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Ph.D. degree in **History/Urban Studies**

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THE DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA (ETHIOPIA) AND THE OVERURBANIZATION OF THE CITY, c.1941-c.1974

VOLUME I

By

Getahun Benti

A Dissertation

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in History-Urban Studies

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ABSTRACT

THE DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA (ETHIOPIA) AND THE OVERURBANIZATION OF THE CITY, c.1941-c.1974

By

Getahun Benti

Using primary and secondary sources, this dissertation critically examines the cultural, political, social and economic developments in Ethiopia and their implications for migration to Addis Ababa between 1941-1974. It demonstrates the dynamic relationship between the Ethiopian conquests of the southern provinces in the late nineteenth century, the foundation of Addis Ababa, its phenomenal growth as Ethiopia's political, economic, administrative and modernization center. It contends that the foundation and growth of Addis Ababa was the immediate and a positive outcome of the conquest for two reasons. First, it was an important development of far reaching consequences for the future political economy of the newly created empire. Addis Ababa became a permanent political center and ended the centuries old history of the country's roving capitals. Second, it represented the beginning of Ethiopia's commercial and diplomatic connections to the modern world system. Economically, the city promoted both internal and external trade and became a center of opportunities causing a constant flow of people.

The dissertation also examines the dynamics of migration from the perspective of Addis Ababa's being the center of major national activities:

industries and major economic activities; governmental and non-governmental organizations; educational, health and other basic social services; jobs and employment opportunities; and of service and entertainment industries. The result was the formation of a primate city in one of the world's least developed countries, where the speed of in-migration was much faster than the expansion of opportunities and services. The rural causes of migration to Addis Ababa included the expansion of formal education in the provinces, the nature of land tenure systems, economic, social and cultural factors, especially those associated with women in various Ethiopian communities, and ethnicity.

The dissertation concludes that a combination of all these factors led to large-scale migration to Addis Ababa, eventually resulting in its *overurbanization*, a condition that explains the overpopulation of the city beyond its economic capacity to support.

Migration has put serious pressures and constraints on the growth of Addis Ababa. Because of resource limitations, the city government was unable to provide the necessary services to the population. As the only center of its kind in the nation, Addis Ababa caused the constant inflow of people and resources. Ironically, Addis Ababa became a redistribution center for the country's resources, modern jobs and vital services thus igniting an endless chain of in-migration throughout its history. The findings of this dissertation are, therefore, only part of this longer historical experience.

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To the memory of my niece, Damitu Dheressa

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This dissertation is a product of long years of research, including two years of fieldwork in Ethiopia. Its completion was made possible with support obtained from various individuals and groups. First of all, I am indebted to my Advisor, Professor Harold G. Marcus, whose close supervision and tireless reading of the draft was instrumental to my success. The constructive comments and moral support extended to me by members of my guidance committee, professors Elizabeth Eldredge, Richard Thomas and Leslie Moch, were pertinent to my success. I sincerely thank them all. Although not a member of my committee, Professor David Robinson, has offered me significant support and I sincerely remain thankful to him.

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My career as a student at Michigan State University has introduced me to so many wonderful people that I could not possibly name them all. But my conscience does not allow me to skip one

extraordinarily exceptional person, whose help has been most instrumental. That is Ruth Hamilton, Professor of Sociology and Urban Affairs Programs and Director and Principal Investigator of the African Diaspora Research Project. I met Professor Hamilton soon after my arrival at MSU in September 1991, and worked with her as a research assistant as part of my UAP graduate assistantship duties. I found in her not a dominating boss, but a great intellectual to learn from; not a distant friend, but someone as close as a mother and a sister. Ruth stood by my side during my darkest moments at MSU. Neither words nor money can substitute Ruth Hamilton's support to me. She left a big mark in my life; indeed, too big a mark to reciprocate. I sincerely remain grateful for what she has done for me.

My fieldwork in Ethiopia was made possible with the support and cooperation I received from the staff of the department of history (Addis Ababa University), the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, the Institute of Development Research; the archival departments of the Municipality of Addis Ababa, the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs, the National Urban Planning Institute, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development; the libraries of the Central Statistical Office and the Economic Commission for Africa. I am indebted to all individuals who facilitated my research in these locations. My special thanks go to Aadde Zenebech Bekele, secretary of the Institute of Development Research for her special support.

My informants who sacrificed their precious time and volunteered information, and my friends who helped me locate knowledgeable people for interviews, deserve special mention. The late Tasfaye Manyaqa, who died in TPLF prison, for no crime but for simply being an Oromo, showed great interest in my research and roved with me from one corner of Addis Ababa to the other in search of informants. There is no way I can reciprocate his support in kind. I can only say "God bless him" and "may he rest in peace."

Finally, my sincere thanks go to my father, Obbo Getahun Dabalo, and my mother, Aadde Xayituu Falasa, who with the help of God brought me up and enabled me to be where I am now. The support of my sisters and my brother and their families were incredible and have always been a moving force behind me.

Lastly, I would like to thank the Rockefeller Foundation African Internship Awards Program whose generous financial support made the success of my field research possible.

PREFACE

This study is a product of two years' of fieldwork from August 1995 to July 1997. It is divided into eight chapters each organized around major issues to explain the dynamics of migration to Addis Ababa. The introductory chapter explores pertinent literature on migration. Although literature on migration is abundant, there barely exist theoretical formulations that could be universally extrapolated. The details of dynamics of migration raised in this dissertation are thus largely examined in their historical circumstances peculiar to Ethiopia.

The second chapter introduces Addis Ababa from its foundation in 1887 to the end of this study in 1974, and outlines major developments that led to its primacy in the Ethiopian urban hierarchy. The rest of the chapters detail those major developments and their implications for migration to the city.

The vastness of the topic has not allowed covering other important issues that were either causes or consequences of migration to Addis Ababa. The mismatch between job-seekers and the available jobs led many migrants to engage in other economic opportunities for survival. Some were involved in informal economic activities thus easing the pressure from the government. They were engaged in activities that responded to the immediate needs of, especially poor, people in Addis Ababa thus making the city livable for people without or with little jobs

through the provision of affordable necessities.

Some were engaged in criminal activities for survival, while others became beggars on the streets. Children and the aged formed the largest proportion of the last category, indicative of the absence of any safety net or sufficient welfare system to support them, itself a reflection of the government's financial inability to help city's inhabitants whose number continuously swelled through migration. I leave these as major research agendas for the future.

The study covers the period between 1941 to 1974. The year 1941 marks the restoration of the government of Haile Sellassie after five years (1935/6-1941) of Italian occupation; 1974 marks the overthrow of the emperor and the ascendancy of the military junta onto power. The junta inaugurated a communistic socio-economic and political policy thus laying a clear-cut landmark between the old regime and the military government. There are, however, cases where this study goes beyond these two dates, for comparative reasons or to show the progress and, in some ways the continuity, of events. But this does not in any way distort the analysis and conclusions made for the whole study period.

There are some problems with dates and spelling of personal and place names. Ethiopia follows the eastern calendar, which falls seven/eight years behind the Gregorian calendar. I have converted all of them except in citations. All unconverted dates are indicated as "E.C." meaning Ethiopian Calendar. In some places, where it appears to be

confusing, I also used "G.C." to indicate that it is not "E.C."

The spelling of personal and place names have never been standardized in Ethiopia. Different people spell the same name in different ways (e.g. Taddesse, Tadesse, Taddese, Tadese). The same thing is true with place names (e.g. Shoa, Shewa, Shawa). Although I don't have any justification (linguistic or otherwise), I also followed my own convenience.

Finally, there were several institutions and ministries which kept on assuming new names whenever a new government assumed power or changed names. Or there were even a number of them whose names were changed under the same government, or even the governments themselves changed their names while the names of ministries remained the same or changed. These changes created some inconveniences especially as they had to go under different entries in the bibliography and footnotes (e.g. Central Statistical Office, Central Statistical Authority, Office of Population and Housing Commission; Ministry of National Community Development and Labour Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, etc.). As the changes have not affected their roles, and the titles of their respective publication, remained unchanged, I consistently used CSO for the first category and MNCDSA for the second.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAMPPO	Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office
AAU	Addis Ababa University
CSO	Central Statistical Office
HSIU	Haile Sellassie I University
IEG	Imperial Ethiopian Government
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
MAA	Municipality of Addis Ababa
MLRA	Ministry of Land Reform and Administration
MNCDSA	Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs
MOE	Ministry of Education
MPH	Ministry of Health
MUDH	Ministry of Urban Development and Housing
NUPI	National Urban Planning Institute

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is a brief review of the literature on rural-urban migration and sets an historical context for the dissertation. It is divided into eight sections. The first section surveys the theories of migration as formulated by scholars of various disciplines. The second part discusses the importance of adopting analytical issues as an alternative approach to the study of migration and appraises relevant literature. The organization of this dissertation is largely based on the approach discussed in this second section.

The third and the fourth sections deal with reviews of literature on migration in Ethiopia and to Addis Ababa respectively. These sections set a perspective that studying the pattern and process of migration to Addis Ababa can be best understood within the wider context of migration in imperial Ethiopia.

The fifth section discusses the limitations of historical studies in Ethiopia and their implications for scholarly works. This section identifies three perspectives in Ethiopian historiography and discusses their pertinence to the study of migration to Addis Ababa. While each section reviews the relevant literature, a critique

of available sources is also made in those sections dealing with Ethiopia and Addis Ababa. Section six outlines the nature of the dissertation and introduces what it is all about. Finally sections seven and eight discuss the sources and the methodology employed in retrieving information.

1.1 General

The study of rural-urban migration has been a subject of interest among scholars for over a century.[1] Serious efforts at formulating theories regarding the subject started with E. G. Ravenstein whose work was strongly influenced by the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century and their implications for rural-urban migration.[2] Ravenstein's notion that economic reasons

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[1]Literature on all migrations is too massive to be reviewed in this short chapter. For reviews from different perspectives, see Leszek A. Kosiński and R. Mansell Prothero (eds.), ***People on the Move: Studies in Internal Migration*** (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1975); R. Paul Shaw, ***Migration Theory and Fact: A Review and Bibliography of Current Literature*** (Regional Science Research Institute, Philadelphia, Bibliography Series, No. 5, 1975); Michael P. Todaro, "Migration and Economic Development: A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities," Occasional Paper No. 18 (University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, 1976); Scott D. Grosse, "Rural Development and Rural-Urban Migration: The Elusive Relationship" (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Center for Research on Economic Development, June 1983); Sally E. Findley and Lindy Williams, "Women Who Go and Women Who Stay: Reflections of Family Migration Processes in a Changing World," in ***Population and Labour Policies Programme Working Paper No. 176*** (World Population Programme Research, May 1991).

[2]Ernest George Ravenstein, ***The Laws of Migration*** (Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1976).

were the main causes influenced a generation of scholars.[3] One of these, Everett Lee, amplified Ravenstein's theories by categorizing four factors that affected the decision to migrate: the place of origin, place of destination, personal factors, and intervening obstacles.[4] Lee's categories provide important focuses within which the dynamics of migration could be explored.

Initially, sociologists dominated the study of rural-urban migration. Their coverage was broad and dealt with issues relating to demography[5], geography, sociology proper, social psychology, economics and history.[6] Eventually, however, scholars began investigating the subject within the perspective of their respective disciplines thus furthering our understanding of a complex process.

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[3]According to James Jackson and Leslie Moch, these early scholars "...helped to set our research agenda by focusing attention on the social meaning of migration for individual lives and for the collectivity." James H. Jackson, Jr., and Leslie Page Moch, "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe," in ***Historical Methods***, Vol. 22, Number 1 (Winter 1989), p. 27.

[4]Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," in ***Demography***, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966), pp. 47-57.

[5]See for instance, James J. Zuches, "Migration Methods and Models: A Demographic Perspective," in Robert N. Thomas and John M. Hunter (eds.), ***Internal Migration Systems in the Developing World: With Special Reference to Latin America*** (Boston, Massachusetts: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980), pp. 3-16; Tim Unwin, "Urban-Rural Interaction in Developing Counties: A Theoretical Perspective," in Robert Potter and Tim Unwin (eds.), ***The Geography of Urban-Rural Interaction in Developing Counties*** (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 11-32.

[6]Richard E. Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, ***Migration Surveys in Low Income Countries: Guidelines for Survey and Questionnaire Design*** (London and Sydney: Croom Helm Ltd., 1984), p. 15.

Human geographers focused on spatial patterns and directions of migration, and economic geographers on economic determinants of migration.[7] Both attempted to explain the relationship between migration and distance, volume of migrants, city size, population redistribution, transportation and communications networks and regional economic inequalities.[8] Some scholars used these regional inequalities as units of analysis to explain the migration phenomenon in terms of "push-pull" theories.[9]

Proponents of the "push-pull" theories argue that migration is induced by internally difficult (and sometimes unbearable) conditions such as overpopulation and shortage of land and by externally attractive developments (such as better housing, schools and health facilities; "bright lights") located in cities.[10]

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[7]See among others, Lawrence A. Brown, **et.al.**, "Migration, Functional Distance, and the Urban Hierarchy," in ***Economic Geography***, Vol. 46, No. 3 (July 1970), pp. 472-485; Daniel Courgeau, ***Three Centuries of Spatial Mobility in France*** (Paris: UNESCO, 1983); D. G. Bennett and O. Gade, ***Geographical Perspectives in Migration Research: A Bibliographical Survey*** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Studies in Geography No. 12, 1979); G. J. Lewis, ***Human Migration: A Geographical Perspective*** (London & Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), chapters 3 and 4.

[8]Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, p. 15. See also Andrei Rogers and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Migration, Urbanization, and the Third World Development: An Overview," in Rogers, Andrei (ed.), ***Migration, Urbanization, and Spatial Population Dynamics*** (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1984).

[9]Some scholars argue that the inequalities resulted from unbalanced economic development policies followed by governments. See for example, Samir Amin, "Introduction," in Samir Amin (ed.), ***Modern Migrations in Western Africa*** (London: Oxford University press, 1974), pp. 95-96.

Unfortunately, they tell us little about the roles of socio-cultural and personal factors, language, religion, customs and values, and education.[11]

Based widely on their "perceptions regarding flows of labor and capital,"[12] economists have advanced migration theories both across space (from Europe to the United States) and time (from the 19th century to the present). Thematically, their focus ranged from agricultural economy to industrial economy, from labor market conditions and levels of wages to unemployment.[13] Some viewed migration as a transfer of surplus labor from rural to urban

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[10]Philip E. Ogden, ***Migration and Geographical Change*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 52; Hassaballa Omer Hassaballa, "An Approach to Rural-Urban Migration and Development in Africa: A Case Study of Sudan and Ghana" (Economic and Social Research Council, Khartoum, October 1983), p. 8; John C. Caldwell, ***African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns*** (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969), pp. 87-119; Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Migration and Urbanization in the Third World," Discussion Paper, Number 1245 (Harvard Institute for Economic Research, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 1986), p. 2. For a critique of "push-pull" theories, see Abol Hassan Danesh, ***Rural Exodus & Squatter Settlements in the Third World: Case of Iran*** (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 5-20.

[11]Kamaljit Singh, ***Internal Migration in a Developing Economy*** (New Delhi: National Book Organisation, 1991), p. 30. See also Richard E. Rhoda, "Rural Development and Urban Migration: Can We Keep Them Down on the Farm?," in ***International Migration Review***, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 34-64; Thorsten Hägerstrand, "Migration and Area," in ***Lund Studies in Geography***, Ser. B. 13 (1957), pp. 27-158.

[12]Jackson and Moch, p. 32.

[13]W. A. Lewis, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour," in ***The Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies***, Vol. 22, No 2 (1954), pp. 139-191 (cited in Bilsborrow, p. 16). For issues related to Africa, see Derek Byerlee, "Rural-Urban Migration in Africa: Theory, Policy and Research Implications," in ***International Migration Review***, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1974), pp. 543-566; Todaro, "Migration and Economic Development..."

areas.[14] This theory presupposes the existence of a "dual economy" comprising subsistence and modern industrial sectors, characterized respectively by underemployment and full employment. The problem with this theory is that it assumed a very low productivity and surplus labor in agriculture and greater employment opportunities in the urban sector. Moreover, the "dual economy model of development" (as it is known) ignored the implications of population increases for rural-urban migration. It rather assumed that migration is induced largely by low wages and underemployment in the rural areas.[15]

Other economists considered migration as an investment by the individual based on expected costs and returns over time. This is often called the "human investment theory" or the "human capital approach" to the study of migration. Larry A. Sjaastad, the proponent of this theory, argued that the construction in rural areas of physical, economic and social infrastructures would reduce rural-urban migration. This theory emphasizes that although the construction of roads and transport facilities would reduce the cost of migration, the construction of better houses, expansion of education, health care and entertainment services in

---

[14]See for instance, W. A. Lewis; and J. C. H. Fei and Gustav Ranis, "A Theory of Economic Development," in ***American Economic Review***, Vol. 51, No. 4 (September 1961), p. 534.

[15]Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, p. 16.

the rural areas would hold back potential migrants.[16] Sjaastad's human development approach to the study of migration "...views geographic mobility of workers as a logical response to economic incentives deriving from disequilibria across spatially separated labour markets."[17]

Michael Todaro's widely quoted "rural-urban income differential" theory is perhaps a synthesis of the "rural-labor" transfer and the "human investment" theories of rural-urban migration. For Todaro, the potential migrant, in hopes of future income, makes a conscious decision to obtain employment in a modern urban sector.[18] Todaro's notion was, however, criticized by

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[16]Larry A. Sjaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," in ***Journal of Political Economy***, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part 2 (1962), pp. 80-93.

[17]Aderanti Adepoju, "A Review of Laws and Theories of Internal Migration," in ***Internal Migration and Regional Development in Africa: Proceedings of the Seminar Held at the Regional Institute for Population Studies, 2-8 August, 1985*** (Research Monograph No. 2, 1987), p. 112. For the whole text of his review, see pp.107-125. See also his other work on "Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Tropical Africa: Policy and Research," in Jorge Balàn (ed.), ***Why People Move: Comparative Perspectives on the Dynamics of Internal Migration*** (Paris: UNESCO Press, 1981), pp. 317-336. For a discussion on rural-urban migration in Africa from the perspectives of economic causes, see John Weeks, "Economic Aspects of Rural-Urban Migration," in James Traver (ed.), ***Urbanization in Africa: A Handbook*** (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 181-197.

[18]Michael P. Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," in ***American Economic Review***, Vol. 59, No. 1 (1969), pp. 138-148; and "Migration and Economic Development...," pp. 40-53. The most widely quoted model of Todaro was the one he formulated with John R. Harris in 1969 in which all his other works on migration were synthesized. Even his later works on rural-urban migration were based on his earlier theories. See John R. Harris and Michael P. Todaro, "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis," in ***American Economic Review***, Vol. 60, No. 1 (1970), pp. 126-142. For his later works, see Todaro, "Income Expectations, Rural-Urban Migration and Employment in Africa," in ***International Labour Review***, Vol. 104, No. 5

Richard E. Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, Alan Simmons, et.al., and Kamaljit Singh. First, similar to the "human capital approach," his "income-differential" model assumes that the creation of more jobs in the rural areas would reduce rural-urban migration.[19] Second, he disregarded the uncertainty (lack of consistent development) of the economy of Third World countries.[20] Third, his theory also gives the impression that all potential migrants have equal information about the urban labor market and equal access to urban jobs once they are in towns. Fourth, it is difficult to measure incomes in both the rural and urban areas to determine the differential.[21] Moreover, Todaro's model assumes that all migrants are "homogenous in respect of skills and attitudes and they all look for modern sector jobs where wages are always higher than in the traditional urban sector." [22] Indeed, the

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(November 1971), pp. 387-414; and ***Internal Migration in Developing Countries*** (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1976).

[19]For the critiques, see Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, p. 17; and Alan Simmons, **et.al.**, ***Social Change and Internal Migration: A Review of Research Findings From Africa, Asia, and Latin America*** (A Report of the Migration Review Task Force of the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa : c.1977), pp. 22-23; and Singh, p. 34.

[20]Singh, p. 35.

[21]Hassaballa, p. 10.

[22]Singh, p. 35; and Bilsborrow, **et.al**, p. 17.

model is not new, and migrants are quite rational and head for areas where there is a better chance of success.[23]

The theoretical relationships among migration, expected income, and urban employment formulated by Todaro are, certainly, very important to the study of rural-urban migration.[24] But the model ignored other equally important variables, which affect the decision to migrate. They include education, psychological and socio-cultural as well as information networks. The pertinence of these variables to the study of rural-urban migration has been revealed by other scholars. For instance, R. H. Sabot reported that education was an important factor in Tanzania.[25]

Indeed, most economic theories of migration are policy-oriented and appear to have paid little attention to non-economic factors. Consequently, they failed to analyze "migration at the individual or household level, the level at which migration decisions are usually made."[26] Yet, economists have made

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[23]Amin (1974), p.90.

[24]Todaro, "Income Expectations...," pp. 387-413.

[25]R. H. Sabot, "Education, Income Distribution and Rates of Urban Migration in Tanzania" (Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar-es-Salaam and Institute of Economics and Statistics, Oxford University, March 1972); H. N. Barnun and R. H. Sabot, ***Migration, Education and Urban Surplus Labour***, Employment Series No. 13 (Paris: Development Studies Centre for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1976).

[26]Bilsborrow, **et.al**, p. 15.

significant contributions to our understanding of the economic motives of migration[27] and scholars of various disciplines have adopted their theories whenever necessary. For instance, demographer Caldwell effectively used economic variables to examine the dynamics of rural-urban migration in Ghana. By focusing on the economic aspects of push-pull factors, Caldwell noted that economic motives were causes for the movement of 82 percent of those who had already migrated and 88 percent of those who were so planning.[28]

However, the authenticity of these bold conclusions must be examined in terms of differences in individual traits. All may not have reasons in common to migrate unless there is a society-wide situation. Similarly, particular factors may not be important causes of migration among different countries or even the different regions in the same country. For instance, education, which was very important in Sabot's study of Tanzania, accounted for only 3 per cent of the prospective migrants and 8 per cent of those having migrated in Caldwell's study of Ghana.[29] Therefore, it is important

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[27]R. Paul Shaw, ***Land Tenure and the Rural Exodus in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Peru*** (Tallahassee, Florida: The Rose Printing Company, Incorporated, 1976), pp. 56-57; See also his article, "Land Tenure and Rural Exodus in Latin America," in ***Economic Development and Cultural Change***, Vol. 23, No. 1 (October 1974), pp. 123-132.

[28]Caldwell, p. 89. For details of his findings, see Chapter 4.

[29]***Ibid.***

to examine local factors and carefully determine the type of informants for a better understanding of the causes of migration.

A radical departure from the hitherto popular "push-pull" and "rural-urban income differential"[30] theories was made by a geographer Akin L. Mabogunje. He introduced a "general systems theory" to explain the process of rural-urban migration. His theory challenged the old notion of rural-urban migration "as a linear, uni-directional, 'push and pull' cause-effect movement..." Mabogunje argued that the process is "a circular, interdependent, progressively complex and self-modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole of the system."[31] The degree of economic, social, political and technological advancements would influence the system and "the rural control subsystem (family, local community)" and information feedback would influence the decision of potential migrants. The system is influenced by the "...degree of the integration of the rural economy into the national economy, to the degree of awareness of opportunities outside of the rural areas..."[32]

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[30]See below.

[31]Akin L. Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration," ***Geographical Anal***, Vol. 2 (1970), p. 16.

[32]***Ibid.***, p. 14.

The economic aspect of Mabogunje's theory is, in some ways, similar to the "social theory of migration"[33] and to the views of scholars of development studies.[34] Both groups argue that rural developments would improve the quality of life and reduce migration to towns by narrowing the gap between push and pull factors. Although formulated within an African context, Mabogunje's theory has wider implications.[35] However, Mabogunje did not articulate other intervening factors in the decision to migrate, and the scholars of development studies largely ignored them.

Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars gave a new dimension to the study of migration in Third World countries. They were inspired by the structural inequalities created as a result of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the reduction of Third World countries to dependent peripheries.[36] By focusing on the political economy, social structure, the organization of the society and the

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[33]Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, p. 14.

[34]Among others, see Gerald M. Desmond, "The Impact of National and Regional Development Policies on Urbanization," in Leo Jakobson and Ved Prakash (eds.), ***Urbanization and National Development***, Vol. I, South and Southeast Asia Urban Affairs Annuals (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 68; Victor S. D'Souza, "Green Revolution and Urbanization in Punjab During 1961-71," in S. Manzoor Alam and V. V. Pokshishevesky (eds.), ***Urbanization in Developing Countries***, Indo-Soviet Collaborative Volume (Hyderaba, India: Osmania University, 1976), p. 350.

[35]Kosiński and Prothero, pp. 5-6.

