in a single room. Those occupying 2 rooms were 43.5 percent of the sample. This means that 76.9 percent of the people were occupying a one-or two-room housing units. Therefore, the problem of over-crowdedness had been an acute problem in Addis Ababa for quite some time. An estimate made in 1967 by De Leudw Catler Inc. indicated that an annual construction of 11035 housing units were required during the 1967-1987 period. The report also pointed out that 56.6 percent of these houses were needed to meet the housing requirements as a result of population increases (Solomon Mulugeta 1985:48). This prediction was made on the assumption that Addis Ababa would have a population of one million. The forecast was off mark as the population of Addis Ababa passed the one million mark a long time earlier than 1987).

The shortage of housing and the nature of over-crowdedness has been persistent as could be noted from the figures in Table 9. It is quite evident that people live in a very much overcrowded conditions when 2.5 or more people had to live in a single room. This was what the findings of the 1984 Census Report on Addis Ababa revealed. This is how a very recent study describes the housing situation in Addis Ababa.

*There is an enormous need for better housing in the inner city area. Much of what passes for housing barely provides shelter for the inhabitants.... there is an urgent need for attention to be focused on ways to improve

this basic aspect of the deplorable physical standard of living of the inner city poor (Hicks 1992:9).

Another serious problem connected with housing is the chronic lack of basic facilities like kitchens (or separate cooking area). The 1960 Addis Ababa Sample Survey reported the following facts. The cooking facilities of households were of four categories (Amos 1960:111).

a)	Separate household kitchens, (outside the main house)	43%
b)	Separate shared kitchens	16%
c)	Kitchens as part of the main house	33%
d)	Food cooked out of doors	5%

A socio-economic sample survey carried out in 1983, in one of the kebeles in the Teklehaimanot area, one of the most congested areas of Addis Ababa, revealed that out of 1038 households 36.7 percent did their cooking within the living area of their houses while 41.2 percent shared common kitchens outside the living area. Only 21.7 percent reported having a kitchen of their own outside the main houses (Andargatchew and Seyoum 1983:345).

The 1984 census data for Addis Ababa showed that 73 percent of the housing units had traditional types of kitchens. Out of these 37.8 percent were private while 34.8 percent were shared traditional kitchens. About 19.3 percent of the houses did not have kitchens. Only 6 percent of the houses reported having a modern type of kitchen** (CSA 1987:297).

^{*}A traditional kitchen is a room used for cooking usually using firewood, charcoal, dung cakes, sawdust, etc. The cooking is done on the floor and there is no piped water in the kitchen.

^{**}A modern kitchen is a room where cooking is carried out through the use of gas, electricity, etc. with a modern stove. There is usually piped water and a sink.

Sanitation

The sanitation condition of the city leaves much to be desired. Available data indicated that the very poor waste disposal mechanism in the city had not changed much over the years.

In the early 1960s, this was what the conditions looked like according to the responses of household heads. The responses of the household heads using different types of disposal methods and whether they considered these methods satisfactory or not could be classified as follows (Amos 1960:115).

Water closets	17.0 percent	considered unsatisfactory by	1/3
Pit	57.0 percent	" " " by over	1/3
Other	6.7 percent	" " "	1/2
None	5.5 percent	" " "	2/3

The Kirkos area sample survey conducted in 1972/73 corroborated the earlier findings. Out of a sample of 577 household heads only 4.9 percent were using flush toilets while 11.3 percent used private pit latrines. The majority of 73.3 percent had shared pit latrines located in the compound and 9.6 percent were using public pit latrines. A small minority of 0.9 percent reported using open fields (Freij et al 1972:35).

The sample survey in Teklehaimanot area conducted in 1983, indicated an even worse condition than found in Kirkos area. According to reports of kebele officials only 15 percent of the houses had what could be referred to as latrines. Out of 1133 respondents only 53.4 percent of the households claimed to have some sort of shared pit latrines while 39 percent admitted using the open field. In a congested area like Teklehaimanot, it would be a taxing effort to find what could be referred to as "an open field" (Andargatchew and Seyoum 1983: 34). The overall toilet condition in the city in relation to the quality of housing units is clearly shown in Table 10.

The figures in Table 11 reveal that the sanitation condition in Addis Ababa had not improved by 1976. About 13.2 percent of the houses used private dry pit latrines. Out of these only 1.6 percent had water within the houses. The rest either had water within or outside the compound. A few of the households depended on municipal water points or had to make other arrangements for buying water on a daily basis.

The majority of the houses (56.6%) had common dry pit latrines and most of these houses (39.8%) had to depend on water found within or outside the compound while 12.8 percent had to buy their water supply from municipal water points. On the other hand, only 3.4 percent of the houses in Addis Ababa by 1976 had private flush toilets and of these only 2.0 percent enjoyed water supplies within the houses. The remaining 1.4 percent had water taps within the compound.

