

Dynamics of Urbanization and Policy Implications in Ethiopia



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Abstract

Urbanization is a global phenomenon that characterized and closely associated to economic wellbeing, innovation and the sociological process of rationalization. Urbanization isn't just a modern phenomenon, but a rapid and notable transformation of human social roots a worldwide scale, whereby principally rural culture is being rapidly replaced by mainly urban way of life. In this paper about level and rate of urbanization, urban morphology, component of urban growth, urban poverty dynamics, primacy, and their policy implications in the context of Ethiopia were investigated. This study focusses on the findings of a desk-study and employed descriptive analysis. The level of urbanization, Tempo of urbanization and growth rate of urban -rural ratio were calculated. Ethiopia has been characteristics by endemic Urban poverty dynamic (14.8 % poverty head count index in 2015/16), low level of urbanization and highest urban growth rate in Ethiopia. This study would be serving as both a base-line to provide the necessary background that would facilitate further initiatives and recognize urbanization dynamics and policy implications as a means to promote the sustainable urban growth and development, and as a future direction to what our areas of focus should be.

Keywords: Urbanization, Poverty, Policy Implications.

Introduction

Ethiopia, located in the north-eastern part of Africa, has a total population of 77 million (World urbanization prospects, 2005) and they are a mixed population, with over 80 distinct ethnic groups. It is the most populous landlocked country in the world and the second-most populous nation on the African continent that covers a total area of 1,100,000 square kilometers (420,000 sq mi). Its capital and largest city is Addis Ababa, which lies a few miles west of the East African Rift. It is the least urbanized, country in sub-Saharan Africa. However, it is now one of the most rapidly urbanizing countries in sub Saharan Africa.

Review of Literature

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world today, and only 18% of its population lives in urban areas (JMP, 2014). According to national housing and population census, the country's population reached 73,918,505 out of which 83.83 percent are rural and 16.12 percent are urban residents respectively (CSA, 2007). It is hardly to see the present urbanization character in Ethiopia isolated from its historical background. Historically, urbanization dates back to the periods of Axum (before the 4th century) when, the towns were important places serving as centers of commerce, administration and culture; Zagwe density built its capital to the south at Lalibela (11th century) and four centuries later still other types of urban civilization flourished in Gonder dynasties, (16th century).

In Ethiopia, many scholars argue that the present form of urbanization started in the 19th century when the transportation and communication systems encouraged people to settle in new areas. Later, for consolidating their military and political power, the Italians constructed significant all-weather roads. They also established new towns and broadened the economic base of the existing towns without questioning the economic viability of the towns for their regions without due consideration for building up a functional national urban system.

In Ethiopia to qualify as a town a place should have 2000 or more inhabitants or it must enjoy a statutory label of town administration. District government center which do not satisfy the eligible criteria of 2000 can be considered as town if urban dwellers' association are established in the locality. The share of urban population in the country has increased from

an estimated 7.1% in 1994 (Schmidt and Kedir, 2009) to 16.7 % in 2008 and is expected to reach 60% by 2040 at the current annual growth rate of 3.5% (United Nations, 2014). Thus, the urban population in Ethiopia is increasing rapidly. If managed proactively, urban population growth presents a huge opportunity to shift the structure and location of economic activity from rural agriculture to the larger and more diversified urban industrial and service sectors. If not managed proactively, rapid urban population growth may pose a demographic challenge as cities struggle to provide jobs, infrastructure and services, and housing. The central challenge for the Ethiopian Government is to make sure that cities are attractive places in which to work and live, while fostering sustainable urbanization. Making urbanization a national priority will accelerate Ethiopia's progress towards reaching middle-income status. The government has already taken steps to make evidence-based, informed decisions for well-managed urban growth, and this article aims to contribute to those efforts.

Newbold (2017) stated that by 1900, the world's population was approximately 2 billion, growing to over 6.8 billion in 2009. Most of that growth has occurred in the developing world, Africa, large parts of Asia, and South and Central America. Moreover, much of the future growth of the world's population is expected to occur in the developing world, fueled by comparably high birth rates, continually falling death rates, and young populations. Furthermore, placing urban growth in another perspective, in 2016, there were 512 cities with at least 1 million inhabitants globally. By 2030, a projected 662 cities will have at least 1 million residents (UN Population Division, 2016).