[36]Adepoju (1987), p. 117.

economic mode of production, Marxists and neo-Marxists hold world capitalism responsible not only for the underdevelopment of Third World countries but also for the migration of people to their cities.[37]

Based on developments in Latin America, they argue that by investing in Third World cities world capitalism (international capital) would attract people from the rural areas to the cities. They also argue that by introducing capital-intensive agriculture to the rural areas, world capitalism led to the eviction, rural poverty, and finally to migration of people to big cities.[38] However, their theory has serious limitations. First, it totally ignored individual and local factors. Second, it is too global to explain migration from small regions and as such cannot be easily adapted. Third, rural-urban migration has taken place even in countries where there was little investment of international capital or minimum influence of world capitalism.

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[37]Amin (1974). For a short but excellent review of dependency and related world-system theories, see John D. Kasarda and Edward M. Crenshaw, "Third World Urbanization: Dimensions, Theories and Determinants," in ***American Review of Sociology***, Vol. 17 (1991), pp. 482-483.

Essentially, the study of rural-urban migration has involved scholars of diverse disciplines. Although the degree of emphasis varies from one to another, both demographers and sociologists are concerned with fertility, mortality, population densities, gender and age structures, labor force participation, occupation, and the level of education. But these factors barely explain the general socio-economic and cultural dynamics of rural-urban migration.[39] For instance, density alone is not a determining factor for migration. For economists incomes, wages and unemployment levels are very important, while geographers emphasized distance, transport systems and "central place theories".[40]

1.2 Towards a Better Understanding of the Dynamics of Rural-Urban Migration: A Survey of Analytical Issues

I believe that focusing on specific issues facilitates our understanding of the factors involved in rural-urban migration

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[38]Samir Amin, "Migrations in Contemporary Africa: A Retrospective Review," in Jonathan Baker & Tade Akin Aida (eds.), ***The Migration Experience in Africa*** (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1995), pp. 29-40; Samir Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa–Origins and Contemporary Forms," in Janet Abu-Lughod and Richard Hay, Jr. (eds.), ***Third World Urbanization*** (New York: Methuen, 1985), pp. 140-150; Anthony King, "Colonialism, Urbanism and the Capitalist World Economy," in ***International Journal of Urban and Regional Research***, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1989), pp. 1-18; John Walton, "International Economy and Peripheral Urbanization," in Norman Fainstein and Susan Fainstein (eds.), ***Urban Policy Under Capitalism*** (Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage, 1982), pp. 118-132; and Kasarda and Crenshaw, pp. 474-477.

[39]Simmons, **et.al.**, p. 20. For details, see the whole review chapter. For a very good case study, see Enlid Forde and Milton E. Harvey, "Graphical Analysis of Migration to Freetown," in ***Sierra Leone Geographical Journal***, No. 13 (1968), pp. 13-27.

empirically and theoretically. It is only when focused that the implications of such factors as land tenure, education, gender and socio-cultural factors for rural urban migration can better be understood. By adopting this method, a number of scholars have established the relationship between the expansion of education and the propensity to migrate. Caldwell[41] and Phillip Foster[42] in Ghana, R. H. Sabot[43] in Tanzania and Rempel[44] in Kenya hinted that there was a greater tendency among those who acquired primary or secondary education to migrate to areas of better opportunities. Outside Africa, focused studies from Brazil, Columbia, Taiwan and the Philippines indicate a positive correlation between education and migration.[45] The logic of these interesting findings is that there will be more migrants from the areas with better educational facilities.

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[40]Bilsborrow, **et.al.**, p. 21.

[41]Caldwell, pp. 60-71.

[42]Philip Foster, ***Education, and Social Change in Ghana*** (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1965).

[43]R. H. Sabot, ***Urban Migration in Tanzania*** (Dar-es-Salaam: University of Dar-es-Salaam Economic Research Bureau, National Urban Mobility, Employment and Income Surveys, 1972).

[44]Cited in Michael P. Todaro, "Education and Rural-Urban Migration: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Evidence from Kenya" (Conference on Urban Unemployment in Africa, IDS, Brighton 1971), pp. 18-21.

[45]John Connell, **et.al.**, ***Migration From Rural Areas: The Evidence From Village Studies*** (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 60. See also, Simmons, **et.al.**, p. 24; Caldwell, p. 113.

In another context, education caused rural-urban migration, not because the migrants were educated but because they wanted to be educated.[46] Because education is a "marketable commodity" and entails income,[47] there were cases where parents also migrated to towns, as findings from Ghana indicated, in order to obtain modern education for their children as the only means "to prepare a person for an occupation outside the village economy."[48] The destination is always considered "more dynamic, culturally stimulating ... [and] positively related to in-migration ... [with] differential opportunities between their place of residence."[49] The implications of education for rural-urban migration, indeed, extend beyond the rhetorics of economic and employment possibilities. Education introduces students to the outside world thus preparing them, in socio-psychological terms, to "accept changes beyond the confines of the village." [50]

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[46]Connell, **et.al.**, pp. 66-67; see also Polly Hill, ***Rural Hausa, A Village and a Setting*** (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

[47]Connell, **et.al.**, pp. 61-64. For an interesting analysis of the role of education in rural-urban migration, see Margaret Peil and Pius O. Sada, ***African Urban Society*** (Bath, England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1984), pp. 126-127.

[48]Hassaballa, p. 11. For an excellent review, see Simmons, **et. al.**, p. 24; and for details of the role of education in rural-urban migration in Ghana, see Caldwell, pp. 60-71, 88-91.

[49]Shaw (1976), p. 75.

[50]Peil and Sada, p. 126.

The problem of access to land is a second important analytical issue, complicated by density and high man/land ratios,[51] the shortage of arable land and restrictive land tenure systems. The land factor is also determined by the concentration of ownership, the expansion of large-scale commercial farms and the consequent evictions[52] of resident populations. Some scholars argue that the application of modern farm technologies can solve some of the problems.[53] For each argument, there are counter arguments.

For instance, fragmentation of land in Kenya[54] and inequality of landholdings and landlessness in Latin America[55] were major causes for migration to urban areas. But the abundance of land does not inhibit rural-urban migration, neither does its shortage necessarily cause it. More important is land productivity, which, when high, can sustain even dense populations.[56]

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[51]Connell, **et.al.**, pp. 7-8.

[52]This was typical of Latin and Central American countries. See for instance, Shaw (1976).

[53]See for instance, S. H. Ominde, ***Land and Population Movements in Kenya*** (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968).

[54]Grosse, p. 37.

[55]Shaw (1974), pp. 123-124. For more information and detailed case studies, see Shaw (1976).

[56]F. W. Fush and J. Vingerhoet, ***Rural Manpower, Rural Institutions and Rural Employment in Thailand*** (Bangkok: Manpower Planning Division,

Gender, as an analytical issue is a third important theme. Studies on women in general and on female migrants in particular have remained inadequate. But the last couple of decades have seen the proliferation of women's studies. Research on African women gradually began to focus on their role in maintaining family, production and reproduction processes,[57] in the struggle for economic independence[58] and against oppression.[59] A number of case studies edited by Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter, and by the ILO, have documented the important role that African women played not only in rural and urban economy, but also in social life, arts, literature, politics and liberation movements.[60] Although they were not given equal social status with their male

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National Economic Development Board, 1972), pp. 96-103; See also H. C. Brookfield, "Population Distribution and Labour Migration in New Guinea: A Preliminary Survey," in ***Australian Geographer***, Vol. 7, No. 6 (1960), pp. 233-242; Connell, **et.al.**, pp. 7-14.

[57]See, among others, Christiana E. E. Okojie, "Women in the Rural Economy in Nigeria," in Parvin Ghorayshi and Claire Bélanger (eds.), ***Women, Work, and Gender Relations in Developing Countries: A Global Perspective*** (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 59; and Collette Suda, "The Political Economy of Women's Work in Kenya: Chronic Constraints and Broken Barriers," in Parvin Ghorayshi and Claire Bélanger (eds.), ***Women, Work, and Gender Relations in Developing Countries: A Global Perspective*** (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 77.

[58]Christine Obbo, ***African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence*** (London: Zed Press, 1980).

[59]Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, ***Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*** (London: Zed Press, 1983).

[60]Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (eds.), ***African Women South of the Sahara*** (London and New York: Longman, 1984).

counterparts in their respective societies,[61] women whose husbands migrated without them bore the burdens of maintaining the family in the rural house of origin.[62]

The underlying causes for the migration of women have yet to be investigated. In early modern Europe, movement was related to marriage, employment and social pressures.[63] The same is true for Ethiopia. But because life was difficult in Addis Ababa, a significant number of migrant women were engaged in prostitution for survival. Prostitution is therefore another important analytical issue in the examination of the influx of women to Addis Ababa.

An understanding of the economic, social and cultural circumstances under which women migrate requires an approach from "both ends," the origin and the destination. In this regard, Caldwell's method of collecting information from migrants at their destination and at their origin, those who did not go or were planning to migrate, provides interesting information, but a demanding research strategy. I tried to adopt a similar approach in

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[61]International Labour Office, ***Rural Development and Women in Africa*** (Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 1984).

[62]For interesting case studies on this issue see, Sally E. Findley and Lindy Williams, "Women Who Go and Women Who Stay: Reflections of Family Migration Processes in a Changing World," in ***Population and Labour Policies Programme Working Paper No. 176*** (World Population Programme Research, May1991).

[63]Social pressures include joining family and pregnancies. Leslie Page Moch, ***Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650*** (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 15.

my interviews especially regarding gender issues and their implications for the migration of women to Addis Ababa.

1.3 Ethiopia

Literature on rural-urban migration in Ethiopia is very scanty,[64] to say the least. Even the existing references to migration were generally made in relation to the process of urbanization in the country using data collected by the Central Statistical Office and serially published in *Statistical Bulletins.*

To begin with, the study of urbanization in Ethiopia itself is in its infancy. The dynamics of city growth as a social, economic and cultural process have never been investigated fully. Even then, the process of urbanization is highly politicized in Ethiopian historiography, and the state was regarded as central to city growth. The widely-cited works of Akalou Wolde Michael and Mesfin Wolde Mariam fall into this category.[65] Even Richard Pankhurst, whose contribution to Ethiopian studies is immense,

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[64]It is only Gunilla Bjerén who, in her Shashamanne-focused study, made a good effort to provide a broader historical and theoretical context for the processes of migration in Ethiopia. See Gunilla Bjerén, ***Migration to Shashemene: Ethnicity, Gender and Occupation in Urban Ethiopia*** (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1985), pp. 242-256.

[65]See among others, Akalou Wolde Michael, "Urban Development in Ethiopia in Time and Space Perspective" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967); Akalou Wolde Michael, "Some Thoughts on the Process of Urbanization in Pre-Twentieth Century Ethiopia," in ***Ethiopian Geographical Journal***, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1967), pp. 35-38; Akalou Wolde Michael, "Urban Development in Ethiopia 1889-1925," in ***Journal of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1973), pp. 1-16; Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, "Some Aspects of

by and large, followed the same pattern of argument in his two-volume history of urbanization in Ethiopia.[66] By attributing the course of urban growth largely to political factors, these authors undermined the internal dynamics of the processes of urbanization. However, this trend has been challenged in recent years, first, by examining urbanization from the perspectives of the internal dynamics of societies.[67] During the last fifteen years, the Department of History at Addis Ababa University mobilized both its undergraduate and graduate students toward focusing on local topics for their B.A. essays and M.A. theses.[68] Out of this focused

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Urbanization in Pre-Twentieth Century Ethiopia," in ***Ethiopian Geographical Journal***, Vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1965), pp. 13-20.

[66]Richard Pankhurst, ***History of Ethiopian Towns From the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*** (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); and ***History of Ethiopian Towns From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*** (Weisbaden: Stutgart Steiner Verlag, 1985).

[67]See for example, Alula Abate, "The Growth and Development of Small and Medium-Sized Ketema Settlements in the Harar Highlands," in ***IV Congresso Internationale di Studi Etiopici, Tomo I (Roma, 10-15 aprile, 1972)*** (1974), pp. 727-744; Tesema Ta'a, "The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia," in ***Journal of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (June 1993), pp. 49-72; Donald Crummey, "Some Precursors of Addis Ababa: Towns in Christian Ethiopia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in Ahmad Zekaria, **et. al.** (eds.), ***Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa*** (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, AAU, Addis Ababa: November 1987), pp. 9-31.

[68]The essays and theses are stored in three locations; in the History Department, IES, and the Kennedy libraries. They are too many to list them all here. See among others, Adugna Debele, "The Origin and Development of Awassa Up to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1985); Sintayehu Kasaye, "Goba: Foundation and Development to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1985); Altaye Taddesse, "A Historical Survey of Dembi Dollo, 1880-1941" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1983); Lema Tamene, "Foundation, Growth and Development of Ghimbi Town to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1986); Minale Adugna, "Foundation and Development of Gore Town: 1888-1970" (B.A. Essay, AAU, department of History, June 1987); Michael Yimam, "The Early History of Nekemte Town:

study on urbanization and urban growth came fresh information and successfully added to existing state-centered historiography. Integrating oral and archival sources, the studies analyzed the major socio-economic and political dynamics of urban growth as well as the extent of the role the state played in the process.

The Department of Sociology also encouraged its students to study urban problems such as migration, prostitution, and unemployment.[69] The students joined a few individual researchers in the study of urban Ethiopia. Some of them focused on the role of women in Ethiopian society[70] and others on survival strategies of

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1850-1930s" (B.A. Essay, AAU Department of History, June 1987); Ali Osman, "History of Bonga Town From Its Foundation to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, department of History, June 1984); Almaz Taffesse, "History of Nedjo Town Foundation, Growth and Development up to 1941" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, June 1987); Benti Getahun, "A History of Shashamanne: From Foundation to 1974" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of History, June 1988); Seltene Seyoum, "A History of Bahir Dar Town, 1936-1974" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of History, June 1988).

[69]See for example, Bekalu Molla, "Urbanization and Its Consequences with Particular Reference to Bahr Dar" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, June 1986); Etenesh Wondamagagnehu, "Labour Migration and Relationship with Socio-Economic Change in Addis Ababa with Special Reference to Pilsner Brewery" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, July, 1980); Getachew Araya, "The Municipality and Brothels; Legalized vs. Illegal Prostitution" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, May, 1962); Getahun Gebru, "Prostitution and the Employment Problem in Ethiopia," Prepared for the Central Planning Commission Office/International Labour Office Seminar on ***Population and Employment Planning*** (Debre Zeit, Ethiopia, April 13-17, 1978); Mamitu Zellelow, "Prostitution as Social Problem in Addis Ababa" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, July 1980); Mesfin Mekonnen, "Prostitution One on the Most Social Serious Social Problem in Addis Ababa and Its Social Consequences" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, June 1982).

[70]Hirut Terefe, "The Role of Ethiopian Women in Nation Building" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, 1979); Zenebe Work Tadesse, "Overview of Ethiopian Women," in ***African Seminary on the Changing and Contemporary Role of Women in Society*** (Addis Ababa, December 1975), in ***Women Miscellanea 1*** (in the IES Library).

poor women, especially in Addis Ababa.[71] Some dealt with prostitution[72] and others with street boys.[73]

A number of economists also sought to explain the relationship between Addis Ababa's labor market and unemployment.[74] But it was only the late Eshetu Chole who, using data from the CSO and the Ministry of Education, and focusing on the concentration of educational and health facilities, and industries in Addis Ababa and Asmara, critically examined the unbalanced developments between the rural areas and the two cities.[75] Eshetu concluded that the government collected taxes

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[71]Fekerte Haile, ***Women Fuelwood Carriers in Addis Ababa and the Peri-Urban Forest*** (Report to the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the National Urban Planning Institute (NUPI), Geneva: International Labour Office, Industrial Activities Branch,1992); Laketch Dirasse, "Survival Techniques of Female Migrants in Ethiopian Urban Centers" (A Paper Submitted to the International Congress of Africanist, 3rd Session , December 9-19, 1973, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia).

[72]Laketch Dirasse, ***The Commoditization of Female Sexuality: Prostitution and Socio-Economic Relations in Addis Ababa*** (New York: AMS Press, 1991); Lema Gutema, "The Problem of Prostitution in Urban Areas of Ethiopia" (A Paper on Urban Problems, HSIU, Faculty of Law, June 1968); H. Mayer, "Prostitution and Venereal Diseases in Addis Ababa" (Addis Ababa, August 1962), in ***Pamphlet No. 52*** (in the IES Library).

[73]See for example, Dereje Deressa, "Street Boys: The Peripheral Society," in ***Addis Reporter***, Vol. I, No. 19 (May 9, 1969); Richard J. Hollaway, "Street Boys in Addis Ababa," in ***Community Development Journal,*** Vol. V, No. 3 (July, 1970), pp. 139-144.

[74]Belihu Badi, "Urban Labour Market in Relation to Unemployment: A Case Study of Addis Ababa" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, Department of Economics, May 1972).

[75]Eshetu Chole, "Urbanization and Its Effects on the Rural Ethiopian Economy," compiled by Marina Ottaway, ***Urbanization in Ethiopia: A Text with Integrated Readings*** (AAU, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, June 1976), pp. 186-203. For a similar line of argument from a geographer's perspective, see Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "The Rural-Urban Split," in ***Dialogue***, Vol. II, No. 1 (1968). There are two other works by economists, which dealt with issues that have

from the rural people which it invested in the two cities. This created a parasite-host relationship between the two cities and their hinterlands in which the former grew and enjoyed the benefits of modernization at the expense of the latter. Despite his penetrating analysis, Eshetu did not examine the effect of those developments on migration to Addis Ababa.

Geographers have also made some progress in three important ways. The first group attempted to examine the relationship between population increase, urbanization and migration.[76] The second, especially Bekure Woldesemait, made an insightful study of the process of industrialization and the labor

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implications for migration to Addis Ababa. But they are not thorough enough to explain the connections in detail. See, Taye Mengistae, "Urban-Rural Relations in Agrarian Change: An Historical Overview," in Siegfried Pausewang, **et.al.** (eds.), ***Ethiopia: Options for Rural Development*** (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1990), pp. 3-37; and Tekle Birhan G. Michael, "Urbanization and Economic Development with an Exploratory Study on Ethiopia" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, Department of Economics, 1969).

[76]Alula Abate, "Demography, Migration and Urbanization in Modern Ethiopia," in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), ***An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974***, Vol. 1 (Oxford: CODESRIA Book Series, Antony Rowe Ltd., 1995), pp. 277-327; and "Urbanization and National Development in Ethiopia," in ***Proceedings of the Seminar on Regional Planning and Development in Ethiopia, Held in Ambo, April 14-17, 1983*** (AAU, IDR, September, 1983); Mekete Belachew, "Spatial Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia (with Emphasis on the Primate Pattern of Urban Development)," in ***Ethiopian Journal of Development Research***, Vol. 12, No. 2 (AAU, IDR, April 1990); J. Comhaire, "Urbanisation in Ethiopia," in ***Dialogue***, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1967), pp. 26-33; Ronald Horvath, "The Process of Urban Agglomeration in Ethiopia," in ***Journal of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (July 1970); Kebede Mamo, ***Migration and Urbanization in Ethiopia*** (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education, Institute of Curriculum Development and Research, 1994); Kebede Mamo, "Migration and Urban Development in Ethiopia: The Case of Nazareth" (M.Sc. Thesis, AAU, Department of Geography, 1991).

force in and around Addis Ababa[77] focusing on the concentration of industries in the city and its effect in pulling migrants from different parts of the country. Chapter IV of this dissertation has benefited from his work.

A third group of geographers closely examined the process of migration from rural areas to commercial farms. The works of Beyene Dolicho and Helmut Kloos, later joined by two historians, Bizuwork Zewde and Regassa Bayissa,[78] are the first of their kind dealing with the expansion of foreign-financed commercial farms and the eviction of the local people. The works of these scholars are pertinent to the analysis of the Marxist and neo-Marxist theory of migration in the Ethiopian context.

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[77]Bekure Woldesemait, "The Industrial Labour Force in Addis Ababa Region Before 1975: Origins, Expectations and Realities," in ***Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26-29 April 1982*** (1984), pp. 603-616; "Industrial Development in Addis Ababa Area (A Miniature Capitalist Penetration)," in ***Journal of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. XVII (1984), pp. 37-61; and "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia and the Socio-Economic Consequences: The Example of the Addis Ababa Region," in ***Proceedings of the Seminar on Industrial Transformation in Ethiopia Held in Nazareth, January 18-20, 1980*** (AAU, IDR, July 1983), pp. 133-192.

[78]Beyene Dolicho, "The Pattern, Causes and Consequences of Labour Migration to Metehara Estate and Neighbouring State Farms" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of Geography, 1985); Helmut Kloos, "Farm Labour Migrations in The Awash Valley of Ethiopia," in ***International Migration Review***, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.133-168; Bizuwork Zewde, "The Jille Community and the Wonji Sugar Factory" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, June 1985); Regassa Bayissa, "Labour Migration in the Commercial Farms of the Upper Awash Valley" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of History, August 1993).

Standard references on migration in Ethiopia are the various publications of the Central Statistical Office.[79] Although they do not cover more than a third of the period under discussion, they are the only documents containing comprehensive migration data on age and sex structures, education, origins, marital status, and religious composition of the city's population. Although these statistics are all vital to the study of migration to Addis Ababa, they have three important shortcomings. First, they do not contain information regarding the reasons for the migration of the people to the city. Second, ethnic compositions are confused with mother languages spoken at home. Finally, the data are either incomplete or manipulated for political reasons and must thus be used with great care. Yet, the CSO materials comprise a major source for researchers of various disciplines,[80] and a cautious use of them is made in this work.

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[79]They are various issues of ***Statistical Bulletins*** and ***Statistical Abstracts***.

[80]See for instance, Hadgu Bariagaber, "The Role of Demographic Information in Planning for Urban Growth and Development in Ethiopia," in ***Proceedings of the Seminar on Development Planning and Demographic Analysis: The Case of Ethiopia*** (Addis Ababa: AAU, IDR, Demographic Training and Research Centre, 1988); Shiferaw Tesfaye, "A Comparative Urban Demographic Analysis and Implications of Demographic Processes on Urban Development in Ethiopia: With More Emphasis on Addis Ababa" (A Paper Submitted as a Partial Fulfillment of a Course on the "Demography of Ethiopia" (Demg.655), AAU, IDR, Demographic Training and Research Centre, June 1988).

1.4 Addis Ababa

It is a paradox that a city as large as Addis Ababa is little studied. However, Peter Garretson provides an historical outline of the city's growth up to 1910,[81] and E. Berlan made a similar study of the city focusing on its site, origins, growth, population and economy.[82] Geographer Ronald Horvath studied Addis Ababa's interactions with the surrounding areas and its impacts on them,[83] while Eric Martin Johnson made a good description of the evolution of the morphology of the city.[84] Recently, an historian Tekalign Wolde Mariam recently produced a study focusing on the city's extraction of food supply from its hinterlands.[85] Other studies on Addis Ababa are too localized to give a comprehensive picture of the city.[86]

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[81]See Peter Garretson, "A History of Addis Ababa From Its Foundation in 1886 to 1910" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1974). See also, the works of Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundation and Growth of Addis Ababa to 1935," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1962), pp. 33-61; "Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa," in ***Journal of African History***, Vol. 2 (1961); and "The City Fifty Years Ago," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. 1, No. 2 (March 1957), pp. 60-66.

[82]E. Berlan, ***Addis-Abéba: La Plus Haute Ville d'Afrique*** (Allier, Grenoble, 1963).

[83]Ronald Horvath, "Around Addis Ababa: A Geographical Study of the Impact of a City on Its Surroundings" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966).

[84]Martin Eric Johnson, "The Evolution of the Morphology of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).

[85]Tekalign Wolde Mariam, "A City and Its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply For Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1887-1974)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1995).

Studies on migration to Addis Ababa provide scanty and fragmented information. As in most other cases, CSO data are the major sources for the study of migration to the city. Indeed, they include vital data, especially demographic information relating to mortality, fertility, age and sex structures, religion, literacy, provincial origins and "mother tongues" which were often confused with "languages spoken at home." Although these studies are important for the analysis of the characteristics of migrants, data collection in the immediate post-1941 period was not complete, and gaps were filled in by estimates thus diminishing their accuracy. But for general works focusing on the major dynamics of migration rather than on detailed issues, CSO data can be used cautiously and ambiguities can be checked through oral interviews.

There are four works worth mentioning that directly address migration to Addis Ababa. The first one is by Susanne Comhaire-Sylvain who made an independent sample survey of migrants in the city.[87] Although her system of data collection was similar to

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[86]The most recent work on Addis Ababa is by Corrado Diamantini and Domenico Patassini, ***Addis Abeba, Villaggio Capitale di un Continente: Studi Urbani e Regionali*** (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1993).