Only 1.3 percent of the houses had common flush toilets and out of these only 0.3 percent had water inside the houses while the rest depended on other arrangements. What is appalling is the fact that 24.6 percent of the houses did not have any sort of toilet facilities at all and residents in these houses had to sit in the open. A substantial number (5.4%) did not have any sort of dependable water source.

In general, the sanitation condition, as revealed by the figures in Table 11, leave a lot to be desired. The problem is not only inadequacy of the toilet facilities but also the fact that some of the dry pit latrines were never pumped out when they become filled up. Since the majority of the latrines are communally used nobody takes the responsibility to have them pumped out. The shortage of vacuum sewer tracks adds to the problem. As a result, it is not uncommon to see pit latrines oozing out "a foul black fluid" (Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority 1982:16-43). At times pit latrines cave in and are left untended and endanger the lives of people in the neighborhoods.

A serious problem closely related to human waste disposal is the collection and disposal of garbage. Refuse, if not properly collected and disposed, it could be the cause for serious health hazards. It is quite common to see refuse scattered all over the place in most parts of the city. As early as 1960 it was reported that only 20 percent of households depended on the municipal collection system. The remaining 80 percent used other methods out of which only 2.8 percent reported burning domestic refuse. The remaining majority simply dumped them in open fields, pits and river beds (Amos, 1960: 116).

The consequences of such negligence are shown in Table 12 which shows the major diseases that were observed around Addis Ababa. These diseases are definitely due to the negligence in the use of water and the disposal of human excreta and household garbage. out of the total diagnosis in 1977/78 about 23.03 percent were diseases related to lack of proper sanitation. This being the case, it is not surprising for UNICEF to report that "... Nearly 40 percent of all the deaths in the city are attributable to parasitic or gastrointestinal diseases, and young children, as always, are the hardest hit" (UNICEF 1984:12).

The Problem of Deviance

The other serious social consequence of unregulated urbanization is the problem of deviance. As pointed out earlier, one of the major consequences of rural-urban migration is the problem of unemployment which seriously affects the city of Addis Ababa. As a survival mechanism, many of the unemployed resort to various acts such as vagrancy and beggary, crime, delinquency, prostitution, etc. The last three will be briefly discussed to illustrate the seriousness of deviance in the city of Addis Ababa.

Crime and juvenile delinquency have generally been on the increase (Andargatchew Tesfaye 1986:71), particularly in the city of Addis Ababa due, partly, to the presence of a large proportion of migrant population

and young school drop outs that could not be absorbed into the labour market. For instance, in 1986/87 out of the total crimes reported to the police for the whole country some 8.1 percent of the offenders were unemployed, but the following year the number of offenders without occupation went up to 25.1 percent (unpublished Annual Police Report 1987/88:26).

The figures in Table 13 indicate the annual crimes reported to the police* and prosecuted in the various hierarchies of courts. Though the total crime reported to the police, as shown in the Table have been fluctuating between 48,719 in 1980/81 and 53,950 in 1984/85, the share of crimes for Addis Ababa has been constantly increasing. From the figures in the table we observe that the city of Addis Ababa, which contains about 3.5 percent of the total population of the country accounts, on the average, for 15.7 percent of the total crime in the country.

The most common crimes committed in Addis Ababa are theft, assault, homicide, breach of trust (embazzelment,), robbery and burglary. Embazzelement which was almost non-existent in the pre-1974 period is one of the fastest growing crimes in the country including the city of Addis Ababa. After 1974 when rural land, extra houses and urban land, big businesses like banks, insurance companies, factories, enterprises and big mechanized farms were nationalized, a large array of public organizations were created to manage these nationalized and state owned organizations. As a result, there was a lot of mobility in employment. People that jumped on the bandwagon of the revolution systematically looted these newly created organizations and enterprises. Again Addis Ababa had its greatest share because of the concentration of the

* Though incomplete, one has to rely on crimes reported to the police. A large portion of minor crimes handled by Peasants' Associations and Urban Dwellers' Associations are not included in the Annual Police Reports. In Addis Ababa there are 284 Urban Dwellers' Associations.

nationalized businesses and enterprises in the city. The government was forced to introduce control mechanisms in each of the many organizations but with very little success (Andargatchew Tesfaye 1986:71-72).

Similarly the problem of juvenile delinquency which was mostly related to beggary and vagrancy, gradually assumed to be a serious problem particularly since the mid-1960s. Juvenile delinquency is mostly an urban problem unlike adult criminality which prevails throughout the country. The increasing rate of the problem of juvenile delinquency is shown by the figures in Table 14 which compare the national situation with that of Addis Ababa. From the figures, again it is clear that Addis Ababa has a major share of the problem of juvenile delinquency.

If we take 1986/1987 as a typical year, we observe that out of 36,789 young criminals reported to the police, 6621 or 18 percent were from Addis Ababa. Out of a total of 6621 reported for Addis Ababa, 5576 or 84.2 percent were males and 1945 or 15.8 percent were females. Out of this total, about 7 percent were 9-15 years old and 27.1 percent were in the age group of 16-18 years.* In general criminality in Ethiopia is becoming the preoccupation of the younger generation i.e. those below the age of 30 years. On the whole both male and female delinquents were involved mainly with theft and assault. The older age group, in addition to theft and assault were increasingly involved in black market activities, homicide, breach of trust and robbery. The fact that a large proportion of females were involved in assault cases is some how surprising since females are generally considered to be less aggressive.