Urbanization in Africa has commonly been quicker and more disorderly than in Europe. The rapid urban growth is frequently related to inadequate governance systems, infrastructural development and land administration and most often, lack of industrial and economic growth has prompted what is often called the African urban crisis (Keiner, et.al., 2016). Urbanization has no effect on poverty reduction in Africa (Ravallion et al., 2007) and relative poverty is likely to increase in urban Ethiopia unless appropriate policies are formulated and set in place to improve

urban growth and job creation (Dorosh and Thurlow, 2018).

Objective of the Study

This paper seeks to review the trends in urbanization and urban growth, level and rate of urbanization, urban morphology, component of urban growth, urban poverty dynamics, primacy and its policy implications in the context of Ethiopia.

Methods and Martials

It is largely descriptive study. The records of urban population as sourced mainly from census reports have been tabulated for description of its trend. The data is also gathered through secondary sources like government records, books, articles, web-based journals.

Measurements of Urbanization

Urbanization dynamics is measured in terms of level (or sometimes called degree) of urbanization, Tempo of urbanization and growth rate of urban -rural ratio. Thus, it is calculated as follows:

$$\text{Level of urbanization} = (\text{Urban population} / \text{Total population}) * 100$$

Tempo of urbanization (Tempo of PU)

$$1/n [l n (PU_{t+n} / PU_t)] * 100, \text{ where } l n = \text{natural log, } PU_{t+n} \text{ and } PU_t = \text{percent urban in } t+n^{\text{th}} \text{ year and } t^{\text{th}} \text{ year respectively, } n = \text{interval year} = 10$$

Growth rate of urban -rural ratio (Exponential growth rate of U/R ratio)

$$1/n * [l n (UR_{t+n} / UR_t)] * 100 \text{ where } l n = \text{natural log, } UR_{t+n} \text{ and } UR_t = \text{urban-rural ratio in } t+n^{\text{th}} \text{ and } t^{\text{th}} \text{ year, } t = \text{time, } n = \text{interval year} = 10$$

Furthermore, the rate of urbanization, level of urbanization, primacy and urban poverty in Ethiopia was interpreted through categorizes into high, medium and low (According to Webster, 2004) showed in (Table 1).

Table 1

Categories of Elements of Urbanization Dynamics

Legend	High	Medium	Low
Rate of urbanization	>4%	2-4%	<2%
Level of urbanization	>50%	30-50%	<30
Primacy	>5x	2-5x	<2x
Urban poverty	>15%	5-15%	<5%

Source: Adopted from Webster, 2004

Result and Discussion

Level and Rate of Urbanization

From the viewpoint of the level of urban population in Ethiopia (table 2), the total urban population during 1960 to 2030 period would increase from 4 percent to 29.4 Percent.

Table 2: Growth of urban population in Ethiopia, 1960-2007

Year	Total Population (million)	Urban Population (million)	Level of urbanization	Urban- Rural Ratio(percent)
1960	22.8	1.5	4	4.16
1975	32.1	3.2	7	7.5
1984	40	4.5	11.4	12.86
1994	53.4	8.5	13.7	15.87
2007	79.2	13.2	16.12	20.04
2020	111.5	24.2	21.8	27.87
2030	137.6	36.9	29.4	41.64

Source: CSA survey of 1960 and 1975; CSA Census of 1984, 1994 and 2007 and United Nations Population Division (2014)

The total national population was increasing by an average of 13,000,000 persons per year during the period between the first and second censuses conducted in 1984 and 1994 (Table 2.3). The annual increase grew

to about 2,580,000 between the second and the third census (1994-2007). Since 1984, the national population grew by 48,083,428 to 73,750,000 in 2007(CSA, 1984 and CSA, 2007). While the share of urban population had

increased from 11.4 percent in 1984 to 16.12 percent in 2007, the proportion of the rural population declined from

88.6 percent to 83.8 percent during the same period.