[87]Susanne Comhaire-Sylvain, "Considerations on Migration in Addis Ababa" (Prepared for the University Collage of Addis Ababa, 5 April 1962); and "Migration," in "Social Survey of Addis Ababa" (Carried out by the Study Group of the University College of Addis Ababa Under the Auspices of the Municipality of Addis Ababa and the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, 1960), pp. 12-56.

that of the CSO, her study was invaluable in that it contained the reasons why migrants came to Addis Ababa and their rural occupations. This information is very helpful in capturing the problems at origins that induced migration.

The second important work is by J. A. Hellen and Mohammed Said,[88] who examined migration to Addis Ababa from the perspectives of the relationship between distance and tenancy using sources from the CSO and the ministry of land reform. The third was by John J. Palen[89] and the fourth by Arkabe Asgadom.[90] These two authors reviewed migration in terms of the city's population and simply summarized data from the CSO. Consequently their work does not add much to our understanding of the whole process. However, I have benefited from the works, approaches and methodologies of Comhaire, and Helen and Said.

There are a few studies dealing with specific issues in Addis Ababa that contain invaluable references to migration, including works on voluntary urban social and self-help associations[91] and

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[88]J. A. Hellen and Mohammed Said, "Patterns of Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia," in ***Aspects of Population Change and Development in Some African and Asian Countries*** (CDC Research Monograph Series No. 9, Cairo Demographic Centre, Cairo, Egypt, 1984), pp. 297-318.

[89]John J. Palen, "Urbanization and Migration to an Indigenous City: The Case of Addis Ababa," in Anthony H. Richard and Daniel Kubat (eds.), ***Internal Migration: The New World and the Third World*** (London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Ltd., 1976), pp. 205-224.

[90]Arkebe Asgedom, "Analysis of Some Aspects of Responses for Migration of the Addis Ababa Migrants" (Addis Ababa, AAMPPO, NUPI, Demographic Section, September 1985).

specific ethnic-related studies.[92] Scholarship on urban planning[93] and problems, also contain invaluable references to migration because they analyze problems associated with population

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[91]Alemayehu Seifu, "Eder in Addis Ababa: A Sociological Study," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. 12 (1969), pp. 8-18, 31-33; William A. Shack, "Notes on Voluntary Associations and Urbanization in Africa, with Special Reference to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia," in ***African Urban Notes***, Series B, No. 1 (Michigan State University, African Studies Center, 1975), pp. 5-10; Fekadu Gedamu, "Urbanization, Polyethnic Group Voluntary Associations and National Integration in Ethiopia," in ***Ethiopian Journal of Development Research***, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 71-80. For a very short account on Addis Ababa's population, see C. K. Wang, "The Population of Ethiopia's Metropolis," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. I, No. 2 (March 1957), pp. 56-59; and for a general description of life and developments in Addis Ababa, see Tajabe Beyene, ***አዲስ አበባ ትናገር*** translated as: "Let Addis Ababa Speak" (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1968 E.C.)

[92]William A. Shack "Urban Ethnicity and the Cultural Process of Urbanization in Ethiopia," in A. Southall (ed.), ***Urban Anthropology*** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 251-285; Asmerom Legesse, "Addis Ababa: A Profile of Ethnicity and Occupational Structure," in ***Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 13-16, 1978***, Session A (Chicago, USA: 1978); Jonathan Baker, "The Gurage of Ethiopia: Rural-Urban Interaction and Entrepreneurship," in Jonathan Baker and Poul Ove Pederson (eds.), ***The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*** (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1992), pp. 125-147; Gurage Exhibition Committee, ***The Gurages and Their Social Life*** (Addis Ababa: Silver Jubilee Exhibition, Commercial Printing Press, 1955); Samuel Tucho, "Dorze Weavers of Addis Ababa, With Special Emphasis on the Shiro Meda Community" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1984); William A. Shack, ***The Gurage: A People of Ensete Culture*** (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Shimelis Bonsa, "Migration, Urbanization and Urban Labour Undertakings: The Case of the Kistane of Addis Ababa, c.1900-1974" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, Department of History, 1997); Yishak Degefu, "The History of Dorze Safar From Its Foundation up to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1992); Dexter Burley, "The Despised Weavers of Addis Ababa," in ***Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 13-16, 1978***, Session B (Chicago, USA: 1978), pp. 145-149; Jean Comhaire and Susanne Comhaire-Sylvain, "Some Aspects of Urbanisation in Ethiopia," Presented at the Meeting of Social Research Fieldworkers in Northern Africa (Addis Ababa, HSIU, April 1967), pp. 8-13.

[93]See among others, "Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Town Plan," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. I, No. 2 (1957), pp. 35-44; Bolton, Hennessey & Partners, "Addis Ababa Municipality, Report on the Development Plan," Mimeographed (Addis Ababa: May 1961); F. J. C. Amos, "Housing and Town Planning," in "Social Survey of Addis Ababa, 1960" (Carried out by a Study Group of the University College of Addis Ababa Under the Auspices of the Municipality of Addis Ababa and the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa), pp. 104-118; Techeste Ahderom

increase,[94] one major indicator of rural-urban migration. Likewise, documents on urban planning (social, economic, physical) contain important references to migration.[95]

1.5 The Perspective

Although migration to Addis Ababa is part of the political economy of north-south migration in modern Ethiopia, the scarcity of adequate research makes it difficult to draw a clear historical perspective. The problem originates in the extreme politicization of Ethiopian history whereby genuine discourse on the cultural, economic, social and political fabric of the ethnic groups either as separate units or as components of the whole has largely been unwelcome for political reasons. History in Ethiopia is engrained

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and Paolo Celccarelli, "Addis Ababa Master Plan Final Project (Executive Summary)" (Addis Ababa, AAMPPO, NUPI, 1990.)

[94]Kebereab Abebe, "Urban Public Housing in Ethiopia: An Overview" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, June 1987); John J. Palen, "Housing in a Developing Nation: The Case of Addis Ababa," in ***Land Economics***, Vol. 50, No. 4 (1974), pp. 428-434; Serkalem Berhanu, "The Development of Addis Ababa as a City with Special Emphasis on its Housing Problems" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, June 1992); Seyoum Gebre Selassie, "Some Aspects of Social Problems and Services in Ethiopia" (AAU, 1968 in the IES Library, February); Shegen Negash, "Urban Transport and Problems with Particular Reference to Addis Ababa" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Economics, June 1986); Sileshi Tefera, "Water Supply in Addis Ababa: A Brief Historical Geographic Survey" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, Department of Geography, 1964).

[95]F. J. C. Amos, "A Development Plan for Addis Ababa," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. VI, No. 1; (1962), pp. 5-16; "Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Town Plan"; Yibeltal Gebeyehu, "Physical Growth of Addis Ababa: Implication on Infrastructure Development" (NUPI, 1989). There are many planning related works on Addis Ababa especially in the 1980s where the military government initiated a large-scale planning of the city. The most important of these works is the final report (NUPI, 1990) by Engineer Techeste Ahderom who headed the planning team.

with what John Markakis called "'state nationalism' in the guise of 'national integration'" which is represented by the group that controlled power. Markakis noted that:

> ...the language of the Amhara and Christianity became the salient features of Ethiopian nationalism...Consequently, integration was premised on assimilation into what was presented as the superior culture of the ruling ethnic group. In Ethiopia, no other indigenous language was allowed to be printed, broadcast or spoken in public functions, and ***attempts to study the culture and history of other groups were decidedly discouraged.***[96] [Emphasis mine.]

Another Ethiopianist scholar, Edmond Keller, also noted that "Amhara culture was implicitly presented as the defining trait of the 'Ethiopian' nationality. In other words, the state was at a fundamental level based in the Amhara language and the Orthodox religion."[97] The problem of studying migration to Addis Ababa is part of this general problem of a politically- manipulated Ethiopian historiography.

It is a historiography characteristic of hegemonic states, especially those dominated by a single ethnic group where government creates favorable social, economic and political atmosphere for its ethnic constituents. For instance, in the former

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[96]John Markakis, "Ethnic Conflict & the State in the Horn of Africa," in Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis (eds.), ***Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*** (London: James Currey Ltd., 1994), p. 225.

[97]Edmond J. Keller, "The Ethnogenesis of the Oromo Nation and Its Implications for Politics in Ethiopia," in ***Journal of Modern African Studies***, Vol. 33, No. 4 (1995), p. 628.

Yugoslavia, the political system favored the migration of Serbs.[98] In Ethiopia, it favored the migration of the Amhara-Tigray.

As an historian, I draw three broad historical perspectives from the historiography of Ethiopia that can be used as tools to explain the processes of migration in the country. They are the northern, the centrist, and the southern perspectives, each with insights on the migration of people in Ethiopia.

Scholars of the northern perspective (viewing Ethiopian history from positions of Amhara-Tigrayans) conceptualize Ethiopia as a holistic unit, emphasizing the Biblical origin of Ethiopian history and its Semitic connections.[99] By marginalizing the southerners, they failed to integrate the diverse ethnic groups in the region into the historiography of the country. The northern

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[98]Oli Hawrylyshyn, "Ethnicity as a Barrier to Migration in Yugoslavia: The Evidence from Interregional Flows and Inmigration to Belgrade," in Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger (eds.), ***Internal Migration: A Comparative Perspective*** (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1977), p. 380. For a broader discussion on Yugoslavia, see Jack C. Fischer, ***Yugoslavia-A Multinational State: Regional Difference and Administrative Response*** (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1966).

[99]Edward Ullendorff, The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Richard Pankhurst, The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century (Lawrenceville, N. J.: Red Sea Press, 1997); Richard Pankhurst, The Ethiopians (Oxford, Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998). In his recent article published in the journal of Addis Ababa University Teachers Association, Bahru Zewde has made a penetrating analysis and an insightful conclusion about the debates surrounding Ethiopian history. Yet, he strongly emphasized the northern version of the 3000-year history of the empire. See Bahru Zewde, "የሦስት ሺህ ወይስ የመቶ ዓመት ታሪክ?" translated as "Three Thousand or One Hundred Years' History" in Amharic, in Dialogue, Journal of Addis Ababa University Teachers Association, 3rd Series, Vol. I, No. 1 (Addis Ababa: March 1992), pp. 1-15.

perspective simply views the north-south migration as part of the centuries-old movement. In reality, this perspective reinforces the Amhara-Tigrayan obsession of imposing their domination over non-Semitic southerners in the name of re-uniting biblical Ethiopia whose exact boundary is yet to be defined. This thesis fails to explain the favorable economic and political positions in which the northerners, especially the Amhara, placed themselves by virtue of their control of the state power.[100] They do not want to admit the vertical and horizontal mobility of the Amhara in the political, economic and social landscape of the nation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This upward mobility fueled the migration of the Amhara from north to south and to Addis Ababa in the period under discussion.

The second perspective, which I call the centrist, includes scholars who viewed Ethiopian history from the positions of the rulers. They focus mainly on modern Ethiopian history, especially since the reign of Menilek II, the emperor who, through conquest and imposition of Amhara rule, shaped the present political map of the country. For some scholars, this view is an extension of the northern perspective.[101] For centrist scholars, Menilek's conquest

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[100]Currently, it is favoring the Tigres who established an unprecedented coercive ethnic rule since May 1991.

[101]Although he did not appreciate Haile Sellassie's role in the post-1941 period, Bahru Zewde's book is representative of the centrist perspective. ***A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1974*** (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1991).

of the south represented a departure in northern Ethiopian history and symbolized the transition to nation (empire) building through the conquest of the vast southern provinces.[102] Consequently, they examined the dynamics of modern Ethiopian history from the center and from the role that the rulers played in shaping and reshaping of the nation they were building.[103] The policies introduced by these rulers affected the political, economic and social life of all the peoples of the empire. In this respect, Harold Marcus' book on Menilek's conquest of the south, and his subsequent works on Haile Sellassie's endeavor to bring economic and social changes are most relevant. This work has much to benefit from these scholars as some of these changes introduced by the rulers from the center have considerable implications for migration to Addis Ababa.

The southern perspective is the antithesis of the northern perspective, yet not in full agreement with the centrist perspective

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[102]Harold G. Marcus, ***The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913*** (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

[103]Marcus (1975); ***Haile Sellassie I: The Formative Years, 1892-1936*** (Lawrenceville, New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1995); Haile Sellassie I, ***My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892-1937***, Vol. I (translated and annotated by Edward Ullendorff (London: Oxford University Press, 1976): Haile Sellassie I, ***My Life and Ethiopia's Progress***, Vol. II (translated, edited and annotated by Harold Marcus (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994); Christine Sandford, ***The Lion Of Judah Hath Prevailed: Being the Biography of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I*** (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1955); David Abner Talbot, ***Haile Selassie I Silver Jubilee*** (The Hague: W.P. Van Stockum & Zoon, Publishers, 1955); Emmanuel Abraham, ***Reminiscences of My Life*** (Oslo, Norway: Lunde Forlag, 1995).

either.[104] Scholars in this group explain the last one hundred years of Ethiopian history from the perspective of the victims of Menilek's conquest and of his successors from a bottom-up and from peripheral perspective. They claim the south has no historical connection with Semitic Ethiopia and consider that the north intruded on the very existence of the southerners. The nineteenth century conquest and the subsequent occupation represented oppression and exploitation of colonial proportions. They view north-south migration as a deliberate policy of the state to strengthen its grip on the southern peoples. The counter-perspective offers an opportunity to investigate Ethiopian history from the viewpoint of the victims and not the state. The southern view provides historical explanations to the factors and problems involved in the migration of the southerners to Addis Ababa.

In one way or the other, the three perspectives give insights on the north to south migration of people in Ethiopia since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The diminution of resources in the north and the need to secure a permanent control over the resources of the south led to Addis Ababa's growth as the seat of

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[104]See among others, Asafa Jalata, ***Oromia & Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethnonational Conflict, 1868-1992*** (Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers, 1993); Bonnie K. Holcomb, Sisai Ibssa, ***The Invention of Ethiopia: The Creation of a Dependent Colonial State in Northeast Africa*** (Trenton, N. J.: Red Sea Press, 1990); Gemetchu Megersa, "The Oromo and the Ethiopian State Ideology in a Historical Perspective," in ***Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. II (Kyoto, 12-17 December 1997), pp. 479-485.

the state and as a major economic and modernization center. The growth attracted people to the city.

1.6 The Objectives of the Dissertation

By using data from various sources, this dissertation analyzes the historical, economic, social, cultural and political forces influencing migration to Addis Ababa between 1941 and 1974. In doing so, the dissertation attempts:

1) to show the temporal and spatial patterns of migration in Ethiopia in general, and then contextualize migration to Addis Ababa within that historical perspective;
2) to examine the role of Menilek's conquest of the southern provinces in the last quarter of the nineteenth century on migration of people from north to south in general and to Addis Ababa in particular;
3) to investigate the concentration of major economic activities and modern social services in Addis Ababa and their implications for migration to the city;
4) to analyze factors that affect the migration of different ethnic groups to Addis Ababa focusing on the first four major ethnic groups which constitute over 90 per cent of the city's population.

In order to better understand the interplay of these factors, the dissertation makes a comparative approach on the basis of a

north-south dichotomy. This approach gives flexibility to spell out how differences in the economies and socio-cultural organizations of ethnic groups in Ethiopia affected their migration to Addis Ababa.

Finally, this dissertation contributes to the wider scholarship on migration to African capitals focusing on local factors. To date, most studies on migration in Africa focused on major colonial cities in West Africa or on mining towns in Southern Africa. Moreover, compared to other major geographical regions in Africa, rural-urban migration to cities in Eastern Africa is much under studied. The study of migration to Addis Ababa, the largest city in the region, thus represents a remarkable leap.

1.7 Source Locations and Descriptions

The absence of written sources on migration to Addis Ababa necessitated fieldwork for two years during which available library and archival materials were consulted. A number of carefully selected informants were also interviewed.

Sources from Addis Ababa University (AAU) libraries are deposited at four locations; at the main library, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), the Institute of Development Research (IDR), and History Department collection. Although sometimes duplicate, they all carry collections of wide-ranging historical

importance. Of all, the IES library houses invaluable original documents that one cannot find anywhere.

The collections in the history department's reading room are composed of B.A. essays and M.A. theses. In the last two and a half decades the department encouraged its undergraduate history students to write their B.A. essays on Ethiopian topics. Likewise, ever since the inception of its graduate program, the department of history adopted a policy that its M.A. students should write their theses on Ethiopian topics. At both levels, a number of students carried out researches on urbanization and urban-related issues in the country.[105] Despite such encouraging progress in urban studies, only a very few of them treated Addis Ababa, especially focusing on the history of urban quarters (*safar*) and their founders. Indeed, some of them are very vital for the history of the early years of Addis Ababa as they contain invaluable information on the settlement patterns and organization of the city. Some of them shed light on the ethnic composition of the founders of the urban quarters and their followers that is useful for the analysis of the later flow of ethnic migration to the city.

A number of history graduate students examined the process of urbanization and urban growth in the country and produced

[105]As indicated above undergraduate students of other departments, especially from sociology, have also produced urban-related B.A. essays of equal importance.

higher-level research work. Only two of them wrote on topics concerning Addis Ababa, and only one, by Shimelis Bonsa, is pertinent to this work. Shimelis focused on the migration of the Kistane clan of the Gurage group to Addis Ababa.[106] Although the works of the other graduate students did not deal with topics on Addis Ababa, some of the issues they treated in their respective study areas could not be explained without reference to the capital in which way they provide pertinent information for my dissertation. I have also benefited from my own urban-focused M.A. thesis on the town of Shashamanne.[107] In doing so, the department of history and its students have made a remarkable contribution to the study of urbanization in the country. Copies of their research works are thus deposited in the department's reading room.

There are three other libraries with important collections: one belongs to the National Urban Planning Institute (NUPI) under the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing; the second to the Central Statistical Office (CSO); and the third to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

NUPI has a small but well-organized library where research works on selected Ethiopian towns are kept and made available for

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[106]Shimelis Bonsa (1997).

[107]Benti (1988).

researchers. Although most of them dealt with urban planning, they contain essential information on demography, migration and other vital statistics. For a large part NUPI's researches focused on Addis Ababa which were initiated by the military government organized as the Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office (AAMPPO). The unplanned growth of the city alerted the government to seek a long-lasting solution. The renowned urban planner, Engineer Techeste Ahderom, was appointed to head the office. He initiated a comprehensive research on Addis Ababa's past and present in order to shape its future. He launched extensive research on problems associated to Addis Ababa's planning, population, migration, its relations with the hinterlands and their implications for its overall growth. Unfortunately, with the exception of the urban planning part, the rest focused on developments in the 1970s and 1980s.

The CSO also has a own library where its findings from survey data and publications are made available for public consumption. Although most of them are published and could be reached in AAU libraries, the CSO library has the most serially complete data. Finally, the ECA has a big library with important collections relating to various aspects of African studies. The ILO collection of this library has various materials on issues relating to urbanization and urban problems in Africa. And the study of

migration is an important topic used to explain these urban problems. The last major library is the Michigan State University library where the rest of the sources for this work are consulted.

The Ministry of Urban Development and Housing has been responsible for issues related to planning, development and administration of towns in the country. As such official documents and correspondences regarding most towns were located in the archives of this ministry. Although, theoretically, Addis Ababa is under this ministry, it was a chartered city with autonomous government. But most correspondences made about the capital had copies in this ministry. Although this ministry houses countless archival materials from the Italian period to 1974, they are disappointingly dumped into a dusty underground floor of the complex. They are piled on one another, most of them torn into pieces and others shredded. Sadly enough, records of irrecoverable historical importance are being destroyed.

The Municipality of Addis Ababa is the most important location for archives (official documents and correspondences) used in this study. The absence of written sources on migration to Addis Ababa necessitated an extensive and long search into municipal archives located in three different places.

Two of them are well organized and systematically preserved. The first contains information regarding the administration,

finance and economic growth of the city, and the second contains archives with information on urban land and housing. The third one is composed of "dead files" of tens of thousands of dossiers shreded and dumped onto the underground floor of the new municipal building in the center of the city. Its destruction is being speeded up by moisture caused by leakage. The government allows access to no one under the pretext that they contain information regarding the Derg's (the military junta that ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991) unpopular red terror. But except one, all the dossiers I saw had no relation with that event.

The Ministry of Community Development and Social Affairs houses the most organized and well-preserved archival materials. It is indexed and can be located easily. Invaluable information on labor and employment, urban social problems, the origins of prostitutes and job seekers all of which have more bearing on migration to Addis Ababa are found in this ministry.

Uncharacteristic of the Imperial and the Derg eras, the problem of access to archival locations is much more serious under the current government. Both the imperial and the military governments did encourage and facilitate research and the growth of intellectual work. The Emperor made efforts to promote the expansion of education and research. Despite its unpopularity in many respects, the military government has also respected the

value of education and gave every cooperation to researchers. I am one of the generation of scholars who did my research during the military regime.

The current Ethiopian government, however, is uncooperative in most cases, indeed, this is characteristic of coercive governments who always feel insecure and consider researchers faultfinders. A case in point is the archives of the ex-Ministry of the Interior. It is one of the oldest ministries in the country. Until the opening of other ministries it was in charge of almost every activity ranging from urban affairs to health, education to police and to internal security, and from finance to administration and tax collections. The 1995 reorganization of Ethiopia's administrative structure made this ministry defunct, and its offices, including its precious archival department, were closed.

Although it stopped functioning, the old ministry was put under the authority of the Prime Minister's office, from which, theoretically, anyone seeking access to it would get permission. The reality, however, is quite the opposite. I tried four times and each time, I was told to wait for about three months but in vain. The reason repeatedly given was that there is no worker to open the office, and that I had to wait until such a worker is hired. I heard researchers from AAU making similar complaints.

But this problem was largely compensated by spending six months in the municipal archives. The most important legacy of the imperial government regarding official correspondence and documents is that copies were sent to as many offices as possible. If one cannot find the original document in one office, he can find a copy in another. All letters and documents originating from or destined for the Municipalities' Department of the Ministry of the Interior are thus found in the archival department of the municipality of Addis Ababa. But, the denial of access to the former made longer research in the latter very crucial.

Even access secured to those archives, which were dumped on the underground floors at the two locations indicated above, came with many difficulties. There is no one responsible for them. Interestingly, the person who keeps the key for the locked municipal archives is no longer an employee of the municipality. Because of political reasons, he is made to keep the key and the municipality, who owns the archives, has no power over him. Consequently, my success in accessing those archives was based on my own effort to win the favor of the person rather than as part of my right as an Ethiopian.

1.8 Methodology

Primary and secondary sources found in AAU libraries were first surveyed carefully. They are simply categorized into those dealing with urbanization and urban growth in Ethiopia, economic development and growth in the period covered by this dissertation, and social and cultural issues that affect human mobility. Materials directly dealing with various aspects of Addis Ababa were also collected separately. The information in each category is then interpreted and analyzed in terms of their relationships to Addis Ababa's growth and their effects on migration to it.

I then proceeded to archival research to seek new information to add to and/or corroborate what had been collected from library search.

The third stage of the research was the interview stage. The absence of studies on this subject and the loopholes created in the first two sources made oral information indispensable. The informants were carefully selected to secure the required information. They include peoples of different age, sex, ethnic, religious and educational backgrounds.

Informants were interviewed both individually and in groups. Because the subject being studied is vast, and needs open-ended questions and answers to get as much information as possible, there were no pre-set questionnaires. Different informants were

repeatedly asked selected questions at different times. In some cases individual informants who were asked similar questions were grouped together to respond to the same questions, not knowing that each had been contacted previously. This method helped to exploit their collective memories, and resolve controversial issues. The fact that the study dealt with recent and relatively contemporary issues, in which most of the informants lived and/or witnessed most of the developments discussed in the dissertation, made the authentication of their testimonies easier. A great many of them were migrants themselves, others were government officials and civil servants who participated in responsibilities that affected the lives of the migrants and the history and growth of Addis Ababa directly or indirectly. In short, they are people shaped by their life experiences, and with accumulated knowledge that I sought for my work.

There are areas in which some migrants were not willing to volunteer information. Almost all women tell freely the causes of their migration to Addis Ababa. Once in the city, however, those who were engaged in prostitution, formal or informal, evade questions relating to their profession, although it is obvious that the need to authenticate the information in the text warrants the acquisition of such information. This was compensated for by

many other prostitutes who volunteered the information on condition that they remain anonymous. I agreed.