* Under Ethiopian law the latter are considered as adults except no capital punishment is applicable to them.

From the figures in the Table a number of deductions could be made regarding the problem of delinquency in Addis Ababa. The rate of juvenile delinquency is definitely on the increase, particularly compared to earlier years. What is more concerning is not the quantitative increase alone. The type of offenses delinquents committed, especially those in the upper age group, have become more serious over the years.

In most cases, some of those in the lower age group of 9 to 15 years are children in need of care and protection due to family break-down or due to poverty. Substantial numbers are migrants from the surrounding rural or semi-urban areas due to various reasons. A Survey of Street Children carried out in selected areas of Addis Ababa, in 1988, revealed that 35.6 percent of the boys and 28.4% of the girls were migrants (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs & Redda Barnen, 1988:47). On the other hand, those in the upper age groups are mostly school dropouts. Annually more than 200,000 students sit for the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination. But out of these, only a small number of students, not even about 10,000, are admitted into colleges and universities. The great majority have no choice but roam the streets of cities and gradually drift into a life of delinquency and crime for the males and mostly prostitution for the females.

The attempt at correction is even more pathetic. There is only one Training Centre and Remand Home for delinquent boys in Addis Ababa, that is for those in the age group of 9 to 15 years. The older age group are sent to prisons. Officially they were supposed to be kept in separate wings. But this is more of an exception rather than the real practice.

The problem of prostitution is equally of concern in Addis Ababa as it is for the whole country. Prostitution is mainly a problem that grew along with urbanization and the commercialization of locally brewed alcoholic drinks. The problem was accelerated by the Italian occupation of the country between 1936 and 1942 as the following observation of a Hungarian Physician, then living in Addis Ababa clearly indicates.

I often witnessed the deposition of women to such houses with revolting violence, one girl being attacked by three or four armed soldiers of civilization! A whole street near the former Town Hall, which they renamed the Palazza di Roma, was converted into a pleasure garden for Italian soldiers. These Ethiopian girls were kept close prisoners for the sensual delight of the enemy (Richard Pankhurst 1974:17).

As the problem was left uncontrolled, it gradually expanded, particularly due to rural-urban migration of women. Due to the unstable marriage system, particularly because of the early marriage practice, a large number of women that run away from their husbands joined prostitution in various cities because of lack of any other alternative ways of survival. Various small studies conducted on the problem of prostitution have shown that in the early days, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s most prostitutes were migrants from rural areas. But gradually many young school dropouts started joining houses of prostitution because of the problem of unemployment (Andargatchew Tesfaye 1988: 282-295). Table 15 shows the marital status of prostitutes in Addis Ababa as found out from three different studies at different periods of time. According to a study carried out in 1962 a great majority of 95 percent of the prostitutes were divorced women and those who joined prostitution without passing through marriage were negligible.

On the other hand, Miherretu's study of 1984 indicated that 36.3 percent were divorced and 21.7 percent were separated at the time of joining prostitution. But a substantial number of 40.1 percent joined prostitution without ever experiencing official marriage. These were mostly young girls that dropped out of school for various reasons and gradually drifted into prostitution because they could not find any other job. Lishan's study carried out in 1985 shows that 25 percent joined prostitution while still married. Most probably these were women that had run away from their husbands without officially annulling their

marriages. Out of the remaining prostitutes that Lishan studied 33.4 percent and 8.3 percent were divorced and separated respectively. But 22.2 percent were single at the time they joined prostitution as a way of making a living. There is a high probability for these being school drop outs.

From these short studies it is clear that in the early days prostitutes were mainly those women who did not have successful marriages and were divorced or separated. But of late more and more young girls resort to prostitution because of the problem of unemployment,

The figures in Table 16 reveal an important cultural factor that contributes to the problem of prostitution. In Ethiopia, particularly in certain regions, early marriage is quite a common practice even though existing laws prohibit the practice. Various studies have revealed that early marriage in some cases end up in divorce because their first sex experience with persons they have never met before, because of arranged marriages, is likely to be more of a torture at a tender age of eight or nine years of age. Such women run away from their husbands and cities are the best hideouts. This is what the studies by Myers, Meheretu and Lishan show, as given in Table 16. In each of these studies 15.7 percent, 33.9 percent and 13.8 percent respectively were married at the age of below 10 years. On the other hand, the three studies revealed that 54.3 percent, 29.1 percent and 39.6 percent, respectively were married when they were between the ages of 10 and 14 years. In general, the prostitutes that were covered in the three studies were married at the age of well below 20 years. Unsuccessful marriages coupled with lack of marketable skills and the problem of unemployment seem to be some of the major causes leading women to prostitution.