Table 3: Population at Mid-Year Residing in Urban and Rural Areas in Ethiopia (thousands)
Estimates and Projections: 1950-2030

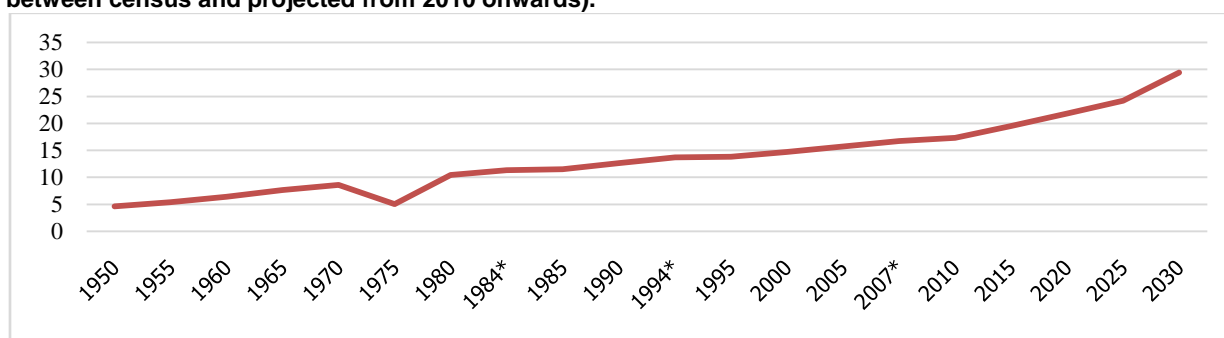
Years	1950	1960	1970	1980	1984*	1990	1994*	1995
Urban	834	1425	2440	3669	4,505	6064	7,323	7885
Rural	17294	20726	25975	31572	35,363	41979	46,154	49139
Total	18128	22151	28415	35241	39,868	48043	53,477	57024
Years	2000	2005	2007*	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030
Urban	9732	11958	11,862	15084	19266	24296	30190	36907
Rural	56293	64209	61,888	72011	79676	87225	94347	100763
Total	66024	76167	73,750	87095	98942	111521	124537	137670

Sources: Calculated based on data from United Nations Population Division (2014) and * CSA census 1984, 1994, and 2007

The projected share of urban population of Ethiopia had increased from 5.4 percent in 1950 to

29.4 percent of the increase of nearly 36,907,000 persons in the urban population by 2030 (Table 3).

Figure 1: Percentage of population at mid-year residing in urban areas in Ethiopia, 1950-2030 (estimated between census and projected from 2010 onwards).



Sources: Calculated based on data from UN population division (2014) and * CSA census 1984, 1994, and 2007

The Ethiopian urbanization review undertaken by the World Bank Group (2015), using a population growth rate of 5.4 percent per annum and offer a prospect for increased level of urbanization higher than what is projected by the CSA, has projected the total national urban population to reach about 54 million in 2037, which will put the level of urbanization at 38 percent. Likewise, the projection made by Egis International and urban Lyon (2014) as part of the National Urban Development Spatial Plan (NUDSP) study undertaken on behalf of the MUDHCo, on the other hand, puts the national urban population at about 51 million in 2037. The major factor for the difference in the projections is the assumption of a higher contribution of rural-urban migration to the overall urban population growth rate. This considers the emphasis on industrial development and expected changes in the labor market, road and electric power infrastructure, related and other mega-projects, which are expected to contribute to structural transformation in the economy. Other assumptions considered include the impact of possible reclassification of urban administrative boundaries and the formation of new towns as a result of the ongoing effort to promote rural service centers through the universal road access program.

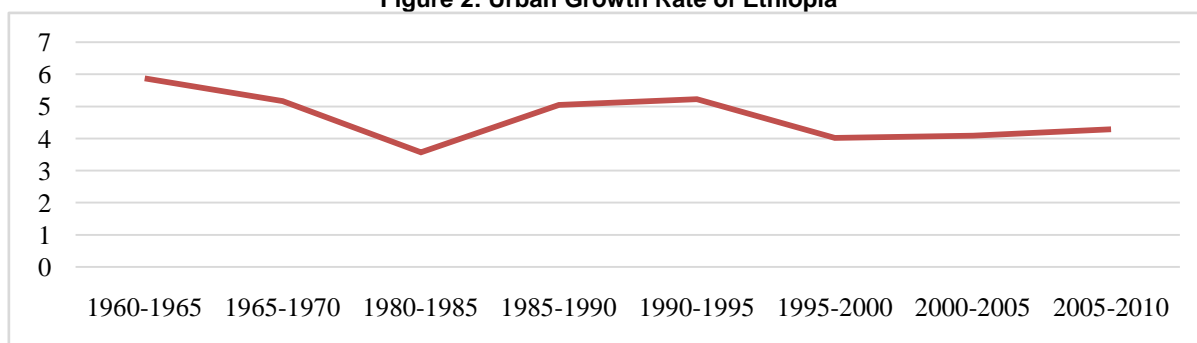
The rapid increase in urban populations has meant that peri-urban areas are growing much more quickly than formal urban centers. Peri-urban areas are those areas immediately around a town or city.