The current political atmosphere has also a negative implication for the retention of oral sources, especially on issues relating to politics and ethnicity. The history of Addis Ababa and migration to it cannot be written without explaining the politics and ethnic composition of the country. Since the coming to power the present day Tigrayan-dominated government in Ethiopia in 1991, people from the former ruling ethnic group (the Amhara) felt that ethnicity is being used as an instrument to divide Ethiopians for political purposes. They include those who served the old regime and who have a broad knowledge of Addis Ababa and the make-up of its different ethnic populations. Because of their political interests and grievances of losing power, some of them refrain from providing full information on the issue. They feel that by volunteering information, they would contribute to the disintegration of the empire built by their forefathers. It was very difficult to persuade some of them, but it was possible to establish trust with a great majority of them some of whom agreed to respond provided they remain anonymous. I agreed and will keep the promise.

CHAPTER II

ADDIS ABABA: A BACKGROUND CHAPTER

Introduction

This chapter provides a brief history of Addis Ababa from foundation in 1887[1] to 1974, and outlines major developments that caused migration to the city. In this period Addis Ababa grew from a simple military camp to one of Africa's metropolises. Its foundation ended the centuries' old history of roving capitals in the country.[2] The city saw the concentration of economic and social activities, and consequently experienced a huge physical expansion. Moreover, Addis Ababa assumed international importance and became the center for several international organizations. These developments created jobs, which attracted people from different regions to take advantage of them.

2.1 Foundation and Early Growth

Historically, political and commercial situations in northern Ethiopia gave birth to a number of important towns, such as Axum, Adwa, Gondar and Asmara. In southern Ethiopia, long before the advent of Menilek, there

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[1]Pankhurst (1961), pp. 103-117; and (1962), pp. 33-61.

[2]For the history of roving capitals, see Ronald Horvath, "The Wandering Capitals of Ethiopia," in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1969), pp. 205-219.

were towns of commercial and political importance, such as the Islamic city of Harar whose origin is traced to the twelfth century A.D.; Bonga, the capital of the old Kingdom of Kafa; Jimma, the capital of the Oromo state of Jimma; and Soddo in the heart of the Gurage country in today's central Ethiopia.[3] But the rapid growth of most urban centers in southern Ethiopia was the result of politico-military developments of the last quarter of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, and the country's subsequent link to the modern world economy.[4] As one of those southern towns, Addis Ababa owes its growth to these developments.

The role of Menilek's conquest in the growth of towns in southern Ethiopia has become controversial. One group of scholars assert that urbanization in the region was purely the result of Menilek's military conquests.[5] They argue that towns evolved out of military garrisons, which the emperor set up in order to consolidate his power in the regions. By ascribing only to external factors, these scholars failed to provide an analysis of the local dynamics pertaining to social, economic and cultural factors and their role in the evolution of towns.

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[3]For more details, see Pankhurst, ***History of Ethiopian Towns*** (1982, 1985).

[4]Harold G. Marcus, "The Infrastructure of the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis: Haile Sellassie, the Solomonic Empire, and the World Economy, 1916-1936," in ***Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 13-11, 1978,*** Session B (Chicago, USA: 1978), p. 562.

[5]Akalou Wolde-Mikael (1973, 1967); Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1965).

The second view contends that the process of urbanization in southern Ethiopia resulted from internal developments rather than from external factors. Recent researches clearly established that pre-existing local social, economic and cultural situations significantly contributed to the growth of Menilek's garrisons into towns.[6] Some of the garrisons were grafted on local markets or stopping points along long distance trade routes and others on social, religious and cultural centers. Yet others combined most of these services. Consequently, by the time Menilek arrived, these places were already in the process of evolving into towns. Menilek thus established garrisons where there were concentrations of material and human resources to provide tribute and labor to the soldiers as well as the prospects for future growth. That is why he grafted the new garrison settlements upon the pre-existing settlements. Generally, Menilek benefited from a process that had already been in progress and, in so doing, he speeded up the process of urbanization in southern Ethiopia.

Subsequent economic growth transformed both garrison and non-garrison towns into economic, administrative, social and cultural centers. For instance, Dire Dawa, a non-garrison town founded as a railway station,

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[6]See among others, Tesema Ta'a (1993); Benti Getahun, "Some Notes on the Study of Migration in Pre-1974 Ethiopia" (A Paper Presented at the Seminar of the Department of History, AAU, Held in Jimma, March 1997). In their essays related to the growth of towns, a number students of history department, Addis Ababa University, found that local factors were more important for the process of urbanization in southern Ethiopia than Menilek's conquest.

in the eastern part of the country became a prominent commercial and industrial town.[7] Adama (Nazareth), 100 kilometers to the east of Addis Ababa, grew just like a miniature of the capital for the same reasons. Jimma, located in the coffee-rich areas of the southwestern provinces, showed a similar pace of development with Dire Dawa, Adama and Shashamanne, another important commercial town in the south.[8] Of all, however, it was Addis Ababa that grew dramatically into a primate city, by dwarfing all other towns.

The origin of Addis Ababa was part of the process of urbanization in Ethiopia in the late nineteenth century,[9] but its growth was qualitatively different from all other towns in the country for a variety of reasons. First, the city was favored in all respects[10] because it was simply the seat of the emperor. In this regard, Addis Ababa's growth was similar to cities in third world countries, where the largest urban center is the seat of the ruler and thus favored.[11] Second, the city was geographically located in the center of

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[7]For the early history of Dire Dawa, see Shiferaw Bekele, "Aspects of the History of Dire Dawa (1902-1936)," in ***Proceedings of the Fourth Seminar of the Department of History, Awassa, 8-12 July 1987*** (AAU, Department of History, 1989), pp. 81-132.

[8]For a recent general work on the growth of these and other towns, see Benti (1997).

[9]For the early history of Addis Ababa, see Peter Garretson, (1974).

[10]Informant: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 02.01.97).

[11]It is interesting to note that there is a major difference between the Third World countries and many developed countries where the largest cities are not centers

the newly created empire. Third, it was located on the crossroads of important trade routes from south to north and from west to east. This ideal location enabled the rulers to control the country's trade and transformed the city into the commercial and economic hub of the country.[12] Fourth, the city also became a transport hub in order to facilitate import-export trade and distribution of goods. The completion of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway in 1917 assured Addis Ababa's economic and commercial centrality. Fifth, Addis Ababa became the center of administration and hosted all ministerial headquarters. Sixth, as the government was unable to provide evenly modern social services throughout the country, most such services were concentrated in the capital. [13] Seventh, following Ethiopia's diplomatic successes after the victory over the Italians at the Battle of Adwa in 1896,[14] within the first decade of the foundation of the city, leading European countries opened their embassies in Addis Ababa. The foreign presence gave the city an important international image and called for the speeding up of the process of modernization in order to serve its European residents. Individual foreigners came and settled in Addis Ababa, and

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of government. The United States government (and most of its 50 States), Brazil, Germany and Canada are examples of the latter case.

[12]For details, see Garretson, pp. 231-340.

[13]See, for instance, Habtemariam Tesfaghiorghis, "Ethiopia," in James D. Tarver (ed.), ***Urbanization in Africa: A Handbook*** (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 184.

[14]See Marcus (1975), pp. 174-190.

actively contributed to the modernization of the city by opening bars, nightclubs, and various shops. The later opening of the offices of international and national non-governmental organizations increased the international importance of Addis Ababa. The two most important international organizations headquartered in Addis Ababa were the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

2.2 Major Developments up to the Italian Invasion of 1935/6

2.2.1 The Economy of the City

At the beginning of its history and down into most of the period under discussion, Addis Ababa was dependent on "mixed economy,"[15] in which a significant proportion of the city's population lived on incomes derived from vicinity farms.[16] The army commanders and their followers, who constituted the city's largest population, also lived on tributes collected from people of their respective domains in the conquered provinces. One scholar noted that: "With the exception of the palace, Addis Ababa during the first decade had an economy that was similar to that found in the rest of the country.

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[15]I use "mixed economy" strictly to show the contradictory nature of an urban economy whereby one depends on farming or on both farming and trading while living in an urban setting.

[16]Informants: Bekele Mulugeta (Addis Ababa, 06.08.97); Garamu Gurmu (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Kuma Arado (Addis Ababa, 05.12.97); Asafa Badhase (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

The majority of the population in and around Addis Ababa was engaged in subsistence farming, producing enough surpluses to maintain the feudal nobility. Division of labor reflected a limited specialization."[17] The city's population comprised a peasant army who did not have the skill or the organization to develop an urban economy. Consequently, until urbanism took shape both in terms of economic organization and as a way of life, a considerable percentage of Addis Ababa's population had to rely on earnings derived from farming.[18]

When Addis Ababa became the undisputed center of the empire, the process of economic transformation began to accelerate. Due to shortage of finance capital, Ethiopia could not speed up the growth of other equally attractive towns where the population of different regions could share the benefits of urban-based modernization. This led to the concentration of almost all modern activities in Addis Ababa which increased the burden on the capital. Consequently, a modern urban economy came into being after industries and other major economic activities were established in the capital along with a simultaneous expansion of social and cultural services. Hence Addis Ababa became the only center to which material and human

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[17]Laketch (1991), p. 22. For a very recent work on the economy of the city and how its inhabitants maintained their livelihood ever since its foundation, see Tekalign Wolde Mariam (1995).

[18]Informants: Bekele Mulugeta (Addis Ababa, 08.05.97); Fayisa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97); Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97); Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97); Garamu Gurmu (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97).

resources were pulled from different parts of the country to exploit the opportunities only located in it. Such important regional towns as Dire Dawa, Gondar, Mekele, Debre Birhan, Jijiga, Jimma, Dambi Dollo, Ghimbi and many others did not have the capacity to provide their potential migrants the services that Addis Ababa had mustered.

The introduction of a modern economy and promotion of a small-scale industrialization in Addis Ababa began in the pre-Italian period. But the factories established during that period in and around the city were very rudimentary.[19] Although encouraging, the impact of these early industrial establishments on socio-economic growth of Addis Ababa was limited. But what was quite evidently in the making was that Ethiopia had started to draw herself more and more into the modern world economy in which Haile Sellassie played a prominent role.[20] In the two decades before the Italian invasion of 1935, Ethiopia saw a significant expansion of trade and a number of local "merchant capitalists" emerged. Coffee export not only increased the country's involvement in the world economy, but also drew the southern coffee producing provinces more into the center than ever. All these developments in turn increased the importance and prosperity of Addis Ababa which became an eminent

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[19]For details of the history of industrialization in and around Addis Ababa, see Bekure Woldesemait, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983); and "Industrial Development in Addis Ababa" (1984), pp. 37-61.

[20]Marcus (1970), p. 562.

center for the export-import transactions.[21] However, this good beginning was aborted by the Italian invasion of 1935/6 and for a variety of reasons, economic reorganization took longer after liberation.

2.2.2 Building Landscape and Planning

Addis Ababa's early growth was based on the common sense of the emperor and the empress.[22] The Emperor gave warlords land upon which to build their palaces and to house their followers. Each allottee used his own common sense to build his home. Consequently, Addis Ababa did not have any modern city plan until after the Italian occupation. Even then, it was difficult to implement the plans due to the resistance of the landlords and the government's financial constraints to compensate a large number of people whose houses had to be demolished if a modern plan was to be implemented.[24]

Addis Ababa's architectural and physical growth resulted from internal developments and local initiatives unlike many African capitals

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[21] ***Ibid.***, pp. 559-560.

[22] For a detailed analysis of the various attempted master plans of Addis Ababa, see Techeste Ahderom, "Basic Planning Principles and Objectives Taken in the Preparation of the Addis Ababa Master Plan: Past and Present," in Ahmed Zekaria, et.al. (eds.), ***Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa November 24-25, 1986*** (Addis Ababa: November 1987), pp. 247-269.

[24] Informants: Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 13.02.97 and 10.03.97); Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97); Kebede Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 10.03.97); Bekele Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 10.03.97).

whose overall growth was deeply influenced by their respective colonial powers.[25] The absence of that distinction resulted in Addis Ababa's lagging behind its African counterparts in terms of modern buildings, planning and infrastructural developments and left the city in a disorganized state.

Charles F. Rey, who left an account of Addis Ababa in the second decade of the twentieth century, reported that the only impressive modern building in the city was that of the Bank of Abyssinia. He also noted that there were only two modern hotels worth mentioning, the Hotel de France and the Hotel Imperial (later Itegue Hotel). Other attractive spots included the palace compound, residences of the larger nobility, a limited number of government buildings, and foreign legations with their European type "lovely grounds." With the exception of Greek houses which were built of stone and corrugated iron roofs, almost all the homes along the streets in the market place were of wattle and thatch construction.[26] In 1930, for

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[25]Makonnen Mulat, Interview with ***Addis Ababachin*** (አዲስ አበባችን), in Amharic and English, (Addis Ababa: Published by the Addis Ababa Administrative Region, 1990), p. 55. For more details on the architectural development in Addis Ababa, see Amare Dawit and Fassil Ghiorgis, "Early Architectural Development in Addis Ababa," in Ahmed Zekaria, **et.al.** (eds.), ***Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa November 24-25, 1986*** (Addis Ababa: November 1987), pp. 173-198; Dejene H. Mariam, "Architecture in Addis Ababa," in Ahmed Zekaria, **et.al.** (eds.), ***Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa November 24-25, 1986*** (Addis Ababa: November 1987), pp. 199-218.

[26]Charles F. Rey, Unconquered Abyssinia As It Is Today (An Account of a Little Known Country, Its Peoples & Their Customs, Considered From the Social, Economic & Geographic Points of View, Its Resources & Possibilities, & Its Extraordinary History as a Hitherto Unconquered Nation) (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Limited, 1923), pp. 146 and 152.

Emperor Haile Sillassie's coronation, the city enjoyed building sprees including the erection of Menilek's statue, the construction of St. George Cathedral, the Parliament building, three new hospitals and a new Imperial Palace at Sidist Kilo, now the main campus of Addis Ababa University.[27]

2.3 The Italian Period

In their short-lived occupation (1936-41), the Italians focused on changing the city physically. To that effect, two Italian architects, I. Guidi and G. Valle, prepared a Master Plan which aimed at decentralizing business and market activities and developing racially and economically segregated residential areas. The Italians initiated the southward expansion of the city,[28] building new European quarters, such as Casa Populare, Casa Inches, and Campo Novo. In the fields of architectural development, they erected some still important public buildings which housed the Ministries of Defense, the Interior, Justice, Agriculture, National Community Development and Labor Affairs and the Shoa Provincial Administration.[29]

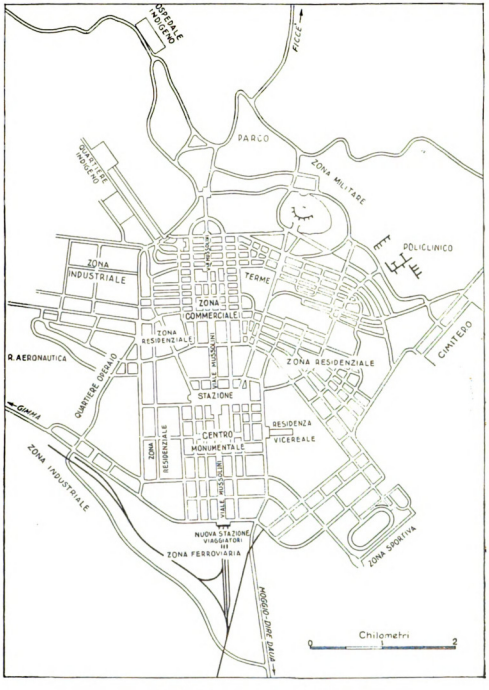
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[27]MUDH, Department of Town Planning and Land Administration, "Addis Ababa Metropolitan Area Study" (MUDH Working Paper No. 7, Survey and Development Proposal Preliminary Report, May 1978), p. 16. (Hereafter MUDH Working Paper No. 7). Informants: John N. Moraitis (Addis Ababa, 04.05.97 and 05.12.97); Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97). These two informants were eyewitnesses to almost every development in Addis Ababa since the turn of the 20th century.

[28]See Guida d'Italiana Consociazione Turistica Italiana, ***Africa Orientale Italiana*** (Milano: 1938), pp. 474-494.

[29]Tesfaye Beza, **et.al.**, ***Addis Ababa Master Plan: Historical Development of Addis Ababa*** (Revised Issue, Addis Ababa: MUDH, NUPI, January, 1987), p. 8.

Map 1
The Italian Plan for Addis Ababa



Addis Abeba. Il nuovo piano regolatore.

Source: Rigoti, Giorgio, ***L'Edilizia Nell'Africa Orientale Italiana: La Zona Addis Abeba*** (Torino: Editrice Libraria Italiana, 1939-XVII), p. 149.

Other important buildings left behind by the Italians are the St. Savior Cathedral, the Ganat and Ras Hotels, the National Theatre Block, the Technical School at Mexico Square, and the Old Airport.[30]

In their plan to decentralize business and marketing functions, the Italians created a New Market (Merkato Indigeno) for Ethiopians, while a European type shopping and business quarter at the center of the city (Piazza) was created for the Italians.[31] Although some scholars assert that the Italian occupation led to a dramatic growth of urbanization in Ethiopia[32] it may be argued that the occupation rather laid the basis for the acceleration of the process in years to come.

The contribution of the Italians to the country's industrialization was not as far reaching as their road construction.[33] They constructed roads to

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[30]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, p. 17.

[31]Mia Fuller, "Wherever You Go, There You Are: Fascist Plans for the Colonial City of Addis Ababa and the Colonizing Suburb of EUR '42," in ***Journal of Contemporary History***, Vol. 31 (1996), pp. 397-418. For details of the Italian plan for Addis Ababa, see also Guida d'Italiana, pp. 474-494, and MUDH Working Paper No. 7, p. 16. Despite their attempt to introduce a new administration based on fascist policies during their short-lived occupation, segregation by income, social status, tribe, or race, so common in colonially founded African cities, did not occur in Addis Ababa. See, World Bank, "Ethiopia: Urban Development Project Staff Appraisal Report" (East African Projects Departments, March 10, 1982), p. 2.

[32]Among others, see Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, "Problems of Urbanization," in ***Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. III (Addis Ababa: HSIU, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, June 1970), pp. 20-38.

[33]See Asrat Teferra, "Pattern of Industrialization in the Planning Region" (Addis Ababa: MUDH, NUPI, 1984), p. 2. See also Bekure Woldesemait, "Industrialization in Ethiopia," p. 139.

connect the capital with important administrative and garrison centers. Although they focused mostly on the northern part of the country, the Italians also built roads which connected Addis Ababa to the southern provinces, one connecting Addis Ababa with Naqamte and the other with Jimma, capitals of the coffee rich provinces of Wallagga and Kafa respectively. The road constructions increased the volume of exports from the south through the capital and also facilitated the migration of people to the city.[34]

2.4 The Population of the City

2.4.1 From Foundation to 1941

Addis Ababa had a large population even from its foundation. The first inhabitants were soldiers of Emperor Menilek II and their retinues who participated in the conquest of the southern provinces in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were predominantly from the Amhara ethnic group and, as a result, the Amhara remained the largest population of the city from the time of its emergence down to the period covered by this dissertation. There were also settlers from other ethnic groups who fought under different Amhara commanders, or who came as slaves.[35] Until the

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[34]For more details on the contribution of the Italians to the construction of roads, see Richard Pankhurst, "Road Building During the Italian Fascist Occupation of Ethiopia 1936-1941," in *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1968), pp. 21-63.

[35]Richard Pankhurst, ***Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935*** (Addis Ababa: HSIU Press, 1968), p. 708.

end of the campaigns of conquest, a significant proportion of the city's population was comprised of transient soldiers. When the commanders came to Addis Ababa with their soldiers the city's population was great, but when they were called to war, the number decreased significantly. Therefore, the presence of a commander in the city or the absence or the existence of war in the country were important determining factors regarding the size of the city's population. For instance, Menilek's personal retinue alone was estimated at 15,000, while important chiefs used to come to Addis Ababa with as many as 100,000-150,000 followers.[36]

The chiefs and army commanders created settlements which belonged to them even during their absence for duty, and "subsequent migrants generally attached themselves to one of the encampments of the war chiefs and men of state (Rases) to whom the Emperor awarded large [areas of land where they settled]... with their country relatives, war captives and their court and followers..."[37] Charles F. Rey, who in 1910 estimated the population of Addis Ababa at about 65,000, observed that the population was considerably augmented during great feasts, when chiefs and provincial

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[36] ***Ibid.***

[37] ***Addis Ababachin*** (አዲስ አበባችን), (1990), p. 21. Each core area settled by the commanders and their followers was called *safar* (literally meaning quarter), and each *safar* was named after the commander who founded it. For a general work on the history of early *safars* in Addis Ababa, See Bahru Zewde, "Early Safars of Addis Ababa: Patterns of Evolution," in Ahmed Zekaria, **et.al.** (eds.), ***Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa November 24-25, 1986*** (Addis Ababa: November 1987), pp. 43-56.

governors came with their followers and soldiers.[38] Although the wars of the conquest were over by the time of Rey's visit, regional chiefs continued to come to Addis Ababa with their followers on important occasions and on holidays. The visits were also demonstrations of loyalty to the emperors, during which they brought tribute and gifts.

Addis Ababa had also a foreign population of Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Syrians and Indians and perhaps 300 Europeans, as early as the 1890s.[39] In the absence of a local middle class (bourgeoisie) to facilitate Ethiopia's commercial links with the outside world, these foreign merchants played a significant role in the expansion of trade and the concentration of Ethiopia's economic activities in Addis Ababa.[40]

Visitors and travelers left different estimations of the permanent population of Addis Ababa ranging from 40,000-50,000 in the first decade of the twentieth century, to 65-70,000 in the second decade. Among them it was only Mérab who provided the ethnic breakdown of the city, and indicated that its resident population in 1910 was as follows:[41]

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[38]Rey, p. 150; Informants: John N. Moraitis (Addis Ababa, 05.12.97) and Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.27.97).

[39]Rey, p. 146.

[40]Informants: Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97); John N. Moraitis (05.12.97). For a more detailed information on foreign communities and their role in the city's economic life in early Addis Ababa, see Garretson, pp. 164-184.

[41]Pankhurst, ***Economic History*** (1968), p. 709.

Table 2.1

Ethnic Composition of Addis Ababa, c. 1910

Ethnic Origin	Number	%
Oromos	20,000	30.8
Shanqillas, Beni Shanguls, etc.	15,000	23.1
Shoans	15,000	23.1
Walayitas	5,000	7.7
Amharas	3,000	4.6
Gurages	2,000	3.1
Tigres	1,000	1.5
Gojjames	1,000	1.5
Others (Somalis, Dankalis, Kafas, etc.)	3,000	4.6
Total	65,000	100.0

Source: Pankhurst, ***Economic History***, 1968, p. 709.

Although the Oromo constituted the largest ethnic group according to the estimation, a closer investigation of their situation in the city indicates that a majority of them were evicted from the area while others were discouraged from coming to the city. Thus the conclusion does not warrant an historical truth.[42] In any event, the Oromo were followed by the Amhara with 29.2 per cent of the total population. In his ethnic categorization, Mérab was again wrong regarding the Amhara for he considered the Amharas, the Shoans and the Gojjame as separate ethnic groups. It is possible that they were all Amharas. Most of the Shanqillas, Beni Shanguls, the Walayitas, Kafas and many others which are not mentioned

[42]Given the large scale eviction of the Oromo from the city and the overwhelming predominance of the Amahra in the city, Mérab's figure for the Oromo appears inaccurate. Perhaps, some of the slaves must have been counted as the Oromo for the derogatory word "Galla" by which the Amharas used to call the Oromo was also used to identify other non-Oromo groups. For major factors on imbalances in the ethnic distribution of the city, see Chapter VII below.

in the list came to Addis Ababa as slaves following Menilek's conquest of the southern provinces.[43]

In 1935, the population of the city was reported to have reached the 100,000 mark,[44] but it dropped to 90,000 in 1937[45] perhaps due to the pogrom following an assassination attempt on the Italian viceroy, General Rudolfo Grazziani.[46] In 1938, a census taken by the Italians nonetheless counted a total of 143,000 inhabitants; 86,000 were Ethiopians, 25,000 Eritrean soldiers, and 25,000 foreigners.[47] This was a 59 per cent increase in a matter of one year. The Italian occupation swelled the population of the city for two important reasons. The first was the introduction of wage labor and the expectation of getting jobs in the new Italian establishments which led to migration of people to the city. Second, because of wars of resistance in the countryside, many people migrated to Addis Ababa for security

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[43]Informant: Richard Pankhurst (Addis Ababa, 04.21.97).

[44]"A Survey of Housing in Ethiopia with Special Emphasis on the Capital City of Addis Ababa" (No Author, mimeographed, Addis Ababa, IES, June 1965), p. 18.

[45]Eshetu Chole (1976), p. 188.

[46]The incident was reportedly followed by some 30,000 massacres in and around Addis Ababa in three days alone. Many people fled the city and others must have stopped coming to the city for fear of being killed. It took the Italians some time to reestablish confidence in the minds of many Ethiopians to come to Addis Ababa. For a good information on the incident and the massacre that followed it, see Angelo Del Boca, ***The Ethiopian War 1935-1941*** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 221-226.