Due to lack of intensive and extensive studies of the problem of prostitution, it is difficult to estimate the size of prostitution in the country. A study conducted in 1981 in 22 cities of Ethiopia revealed the existence of 37,115 prostitutes in those cities. Out of the total 15,900

were found in Addis Ababa. From the figures in this study one could calculate that prostitutes make up, on the average, 3.1 percent of the total female population of the 22 cities. Using this calculation one can arrive at an estimated size of prostitutes in all urban areas in the country and this figures out to be about 78,731 prostitutes. But definitely this is a very conservative figure (Andargatchew Tesfaye 1988:299-301).

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages, attempts have been made to review the consequences of accelerated urbanization. It is clear that Addis Ababa has been caught unprepared to accommodate a population which is now believed to be over 3 million. As a result, people are forced to live in conditions that are hardly fit for human beings. The majority of the people live in very poor and extremely overcrowded dwelling units which lack minimum sanitary requirements. The city authorities, due to limitation of resources and lack of proper policy to meet the problem, have failed to provide various services such as housing, water supply, electric light and power, waste material disposal mechanisms, etc. This is how an official of the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing assessed the situation:

The majority of the urban population live in a highly congested minimally serviced and insanitary environment. The provision of urban services such as roads, water supply, waste disposal system, electricity, health facilities, etc., has proved to be an enormous task for the Government given its limited resources. (Hailemikael Liku, 1983:29).

The influx of people that came to Addis Ababa over the years could hardly find what they came for and yet more are coming. Even then they stayed on rather than returning to their villages where nothing else awaited them but misery. They stayed on and tried to adjust themselves

to various coping mechanisms such as beggary, delinquency, crime, prostitution, etc., which society deplores and labels as deviant but fails to provide alternatives.

The efforts being made by various government agencies, international organizations, housing cooperatives, non-governmental welfare agencies, correctional authorities, etc. could hardly scratch the surfaces of the problems. In some cases the efforts being made are at cross purposes with the reality and hardly relate to the specific problems these marginalized group of people urgently want to be dealt with.

References

Addis Ababa Water and Sewerage Authority, 1982, *City of Addis Ababa Sanitation Master Plan, Phase I Preliminary Development Proposal*. Unpublished.

Amos, F.J.C., "Housing and Town Planning," in Stanley et al (ed.) 1960 *Social Survey of Addis Ababa*. Unpublished, Univeristy College of Addis Ababa.

Andargatchew Tesfaye, 1986. "Patterns and Trends of Crime in Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis of the crime Problem in the Pre and Post-Revolution Periods", *Indian Journal of Criminology*. Vol.14, No.1.

————— 1988. *The Crime Problem and Its Correction: A Teaching Material*. Unpublished, Addis Ababa University.

————— 1989. *Youth in Ethiopia : Problems and Prospects*. Unpublished Paper Presented to the Conference on Population Issues in Ethiopia's Development. Office of the National Committee for Central Planning, Addis Ababa.

Andargatchew Tesfaye and Seyoum G.Selassie, 1983. *A study of Socio Economic Conditions in Kefteгна 3 Kebele 30*. Unpublished, International Coordinating Committee, Addis Ababa.

Alvin Boskoff, 1962. *The Sociology of Urban Regions*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Annual Police Reports of the Ethiopian Police Force (Unpublished) for various years.

Baker, Jonathan, (ed.) 1990 *Small Towns in Africa: Studies in Rural-Urban Migration* The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden.

Central Statistical Authority, 1987. *Population and Housing Census, 1984, Analytical Report on Results for Addis Ababa*, Vol 1. No.1.

Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Bulletin No.9*, August, 1972. Addis Ababa.

————— *Statistical Bulletin No.15*, August 1977, Addis Ababa.

Ethiopian Journal of Development Research, Vol.14, No.1, April 1992

Clinard, Marshal B., and Robert F. Meier, 1979 *The Sociology of Deviant Behaviour*, Fifth Edition, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Comhaire, Jean, "Urban Growth in Relation to Ethiopian Development", in Marina Ottaway (ed.) 1976, *Urbanization in Ethiopia: Text with Integrated Reading*. Unpublished, Addis Ababa University.

Chomhaire-Syulvian, S., "Migration", in Stanley et al (ed.) 1960. *Social Survey of Addis Ababa*, Unpublished, University College of Addis Ababa.

Freij, Lennart, et al, "Exploring Child Health and Its Ecology: the Kirkos Study in Addis Ababa, In *Journal of Development Research, Supplement to Vol. II No.2*, Institute of Development Reseach (undated). Addis Ababa Univeristy.

Hailu Belachew, "Patterns of Migration to Major Towns in Ethiopia", 1983 in *Studies in African and Asian Demography: CDC Annual Seminar*. Cairo Demographic Center, Research Monograph Series No.12.

Hicks, Debrah, *The Addis Ababa Destitute: The Silent Emergency? A Draft Situation Report*, UN/EPPG, February, 1992.