They are areas in transition from countryside to town/city (rural to urban), often with undeveloped infrastructure, where health and sanitation services are under pressure and where the natural environment is at risk of degradation. Defining the boundaries of urban, peri-urban and rural areas is not straightforward. They do not neatly separate themselves by lines on a map. On the contrary, the sprawling nature of urban development means that the areas merge into each other. The lack of a clear boundary can make it difficult to assess the size of towns by their population or geographical area. Moreover, the present urbanization level is far below the average urbanization level (i.e. is below 15%).

Growth Rate of Urbanization

According to the (CSA, 1984), the rate of urban population growth showed a continuous decline, being more than 5.16% 1965-1970, and 4% for the years 1970-1984. Likewise, according to the figure 2, from 1960-1965, 1965-1970, 1980-1985, 1985-1990, 1990-1995, 1995-2000, 2000-2005 and 2005-2010, the growth rate of population accounted for 5.87, 5.16, 3.57, 5.04, 5.22, 4.02, 4.09, and 4.29 percent respectively. Thus, the urban population grew very rapidly at an annual rate of close to above 4% from 1960 to 2010. Generally, Ethiopia's urban growth rate is more than 4.0% per year, which places it among the highest in Africa and the world.

Figure 2: Urban Growth Rate of Ethiopia



Source: UN (New York, NY [etc.]). (2007).

Tempo of Urbanization

Tempo of urbanization refers to speed of urbanization and is measured as change registered in the level or degree of urbanization over the years. From table 6 it is clear that tempo or speed of urbanization is not uniform over the years. It shows a fluctuating trend over the years 1960-2030 and a declining trend during 1984-1994 and 1994-2007. Again, it is required to mention that tempo of urbanization measured as a per cent will tend toward zero as the urban population reaches the 100 percent level, since the urban and total population growth would become the same.

Therefore, Tempo of urbanization during a given period is defined as percentage change (per year) in the level of urbanization. Thus, the speed of urbanization during 1960-2030 calculated as follows:

Table 4

Tempo of urbanization in Ethiopia, 1960-2030

Year	Tempo of Urbanization
1960-1975	3.69
1975-1984	5.4
1984-1994	1.83
1994-2007	1.28
2007-2020	2.27
2020-2030	2.98

Table 6: City and town size distribution in Ethiopia, 1960-2007

Settlement Hierarchy	Class and population Range	Years				
		1960	1975	1984	1994	2007
Super large cities	I.1000000+	0	1	1	1	1
Large cities	II.500000-999999	0	0	0	0	0
Medium Size cities	III.200000-499999	1	0	0	0	3
Large towns	IV.100000-199999	0	0	0	3	8
	V.50000-99999	0	3	10	9	15
Medium Size towns	VI.20000-49999	1	0	0	0	3
	VII.10000-19999	5	22	38	69	145
Small size towns	VIII. 5000-9999	20	73	78	123	208
	IX.4999-2000	43	107	198	294	325
	X. Less than 2000	310	335	372	396	161
	All	384	549	710	925	927

Source: Calculated based on data from CSA survey of 1960 and 1975; CSA census of 1984,1994 and 2007

Of the four cities with a population of more than 200,000, by far the largest is Addis Ababa. In 2007, the population of Addis Ababa was more than 3 million, which amounted to about 25% of Ethiopia's urban population (MWUD, 2007). The next-largest city, Dire Dawa, had only 293,000 occupants at that time. The impacts of urbanization are generally much

Growth Rate in Urban-Rural Ratio

Growth rate in urban-rural ratio also shows a fluctuating trend over the years as is evident from the following table 5.