[47]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, p. 17.

reasons.[48] Five years after liberation, in 1946, the population was estimated at 180,000.[49] In 1950 city officials reckoned that it had reached 300,000, although given the post-war migration of thousands of patriots with their families in search of jobs,[50] the population then may have reached 500,000 by 1950.[51]

2.4.2 From 1941-c.1974

Despite generally poor infrastructures in Ethiopian towns, most urban centers experienced high population growth rates in this period.[52] Given the attractions of Addis Ababa, the rate of its population growth was even much more dramatic. For instance, the city's population, which was about 90,000 in 1937, reached 655,000 in 1967, an increase of 627.8 per cent. Although the population of other towns also grew considerably (and in some cases doubled, tripled or quadrupled), the only major town which saw kind of dramatic increase was Addis Ababa. For instance, in the same period Asmara grew from 98,000 in 1937 to 175,000 in 1967,

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[48]Informant: Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97).

[49]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, p. 17.

[50]Informants: Abate Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Degu Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97; Bekele Mulugeta (Addis Ababa, 08.05.97); Yirgedu Degu (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97).

[51]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, p. 19.

[52]Eshetu Chole, (1976), p. 187. See also Mesfin Wolde Marien (1968), p. 8.

an increase of 78.6 per cent. Dire Dawa's population reached 49,000 in 1967 from 20,000 in 1937 which was an increase of 145 per cent, and the rate of growth for many other towns was similar.[53]

In 1950/1, the first official census of Addis Ababa[54] was conducted with the help of 220 university students, who covered two-thirds of the registration.[55] Generally, 79 per cent of the population was registered and the rest was estimated. People who lived less than one year in the city, estimated at 40,000, were not registered for they were not considered permanent.[56] Another estimated 83,000 were also not registered, as they were out of the city working on their farms. The census finally reported that the population of the city was 401,916.[57]

A second census was undertaken in 1961 and counted a population of 448,512.[58] In a third and better-organized census in 1967, the population

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[53]Eshetu, (1976), p. 187. For a detailed information on the rate of population increase of Ethiopian towns especially in the post-1941 period, see Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1970), p. 25. His figure for Addis Ababa's rate of increase is wrongly reported as 522.2.

[54]Municipality of Addis Ababa, "የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ የሕዝብ ቁጥርና ሁኔታ," translated as "The Population of Addis Ababa" (Addis Ababa: 1944 E.C.), p. 2. (Hereafter, MAA, 1944 E.C.).

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 15-17. If those who were not present (83,000) and those who lived in the city for less than one year (40,000) were added to this figure, the total population would have been 524,916.

[58]The difference between the reported population in 1950/1 and 11 years later

reached 637,831, a 42.2 per cent increase over the previous census report. The average annual growth rate was reported 6 per cent between the "census" years.[59] Between 1967 and 1976, the population of the city increased by nearly three quarters, from 637,831 in 1967 to 1,099,851 in 1976,[60] an increase of 72.4 per cent. Migration was an important factor for the increase.

Throughout the period under study, migrants constituted the largest proportion of the city's population. For instance, the 1967 sample survey of the city showed that 54 per cent of its population were migrants.[61] Interestingly enough, one-fourth of the 1967 population was post-1961 migrants. The largest group (36 per cent) of these migrants was in the age group 15-24.[62] They were largely composed of school leavers since the

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in 1961 is only 47,596. If the unregistered population of the former census is included, it would be a negative growth, that is, the population of the city showed a decrease of 76,402 persons, which was very unlikely. This puts the authenticity of the censuses into serious questions and makes any reasonable conclusion difficult. What is generally true is that the population was increasing at a higher rate throughout the period under discussion as relatively reliable census would show later.

[59]MAA, *የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ የ1960 ዓ.ም. የሕዝብና የቤት ቆጠራ ጠቅላላ ጊዜያዊ መግለጫ*, translated as "Preliminary Report of Population and Housing Survey of Addis Ababa" (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1960 E.C.), summarized from the graph between pp. 8 and 9 (hereafter, MAA, 1960 E.C.).

[60]***Ibid.***, pp. 8-9, and Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, CSO, "Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey - December. 1976," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (Addis Ababa: August 1977), p. 5.

[61]Imperial Ethiopian Government, Central Statistical Office and Municipality of Addis Ababa, "Population of Addis Ababa, Results From the Population Sample Survey of October 1967," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (Addis Ababa: July 1972), p. 27.

[62]International Labour Office, ***Employment and Unemployment in Ethiopia,***

concentration of economic activities in the capital made employment opportunities wider in the city than in any other place in the country.[63]

Addis Ababa was, however, unable to meet the needs of its rapidly growing population. An inadequate infrastructure and financial constraints made for inadequate services and competition for existing resources. Most of the population thus had little or no access to such basic municipal services as drainage systems, water connections, refuse collections and toilet facilities.[64] With little or no income most people could not afford decent housing. A large portion of the population (some estimate at 50 per cent) of Addis Ababa lived under congested conditions and very low-grade houses formed the city's slum quarters. As migration to the city continued on a large scale, slum areas grew to a density estimated at 200 persons per acre.[65]

Report to the Imperial Ethiopian Government of the Exploratory Employment Policy Mission (Geneva: 1973), p. 55.

[63]For a detailed discussion on school-leaver migrants, see Tekle Marien W. Michael, "Progress Report on Unemployment and Migration of High School Leavers in Addis Ababa," in Asmerom Legesse (Principal Investigator), "Preliminary Research Progress report on Urbanization Problems in Addis Ababa" (IDR Document Number Thirteen, December, 1974), pp. TW/1-21.

[64]***Addis Ababachin*** (አዲስ አበባችን) (1990), p. 21.

[65]Debebe Yazew, "Slums in Addis Ababa," in ***Addis Ababachin*** (አዲስ አበባችን), (Published by Addis Ababa Administrative Region in Amharic and English, Addis Ababa: September 1991), p. 46.

2.5 Major Developments in the Post-Italian Period

2.5.1 The Economy

The immediate period after liberation was a difficult one for Ethiopia. As Europe was still at war, the demand for coffee was low and Ethiopia was unable to export vital products to get the much-needed money to enhance the process of economic reconstruction. Yet, despite the acute financial constraints and limited local resources, and despite the problems of resuming full commercial interactions with Europe because of the war and the difficulty of transporting import and export items (since access to Djibouti was impossible), Ethiopia made reasonable progress in stimulating the growth of her economy.[66] This was achieved in the absence of any central planning *per se*, which was launched only in 1957. Rather than introducing a broad economic development plan and constraining the precarious financial resources, the government focused on investing in strategic sectors such as road improvement and education in order to prepare the ground for the launching of successive comprehensive plans that began in 1957.

In the meantime, the government pursued a policy of promoting the agricultural sector, and of emphasizing the promotion of education to

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[66]David Abner Talbot, ***Ethiopia: Liberation Silver Jubilee, 1941-1966*** (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, Publications and Foreign Languages Press Department, 1966), p. 245. For figures on export-import trade and more details on the growth of the economy, see pp. 245-249.

make ends meet;[67] thus a gradual expansion in the volume of exports and imports was recorded leading to an increase in Ethiopia's involvement in the post-war world economy.[68] In addition, remarkable achievements were reported in the fields of commerce and industry, and between 1944 and 1954, imports jumped from birr 39.1 million to birr 155.2 million and exports from birr 26.1 million to birr 174.6 million.[69] Along these developments, the treasury and the financial administration were reorganized. Banks were reopened; the State Bank in 1942, and the Development Bank in 1951. The latter was a successor of the Agricultural and Commercial Bank founded in 1949, itself a successor of an Agricultural Bank created in 1945.[70] To make these developments sustainable, several educational facilities were opened to produce trained personnel.[71]

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[67]Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, ***Economic Progress of Ethiopia*** (Nairobi: East African Standard Ltd., 1955), pp. 1-5, 36-42.

[68]David Abner Talbot, ***Contemporary Ethiopia*** (New York: Hallmark-Hubner Press, Inc., 1952), pp. 115-126.

[69]***Economic Progress of Ethiopia***, pp. 15-16.

[70]***Ibid.***, pp. 32-35. For a detailed account on the progress, problems and prospects of the Ethiopian economy from liberation up to 1967, see Assefa Bequele and Eshetu Chole, ***A Profile of the Ethiopian Economy*** (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1969).

[71]Indeed, the opening of schools and clinics were the two important achievements that the emperor credited to himself. See Harold G. Marcus, ***The Politics of Empire: Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States, 1941-1974*** (Lawrenceville, New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1995), pp. 162-163.

Meanwhile, industries began to flourish especially since the inauguration of its First Five-Year Plan in 1957,[72] and the subsequent adoption of similar plans every five years. The Five-Year Plans generally adopted strategies for agricultural and agro-industrial development which included the expansion of the food supply to meet the demand, the increase of foreign exchange earnings and expansion of investment funds to be able to build foundations for future growth.[73] In fact, the plans brought significant changes by stimulating the growth of the country's economy in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.[74]

The need to realize the plans led to the expansion of the power industry. The inauguration of the hydroelectric power station at Koka in 1960, and Awash I and Awash II in 1966 overcame the chronic problem of power shortage and considerably augmented the process of industrialization in Addis Ababa.[75] In this case too, the power lines converged on the capital.

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[72]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1980), pp. 139-142.

[73]Clarence A. Miller, **et.al.**, "Development of Agriculture and Agro-Industry in Ethiopia: Strategy and Programs" (Stanford Research Institute, Final Report, December 1969), pp. 5-20.

[74]See Assefa Bequele and Eshetu Chole.

[75]Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, ***Awash II Hydroelectric Power Project***, in Amharic and English, (Addis Ababa: December, 1966), See also Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), pp. 145.

Eventually, the government managed to maintain the transport infrastructure left behind by the Italians and the relationship between Addis Ababa and the other provinces of the country was enhanced. The Imperial Highway Authority was established in 1951, to undertake the maintenance of old roads and the construction of new ones.[76] Its activities ameliorated the transportation system and significantly activated the process of industrial growth in Addis Ababa. The convergence of all roads in Addis Ababa accelerated the process of its growth by facilitating the movement and delivery of resources. Roads also facilitated the migration of people to the city.

With the changing situation, financial institutions increased their services and encouraged investment. Educational facilities expanded more in Addis Ababa and gradually in the provinces and began to produce graduates to serve the expanding economy. The number of factories and factory employees increased significantly between 1957 and 1974. Factories that hired 20 workers and above increased from 43 in 1957 to 153 in 1974.[77] The number of factory workers in the Addis Ababa region increased from about 10,000 in 1957 to about 36,000 in 1974. Generally speaking, 70

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[76]See E. Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Imperial Highway Authority," in ***Ethiopia Observer***, Vol. I, No. 12 (1957), pp. 393-395.

[77]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), pp. 142-143.

per cent of the factories and 40 per cent of the work force,[78] and 61 per cent of Ethiopia's output and 79 per cent of the fixed assets[79] were located in the city of Addis Ababa by 1974. The relative expansion of industrialization in and around the capital, especially between 1957 and 1974, speeded up the process of urbanization of the capital.[80] The existence of a large number of people (and of the city's potential to attract many others) as laborers or otherwise, the existence of a sufficient market, efficient transportation and road systems, banking and telecommunications services were among most important factors that facilitated the concentration of industries and investments in and around Addis Ababa.

2.5.2 City Planning and Building Construction

Addis Ababa's growth in the post-Italian period was quite remarkable. The city responded to its European type of urban administration. Eyewitnesses confirmed that the occupation changed the city in three

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[79] Asrat Tefera, p. 7. Moreover, almost all the factories and the work force of the country (outside of Asmara and Dire Dawa) were located in and around Addis Ababa. By 1974, 83 food processing industries were located in and around Addis Ababa, or two-thirds of such establishments in the entire country. About 74 per cent of the 83 establishments were located in the city; about 82 per cent in Addis Ababa and within 25-kilometer radius, and about 98 per cent in the capital and within about 100-kilometer radius of the city. Moreover, 86 per cent of the bakeries, 73 per cent of the oil mills and 46 per cent of the flourmills in the planning region (about 100-kilometer radius) were located in Addis Ababa, which comprised the largest market in the country. See Asrat Teferra, pp. 13 and 15.

[80] Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1980), p. 143.

different ways. First, the easy Italian destruction of the Ethiopian government left an imprint in the minds of the people that old ways of life could be challenged. Second, the Italians introduced wage labor which could mostly be found in urban areas, especially in Addis Ababa. This encouraged free movement of people and facilitated the interaction between the urban and the rural areas. Third, the Italians constructed roads and made the capital accessible to people of the peripheral areas.[81]

However, the restored government was unable to fully continue with what the Italians had introduced during their brief occupation. Nor was it possible for the government to start from the level of development the city was undergoing in the immediate time before the Italian occupation five years previously. It was caught up between two diametrically opposed choices, that of continuing with what the Italians began or going back to the old ways of the pre-Italian period. Financial constraints, shortage of educated manpower and the absence of necessary infrastructure were among the major impediments that crippled the restored government to continue with changes that the Italians had initiated.[82] In another context, due to the fact that the people were relatively exposed to modern ideas,

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[81]Informants: Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.27.97); John N. Moraitis (Addis Ababa, 01.12.97).

[82]Informants: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97); Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 02.13.97, 03.13.97).

modern ways of life, in both the rural and urban areas, the restored government found it nearly impossible to avert the tide of change by trying to begin from where it had left in 1935/6. Therefore, the reality at hand became a matter of striking a balance between the two and of attempting to reach a compromise.

One of the areas in which the government tried to give a sense of continuity to what the Italians had started was modern city planning. Accordingly, in 1945, just four years after liberation, a new Master Plan was proposed for the city by the well known British city planner, Sir Patrick Abercrombie. The preparation of the plan took over ten years and it finally came out in 1956. The plan provided a park system, basic framework of the present road system, general land use plan and residential areas. It was designed to support a projected population of 460,000 up to 1984 without any new plan intervention. To control the population of the city, Abercrombie proposed the creation of four satellite towns at Qaliti, Kotobe, Gafarsa and Rapi, and two other semi-satellite towns at Yeka and Kolfe within a 25-45 kilometer radius to accommodate a total population of 300,000.[83] According to the plan, the city, which was designed for a population of 460,000, was to be adequately provided with all necessary services such as sufficient water and power supplies. Moreover, the city

[83]Tesfaye Beza, **et.al**, p. 10.

limits of Addis Ababa (including the satellite towns) was expected not to exceed an area of 600 square kilometers.[84] But due to a lack of formal government endorsement and the absence of a legislative power, all the proposals in the plan remained on paper with the exception of some of the proposed road networks.[85]

In 1959, another master plan was made by a British consulting group, Bolton Hennessy & Partners, which more or less modified the plan of Sir Patrick Abercrombie.[86] "The plan envisaged the future of the city as that of the seat of government and trade centre, proposed urban renewal schemes, and a new taxation system which would give a strong revenue base for the Municipal Administration."[87] In 1965, a French team led by Architect L. de Marien reviewed all the pervious plans and drew yet another master plan. One of the proposals of this new plan was the extension of the city southward, the building of super highway ring roads and the removal of the freight railway station from its present location to Qaliti. However, it lacked awareness of the socio-economic problems of the city and the main constraints of the previous proposals. More importantly, by focusing on the

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[84]"Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Town Plan"; see also Talbot (1955), p. 146.

[85]Informants: Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

[86]Bolton, Hennessey & Partners (1961).

[87]Techeste Ahderom (1987), p. 256. See also, MUDH Working Paper No. 7, p. 19.

redevelopment of Arada and areas around Churchill Road, the proposal ignored 75 per cent of the population of the city "which was lining in a squalor and filthy environment with inadequate and poor quality of social and physical services."[88] Except in a very few cases, all the plans were barely implemented because of reasons mainly attributed to bureaucratic bottlenecks according to veteran city officials. They argued that whatever city plan was proposed under one mayor would not be implemented by the next one. Each mayor wanted to introduce his own plan, which thus left the city "unplanned."[89] Others attributed the problem of implementation to the planners themselves for they failed to consider the constraining financial, demographic and infrastructural conditions of the country. As two renowned planners of the city in the 1980s concluded, "In all cases they had underestimated the dynamics of population growth and hence the bases of resources and the social infrastructures which accompany population growth. Moreover, they did neither analyze nor integrate the urban-regional socio-economic and physical relations."[90]

The boom in building construction began largely in 1955, marking the celebration of the Emperor's Silver Jubilee coronation. That year marked the

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[88]Tesfaye Beza, ***et.al.,*** p. 12. Informants: Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

[89]Informants: Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

construction of the Jubilee Palace and the completion of the National Theater begun by the Italians during their occupation. The headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa was inaugurated in 1958, and the Africa Hall, which formed an important landmark in Addis Ababa, was opened in 1961. The headquarters for the Organization of African Unity was inaugurated in 1963. They were followed by several other United Nations agencies, which opened branches in the capital. Their needs led to building construction for offices as well as for residences of the expatriate staff.[91] Former city officials agree that the opening of the offices of international organizations and the frequent visits made to Addis Ababa by leaders of various countries in the 1960s, led to an almost "complete renovation" of the city.[92] "Addis Ababa became Addis Ababa in just ten years," said Zewde Gebre Hiwot, a long time mayor of the city.[93]

There were also locally-initiated building projects which became Addis Ababa's important landmarks. The Commercial Bank of Ethiopia was inaugurated in 1961. The municipal building, at the time one of the most elegant buildings of African cities, was inaugurated in 1965; the

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[90]Techeste Ahdarom and Paolo Celccarelli, p. 1.1.

[91]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, p. 21.

[92]Informants: Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

[93]Informant Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 02.13.97, 03.17.97).

Kennedy Library in 1966; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the University Campus in 1967; the Ghion, Wabi Shebele and Hilton Hotels in 1955, 1969 and 1971 respectively. The huge building complex that currently hosts the ministries of Industry, Urban Development and Housing, and the Development Bank and the Internal Revenue Administration was completed in 1976. In addition, the beautiful building complexes around the Revolutionary Square that gave the area some semblance to cities of the western world were built between 1966-1974.[94] The expansion of health facilities also gave birth to the buildings of such important hospitals as the Black Lion (1967) and St. Paul (1971). Moreover, a large number of buildings for government offices and for other services were built or expanded to increase their capacities in the 1960s and early 1970s.[95] The expansion of such establishments greatly contributed to the physical growth of the city, and to the increase of its population. For Ethiopians, Addis Ababa became an almost mythical place of hope and of opportunity.

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[94]MUDH, Working Paper, No. 7, pp. 66-69.

[95]Tesfaye Beza, et.al., p. 11

2.5.3 Development of Transportation Facilities

The role of transport in the growth of Addis Ababa has been significant. In 1917, Addis Ababa was connected to the French port of Djibouti by a 781-kilometer railway line, which permanently opened the country to the European capitalist market system and to the larger world economy. The railway also facilitated the process of urbanization by giving birth to the important towns of Dire Dawa, Awash, Adama, Mojo, Bishoftu (Debre Zeit) and Akaki. With other transportation and communication networks, the railway significantly consolidated Addis Ababa's position as the economic, commercial and political capital of the empire. The government correctly realized the role that modern transport and communications could play in the development of the country and made remarkable efforts to improve and expand them. Between 1961-1965, transport and communications expanded at a noteworthy rate of 9.2 per cent per year.[96] For all practical purposes, the highway system radiated from Addis Ababa. All these developments facilitated the movement of people to the capital. As Engineer Techeste Ahderom and Paolo Celccarelli, Addis Ababa's chief planners of the 1980s, noted, "It can be said that the transport system helped Addis Ababa to dominate

[96]Assefa and Eshetu, p. 22.

the urban-rural social, economic and political structure of the Nation."[97] The establishment and spectacular development of the air transport service in 1945 further enhanced Addis Ababa's role as an international center.[98]

[97]Techeste and Celccarelli, p. 4.1.

[98]Talbot (1966), pp. 182-185.

CHAPTER III

RURAL AND REGIONAL FACTORS OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA

Introduction

This chapter analyzes factors pertaining to rural and regional dynamics of migration to Addis Ababa. In order to give a historical context, it is necessary to address the theoretical and actual relationships between rural bases of economic development and their implications on rural-urban migration. However, no one expects parallel developments to have taken place in Ethiopia and other countries with exactly the same effect on migration to their cities. Understanding the migratory process requires a closer investigation of factors unique to the country being studied.

In an agrarian society, development of the rural economy is strongly associated with land and productivity which in turn depends, among other factors, on the degree of access to land. Easy access enhances employment in agricultural activities and promotes the productivity and the livability of rural areas. In other words, there is a correlation between rural development and rural employment and land is central to both. Without land or access to sufficient land, people are more likely to move out of the rural areas.

Migration out of rural areas is also affected by other factors. Regional patterns of urbanization and the economic activities in each town determine the destination and the distance to be covered by migrants. Although population density alone cannot determine the volume of migration, it is

also another equally important unit of analysis for regional causes of rural-urban migration. The availability of modern transport and communications facilities connecting the rural areas with towns also affect the migratory process significantly. The implications of these factors for migration to Addis Ababa are better understood when investigated on a comparative basis. Consequently, this chapter takes a regional approach in identifying the factors, and examining the process of migration to the city from northern and southern Ethiopia. This broader geographical approach facilitates our understanding of the processes of the movements, and features distinct to each region. In a nutshell, the process of migration to Addis Ababa from the rural areas is better understood when studied within the larger picture of migration in the country.

3.1 Rural Development and Migration From the Rural Areas: Some Theoretical Issues

The examination of the relationship between urbanization, rural economic development, and rural-urban migration has been a serious industry for scholars for quite a long time. Some argue that governments' policies to develop urban areas created a standard of living higher than in the countryside and dissatisfaction among the rural population. In response to this, the latter seeks to take advantage of new opportunities in urban areas by trying to connect their economy to the urban economy. In other words, rural people are responsive to changes, economic or otherwise, in the

urban areas. According to Akin L. Mabogunje, these changes lead to a "decreasing isolation" of the rural areas and to a wider interaction with their urban counterparts.[1] Mabogunje's "decreasing isolation" occurs after increasing rural awareness of socio-economic and cultural modernizations taking place in towns. The logic of Mabogunje's argument is that by responding to developments in urban areas, a mutually-reinforcing economic and cultural relationship can be created between the urban and the rural areas. Migration is then driven only by the need for labor in urban areas.

Many third world countries introduced rural development projects (mainly agricultural) to improve the living standards of the rural people in the hope of halting their migration to towns through the creation of a permanent and reliable source of livelihood. Scholars who have more closely examined the implications of such development projects for rural urban-migration in third world countries, however, have come up with different conclusions.

The first conclusion was drawn by Gerald M. Desmond who emphasized that agricultural developments would create job opportunities, enhance rural productivity and increase rural income. These would in turn lead to changes in the lives of rural people, which increase the need for better income and opportunities located in urban areas. In so doing,

[1]Mabogunje, p. 4.

agricultural developments would encourage rural-urban migration and speed up the process of urbanization.[2]

The second group of scholars concluded that rural agricultural developments reduced the rate of rural-urban migration by keeping people permanently in the rural areas.[3] For this, as migration is one of the demographic dynamics of urbanization, these developments would slow down the process of urbanization.

The third group argues that however positive they are, rural economic changes will not stop rural-urban migration because urban pull is more dominant than the rural push. In his interesting review of multi-disciplinary literature on rural development policies, Scott D. Grosse concluded that "urban factors dominate the flow of rural-urban migration...[The] 'pull' of urban economic conditions appears to dominate the 'push' or rural conditions in expanding variations in rural-urban migration."[4] Indeed, it is quite evident that third world governments have usually formulated development policies favoring the urban areas at the expense of their rural counterparts. Even where efforts were made to develop rural areas or to meet the needs of people in the rural areas, they were not of the same scale

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[2]Desmond, p. 68.

[3]See for instance, John B. Wyon and John E. Gordon, ***The Khanna Study: Population Problems in the Rural Punjab*** (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 302; D'Souza, p. 350.

[4]Grosse, pp. iii and 10.

and quality as those in urban areas. Progress in urban areas was most often faster than in the countryside, and the gap was always widening.

A fourth group of scholars, whose views are widely held by many others, argue that out-migration from rural areas is caused by lack of rural development.[5] They contend that if rural development stagnates or does not show change that positively affects the economic life of the population, people have to migrate to towns or to other areas in search of better opportunities. In this case, Mabogunje's "decreasing isolation" theory seems to apply in the sense that it creates awareness in the minds of the rural people that the gap between themselves and those living in the urban areas was widening. Unlike Mabogunje's assumption, in this case people would respond to the new developments by moving to towns.