Hailemikael Liku, "The Necessity of Community-Based Slum Upgrading and Low-Cost Housing Cooperatives for the Urban Poor in Ethiopia", in Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, and UNICEF, *Report on the Workshop on Urban Basic Services*, Nazaret (Ethiopia), 4-8 December 1983.

Hicks, Deborah, *The Addis Ababa Destitute: The Silent Emergency? A Draft Situation Report*, UN/EPPG, February, 1992.

Imperial Ethiopian Government, Planning Commission 1972, *The Employment Problem*. Unpublished, Addis Ababa.

Kaitz, Edward M. and Herbert Harvey, 1971, *Urban Planning for Social Welfare: A Model Cities Approach*. New York: Prager Publisher.

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Addis Ababa, and Redda Barnan, Sweden, *Survey on Street Children in Selected Areas in Addis Ababa, December 1988*.

Markakis, John, 1974, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa, Oxford University Press.

Andargatchew: The Social Consequences of Urbanization

Mesfin Wolde Mariam, 1966. "Problems of Urbanization", in *PROCEEDINGS OF The Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Selassie I Univeristy, Addis Ababa.

Mulat Wubneh and Yohanes Abate, 1988, *Ethiopia: Transition and Development in the Horn of Africa*, Boulder, Colorado, Averbury, Westview Press.

Ottaway, Marina, (ed) 1976, *Urbanization in Ethiopia: Text with Integrated Reading* Unpublished, Addis Ababa University.

Pankhurst, Richard, " The History of Prostitution in Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopian studies*. Vol. XII No. July 1974. Addis Ababa.

Shsevky, E. and W.Well, 1955. *Social Areas Analysis*. Stanford, California: Standford University.

Solomon Mulugeta, 1985, *Meeting The Housing Shortage in Addis Ababa: The Case of Housing Cooperatives*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University.

Appendix: Tables

Table 1
The Growth of the Population of Addis Ababa

Year	Population	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
1910a	65,000	-
1935a	100,000	2.1
1952b	317,000	12.1
1961c	443,720	4.0
1967d	644,190	6.5
1970c	795,900	5.9
1975d	1,120,500	6.8
1980c	1,277,159	2.3
1984d	1,412,575	2.1
1990d	1,792,599	3.8

- Source: a. J. Comhaire in Marina Ottaway (ed.) 1976 Urbanization in Ethiopia: Addis Ababa.
- b. Solomon Mulugeta, Meeting the Housing Shortage in Addis Ababa, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, A.A. Univ. 1985.
- c. Municipality of Addis Ababa, 1961, First Census Report.
- d. Statistical Bulletin No. 1, 1967 statistical Abstract, 1976 Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report, 1984.

Table 2
Registered Job-Seekers by Age

Year	Sex	Age Group										Total
		15-19	%	20-29	%	30-44	%	45-55	%	60-69	%	
1978/79	M	13,914	6.0	37,517	16.3	20,421	8.9	7,788	3.4	17,520	7.6	97,187
	F	23,697	10.3	60,584	26.3	32,513	14.1	5,934	2.6	10,686	4.6	133,414
	T	37,638	16.3	98,101	42.5	52,934	23.0	13,722	6.0	28,206	12.2	230,601
1979/80	M	7,199	8.4	19,944	23.2	8,608	10.0	3,246	3.8	4,194	4.9	43,191
	F	10,763	12.5	18,608	21.6	8,759	10.2	1,463	1.7	3,275	3.8	42,868
	T	17,962	20.9	38,552	44.8	17,357	20.2	4,709	5.5	7,469	8.7	85,059
1980/81	M	1,236	2.0	8,954	14.5	18,581	30.2	6,927	11.2	2,573	4.2	38,271
	F	933	1.5	10,077	16.4	9,052	14.7	1,935	3.1	1,341	2.2	23,338
	T	2,169	3.5	19,031	30.9	27,633	44.9	8,862	14.4	3,914	6.4	61,609
1981/82	M	6,438	11.2	19,141	33.2	7,914	13.7	1,565	2.7	135	0.2	35,191
	F	7,696	8.1	11,079	19.2	2,611	4.5	112	0.2	4	-	22,502
	T	15,134	26.2	30,220	52.4	10,525	18.2	1,677	2.9	137	0.2	57,693
1982/83	M	7,802	13.6	23,751	41.5	3,889	6.8	604	1.1	-	-	36,046
	F	11,240	19.6	6,523	11.4	2,770	4.8	629	1.1	-	-	21,162
	T	19,042	33.3	30,274	52.9	6,659	11.6	1,233	2.2	-	-	57,208
1983/84	M	10,646	19.4	17,311	31.7	4,555	8.3	655	1.2	-	-	33,167
	F	7,468	13.7	11,365	20.9	2,289	4.2	403	0.7	-	-	21,525
	T	18,114	33.1	28,676	52.4	6,844	12.5	1,058	1.9	-	-	54,692
1984/85	M	12,915	22.9	14,311	25.4	5,896	10.5	142	0.3	-	-	33,264
	F	12,387	22.0	8,308	14.7	2,356	4.2	58	0.1	-	-	23,109
	T	25,302	44.9	22,619	40.1	8,252	14.6	200	0.4	-	-	56,373
1985/86	M	10,783	20.5	13,102	24.7	5,944	11.3	820	1.6	-	-	30,649
	F	11,123	21.1	8,008	15.2	2,548	4.8	266	0.5	-	-	21,945
	T	21,906	41.7	21,118	40.2	8,492	16.1	1,086	2.1	-	-	52,594