Table 5: Growth rate of Urban-rural ratio

Year	Growth rate of Urban-rural ratio
1960-1975	3.88
1975-1984	5.98
1984-1994	2.10
1994-2007	1.76
2007-2020	2.50
2020-2030	4.01

Urban Morphology

Table 6 illustrates the distribution of cities and towns classified by the number of population size categories. The cities and towns are classified according to their population at the time of each census and by tracing the changes in each class regardless of the cities and towns included in it. A look at the total number of towns illustrate that, the year 1994 seems to divide the period of rapid urban growth into two distinct phases. The first phase, 1960-1994, recorded a larger increase in the total number of cities and towns. In 1960 there were about 384 cities and towns and this total has grown to 925 in 1994.

more evident in the capital than in other towns and cities.

The number of 20 and 50 thousand plus cities (table 7) have increased from 21 and 10 respectively, in 1984 to 43 and 13 respectively, in 1994. As per 2007 census the newly added 20 and 50 thousand plus cities to 35 and 14 in numbers respectively.

Table 7: Number of cities over 20 and 50 thousand plus peoples during the census years

Region	Cities in 1984*		Cities in 1994		Cities in 2007	
	Over 20,000	Over 50,000	Over 20,000	Over 50,000	Over 20,000	Over 50,000
Tigray	1	1	5	1	10	3
Oromia	7	3	17	4	32	8
Amhara	5	3	7	3	18	7
SNNPR	4	0	7	1	18	5
Gambella	0	0	0	0	1	0
Benishangul Gumuz	0	0	0	0	1	0
Harari	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dire Dawa	1	1	1	1	1	1
Addis Ababa	1	1	1	1	1	1
Somali	1	0	4	1	5	1
Afar	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	10	43	13	88	37

Source: CSA 194, 1994 and 2007

*In 1984, Ethiopia considered Eritrea as a region of Ethiopia and reported Asmera 9total population 281,110), keren (26,339) and Assab (32,457) as Ethiopian cities over 20,000 population. We do not those cities in this table.

Primacy

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world, Even by African standards the level of urbanization is low. According to the Haub, C., & Herstad, B. (2002), while the average level of urbanization for Africa in general was 33% in 2002, Ethiopia had only 15% of its population living in urban areas. There is uneven urbanization both in size in number between regions. Therefore, only a few urban centers account for the large proportion of the urban population. The urban system of Ethiopia can be characterized by the absence of a well-structured hierarchy, predominated by the only primate city (i.e. Addis Ababa was more than 10 times larger than the second ranked city of Dire Dawa in 2007 (CSA, 2007).

Urban Poverty Dynamics

Poverty is one of the most critical issues facing urban areas. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) (2005) outlined the challenges facing Ethiopia's urban centers. According to MoFED, 70% of the urban population is considered slum dwellers on the basis of quality of housing, overcrowded living spaces, access to and quality of infrastructure, and security of tenure. Poverty levels in large cities are especially acute. Sixty percent of residents in Addis Ababa are estimated to be living below the poverty line (Meheret 2001). Overall, while rural poverty rates have dropped from 48 to 39 percent from 1995 to 2005, urban poverty rates have increased from 33 to 35 percent over the same period (Table 8). These figures suggest that although investment in agriculture remains a priority, investments in urban areas may need to be re-evaluated to address underperformance in poverty indicators in the cities.

Table 8: Ethiopia Poverty Rates

	1995/96			1999/2000			2004/2005		
	P0	P1	P2	P0	P1	P2	P0	P1	P2
Rural	47.5	13.4	5.3	45.4	12.2	4.6	39.3	8.5	2.7
Urban	33.2	9.9	4.1	36.99	10.1	3.9	35.1	7.7	2.6
National	45.5	12.9	5.1	44.2	11.9	4.5	38.7	8.3	2.7

Note: P0 denotes % of population below the poverty line; P1 measures the average depth of poverty; P2 is a measure of the severity of poverty.

Source: HICE survey of 1995/96, 1999/00 and 2004/05

As pointed out in table 9, poverty has shown a substantial decline in urban poverty over the recent years. Poverty is still a predominantly urban phenomenon, as measured by the poverty head count index, urban poverty is higher in 2015/16 (i.e. head count index of poverty was 15%). Besides, although

the poverty gap had been 9.9%, 10.1%, 7.7%, 6.9% and 3.7% in 1995/96, 1999/00, 2004/05, 2010/11 and 2015/16. Similarly, urban Poverty severity index decreased from 4.1% to 1.4% between 1995/96 and 2015/16. In sum up higher urban poverty is one of the most critical issues facing urban areas of Ethiopia.