None of the above theoretical models provides a universal explanation to the dynamics of rural-urban migration because the relationship among rural development, urbanization, and rural-urban migration is a complex phenomenon that cannot be judged by only one factor. Nor is the impact universal, as it varies from country to country, region to region and from one individual to another, depending on circumstances. A closer investigation of factors peculiar to each region is needed to understand the

[5]See for instance, Lucie Gallistel Colvin, ***The Uprooted of the Western Sahel: Migrants' Quest for Cash in Senegambie*** (New York: Praeger, 1981), pp. 335-336.

complexities of this relationship. The Ethiopian situation must therefore be treated within the perspective of its own peculiarities.

3.2 The Ethiopian Reality, 1941-1974

In the period between 1941 and 1974, Ethiopia exemplified uneven development and backwardness characterized by two mainly unbalanced sectors. The first was a limited modern urban industrial sector, concentrated in Addis Ababa, which will be discussed in chapter IV. The second was a vast traditional agricultural sector[6] which provided a livelihood for over 85 per cent of the rural population. It also accounted for nearly all of the country's export and for over 60 per cent of the GDP. Yet, because it was based on primitive farming methods,[7] income from agriculture did not provide a sustainable living,[8] even though an estimated 82 per cent of the total value of production did not reach the market and was consumed by farmers themselves.[9] Consequently, Ethiopia's traditional

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[6]MNCDSA, Department of Labour and Employment, "Employment Policy Working Paper, No. 7" (Addis Ababa: 1974), p. 3. (Hereafter, MNCDSA Working Paper, 1974.)

[7]Eshetu Debebe, "Evaluation of Rural Development Experiences in Africa: The Case of Ethiopia," in ***Workshop on Planning and Implementation Techniques for Participatory Rural Development in Africa, November 19-24, 1990*** (Africa Hall, ECA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia), p. 7.

[8]J. D. Rogers, "Patterns of Rural Development and Impact on Employment and Incomes: The Case of Ethiopia, (A Comparative Sub-Regional Study)," (International Labour Organisation, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, Addis Ababa, 1985), p. 1. See also, MNCDSA, Working Paper, 1974, p. 3.

[9]MNCDSA, Working paper (1974), p. 4.

agriculture produced very little accumulation, and its capacity to generate profitable employment in rural areas was insignificant.

Despite the government's persistent efforts to change the situation, various factors were responsible for the inefficiency of traditional rural agriculture. Modern physical, social and administrative infrastructures did not develop to promote agricultural productivity.[10] This limited the capacity of Ethiopia's agricultural sector to fully integrate into a modern market economy. Moreover, the country depended heavily on coffee, which accounted for an estimated 55 per cent of the country's export.[11] The result was underutilization of the agricultural labor force in spite of that sector's prominence in the national economy. For instance, unemployment was estimated in 1970 at more than 15 per cent of the labor force in the traditional sector.[12] Ethiopia's per capita income was only US $83 in 1973, and the contribution of industry to the national economy was 9-10 per cent.[13] The state of the rural economy was therefore one major factor that forced people to migrate to Addis Ababa in the period under discussion.[14]

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[10] ***Ibid.***

[11] The primary export products included pulses, oilseeds which constituted approximately 25 per cent and livestock 18 per cent. Rogers, p. 1.

[12] MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 4.

[13] Rogers, pp. 9-10.

[14] Interview: Demsis Adefrissew (Addis Ababa, 05.21.97); Fayisa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06/17/97); Tsegaye Badhadha (Addis Ababa, 05/23/97); Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa 05.23.97); John N. Moraitis (Addis Ababa, 04.05.97).

There are also several other reasons for the slow development of the rural economy. They include population pressure on the land and land degradation in some areas, or their combination in other areas. Moreover, the government failed to formulate policies that would overcome these problems. Particularly, it failed to reform land tenure, which concentrated property in the hands of a few. When the government began to introduce economic development policies that targeted the rural population in the mid-1960s, peasants were unable to take advantage of the initiatives because of landlessness. Thus, lack of land was one of the most important factors for migration to Addis Ababa from the rural areas. Indeed, in agricultural societies, rural employment is directly associated with land. If one owns land, one is busy providing for one's family's sustenance and is very unlikely to move easily. The contrary situation draws people to towns, either directly or through step-migration, to look for employment. This represented one of the major features of migration from rural Ethiopia to Addis Ababa.

Rural Ethiopia was also not profitable for non-agricultural activities. Rural crafts and cottage industries that could provide wider employment opportunities were not encouraged in the countryside. Even where they existed, they were not that profitable.[15] As cheap imported products overtook weavers and ironsmiths, a number of them moved to Addis Ababa

[15]Seyoum, p. 23.

where the demand was relatively high for their products. The difficulties of getting markets in the rural areas on the one hand and the problems of taking their products to Addis Ababa on the other, dictated the decision of artisans to migrate to the city,[16] to be closer to a market reliable enough to engage them in permanent employment.[17] Moreover, as members of caste groups, they were better treated and respected in Addis Ababa than in the countryside.

Under circumstances where rural agricultural production was based entirely on traditional methods, low productivity, low consumption, and was barely touched by the "monetized economy," Ethiopia was unable to extend to the bulk of the rural population such basic social services as education, health, good roads and transport facilities.[18] The backward nature of the rural economy left little profit for further investments in other economic sectors and in social services.

Changing the situation ultimately required a formulation of radical economic policy that could modernize and capitalize the traditional

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[16]In many corners of Addis Ababa, one finds weavers and ironsmiths, who migrated from the rural areas to the city. They make different kinds of costumes, knives, kitchen utensils and many other related iron products some of which are sold at cheaper prices, yet with better quality and durability than factory-made or imported ones.

[17]One example of such craftsmen who moved their profession from Gamo Gofa (more than 500 kilometers from Addis Ababa) are the Dorze ethnic group who completely dominated the weaving of the "national costume." See, Samuel Tucho (1984) and Yishak Degefu (1992).

[18]Rogers, p. 9-10. See also Cather, p. 17.

subsistence agricultural economy and generate employment in rural areas.[19] Improving the lives of rural people might have kept potential migrants from moving to Addis Ababa, or would have slowed the flow, or at least would have provided farmers with an alternative. The introduction of capitalist agriculture into very few isolated areas came too late and was aborted too early. Although it stimulated the economy, its effects on the growth of the rural economy and the improvement of rural life were yet to be tested before the outbreak of the 1974 revolution. To bring any meaningful change in the lives of people of rural Ethiopia through an introduction of rural development projects, the land problem needed to be solved. It was to the land that people were tied, and it was because of lack of land that people left their areas to find an alternative livelihood. Investigation of the land tenure systems is, therefore, one of the most important tools to explain the causes of migration of people from rural Ethiopia to Addis Ababa.

Rural production was hampered due to the nature of the land tenure system, soil degradation and land pressure in the north, and onerous tenancy obligations in the south. An examination of these situations leads

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[19]De Leuw Cather International Inc., Project Planning Associates, and Z. Enav and M. Tedros, "Housing Study," Volume I (Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Public Works, July 1967), p. 17. Three successive Five-Year Plans from 1957-1973 were launched as part of this economic policy. See Imperial Ethiopian Government, ***First Five Year Plan, 1957-1961*** (Addis Ababa: n.d); ***Second Five Year Plan, 1963-1967*** (Addis Ababa: October 1962); **3rd Five Year Plan, 1968-1973** (Addis Ababa: 1968). The draft of the fourth FYP was almost completed to be launched in 1974 but was aborted by the revolution in the same year.

to a better understanding of the role that land plays in rural Ethiopia and the implications of the tenure systems for migration to Addis Ababa.

3.3 The Land Tenure Factor
3.3.1 Northern Ethiopia

Some scholars have asserted that the problem of land tenure was a basic factor for rural-urban migration from all regions of Ethiopia.[20] But this hypothesis can be countered on the ground that the degree of land pressure varies from one region to another and one family to another and is dependent on specific land tenure systems. Only a closer comparison of the two major regions of Ethiopia will lead to an understanding of the implications of the north's communal holdings and the south's private property regime for rural-urban migration. The question is not necessarily between owning and not owning land but it is whether one has easy access to land and whether the political system allowed cultivators to make effective use of the available land. It is true that "peasants owned little land in the north, ... [but nearly have] no land in the south where land ownership was highly concentrated."[21] A closer examination of the land tenure systems indicates that both led to migration but in different ways.

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[20]Befekadu Degefe, "Migration and Urbanization in Ethiopia," Discussion Paper For the Seminar on ***Population and Employment Planning*** (AAU, IDR, Debre Zeit, April 13-17, 1978); Kebede Mamo (1994).

[21]Seleshi Sisaye, "Urban Migration and the Labor Movement in Ethiopia" in ***Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 13-16, 1978*** (Chicago, USA: April 13-16, 1978), p. 682.

Until the nationalization of land in 1975,[22] northern Ethiopia had a communal land holding system, and southern Ethiopia had private tenure. Neither system promoted agricultural productivity. In northern Ethiopia, there were a variety of "communal" landholding systems. In the southern provinces, Menilek had imposed a private land tenure system following his conquest of the region in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[23]

In the north, land was claimed by an individual through his/her membership in a family, clan or descent group. Though the system provided land for a large majority of the population, this type of tenure led to fragmentation of holdings that significantly reduced the yield.[24] The sale and

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[22]Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 31 of 1975, "A Proclamation to Provide For the Public Ownership of Rural Lands," ***Nagarit Gazeta***, 34th Year, No. 26 (April 1975).

[23]For details on land tenure systems in both regions, see, Joanna Mantel-Niecko, ***The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*** (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1980); John M. Cohen and Dov Weintraub, ***Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution*** (Assen, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Van Gorcum & Comp., 1975). See also H. C. Dunning, "Land Reform in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Non-Development," in ***U.C.L.A. Law Review*** 18 (1970), pp. 271-307. For a focused work specially in communal tenure Amhara provinces, see, Allan Hoben, Land Tenure Among the Amhara of Ethiopia; the Dynamics of Cognatic Descent (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

[24]Informants: Richard Pankhurst (Addis Ababa, 04.21.97); Zewde Gebre Sellassie (01.02.97). See also Eshetu Debebe, p. 7; Etenesh, p. 13, and James McCann, ***From Poverty to Famine in Northeast Ethiopia: A Rural History 1900-1935*** (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 33. See also A. S. Oberai, "Problems of Urbanisation and Growth of Large Cities: A Conceptual Framework For Policy Analysis," in ***Population and Labour Policies Programme, Working Paper No. 169*** (Geneva: International Labour Office, April 1989), p. 5.

monetizing of land was practically impossible in the region for land belonged to members of the whole group rather than to an individual.[25]

The major northern crop was cereal. Contrary to the general feeling that the region's failure to grow cash crops was due to an unfavorable climate, it can be safely argued that the nature of the land tenure was the main impediment. As property was parceled out among descent groups over time, nobody wanted to invest in the land to grow cash crops on strips of widely variable size and quality. Moreover, the fact that land might be claimed and taken over one day by someone else discouraged the planting of permanent cash crops. This situation was complicated by a rapidly increasing population, environmental changes, land degradation and drought. Productivity dropped, resulting in hunger and aggravated poverty, to which people responded[26] by migrating mostly to towns and to the rural

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[25]Informants: Mulugeta Bekele (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97).

[26]For an interesting piece on the "environmental patterns" of northern Ethiopia with emphasis on northern Wallo, see McCann (1987), pp. 27-33. Oral sources corroborate McCaann's findings as well. Informants: Desalegn Rahmato (Addis Ababa, 07.02.97); Degu Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Abate Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97). See also McCann's other works, "A Great Agrarian Cycle? A History of Agricultural Productivity and Demographic Change in Highland Ethiopia, 1900-1987," Working Papers in African Studies No. 131 (Boston University, African Studies Center, 1988); and "Household Economy, Demography, and The 'Push' Factor in Northern Ethiopian History 1916-1935," Working Papers No. 97 (Boston University, African Studies Center, 1983); G. L. Galperin, "Some Notes on Population Migrations in Ethiopia Before and in the Course of the Revolution," in ***Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*** (Moscow: 26-29 August, 1986), pp. 177-178. There are a number of works on land tenure system and their effects in Ethiopia. But for a good account on the contradiction in the system, see John M. Cohen and Dov Weintraub.

south. Addis Ababa undoubtedly received the largest number of such rural migrants.[27]

Communal landholding systems existed in Eritrea, Tigray, Begemidir, Gojjam, parts of Wallo and Northern Shoa. Theoretically, there was no landlessness in these provinces, and one may thus argue that landlessness was not a cause for the migration. Informants from these provinces attested that fragmentation of holdings was the most important cause,[28] followed by natural disasters. As all land is claimed by lineal groups or families, purchase of additional land was (and is still) difficult, limiting intra-regional (especially rural-rural) migration.[29] As Patrick Gilkes correctly noted, "Other land is virtually unobtainable and when it is it tends to be semi desert or marginal arable land, and usually far distant. When pressures become

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[27]In 1927, an Addis Ababan reported in the "Letters to the Editor Column" in the *Berhanena Salam* Newspaper that he met a stranger in the street of the city and asked where he came from and why he came. The respondent said that he came form Shire in the province of Tigray and he had come to the capital because he did not have enough land to support his family.

[28]Cohen and Weintraub, pp. 49-50. See also Eshetu Debebe, p. 7. Informants: Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.27.97); Mulugeta Yihun (Addis Ababa, 06.08.97); Yitbarek Faqadu Addis Ababa, 05.12.97); Yerom Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97).

[29]Informant: Seltene Seyoum (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97). In Eritrea, in regions of acute land shortage, highlanders farm the lowlands and return after the season is over. This system is called *mofar zamat* which refers to a campaign (*zamat*) with a plough (*mofar*). The farmer usually leaves his family behind although some of the young members would follow him to provide labor and to help in cooking. This system was, in fact common, in many parts of the country where pressure on land was great.

intolerable," people move south and also to the barely inhabited lowlands in the province of Gojjam.[30]

In central Gojjam, land was totally occupied, and, since the mid-1960s, land-seeking migrants, especially those from Wallo, were forced to go to disease-infested lowland areas. Unfortunately, northern towns were not economically strong enough to offer opportunities to compensate for the problems that shortage of land, the need for cash, drought and famine have created. The result was mostly long distance inter-regional migration largely to Addis Ababa and to other economically viable towns in the southern provinces.[31]

Migration to Addis Ababa has been part of the process of an overall north-south movement over the centuries which was reinforced by Menilek's conquests in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As Harold Marcus noted, many northerners "had flocked to Addis Ababa in search of career and fortune, or had been brought to the city by victorious Shoan armies."[32] Menilek's conquest of the southern provinces opened the region to

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[30]Patrick Gilkes, ***The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*** (London: Julian Friedmann Publishers Ltd., 1975), p. 122. I have also talked to such migrants in Matakal in 1985 and witnessed the situation. Matakal *awraja* is a vast lowland territory bordering the Sudan, where hundreds of thousands of famished people from Wallo and Northern Shoa were resettled by the government in 1984-5.

[31]For details on this issue, see Bjèren, p. 247.

[32]Marcus (1975), p. 221.

occupation by land-hungry northerners.[33] The establishment of a new Ethiopian administration also sustained state-backed migration to both the rural and urban south,[34] to "...assist [the government] in maintaining control of these regions, and also in order to expand its revenue base through the settlement of tax-paying cultivators."[35] Some of the migrants were members of a newly developing oligarchy who did not cultivate but controlled the land and taxed the local people. The migrants settled in newly created administrative centers of which Addis Ababa had primacy as the emperor's town.

3.3.2 Land Disputes and Their Implications for Migration

Another push factor in northern Ethiopia was land disputes, mainly caused by "Undefined boundaries and vague titles of ownership [which led] ... to endless litigation keeping [northern] farmers away from work."[36] Surveys made by the Ministry of Land Reform Administration between 1969

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[33]Abdurahman Mohammed, "Population Distribution and Internal Migration in Ethiopia" (Master of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra, March 1987), p. 34.

[34]In fact, state-backed migration was strengthened a century later under Mengistu Haile Mariam, who sent millions of northerners to settle in the south. For more details, see Jonathan Baker, "Migration in Ethiopia and the Role of the State," in Jonathan Baker and Tade Akin Aina (eds.), ***The Migration Experience in Africa*** (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1985), pp. 234-254.

[35]John Markakis, ***Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*** (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 111-112. Some Oromos, especially from Shoa had also participated in the conquest and settled in some southern provinces.

[36]Seyoum, p. 14.

and 1971 clearly indicate the intensity of the disputes in the north's communal landholding provinces.[37] Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show land dispute cases being litigated at *warada* and *awraja* [38]courts by the time of the surveys.

Table 3.1

The Proportion of Land Disputes to Total Civil Cases at Warada Courts in the Four Major Northern Provinces, 1969-1971

Province	Total No. of Civil Cases	Total No. of Land Cases	Reasons For Land Disputes			
			Claiming Share	Landlord -Tenant	Boundary, Trespass	Others (assault on property)
Tigray	7,138	3,280	1,662	595	32	991
Begemidir & Samen	4,889	3,091	2,331	265	13	482
Gojjam	4,324	1,729	1,149	323	9	3
Eritrea	2,736	671	279	49	326	17
GRAND TOTAL	19,097	8,771	5,421	1,232	380	1,493
% of Total	100.0	46.0	61.7	14.1	4.3	17.0

Source: MLRA Reports for the provinces of Tigray (p. 40), Eritrea (p. 27), Gojjam (p. 28) and Begemidir & Simien (p. 29).

[37]See Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Land Reform and Administration (hereafter MLRA), "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Tigre Province" (The Department of Land Tenure, Addis Ababa, January 1969); MLRA, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Eritrea Province" (The Department of Land Tenure, Addis Ababa, September 1969); MLRA, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Begemdier & Simien Province" (The Department of Land Tenure, Addis Ababa, January 1970); MLRA, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Gojam Province" (The Department of Land Tenure, Addis Ababa, January 1971). Wallo is a northern province, with communal and private land tenure systems. The part occupied by the Amharas practiced communal type common in northern Ethiopia, and the part occupied by the Oromos (called "ጋላ መሬት – Gala land") went under a similar process with other southern provinces. Informant: Yitbarek Feqadu (Addis Ababa, 05.12.97).

[38] *Warada* is a smaller administrative unit below *awraja,* which is below the administrative region called governorate-general under the imperial regime. Governorate-generals were directly accountable to the center in Addis Ababa.

Map 2

SCHEME OF ETHIOPIA ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Scale 1:20,000,000



ADDIS ABEBA Capital of Ethiopia Goba Centers of provinces

Ethiopia is divided into 14 administrative provinces
(they are represented by figures)

1	Eritrea	6	Wellega	11	Arsi
2	Gonder	7	Shewa	12	Gamo Gofa
3	Tigray	8	Harerge		
4	Gojjam	9	Illubabor	13	Sidamo
5	Wello	10	Kefa	14	Bale

Source: MSU Map Library

The total number of civil cases at the *warada* courts in these provinces was 19,087, of which 8,771 or 46 per cent were land disputes. The overwhelming majority was related to share claims, comprising 5,421, or 61.7 per cent of the entire land disputes. The rest were disputes between landlords and tenants, boundary trespasses and assault on property resulting from land disputes. Although numerically lower, the percentage of cases related to share claims at the *awraja* court remained similar, at 67.5 per cent. Also, the percentage of land disputes versus all other civil cases in both courts was much closer; 46 per cent for the *warada* courts and 42.9 per cent for the *awraja* courts. Given the northern Ethiopian tradition of appealing their cases, similar proportions were found in the high and supreme courts, and in the *zufan chilot*, the emperor's judiciary.

Table 3.2

The Proportion of Land Disputes to Total Civil Cases at Awraja Courts in the Four Major Northern Prov'ces

Province	Total No. of Civil cases	Total No. of Land Cases	Reasons For Land Disputes			
			Claiming Share	Landlord -Tenant	Boundary, Trespass	Others (assault on property)
Tigray	684	418	294	43	12	69
Eritrea	378	116	59	8	47	2
Gojjam	425	99	61	9	29	-
Begemidir & Samen	684	298	214	23	2	59
GRAND TOTAL	2,171	931	628	83	90	130
TOTAL	100.0	42.9	67.5	8.9	9.7	14.0

Source: Imperial Ethiopian Government, MLRA, Report for the Provinces of Tigray (p. 38), Eritrea (p. 25), Gojjam (p. 27) and Begemidir & Simien (p. 26).

The proportion of land disputes was quite significant in the criminal cases as well. For instance, out of 806 criminal disputes at the *awraja* courts in Tigray, 40 (5 per cent) were land disputes and out of 3,619 criminal disputes in the *warada* courts, 666 (18.4 per cent) were land disputes of various kinds.[39] Similarly, out of 2,857 criminal disputes litigated at the *warada* courts in Eritrea, 411 (14.4 per cent) were land disputes.[40] In the province of Begemidir and Samen, 174 land disputes were reported out of 496 criminal cases at the *awraja* courts.[41] And the pattern was similar for the other provinces of northern Ethiopia. A significant number of disputants went as far as the imperial court *(zufan chilot)* in Addis Ababa to get a final verdict from the emperor. The Amhara and the Tigre, whose societies were hierarchically organized, had an age-old tradition of taking their cases to the emperor.[42] For the emperor, appeal to his tribunal was recognition of his authority by the public, as well as a demonstration of loyalty. For the public, taking their cases to the emperor was a satisfaction, whatever the outcome would be.

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[39]MLRA, Tigray province, pp. 39 and 41.

[40]MLRA, Eritrea province, p. 28.

[41]MLRA, Begemdier & Simien province, pp. 27 and 29.

[42]The Oromo and other southern peoples had the tradition of resolving their disputes customarily, since they were not hierarchically organized. Although Menilek's conquest disrupted these traditions, the peoples of southern Ethiopia did not easily adopt the northern appeal system for various reasons, and they (more or less) continued to resolve their conflicts traditionally.

Such was the age-old tradition of the Amhara and the Tigre, in which litigants would never yield until their case reached the emperor. One Tigrayan informant underlined: "The people of Tigray do not easily give up on issues of land. When they quarrel for a very small plot of land (as small as an arm's length), they sell all their possessions and come to Addis Ababa for litigation."[43] Yet another informant from the same province noted that "A chief does not easily attack the poor. Nor does the poor submit easily. He takes the chief to courts as far away as Addis Ababa."[44]

To give a comparative perspective, in the southern provinces the *gabbars* (tribute-paying peasants), as the southerners came to be known following Menilek's conquest of the region, could not afford the risk of entering into land-related disputes with landlords who had the power to revoke their usufruct, imprison or evict them. In the north, disputants had ownership and no worry of being evicted and thus confronted anyone regardless of his social or political status. Moreover, the modern judicial system, introduced by Haile Sillassie, strengthened the tradition of appeal that already existed in northern Ethiopia.[45] The last stage in the appeal

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[43]"መሬትን በተመለከተ የትግራይ ሕዝብ በጣም ከስ ወዳድ ነዉ፤ ስንዝር በምታክል ድንበር ላይ ይጣላና ሀብት ንብረቱን ሸጦ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ይመጣል።" Informant: Taddesse Beyene (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

[44]"ባላባት ደኃዉን በቀላሉ አያጠቃም፤ ይከሰዉና አዲስ አበባ ያደርሰዋል።" Informant: Takle Haimanot Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97).

[45]Informants: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97); Emmanuel

system became one of the most important migration routes to Addis Ababa for people from northern Ethiopia. Litigants remained in the city for three main reasons. First, losing cases was considered shameful to country people and, rather than returning and living in constant embarrassment, the losers remained in Addis Ababa or, in extreme cases, murdered the winner and became bandits.[46] Second, those who run out of money were unable to pay for their transportation and thus remained in the capital.[47] Third, others were very much attracted to the beauty of the city and its modern life. Of course, a combination of these factors could also have led to litigants' remaining in the city.[48]

In the post-war period, the imperial appeals system also opened opportunities, even for people of the southern provinces to take their cases to Addis Ababa. The emperor made himself relatively accessible to non-northerners wanting to present cases and complaints to him. Serious informants explain that the flood of litigants from the southern provinces was owing more to the weakness of and, in many cases, the

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Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97).

[46]Informants: Gebre Medhin Simon (Addis Ababa, 07.07.97); Tekle Haimanot Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 07.04.97); Taddesse Beyene (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97); Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97).

[47]Informant: Richard Pankhurst (Addis Ababa, 04.21.97).