1986/87	M	10,132	17.4	22,163	38.1	5,184	8.9	431	0.7	-	-	37,910
	F	10,699	18.4	8,170	14.0	1,404	2.4	53	0.1	-	-	20,326
	T	20,831	35.7	30,333	52.1	6,588	11.3	484	0.8	-	-	58,236
1987/88	M	8,995	16.3	19,461	35.2	5,331	12.2	335	0.6	-	-	34,122
	F	11,573	20.9	8,162	14.8	1,392	2.5	39	0.1	-	-	21,166
	T	20,568	37.2	27,623	50.0	6,723	12.2	374	0.7	-	-	55,288
Total	M	90,087	11.7	195,655	25.4	86,323	11.2	22,513	2.9	24,420	3.2	418,998
	F	108,579	14.1	150,884	19.6	65,694	8.5	10,892	1.4	15,306	2.0	351,355
	T	198,666	25.8	346,539	45.0	152,017	19.7	33,405	4.3	39,726	5.2	770,353

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs, Employment Exchange Service, December, 1988 (Unpublished) Table 3.

Table 3
Employment Status in Addis Ababa, 1976

Employment Status	Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Total labour force	222,604	62.5	133,360	37.5	356,234	100
Total Employed	203,631	57.2	118,309	33.2	321,940	90.4
Total unemployed	18,973	5.3	15,321	4.3	34,294	9.6

Source: Adapted from Central Statistics Office, Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey, Dec. 1976.

Table 4
Economically Active Persons by Age and Sex and Employment Status
In Addis Ababa, 1984

Age Group	Sex	Employed	%	Unemployed			%	Total
				With work Experience	%	Without Work Experience		
10 - 14	M	10,339	2.2	990	0.2	106	0.02	11,435
	F	11,479	2.4	1,008	0.2	120	0.03	12,607
	T	21,818	4.6	1,998	0.4	226	0.04	24,042
15 - 19	M	20,468	4.3	5,176	1.1	733	0.2	26,377
	F	25,828	5.5	7,854	1.7	1,063	0.2	34,745
	T	46,296	9.8	13,030	2.8	1,796	0.4	61,122
20 - 24	M	28,991	6.2	4,564	1.0	958	0.2	34,513
	F	26,946	5.7	6,657	1.4	1,214	0.3	34,817
	T	55,937	11.9	11,221	2.4	2,172	0.5	69,330
25 - 29	M	29,952	6.4	2,014	0.4	608	0.1	35,574
	F	23,114	4.9	2,337	0.5	585	0.1	26,036
	T	53,066	11.3	4,351	0.9	1,193	0.3	58,610
30 - 34	M	48,207	10.3	1,548	0.3	722	0.2	50,477
	F	21,844	4.6	1,339	0.3	384	0.1	23,567
	T	70,051	14.9	2,887	0.6	1,106	0.2	74,044
35 - 39	M	44,385	9.4	1,196	0.3	601	0.1	46,182
	F	13,953	3.0	788	0.2	187	0.03	14,928
	T	58,338	12.4	1,984	0.4	788	0.2	61,110
40 - 44	M	31,026	6.6	892	0.2	539	2.1	32,457
	F	7,121	1.5	405	0.1	105	0.02	7,531
	T	38,147	8.1	1,197	0.3	644	0.1	39,988
45 - 49	M	22,768	4.8	663	0.1	426	0.1	23,857
	F	4,856	1.0	207	0.04	46		5,109
	T	27,624	5.9	870	0.2	472	0.1	28,966

50 - 54	M	14,307	3.0	456	0.1	314	0.1	15,077
	F	4,710	1.0	180	0.03	47	-	4,937
	T	19,017	4.0	636	0.1	361	0.1	20,014
55 - 59	M	8,337	1.8	385	0.1	222	0.4	8,944
	F	3,322	0.7	127	0.2	37	-	3,486
	T	11,659	2.5	512	0.1	259	0.1	12,430
60 +	M	12,337	3.9	827	0.2	380	0.1	15,544
	F	5,905	1.3	289	0.1	61	-	6,255
	T	18,242	3.9	1,116	0.2	441	0.1	21,799
Not stated	M	583	0.1	14	-	-	-	597
	F	249	0.1	6	-	1	-	256
	T	832	0.2	20	0	1	-	853
Total	M	271,700	53.8	18,725	4.0	5,609	1.2	296,034
	F	149,327	31.8	21,097	4.5	3,850	0.8	174,274
	T	421,027	89.5	39,822	8.5	9,459	2.0	470,308

Source: Adapted from CSA, Analytical Report on Results (Census) for Addis Ababa, January, 1987. Table 3.2, p. 111.