Table 9: Trends of Urban Poverty

Urban	1995/96	1999/00	2004/05	2010/11	2015/16
Head count index	33.2	36.9	35.1	25.7	14.8
Poverty gap index	9.9	10.1	7.7	6.9	3.7
Poverty severity index	4.1	3.9	2.6	2.7	1.4

Source: HICE survey of 1995/96, 1999/00, 2004/05, 2010/11, and 2015/16

Component of Urban Growth

The reasons and components of urbanization are given below:

Migration

In developing countries, urbanization usually occurs when people move from villages to settle in

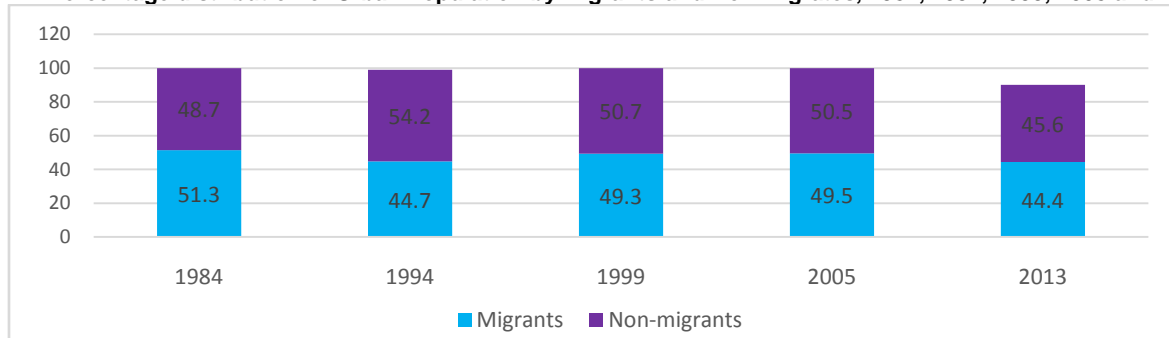
cities in hope of gaining a better standard of living. Migration is influenced by economic growth and development and by technological change (Marshall et al., 2009). It is driven by pull factors and push factors. It is mainly because of these pull factors that people from the countryside would migrate and settle

in the urban areas to work or to look for a better quality of life. Likewise, urban areas in Ethiopia will continue to grow not only due to natural increase but also due to continued rural to urban migration. As birth rates decline over time, the role of natural increase in determining the pace of urban population growth becomes less important in comparison to migration. Even a simple glance over census data on places of birth and duration of residence (Figure 3)

shows that rural-urban migration is the driving force of urbanization in Ethiopia. Migrants constituted almost half of the urban population for the past twenty-nine years and the majority of them came directly from rural areas even if there was an increase in the urban-urban migration (Table 10). Accordingly, to 2013 National Labor Force Survey, among the total urban population of the Ethiopia 44.4 percent were migrants (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Percentage distribution of Urban Population by Migrants and Non-Migrants, 1984, 1994, 1999, 2005 and 2013



Source: CSA Census of 1984, 1994 and CSA 1999, 2005 and 2013 Labor Force Survey

Table 10: Forms of Migration in 1984, 1994, 1999, 2005 and 2013

Years		1984	1994	1999	2005	2013
Forms of Migration	Rural-rural	55.8	48.9	37.6	46.0	34.5
	Rural-urban	28.7	24.8	23.5	24.3	32.5
	Urban-rural	2	7.3	15.7	12.1	11.6
	Urban-urban	13.5	18.9	23.2	17.7	21.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: CSA Census of 1984, 1994 and CSA 1999, 2005 and 2013 Labour Force Survey analytical report

Social Factors

Many social factors such as attraction of cities, better standard of living, better educational facilities, need for status also induce people to migrate to cities. There are numerous social benefits attributed to life in the cities and towns. There are also more educational institutions providing courses and training in a wide range of subjects and skills.