[48]Informants: Richard Pankhurst (Addis Ababa, 04.21.97); Yohannis Huluqa (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97); Taddesse Beyene (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97); Desalegn Rahmato (Addis Ababa, 07.02.97); Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97).

obstruction of justice there than to the emperor's accessibility. Avedis Terzian, a 95-year-old Armenian resident of Addis Ababa, who long served the Ethiopian government and acquired an in-depth knowledge of the justice system, confidently stated that: "People from the southern provinces came to Addis Ababa for litigation because of the obstruction of justice. The justice system was better in Addis Ababa. The previous government was very weak in the field of administration of justice and people in charge were corrupt. That is why people brought their cases to the capital."[49] This was reinforced by the new post-war land grant system, and the resultant dislocation and eviction of people that led to organized groups to appeal their cases up to the emperor's court.[50]

3.3.3 Southern Ethiopia

The land holding system in southern Ethiopia was the outcome of political developments in the country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Following his conquests, Menilek took the lands from the local people and made them state property. The people living on the lands were distributed among his northern followers.[51] The number of people allotted to

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[49]"ሰው ለክስ ብሎ ከደቡብ ጠቅላይ ግዛቶች ወደ አዲስ አበባ የሚመጣዉ የመብትና የፍርድ ጉድለት ስላለ ነዉ። የዱር አዝዝ በነዚህ አካባቢዎች ደካማ ስለነበር ከአዲስ አበባ ዉጪ ፍርድና መብት በጣም የተለያየ ነዉ። መብትና ፍርድ ስለሌለ የከፍለ ሀገር ሰዉ ትክለኛ ፍርድ ለመቀበል አዲስ አበባ ይመጣል።" Informant: Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 27.05.97).

[50]Informant: Tarafa Lubo (Addis Ababa, 07.07.97).

[51]Rogers, p. 22. See also Charles W. McClellan, ***State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895-1935*** (East Lansing:

each northern settler was determined by his rank. The local people were turned into *gabbars,*[52] and a system of tributary relationship between them and the northern settlers (called *naftagna*) evolved.[53] This relationship, known as the *gabbar* system, was characterized by the appropriation "from individual households part or all of the surplus produced, either in goods or labor"[54] in lieu of their services to the state.

The *gabbar* system remained an important feature of Ethiopia's political economy in the conquered regions at least until 1941. Soon after liberation, the government introduced a new law regarding provincial administration. The law required the payment of salary for government officials thus ending their direct appropriation of tribute from the *gabbars.*

Michigan State University, African Studies Center, 1988), p. 61; and John M. Cohen, "Effects of the Green Revolution Strategies on Tenants and Small Scale Landowners in the Chilalo Region of Ethiopia," in ***The Journal of Development Areas***, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1975), p. 337. See also, Markakis (1974), p. 108.

[52]Unlike the northern *gabbars* who had their own lands, the southern *gabbars* were expropriated of their lands and they were "quartered on the land of another" with a "highly insecure" relationship to the land. Markakis (1974), p. 112. For a case analysis on the *naftagna-gabbar* system, see Charles McClellan, "Perspectives on the Neftenya-Gabbar System," in ***Africa***, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Rome: 1978), pp. 426-440.

[53]*Naftagna* is the name given to northern "soldiers and settlers, who were armed and assisted the governors in ruling the new [southern] provinces..." The term eventually became generic applying to all northerners. The people who settled on the lands given to the *naftagna* were called *gabbars* or tribute payers. Hence the system came to be known as the *naftagna-gabbar* system. See Markakis (1974), p. 112.

[54]McCllelan (1988), p. 58.

The law technically eliminated all other pre-war exorbitant exactions and allowed the *gabbars* to pay fixed taxes to the state instead.[55]

The southern landholding system thus represents a sharp contrast with that of the north. In the former case, except for the northerners and newly created local chiefs, the vast majority of the population had little access to private ownership. Moreover, landlessness was attended by payment of excessive charges to those who controlled land,[56] an important factor in encouraging southerners to migrate to Addis Ababa and other towns.

Despite the harshness of life under landlessness in the south, the volume of migration from the region was not as large as from the north. The abundance of fertile agricultural land and the fact that landownership was private, offered opportunities for the *gabbars* to change masters under terms relatively better than migrating to long distances from the outset. These opportunities grew especially after the late 1950s, but were mostly limited to areas where local chiefs controlled the land. Perhaps this followed the series of measures that were taken by the government to ease the relationship between the landlords and the *gabbars*. These measures

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[55]Markakis (1974), p. 119. Laws were introduced after laws to ease the land-related tax burden of the Ethiopian peasantry down to 1974. The *gabbar* system was considerably weakened in the process of implementing those laws. For more details, see Markakis (1974), pp. 119-131.

[56]Hellen and Said, pp. 310-311; Informants: Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96).

brought the *gabbars* and the central government closer to one another especially in matters related to tax obligations thereby reducing the power of the landlords as third party agents. Haile Sillassie's drive to centralize power and the taxation system in the immediate period before and after the war was geared towards achieving this objective.

Although the *gabbar* system and its arbitrary exactions gradually decreased in the post-war period, lack of access to land exposed the southern people to increased sharecropping and tenancy. Indeed, giving out land for sharecropping was not only limited to the landowners, but also involved whoever had the land and other vital resources. Big peasants who could rent land from the owners may in turn give it to poor peasants for sharecropping. Also one who has land but not seeds, may enter into a sharecropping contract with another who has the seeds. One who has the oxen may give them out to another who has the land to share its products. In other words, although sharecropping is theoretically conceptualized as a contract between those who own land and who do not, in reality it can also be between people who do not.[57] Such possibilities, in addition to the expansion of a cash (especially coffee) economy, offered potentially better livelihoods for southerners. For some, it minimized the risk of eviction.[58]

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[57]Wallagga is a very good example where such practices existed, and the relationship was determined by a contract renewable every cropping season.

[58]In fact, there is a tendency to exaggerate tenure insecurity and eviction to have been an important factor for migration. See for example, Cohen and Weintraub,

What is more important is that with the gradual weakening of the *gabbar* system and its replacement by sharecropping, the use of land entered a process of eventual capitalization.[59]

However, unlike sharecropping in the America South, the incipient capitalistic development in southern Ethiopia, as represented by sharecropping did not lead to accumulation and social transformation to capitalism. In the latter case, sharecropping responded to a giant northern urban industrial economy under a rapidly expanding capitalism.[60] In southern Ethiopia, however, sharecropping operated within a feudal system and the products were mainly for consumption and not in response to industrialization.

An important example of land capitalization occurred in the Shashamnne region in the pre-war era where Princess Tanagne Work, the

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pp. 55-56. Yes, insecurity and eviction existed, but as indicated above most tenants rather appear to have turned from one master to another and moved from one locality to another than resorting to outright out-migration for the decision to migrate would involve considering several factors that should be overcome before leaving one's own locality.

[59]See for example, McClellan (1988), chapter 5.

[60]Ralph Shlomowitz, "The Origins of Southern Sharecropping," in Donald G. Nieman (ed.), ***From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865-1900*** (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 199-217. In fact, this is a comparison between two peoples under very dissimilar situations with the exception that both were sharecroppers. For southern Ethiopians, it was a transformation from freedom to subjects, even sometimes treated as slaves or supervised by slaves while working for their masters. They were eventually transformed into landless people and the products of their labor came at the disposal of agents of the imperial rule. In America south, it was part of the long process of transformation from slavery to freedom.

emperor's daughter, developed a large-scale coffee plantation worked by hired local labor and inspected by skilled foreigners.[61] With the expansion of coffee cultivation as a vital export product in the post-war period, Jimma represented another example. Exploiting his position as governor of that province, *Dajazmatch* Mesfin Sileshi, one of the most important favorites of the emperor, amassed a large area of coffee land through various means and developed a commercial farm.[62] Despite the capitalistic nature of his coffee plantation, Mesfin used forced labor.[63] There were no such significant developments in other areas until the expansion of small-scale commercial farms in the 1960s and early 1970s in the Shashamanne region motivated by the creation of a high demand for haricot bean in the world market.[64]

In areas settled by the *naftagna* where concentration of holdings was very high, the threat of eviction was also high because the owners knew that the peasants could not afford migrating with their families, nor could they easily find a place to move to.[65] This was common particularly in Bale, Arsi,

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[61]Benti (1988), p. 8.

[62]Markakis (1974), p. 118.

[63]For an interesting discussion of Mesfin's commercial venture, see Guluma Gemeda, "Land, Agriculture and Society in the Gibe Region: Southwestern Ethiopia, c.1850-1974" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, Department of History, 1996), pp. 264-272.

[64]Informants: Abay Zaqusquam (Shashamanne, 09.07.86), Asafa Badhase (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

[65]In other instances, people migrated from lands occupied by the *naftagna* to those occupied by local chiefs. A prominent example of this was the movement of people from Kafa and other ex-Oromo states to Jimma to escape the harsh rule of the

Ilu Abba Bora and Hararghe provinces where *naftagna* presence was higher, and concentration of land excessive. For instance, according to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Land Reform Administration, in one of the districts in the province of Hararghe, 0.2 per cent of the landlords alone owned 75 per cent of the measured land while 44 per cent of the landlords owned only 3.4 per cent of the land. Moreover, in the vast area surveyed, two landlords alone owned 95.4 per cent of the measured land and 0.01 per cent of the landlords owned 64.4 per cent of the total unmeasured land, "of which 63.9 per cent was owned by one person. This same person also held 21.7 per cent of the measured land."[66]

At the national level, an oligarchy composed of members of the royal family, the nobility, and the upper clergy jointly controlled 90 per cent of the private land, even though 80 per cent of the Ethiopian people derived their livelihood from land.[67] Having technically been denied the right of arbitrarily charging their subjects in the post-1941 period, these landowners turned to sharecropping and renting their land to tenants. Absentee landlords controlled a vast area of land in the southern provinces. Most of them lived

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Amhara under *Ras* Walde Giorgis. Jimma's king, Sulatan Abba Jifar II, submitted peacefully to Menilek and thus enjoyed internal autonomy and relative prosperity. See Guluma (1996), pp. 154 and 157.

[66]Rogers, p. 25. Oral sources confirm that eviction was an important factor for the migration of people to towns in Hararghe. Informants: Shamsadin Abdo (informal communication in Addis Ababa); Tasamma Nagari (Addis Ababa, 07.10.89).

[67]Etenesh, p.12.

in towns, especially in Addis Ababa.[68] In other words, not only poor people migrated to Addis Ababa but there is evidence of landlords and big merchants also coming to the city for various reasons.[69] Table 3.3 demonstrates the percentage of absentee landlords, most of whom lived in cities with their families and dependent relatives.

Table 3.3

Percentage Distribution of Absentee Landlords to Total Number of Land-Owners and Area of Land Owned, 1969-1971[70]

Provinces	Absentee Owners	Area Owned by Absentee Owners (%)	Tenancy (%)[71]
Arsi	28	27	62
Bale	15	12	-
Gamo Gofa	10	42	47
Hararghe	23	48	54
Ilu Abba Bora	42	42	75
Kafa	18	34	62
Shoa	35	45	67
Sidamo	25	42	39
Wallagga	29	28	59
Wallo	26	13	32

Source: MLRA, ***The Major Features of the Prevailing Land Tenure System in Ethiopia*** (Addis Ababa: 1971), pp. 33, 35-39.

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[68]See Markakis (1974), p. 106.

[69]See, for instance, Tekalign (1995), p. 301; and Hugh James Mullenbach, "Akaki Beseka: Urban Processes in an Ethiopian Industrial Town" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1976), p. 136.

[70]For detailed information on the high percentage of absentee land ownership and tenancy ratio in the southern provinces, see MLRA, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Bale Province"; Illubabor Province (1969); Kafa Province (1969); Sidamo Province (1968); Gamo Gofa Province (1968); Wallaga Province (1967); Arsi Province (1967); Shoa Province" (1967); and Welo Province (1968).

[71]Information on Bale is not complete. Given that it was one of the provinces where land was alienated most, the percentage of tenancy could be higher.

3.3.4 Tenancy and Migration to Addis Ababa

In the south, tenancy characterized the relationship between owner and worker. Tenancy agreements were unwritten to allow the landlords to evict the tenants any time they liked "... at very short notice, with little or no justification. In addition, tenants were at times charged a premium to start their tenancy, and also had to pay fees and services ... to renew tenancy." As tributes and taxes were paid mostly in kind, the landlords used every opportunity to extort most of the tenants' produce.[72]

Although tenancy was harsher in such areas as Arsi, Bale, Hararghe, Kambata and Hadiya where the northern owners predominated, gradually local chiefs became equally harsh by adopting similar mechanisms of extortion.[73] The post-1941 land grants not only intensified the rate of tenancy, but also led to both the eviction of local people from lands they had occupied for generations, and to rural-urban and rural-rural migration.[74]

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[72]Rogers, p. 25

[73]Informants: Muzeyin Jawi (Shashamanne, 09.29.86, 09.05.87); Ebiso Timo (Shashamanne, 09.04.97); Ali Abba Bora (Shashamanne, 09.24.86).

[74]Beyene, pp. 104, 106-107. Recently, Tekalign Wolde Mariam has come out with compelling evidence from archival research supporting this policy of the government of Haile Sellassie. See, Tekalign Wolde Mariam, "The Politics of Integration and Land Policy: Testing the Theory of Privatization of Land in Post-Liberation Ethiopia" (Prepared for the Seventh Departmental Seminar of the Department of History, AAU, Held in Jimma, 23-29 March, 1997). See also his dissertation p. 305. Informants: Muzeyin Jawi (Shashamanne, 09.05.97); Ebiso Timo (Shashamanne, 09.04.87); Ali Abba Bora (Shashamanne, 09.24.86); Anonymous informants (Addis Ababa).

Theoretically, there is a correlation between tenancy, landlessness, and migration from the rural areas. But in the Ethiopian case, it appears to be quite the opposite. Examining the factors on a regional comparative basis between northern and southern Ethiopia, where the tenancy rate was 20 and 55 per cent respectively,[75] would help to understand why this was the case. Indeed, as indicated above, land fragmentation had caused migration of people from the north to the rural and urban areas of the southern provinces. The paradox is that in most southern areas, where people did not own land and where the tenancy ratio was higher, the rate of migration was lower. And the number of migrants to Addis Ababa from those regions was lower too. For instance, according to Susanne Comhaire-Sylvain's survey of 1960, the number of migrants to the city from Ilu Abba Bora (Ilubabor), where about three-quarters of the population were tenants, was insignificant. Out of 506 migrants covered by the survey, only three were from Ilu Abba Bora.[76] Only in the case of southern Shoa, where the percentage of tenancy was 67 per cent,[77] was

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[75]Cohen and Weintraub, pp. 51-52.

[76]Susanne Comhaire-Sylvain (1967), p. 26.

[77]Hellen and Said, p. 310. Shoa had both land tenure systems. The northern part which is inhabited by the Amharas had communal tenure system typical of the other northern provinces. The southern, which is the largest part of the province, had private tenure system similar with other southern provinces. Southern Shoa was conquered by Menilek and thus the *naftagna-gabbar* system was imposed there which made the rate of tenancy so higher. For insights on tenancy, see Misghina Yassin and Abraham Kahsai, "Tenancy System in Ethiopia," ***EPID Publication No. 19*** (January 1973).

there a correlation between tenancy and a higher rate of in-migration to Addis Ababa.

In other words, the greater emphasis given to tenancy as one of the major indicators of the volume of migration does not universally apply to all regions of Ethiopia. As will be discussed below, other variables such as distance, transport facilities, local economy, regional patterns of urbanization and the expansion of education, are important variables that must be carefully examined to clarify the paradox between the degree of tenancy and the volume of migration. A close examination of these variables in Ethiopia indicates that more people migrated from low tenancy areas than from the high tenancy areas.

Table 3.4

Tenant Population as Percentage of Total Rural Population in Private and Communal Tenure Areas and Migration to Addis Ababa[78]

Provinces	Rural Population	Number of Tenants	Percentage of Tenancy	Migration to Addis Ababa by Province – 1967[79]	
				Total Number of Migrants	% by Province[80]
PRIVATE					
Arsi	690,600	358,488	52	5,570	1.5
Bale	-	-	-	11,330	0.4
Gamo Gofa	583,300	271,045	47	16,500	4.5
Hararghe	1,435,570	775,207	54	12,280	3.3
Ilu Abba Bora	515,375	386,531	75	1,150	0.3
Kafa	969,100	600,842	62	6,490	1.8
Shoa	3,585,000	2,401,950	67	**225,920**	**61.5**
Sidamo	1,987,590	775,159	39	7,440	2.0
Wallagga	1,064,100	624,453	59	7,580	2.1
Wallo	2,061,800	671,982	32	24,840	6.8
Total	12,892,435	6,865,657	55	319,100	84.2
COMMUNAL					
Begemidir	1,087,200	163,080	15	9,830	2.7
Eritrea	-	-	-	20,600	5.6
Gojjam	1,344,500	267,809	20	12,960	3.5
Tigray	1,410,800	355,218	25	14,800	4.0
Total	3,842,500	786,107	20[81]	58,190	15.8
GRAND TOTAL	**16,734,935**	**7,651,764**	**46**	**377,290**	**100.0**

Source: Summarized from Cohen and Weintraub (1975), pp. 51 and 52.

Shoa and Wallo, where both types of tenure existed, were put in the category of private tenure and there is no information on the percentage of communal tenure there. But that does not affect the conclusion that more migrants came from non-private tenure areas. Disregarding these two

[78]The provinces of Bale and Eritrea were not included in the National Sample Survey. See Cohen and Weintraub, pp. 51 and 52

[79]CSO, "Population of Addis Ababa: Results From the Population Sample Survey of October 1967," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (Addis Ababa: July 1972), p. 81.

[80]The percentages are my computations.

[81]This average does not include Eritrea for which there is no information.

provinces, the number of migrants from the other eight private tenure provinces with a total tenant population of 3,791,725[82] was 68,340 (18.1 per cent) of the entire migrant population in Addis Ababa in 1967. In contrast, the northern communal tenure areas whose tenant population was only 786,107[83] out of the total population of 3,842,500, had 58,190 (25.6 per cent) migrants in Addis Ababa in 1967.

3.4 Rural Unemployment vs. Rural Development: Implications for Migration to Addis Ababa

I define "rural unemployment" as a condition created by the inability of the rural economy to absorb labor or the inability of the government to generate jobs in the rural areas. A study made by the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs in 1974 estimated the percentage distribution of employment between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors at about 85, 8 and 7 per cents respectively,[84] indicative of the imbalance between the growth of agriculture and industry. Theoretically, it means that employment opportunities were better in the rural areas than in the modern urban sector.

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[82]Due to the absence of data, the figure for the tenant population does not include the province of Bale.

[83]Due to the absence of data, the figure for the tenant population does not include the province of Eritrea.

[84]MNCDSA, Employment Policy Paper (1974), p. 6.

The difficulties of access to agricultural land and/or exorbitant taxation or rents imposed on farmers, lack of tools and seeds were some of the main causes of rural unemployment or underemployment. In other words, problems emanating from these factors made it difficult for country people to be integrated fully into the rural economy. No region was immune from rural unemployment and underemployment, even the north, where everybody had a plot of land. Two important measures would have thus been required to tackle the state of rural unemployment in Ethiopia. First, the government needed to implement a radical land reform to create an atmosphere conducive enough to generate employment in rural areas. Such a change would have enabled rural people to own land and improve their own livelihood. While reform would lead to a better degree of productivity, subsistence and self-reliance, it would simultaneously reduce the rate of migration to towns and to other rural areas. Radical land reform, however, would have meant political suicide for the pre-1974 Ethiopian government for its very political survival depended on the support of the landowners. The second measure would be to undertake an evolutionary land reform where the government could have bought land and distributed it to the landless, who would pay off the property in installments.[85] Although this was a possibility and would not involve much political risks, the government could

[85]For a general discussion on this issue, see Makonen Getu, ***Socialism, Participation, and Agricultural Development in Post-Revolutionary Ethiopia: A Study of Constraints*** (Stockholm: Akademitryck, Edsbruk, 1987), pp. 26-30.

not afford the financial burdens of this option, nor was it bold enough to commit itself to such measures given the country's economy.

Until the land question was solved, the call of development strategists to generate rural employment and raise rural real income in the hope of reducing rural-urban migration would never materialize. Development strategists argued that generating employment would increase rural incomes, which in turn stimulates demand for manufactured goods and thus creates a state of symbiosis between the urban and rural areas. As Robert D. A. Shaw aptly noted,

> '...nearly all developing countries need to create more jobs in the rural areas. They also need to make those jobs productive in order to raise rural incomes and total agricultural production. This is necessary not only to alleviate the poverty of rural areas and to help stem migration to the cities but also to stimulate production and employment in the rest of the economy. Additional rural incomes raise the demand for food and for simple consumer goods (such as textiles, furniture and utensils) which can often be made locally in a labour-intensive fashion. To increase agricultural production requires additional inputs, infrastructure, and marketing facilities, all of which contribute to employment.'[86]

Although this strategy is very impressive in facilitating the growth of a mutually stimulating rural-urban or agricultural-industrial economy that could generate employment opportunities, there are serious impediments to its implementation. In the absence of other dynamic economic sectors in

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[86]Robert D. A. Shaw, "The Importance of the Rural Sector in Employment Generation," in ***Manpower: Employment Growth and Economic Development***, Proceedings of the Executive Seminar on Employment and Growth, U.S. Agency for International Development, No. 1-20, n.d.), p. 61; quoted in Abebe Adera, "Some Thoughts on the Employment Problem in Ethiopia," in ***Eastern African Economic Review***, Vol. VI, No. 1 (June 1974), p. 88-89.

urban areas that directly stimulate the growth of the rural economy by creating employment opportunities in the rural areas, the greater "burden of absorbing the increase in the labour force must fall on agriculture."[87]

One major impediment in the Ethiopian case was the land tenure system. On the one hand the majority of the population was landless and easy access to land was limited or there was tenure insecurity. On the other hand, most rich landlords did not invest in rural areas, instead favoring the towns where more profit could be made. They preferred investing in urban areas because "there is often lack of a rural orientation among landlords since they tend to transfer the economic rent they extract to urban areas; either for industrial investment or to finance the consumption of luxuries."[88]

In pre-1974 Ethiopia, despite emphasis on agriculture, more priority was given to the development of industries in and around Addis Ababa, which, however, only employed few.[89] The focus on industrialization after 1957, however limited it was, strained the country's scarce resources and capital without building the capacity to arouse rural development and strengthen interdependence between the rural areas and Addis Ababa where the industries were concentrated.

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[87]Abebe, p. 87.

[88]Montague Yudelman, **et.al.**, ***Technological Change in Agriculture and Employment in Developing Countries***, Development Centre Studies, Employment Series No. 4 (Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1971), quoted in Abebe, p. 89.

[89]Abebe, p. 84.

In 1957, Ethiopia launched its first Five Year Plan (FYP), (1957-1962); the second came in 1963 (1963-1967); and the third appeared in 1968 (1968-1973), whereas the fourth was aborted by the outbreak of the 1974 revolution.[90] The main targets of the first FYP were to accelerate economic growth and enhance the market and monetary economies through better utilization of natural resources in agriculture, mining, forestry and water resources. It was hoped that attainment of these objectives would strengthen Ethiopia's position in international trade and would promote economic development and raise the living standard of the population.[91]

The second FYP envisaged a 20-year effort to bring about "a structural transformation of the economy from a predominantly agricultural base to an industrial and agro-industrial one."[92] As a means to an end, it emphasized agriculture in the fields of data improvement, research, extension services, and manpower development. The third FYP was conceived to attain a 6 per

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[90]Imperial Ethiopian Government, ***Second Five Year Plan, 1963-1967***, pp. 39-40. See also Shiferaw Jammo, "An Overview of the Ethiopian Economy, 1941-1974," in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), ***An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974***, Vol. 1 (Oxford: CODESRIA Book Series, Antony Rowe Ltd., 1995), p. 9; Befekadu Degefe, "Industrialization, Investment Policy and Foreign Capital in Ethiopia, 1950-1974," in ***Proceedings of the Seminar on Industrial Transformation in Ethiopia Held in Nazareth, January 18-20, 1980*** (AAU, IDR, July 1983), p. 101; and Svein Ege, "The Agricultural Crisis in Ethiopia," in Svein Ege (ed.), ***Development in Ethiopia, Proceedings From a Conference at the University of Trondheim, 9-10 March 1987*** (February, 1988), p. 168.

[91]***First Five Year Plan***, p. 19. For details, see, pp. 19-28.

[92]Shiferaw Jammo, pp. 10-11.

cent growth in gross domestic product,[93] but the share of agriculture was only 8 per cent of the total planned investment capital for the whole plan year. In the first and the second FYPs, a modest growth rate of 3.2 and 4.3 per cent were reportedly attained and the per capita income was reported to have increased likewise, from birr 87 in 1957 to birr 97 in 1962.[94]

Indeed, in the second and third plan periods, there were achievements that had significant bearing on both urban and rural areas. These included road construction, expansion of schools and other modern social services, and the establishment of new factories. It is evident that the basic infrastructures for developing these services were laid down in the first FYP period.[95] As most of the new developments focused on urban areas, and especially on Addis Ababa, rural areas were little affected by the FYPs.