Table 5
Number of Primary, Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary Schools
In Addis Ababa as Percent of all Schools in the Country

Year	Primary		Junior S.		Senior S.	
	No. of School	% of total	No	%	No	%
1973/74	221	8.3	92	22.0	38	32.5
1974/75	225	7.0	98	19.3	30	24.2
1975/76	209	5.6	99	17.6	17	13.9
1976/77	204	5.0	77	12.5	19	13.8
1977/78	201	4.7	92	15.0	18	12.0
1978/79	197	4.1	92	14.2	17	10.8
1979/80	183	3.5	91	12.8	18	10.7
1980/81	192	7.2	101	24.2	21	17.9
1981/82	190	5.9	102	20.1	21	16.9
1982/83	188	5.1	105	18.7	23	18.9
1983/84	187	4.6	109	17.8	23	16.7
1984/85	185	4.3	176	28.7	27	18.2
1985/86	197	4.1	188	28.9	31	19.7
1986/87	191	3.6	183	25.7	32	18.9
1987/88	194	3.3	185	23.5	34	18.9

Source: Mulatu Wubneh, *Time Series Data on Socio-economic Characteristics of Ethiopia, 1990* pp. 27-32.

Table 6
Health Facilities in Addis Ababa

Types of Health Facilities	1975/76		1976/77		1977/78		1979/80		1981/82		1983/84	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Clinics	16	1.6	16	1.5	28	2.3	15	1.1	135	7.7	129	6.8
Health C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	5
Hospitals	13	15.1	13	15.5	14	16.4	13	15.1	13	15.1	14	16.5
Hospital Beds	2499	29	2499	28.6	2499	28.2	2923	28.6	3041	27.7	3257	28.8
Doctors	165	51.1	169	44.9	283	53.4	237	54.7	258	53.2	244	45.3
Nurses	523	45	667	44.8	820	49.2	607	41.9	660	39.3	652	33.8
Other personnel	1320	26.2	1578	29.1	681	12.6	1765	28.1	1721	23.8	1708	20.6

Source: Mulatu Wubneh, Time Series Data on Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethiopia, ONCCP, 1990

Table 7
Housing Occupancy Patterns

Intensity of Occupation (Persons Per Room)	Population	
	total	Percentage
0 up to 1	107	4.1
1 up to 2	807	31.2
2 up to 3	822	31.8
3 up to 4	431	16.4
4 up to 5	217	8.4
5 and above	209	8.1
Total	2593	100

Source: F.J.C. Amos, 'Housing and Town Planning', in Stanley et al (eds.), p.109.

Table 8
Number of Rooms Per Household and Number of Household Members Per room

No. of Rooms Per Household	% of Households	Average No. of Person room
1	33.4	3.4
2	43.5	2.4
3 or more	23.1	2.4 or less
Total	100	

Source: Lennart Freij et al (eds.), Op,cit. p.33.

Table 9
Percentage Distribution of Housing Units by Number, of Persons and Number of Rooms

Number of Persons	Number of Rooms					6 and over	Not stated
	1	2	3	4	5		
1	3.61	1.73	0.51	0.19	0.07	0.61	0.32
2	4.10	2.89	0.98	0.36	0.14	0.83	0.21
3	4.02	3.60	1.39	0.56	2.04	1.12	0.19
4	3.87	4.15	1.68	0.79	0.38	1.39	0.18
5	3.25	4.07	1.87	0.95	0.49	1.49	0.16
6	2.60	3.86	1.95	1.03	0.58	1.64	0.15
7	1.74	3.22	1.71	1.00	0.61	1.56	0.11
5-10	2.33	5.15	3.27	2.23	1.39	3.46	0.23
11 and over	0.84	1.73	1.22	0.98	0.78	3.11	0.15
Total	26.36	30.39	14.58	8.08	4.68	15.21	1.69

Source: Adapted from Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, 1984, CSO, Analytical Report on Results for Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa, January 1987, p. 321, Table 5.20.

Table 10
Housing Units by Toilet Facilities

Toilet Facilities	Material used for Floor					Total	%
	Earthen	Wood	Cement	Tiles	Other		
Dry Pit, Private	9800	13014	1395	1094	2826	28129	13.2
Dry pit Common	78448	36271	3774	1547	872	120912	56.6
Flush, Private	426	4313	1590	217	660	7210	3.4
Flush, Common	224	1082	675	1088	-	3069	1.4
None	48,400	3032	209	-	864	52,505	24.6
Other	1084	877	-	-	-	1961	0.9
	138,382	58,593	7643	3946	5222	213,786	100.0

Source: Central Statistical Office, Statistical Bulletin No.15,1976.