Employment Opportunities

Employment opportunities in cities are one of the main pull factors. In rural sector people have to depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. But Ethiopia agriculture is mainly depending on summer rainfall. In drought situations or natural calamities, rural people have to migrate to cities. In cities and towns, there are expectation of ample job opportunities that continually draw people from the rural areas to seek better livelihood. Therefore, the majority of people frequently migrate into urban areas to access well-paying jobs.

Modernization

People are attracted to an urban lifestyle and the 'bright lights' of city life. All of these factors result in both temporary and permanent migration to urban areas. Urban areas are characterized by sophisticated technology better infrastructure, communication, medical facilities, etc. In urban areas, people also embrace changes in the modes of living namely residential habits, attitudes, dressing, food, and beliefs.

Industrial Growth

Many industries are located in cities and offer opportunities of high urban wages. Industrial growth is a major cause of urbanization. It has expanded the

employment opportunities. Rural people have migrated to cities on account of better employment opportunities.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Basic feature and priorities of urbanization in Ethiopia can be highlighted as:

1. Urbanization is a global trend reflecting the growing population of the world. The urban populations of Ethiopia are currently increasing at a faster rate than those of more-developed countries.
2. Addis Ababa as a primate city. The pattern of urbanization in Ethiopia is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities. i.e. Urbanization characterized by High primacy (Addis Ababa 10 times larger than second ranked city Dere Dawa according to Census of 2007).
3. Rapid urbanization in the absence of rapid economic development would necessarily lead to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.
4. Urbanization results from a natural increase in the population and rural to urban migration.
5. People migrate to towns and cities in hope of gaining a better standard of living. They are influenced by pull factors that attract them to urban life, and push factors that make them dissatisfied with rural living. i.e. Uncontrolled migration and rapid urban growth are associated with increasing urban poverty
6. Urban living is associated with demand of employment and education opportunities, better health practice, greater access to social services, and opportunities for social and cultural activities.

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Asian Resonance

7. Urbanization affects the physical environment through the impacts of the number of people, their activities and the increased demands on resources.
8. Urbanization has negative consequences on health due mainly to pollution and overcrowded living conditions, inequalities and rises in slum and squatter populations. It can also put added pressure on food supply systems.
9. The pressures of urban living also lead to crime and other consequences of social deprivation.

Policy Implications and Future directions

What are the implications for policy? The focus is on explicit urban policies, e.g., rural to urban migration, urban poverty, industrial location policies, although it is recognized that implicit policies, e.g., trade or communications policies, not directly targeted to urban systems may have even greater impacts on urban systems performance than explicit urban policies.

Urbanization is complex and, given its spatial nature, invites discussion on regional policies. However, concerned stakeholders should particularly focus on development of new frameworks and approaches in priority operational areas and key issue areas, such as those outlined in this paper.

Important areas for innovation in terms of understanding, development of conceptual frameworks, and application to programming include:

1. **Urban Futures / Planning:** This refers to new anticipation and foresight methodologies, scenario formulation, strategic planning, monitoring and evaluation, etc. Urban futures / planning is particularly important in transitional countries which are looking for new models to replace command and control mechanisms.
2. **Urban Poverty Reduction:** As argued above, there is a pressing need for new frameworks and approaches in this area to meet rapidly changing conditions, often unique to the Ethiopia on situation.
3. **Effective Urban Governance:** What incentives are likely to make a difference in improving local urban governance? What factors are associated with effective interjurisdictional cooperation? Not enough research has been conducted on the behavior of urban governments in Ethiopia, in terms of how they work, what incentives induce change, etc.
4. **Local Economic Development:** There is a need for more understanding of local economic development processes, commensurate with the increased responsibility for it that is being assigned to urban governments. Related, there is a need for better understanding of economic structural change that is affecting Ethiopia urban areas.
5. **Urban Information Systems:** Aside from demographic and fiscal information, data on urban systems in Ethiopia is very weak. Very little is known concerning the functioning of urban data base in the country, even less on a comparative basis.
6. Questions remain about what this implies for growth and development in Ethiopia. Should policy makers focus resources on encouraging smaller cities to grow, or should they invest in infrastructure to allow larger cities to better support urbanization? Future research need focusing on understanding both the drivers and consequences of urbanization in shaping the spatial allocation of resources, people, and economic activity etc.

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