Table 11
Housing Units by Toilet Facilities and Water Supply, 1987

Toilet Facilities	WATER SUPPLY											
	PIPED WATER											
	Inside Unit		Within Compound		Outside Compound		Coupon Purchase		Other		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Dry Pit, Private	3452	1.6	17606	8.2	4041	1.9	1923	0.9	1107	0.5	28129	13.2
Dry Pit, Common	2183	1.0	67843	31.7	17132	8.0	27296	12.8	6458	3.0	120912	56.6
Flush, Private	4212	2.0	2998	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7210	3.4
Flush, Common	659	0.3	1960	0.9	224	0.1	-	-	226	0.1	3069	1.4
None	568	0.4	9249	4.3	14837	6.9	16017	7.5	11534	5.4	52505	24.6
Other	227	0.1	430	0.2	225	0.1	644	0.3	435	0.2	1961	0.9
Total	11601	5.4	100086	46.8	36459	17.1	45880	21.5	19760	9.2	213786	100

Source: Adapted from Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey - Dec. 1976, CSO, Statistical Bulletin No. 15, 1977, p. 50.

Table 12
Reported cases of xcreta, Water - and Food - Associated
Disease in Addis Ababa, 1977 - 1980

Diagnosis	1977/78		1978/79		1979/80	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All diagnosis	137,972	100.00	250,669	100.00	260,186	100.00
1-all types of dysentery	3,180	2.31	11,603	4.63	12,991	5.00
2-Infectious hepatitis	100	0.07	370	0.15	173	0.07
3-all types ofschistosomiasis	99	0.07	157	0.06	14	0.01
4-Hookworm(more solid related)	75	0.05	185	0.07	95	0.04
5-All types of helminthic infections	12,269	8.89	28,894	11.53	26,439	10.16
6-Gastroenteritis	16,055	11.64	33,580	13.40	28,469	10.94
Total of the six diagnosis	23,778	23.03	74,789	29.84	68,181	26.22

Source: Gebre-Emanuel Teka, 1984 Human Wastes Disposal Ethiopia: A Practical Approach to Environmental Health. Unpublished, Ministry of Health, Addis Ababa. p.34

Table 13
The Rate of Crime in Addis Ababa as Compared to the Total Crime
Reported to the Police in the Country for 1980/81 to 1985/86

	Year					
	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86
Total Crime Reported to the Police	48,719	51,802	50,064	49,423	53,950	51,869
Addis Ababa's Share	6189	7265	7925	8382	8884	9370
% of Addis Ababa's Share	12.7%	14%	15.8%	17%	16.5%	18.1%

Source: Adapted from Unpublished Annual Police Reports for the Various Years.

Table 15
Marital Status Before Taking up Prostitution

Marital Status	Myer's study 1992		Mihretu's study 1984		Lishan's study 1985	
	No	Percent	No	Percent	No	Percent
Married	2	0.7%	-	-	9	25.0%
Divorced	285	95.0%	77	36.3%	12	33.4%
Separated	-	-	46	21.7%	3	8.3%
Widowed	11	3.6%	4	1.9%	-	-
Single	2	0.7%	85	40.1%	8	22.2%
Others	-	-	-	-	4	11.1%
	300	100%	212	100%	36	100%

Source: Andargatchew Tesfaye, *The Crime Problem and Its Correction*, 1988 p.291.

Table 16
Age at First Marriage of Prostitutes

Age at Marriage	Myer's Study 1962		Mihretu Belay's 1984			Lishan T/Bashaw's 1985		
	No	Percent	Age at Marriage	No	Percent	Age at Marriage	No	Percent
Below 10 Years	47	15.7%	6 to 9 Years	43	33.9%	9 to 11 Years	8	13.8%
10 to 14 years	163	54.3%	10 to 13 years	37	29.1%	12 to 14 years	23	39.6%
15 to 19 years	73	25.3%	14 to 17 years	40	31.5%	15 to 17 Years	15	25.9%
Not stated	14	4.7%	18 to 21 years	7	5.5%	Not Married	12	20.7%

Source: Andargatchew Tesfaye, *The Crime Problem and Its Correction*, 1988, p.288.

Table 14

The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency

Age Group	1986/87			1987/88			1988/89		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
9-15	1069	324	1393	1399	339	1738	1444	626	2070
16-18	5465	1492	6957	6779	1415	8194	7347	2664	9811
19-29	24,617	3822	28,439	25,257	3879	29,136	24,365	5760	30,125
Total	31,151	5638	36,789	33,435	5633	39,068	33,156	8,850	42,006
Addis Ababa's Share out of the above Total									
9-15	402	63	465	411	74	485	807	438	1,245
16-18	1455	336	1791	1190	296	1486	2007	1143	3,150
19-29	3719	646	4365	2098	509	2607	5401	2860	8,261
Total	5576	1047	6621	3699	879	4578	8215	4441	11,656
% of G.T.	17.9%	18.5%	18%	11.1%	15.6%	11.7%	24.7%	50.2%	30.1%

Source: Adapted from Unpublished Annual Police Reports for the Years.