Even within agriculture, spending was highly biased in favor of commercial farming, which developed in the third FYP period.[96] But as will be seen in chapter VIII, the commercial farms were very limited and so were their impacts on the creation of a sustainable rural employment or on a large-scale rural-urban migration. Employment opportunities that the commercial farms created were mostly periodic and did not cause a

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[93]***Ibid.,*** 11-12.

[94]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, ***Investment Guide to Ethiopia*** (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: 1974), p. 15. For more analysis on the Five Year Plans, see Ege.

[95]Marcus, (1995), p. 163.

[96]Ege, pp. 168 and 170; Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 16.

permanent migration of the laborers.[97] Moreover, all such modern farms destabilized the local population rather than creating sustainable rural employment opportunities. The agricultural policies of the FYPs failed to reach the peasant farmers as they lacked land. The local landlords who had land and other vital property took advantage of the policy and turned to commercial farming. It was at this juncture that southern Ethiopia, particularly in the areas where the farms developed, saw a massive eviction of the rural population.[98] Although the emperor seemed to have had goodwill for the peasants, he failed to defend them this time. His neglect perhaps indicates his anticipation of huge national economic growth that would ultimately require their sacrifice. The need to lay the basis for a "better future" must have influenced his economic policy which worked at the expense of the peasantry.

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[97]Gilkes, p. 129. For instance, Gilkes noted that the Setit Humara sesame farm, at the height of production, created temporary jobs for 50,000 people from Tigray, Gondar and Eritrea. For the commercial farms that developed in the Shashamanne region in the late 1960 and early 1970s, see Benti (1988), pp., 66-74; Michael Stähl, ***Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development*** (Stockholm: Liber Tryck, 1974). Opportunities were limited to people of south central Shoa, Arsi and Walayita.

[98]Ottfried C. Kirsch, **et.al.**, ***Agricultural Revolution and Peasant Emancipation in Ethiopia: A Missed Opportunity*** (Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers, 1989), pp. 11.

3.5 The Role of Regional Patterns of Urbanization

Regional differences in the patterns of urbanization between northern and southern Ethiopia also had significant implications for migration from both regions to Addis Ababa. Perhaps with the exception of Bahir Dar, which developed as an important regional administrative and economic center since the sixties,[99] and also to a lesser degree Gondar, northern Ethiopian towns did not have economic activities offering wider employment opportunities for migrants, since their economies were sustained by administrative and service industries.[100] In general, most northern towns were not supported by economically viable hinterlands despite the claim of some scholars that more migrants to Addis Ababa came from the north because the region is more economically developed than the south.[101]

Southern Ethiopia presents a sharp contrast to the north in many ways. It enjoyed fertile agricultural land and a stronger resource base, ranging from cash crops to livestock. Life was relatively easier, and people did not easily move to other places. Migration from this area was largely local, short distance rural-urban, rural-rural, south-south rather than south-north. The cultivation of coffee, in particular, created a high demand for labor, which provided opportunities for local people who would have

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[99]Seltene (1988).

[100]See Benti (1997).

[101]Palen, (1976), p.217

otherwise migrated. In fact, besides local labor, coffee producers in the south often needed seasonal migrants from areas as far away as Gojjam and Gondar.[102] In general, the south has a considerable capacity for absorbing local labor and potential out-migrants.

Important towns grew in southern Ethiopia and became major commercial and economic centers for the regional cash economy.[103] As such, besides being destinations by themselves, they provided what Everett Lee calls "intervening opportunities"[104] to migrants who would have otherwise proceeded to Addis Ababa. Dire Dawa[105] and Adama[106] in the east grew as important railway, commercial, industrial and administrative towns and became destinations for a large number of migrants from different parts of the country. In the south-central region, Shashamanne rapidly grew into an important commercial town, owing to its location at a junction of five southern provinces.[107] It is also located on the major Addis Ababa-Moyale

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[102]A. P. Wood, "The Decline of Seasonal Migration to the Coffee Forests of South-West Ethiopia," in ***Economics Miscellanea*** (n.d., in the IES Library).

[103]See Peter Harold Koehn and Eftychia Koehn, "Urbanization and Development in Ethiopia," in R. A. Obudho and Salah El-Shakhs (eds.), ***Development of Urban Systems in Africa*** (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979), p. 220.

[104]Lee, pp. 55.

[105]For the history of Dire Dawa up to the Italian invasion, see Shiferaw Bekele (1989).

[106]Atnafu Wassie, "Regional History, Foundation, Growth and Development of Nazareth" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, Department of History, 1972).

[107]See Benti (1988).

highway. South of Shashamanne, and on the same highway, were located the two coffee-rich towns of Awassa and Dilla. In the west, Jimma,[108] long known for its coffee, emerged as the seat of an Oromo monarchy. Following Menilek's advent to the region, Jimma's rich economy was integrated into the imperial economy centered in Addis Ababa. The expansion of coffee exports following Ethiopia's entrance into the world economy, at the turn of the twentieth century, led to the growth of Jimma as a miniature of the capital in western Ethiopia. It became the region's major economic and administrative center and opened opportunities to potential migrants. Ghimbi, Dambi Dollo, and Agaro[109] were three of the most important coffee towns in western Ethiopia. Ambo,[110] and Waliso, are resort towns while Bishoftu[111] is both Air Force and a resort center. These towns provided opportunities to potential out-migrants who would have otherwise proceeded to the capital.[112] Thus, regional patterns of urbanization and the

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[108]For the history of Jimma, see Guluma Gemeda, "An Outline of the History of Jimma," in ***Proceedings of the Fourth Seminar of the Department of History, Awasa, 8-12 July 1987*** (AAU, 1989), pp. 28-47.

[109] Lema Tamene (1988); Altaye Taddesse (1983); Ephrem Seifu, "A Short History of Agaro Town" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1988).

[110]Daniel Deressa, "A History of Ambo/Hagara Hiwot Town From the Conquest of Menelik II to the 1970s" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, June 1986).

[111]Samuel Negash, "The History of Debre Zeit Town up to 1984" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, October 1985).

[112]For more analysis on the relationship between the patterns of urbanization in Ethiopia and migration to towns, see Benti (1997).

nature of their economic activities had significant bearings on migration to Addis Ababa from northern and southern Ethiopia.

3.6 Transportation Facilities

Transportation and communication facilities generally affect migration, especially from rural areas to urban areas. The imbalance in the distribution of such facilities in Ethiopia distorted the volume of migration to Addis Ababa from different regions. The absence of modern road networks in the south curbed the movement of people to the city. According to various sources, the government did not attend to the building of roads leading to the southern provinces. An informant who held important posts in the government of Haile Sillassie said that he was ridiculed by the then prime minister, Aklilu Habte Wold, for negotiating a loan with the World Bank for the construction of the Addis Ababa-Naqamte-Ghimbi road. Its construction was initially proposed only up to Naqamte, the capital of the province of Wallagga, but the official who also headed the feasibility study team extended it by 120 kilometers beyond Naqamte to Ghimbi. He justified the extension on the ground that Ghimbi was the center of coffee production, which could make the repayment of the loan easier for the government.[113]

[113]Informant: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97). This is the view of many other informants too. Informants: Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Fasil Wadajo (06.02.97).

The northern provinces were favored most in the field of road construction because they have always been the power base of the Ethiopian empire.[114] Second, Italian forces entered Ethiopia through the north and undertook intensive road construction in the late 1930s. Their military campaigns and subsequent occupation were followed by simultaneous road construction up to Addis Ababa.[115] The only major roads that they built in the southern direction were those that connected Addis Ababa with Jimma, Naqamte and Adama as well as "rough tracks" in Hararghe and few other areas.[116] Italian road building was designed to facilitate effective control of the new Empire and to connect it to their Eritrean colony and its ports.[117] Once the war was over, the Ethiopian government not only maintained the Italian-built roads in the north, but also built new ones connecting many districts and facilitated the movement of people from one place to another, including Addis Ababa. The central government also built a good road to Hararghe province, important as a coffee producer and Haile Sillassie's beloved homeland. There was a strong *naftagna* lobby group in Hararghe many of whom were friends and relatives

[114]The same history is repeating itself under the current government that has diverted the country's human, technical, financial and other vital resources to the construction of roads and other basic infrastructures in Tigray.

[115]Pankhurst, "Road Building" (1968), pp. 21-36.

[116]*Ibid.*, pp. 44 and 52.

[117]For more explanations, see Bahru (1991), p. 164.

of the emperor's father, who ruled there after Menilek's 1887 conquest.[118] The province also had the railway (the only one in the country), which extended to Djibouti and connected the famous towns of Harar and Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa and most other towns in the region. Moreover, Hararghe's military importance grew with the independence of Somalia in 1960 and its pan-Somali policies of reuniting Somalis living in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti.

The most important road construction to the south by the imperial government was the Addis Ababa-Moyale highway which literally connected the capital with Nairobi. The construction was completed by the *Derg*. Although roads were built in other parts of the southern provinces, the pace was slow and most of them were only passable during the dry season. With the exception of Addis Ababa-Jimma and Addis Ababa-Ghimbi, most other all weather roads in the south were built by the *Derg*.[119]

Besides improving the movement of goods from different parts of the country, these roads also facilitated the migration of people to Addis Ababa. But it was people who were located close to the roads that benefited the

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[118]Informant: Yilma Worqneh (Addis Ababa, 01.21.97).

[119]Roads built by the *Derg* included the Gimbi-Dambi Dollo (financed by European Common Market) and Ghimbi-Asossa, Shashamanne-Arba Minch, Shashamanne-Gobba, and Jimma-Mattu-Gambella. All these towns (except Gobba) are located in coffee-rich provinces and the construction of the roads was primarily motivated by economic considerations although military considerations were also very important. Most of them were planned either by the Italians or by the Imperial Government.

most. Others had to travel many days in order to get to the roads. For instance, an informant told me that it took him 15 days to reach Addis Ababa from Ghimbi in 1962,[120] only 441 kilometers from the capital and a one day bus ride after the construction of an all weather road.

The existence of better roads and transportation facilities in northern Ethiopia facilitated the movement of people from that region to Addis Ababa. No wonder, therefore, that there were more northern migrants in Addis Ababa than from any other region in the country. Most migrants from that region confirmed that they traveled by bus to Addis Ababa[121] while migrants from other regions said that they walked many days before taking bus.[122] Yet, others said that they walked on foot up to Addis Ababa.[123] Thus, as will be seen in the chapter on the ethno-linguistic dynamics of migration, the road factor significantly affected who came to Addis Ababa.

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[120]Informant: Shiferaw Asafa (Addis Ababa, 06.18.97).

[121]Informants: Yirbab Zemene (Addis Ababa, 01.17.97, 06.04.97); Yerom Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Tirunesh Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97); Yitbarek Faqadu (05.12.97).

[122]Informants: Shiferaw Asafa (Addis Ababa, 06.18.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Fasil Wadajo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97).

[123]Informants: Mohammad Hussein (Addis Ababa, 05.27.97); Shikur Hussein (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97); Bogale Alamu (Addis Ababa, 06.09.97).

3.7 The Role of Distance and Associated Factors

The role of distance and associated factors are also very important in the analyses of the regional patterns of migration to Addis Ababa. Migration studies indicate that the closer an area to a certain destination, the larger is the number of migrants from that area.[124] In the Ethiopian case too, the works of Bekure Woldesemait, Helmut Kloos, Beyene Dolicho and Regassa Bayissa have underlined the distance factor as strongly influencing the volume of migrants to their respective study areas. The study of Bekure, a geographer, focused on migration to industries in Addis Ababa. The researches of Kloos and Beyene (also geographers), and Regassa (historian) focused on migration to commercial farms in the Awash Valley. For Bekure, Shoa, the very province where Addis Ababa is located, was the source of a large number of labor migrants to the industries of the capital. Kloos, Beyene and Regassa have also established that the areas adjacent to the commercial farms (mainly sugar estates and vegetable plantations in the Awash Valley) were the largest contributors. In all the four cases, more migrants came from the closest regions;[125] or, as distance increased, the number of migrants decreased.

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[124]World Bank, "Internal Migration in Less developed Countries: A Survey of the Literature, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 215" (September 1975), p. 22. (Hereafter, World Bank, 1975). That a large number of migrants come from the nearest locations is also true of migration in Europe. See, Moch (1992), p. 127.

[125]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 173; Kloos, pp. 139 and 142; Beyene (1985); and Regassa, p. 43. In his study of the industrial town of Akaki, Mullenbach has reported a similar finding that 45 per cent of the migrants

Let me elucidate this point with data from the CSO and raise some associated issues in connection with migration to Addis Ababa. The 1967 sample survey of the city's population indicated that 61.5 per cent of the population of the city originated in Shoa.[126] Though this figure seems high in comparison with later surveys, the detailed census taken a decade later showed that the largest number of migrants still came from Shoa. Accordingly, out of the reported population of 1,167,301 in 1978, 327,171 or 28 per cent said they were from the province of Shoa.[127]

Besides distance, the degree of urbanization of the province of origin also had a significant effect on the volume of migrants. Accordingly, Shoa, which was the most urbanized province, was the largest supplier of migrants to Addis Ababa. In general, a combination of distance, higher degree of urbanization, the availability of better transportation and communication facilities, the existence of a large population[128] (both urban and rural) as well as the expansion of educational facilities made Shoa the single largest origin of migrants to Addis Ababa. All other provinces followed

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came from the province of Shoa. See Mullenbach, p. 155.

[126]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972). I computed the percentage from page 1 of the appendix page. CSO's original computation was wrongly stated as 59.4 per cent. See page 27.

[127]CSO, "Report on the Analysis of the Addis Ababa Demographic Survey, September 1978," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (Addis Ababa: December 1979), p. 89.

[128]CSO, "Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 1*** (Addis Ababa: December 1968), p. 1.

the same pattern although the combination does not work for all universally. The following table clarifies these points.

Table 3.5

Estimated Urban and Rural Population in 1967 by Province (in '000s)

Province	Estimated Population				Migration to Addis Ababa By Province (1967)[129]	
	Total	Rural	Urban	% Urban	Total Number of Migrants	% by Province[130]
Arsi	1,110.8	1,069.4	41.4	3.7	5,570	1.5
Bale	159.8	139.8	20.0	12.5	1,330	0.4
Begemidir	1,348.4	1,277.9	70.5	5.2	9,830	2.7
Eritrea	1,589.4	1,324.1	265.3	16.6	20,600	5.6
Gamo Gofa	840.5	818.5	22.0	2.6	16,500	4.5
Goljam	1,576.1	1,506.3	69.8	4.4	12,960	3.5
Hararghe	3,341.7	3,189.2	152.5	4.5	12,280	3.3
Ilu Abba Bora	663.2	637.9	25.3	3.8	1,150	0.3
Kafa	688.4	635.1	53.3	7.7	6,490	1.8
Shoa	**3,970.3**	**3,115.4**	**854.9**	**21.5**	**225,920**	**61.5**
Sidamo	1,521.9	1,430.9	91.0	6.0	7,440	2.0
Tigray	2,307.3	2,200.4	106.9	4.6	14,800	4.0
Wallagga	1,429.9	1,376.0	53.9	3.8	7,580	2.1
Wallo	3,119.7	3,021.1	98.6	3.2	24,840	6.8
TOATAL	23,667.4	21,742.0	1,925.4	8.2	377,290	100.0

Source: CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 1*** (1968), p. 1, and CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 81.

Similarly, the demographic data of the country published in 1974 showed that Shoa still had both the highest total and urban population. Though the percentage of its urban population decreased from 1967, numerically Shoa's urban population passed the one million mark in 1974. In 1967, Shoa's share of the urban population of the country was 854,900 (21.5 per cent) excluding that of Addis Ababa, whereas its share of migrants

[129]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 81.

[130]The percentages are my computations.

to the capital, which then had a population of 644,190,[131] was 225,920. In the 1974 census, Shoa's total urban population reached 1,037,700 and that was 21.1 per cent of the total population of the province.[132]

Next to Shoa, Eritrea had the largest urban population where 20.4 per cent of the entire population lived in urban areas in 1974. The case of Eritrea needs to be examined differently for it does not necessarily fit into the "distance theory" explained above. Eritrea, though far away from Addis Ababa, is the third largest contributor of migrants to the capital (5.6 per cent).[133] This is quite a large number compared to migrants from provinces closer to the city. For instance, Arsi, the closest province, contributed only 1.5 per cent,[134] and Bale and Ilu Abba Bora (both relatively closer to Addis Ababa than Eritrea) contributed less than 1.0 per cent each.

It is important to go beyond the "distance" factor in order to examine why there were few migrants from these relatively closer provinces. Ilu Abba Bora and Bale were not connected to the capital with all weather roads and,

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[131] CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 1*** (1968), p. 45.

[132]The figure for Shoa's contribution to Addis Ababa is not available for the year 1974 and, as a result, a reasonable comparison cannot be made as in the 1967 case. However, the 1976 survey indicates that Shoa's share of the migrants to the capital was 331,630 out of a population of 1,099,851. CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin, No. 15*** (1977), p. 6.

[133]Percentage is computed from CSO data, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 81.

[134]In fact, this figure fell to only 0.7 per cent in the demographic survey of Addis Ababa. See CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979) pp. 25-26.

thus, lacked greater access to transportation and communication facilities as Eritrea and the other northern provinces.[135] Moreover, Eritrea was more urbanized, had a better educational system and was more exposed to modernization than most other Ethiopian provinces. While Arsi was one of the least urbanized provinces, but paradoxically the closest of all provinces to Addis Ababa, the factors accounting for its small contribution of migrants to Addis Ababa have yet to be investigated. But there are some indications that hatred and discrimination[136] characterized the experiences of the Arsi in the region's largely Amhara-inhabited towns. Thus, for the Arsi, it was difficult to imagine migration to a larger city, more dominated by people who discriminated against them at home.[137]

Population density is another important factor that affects the volume of migration.[138] In this regard too, Shoa, which sent the largest number of migrants to Addis Ababa is the densest of all the provinces. The following table demonstrates the point clearly.

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[135]Shimelis Adugna, "Migration of the Agricultural Labour Force Into Urban Areas of Ethiopia," in Student Papers ***Miscellanea 4*** (in the IES Library), pp. 219 and 221.

[136]In Addis Ababa too, a "considerable social prejudice and discrimination" based on ethnic chauvinism existed from the very days of its foundation. See Marcus (1975), p. 221.

[137]See, for example, Benti (1988), p. 137. Informants: Muzeyin Jawi (Shashamanne, 09.29.86); Ali Abba Bora (Shashamanne, 09.24.86); Ebiso Timo (Shashamanne, 09.04.87).

[138]See for instance, Hellen and Said, p. 303.

Table 3.6

Population Estimate, Area and Density of Population by Province

Province	Population in ('000)	Area ('000 km.^{2})	Density of Population/km.^{2}	Migrants to Addis Ababa[139]	
				Total	
Arsi	850.8	23.5	36.2	8,587	0.7
Bale	683.8	124.6	5.5	3,124	0.3
Begemidir	1,604.3	74.2	21.6	23,905	2.0
Eritrea	1,893.8	117.6	16.1	25,885	2.2
Gamo Gofa	781.7	39.5	19.8	22,251	1.9
Gojjam	1,590.4	61.8	25.8	28,413	2.4
Hararghe	2,440.1	259.7	9.4	18,786	1.6
Ilu Abba Bora	611.8	47.4	12.9	2,277	0.2
Kafa	1,260.3	54.6	23.1	8,656	0.7
Shoa	**4.922.6**	**85.4**	**57.7**	**327,171**	**28.0**
Sidamo	2,190.3	117.3	18.7	14,019	1.2
Tigray	1,688.6	65.9	25.6	29,083	2.5
Wallagga	1,577.2	71.2	22.2	11,946	1.0
Wallo	1,974.1	79.4	24.9	68,867	5.9
TOTAL	24,068.8	1,221.9	19.7	592,970	50.6

Source: CSO, "Results of the National Sample Survey, Second Round, Volume I: The Demography of Ethiopia," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 10*** (Addis Ababa: January 1974), p. 2.

Indeed, density alone is not a determining factor for large-scale migration but it is one of the strongest factors to influence the volume of migrants. Arsi, the second densest province had only 0.7 per cent of the total migrants in Addis Ababa. The northern provinces which had better transportation networks, constituted over 2 per cent of the city's migrants each. The north's relatively longer urban tradition and the existence of favorable socio-cultural and linguistic factors most appealing to the

[139]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22***, (1979), pp. 25-26. By the time of the census, the total population of Addis Ababa was 1,167,301 out of which 566,236 were born in the city, 2,163 were foreigners and 5,932 did not report their origins. They altogether comprised 49.3 per cent of the total population and 50.7 per cent were reported migrants from the provinces.

northerners were among the most important factors that facilitated their migration to Addis Ababa in large numbers.[140]

There are other equally important variables which permit migrants to come far in the process of their migration. In its study of internal migration in less developed countries, the World Bank found out that "With the few exceptions, the distance coefficients in the migration functions are negative and very significant, when included with employment, wage, education, and urbanization variables." Referring to the rural-urban migration in Tanzania, the study concluded that "to induce a person to increase the distance moved by 10 percent, for instance, he must be offered a 10 percent increase in income..."[141]

In the case of Ethiopia, there were alternative (intervening) destinations farther than Addis Ababa that could attract even remote migrants and where they could satisfy at least their short term interests. In brief, the distance factor involves many variables, as do other factors. One of these is the location of industries that provide modern wages and a more decent form of life than the rural areas. The next chapter will discuss the role industries and other urban-based services played in the migration of people to Addis Ababa.

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[140] See chapters VI and VII.

[141] World Bank (1975), p. 22.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA

Introduction

Although Ethiopia's economy was primarily agricultural, the country had a slowly expanding urban industrial sector which together with other non-economic sectors reportedly supported about 14 per cent of the total wage employment in 1974. However, this was "too small to provide sufficient employment opportunities for the growing number of job-seekers."[1] An overwhelming proportion of jobs in the urban-industrial and other better paying economic establishments were located in Addis Ababa. This led to the widening income gaps and living standards between urban and rural dwellers. For instance, income and consumption surveys made by the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs in 1974 indicated that the ratio of urban and rural income disparities was about 4 to 1.[2] The concentration of industries and population in Addis Ababa led to the expansion of modern social services, education, health, good roads and better transportation facilities in the city.[3] They in turn became sources of

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[1]MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 4.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Rogers, p. 11.

attraction for more people from different parts of the country.[4]

This chapter discusses the growth of industries in Ethiopia, their concentration in Addis Ababa, their capacity to generate employment and finally their implications for migration to the city. It also investigates the concentration of civil (administrative bureaucracy) and social service establishments and their effects on migration to Addis Ababa in the period under discussion. The Ethiopian capital also became the headquarters of a large number of international organizations and agencies and hosted a large number of embassies, which led to a remarkable physical expansion, construction of roads and buildings for offices and residences. This chapter also examines how these developments stimulated migration to the city.

4.1 Industrial Growth and Concentration in Addis Ababa

Ethiopia is one of the least industrialized countries of the world. The relative expansion of industries in the 1950s was in response to a policy of import substitution which developing countries were encouraged to adopt to enhance economic growth.[5] Accordingly, most industries in Ethiopia were oriented towards the domestic market (import substitution) and used agricultural products or local raw materials. Agriculture, however, did not develop sufficiently to support local industries and thus most of the raw

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[4]MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 4.

[5]Techeste and Celccarelli, p. 3.4

materials had to be imported. Nor was the industrial sector strong enough to promote agricultural development for its own sake. As Techeste Ahderom and Paolo Celccarelli correctly observed, "...the modern manufacturing industry [was] not self-sustaining, [and it had] to depend on imports for its own replacements and expansion. It [did] not support the traditional manufacturing activities, the agricultural, etc. by producing capital goods that could lessen the need for imports. The activity was in fact more a burden than a complement to the agricultural sector."[6] Only a small portion of semi-processed products such as hides and skins, sugar and oilseeds were exported. The share of industry to the national GDP ranged from 10 to 16 per cent in the period covered by this work.[7]

The term industry is used broadly to include, among others, small-scale industries, handicrafts, mining and construction, electricity and water. Yet I will focus mainly on modern small-scale manufacturing industries for they were the ones that had the capacity to create employment for a significant number of people. In the 1950s, the state of industrialization in Ethiopia was confined to small-scale and handicraft industries located in Addis Ababa and Asmara on account of their infrastructures and vital

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[6]***Ibid.***, p. 3.3.

[7]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 18. Figures for the country's GDP vary from author to author, since reliable data are non-existent. See for example, Rogers, p. 10, and Chamber of Commerce p. 18 for the same period.

facilities.[8] Yet the contribution of the industrial sector to the growth of the GDP and to the generation of employment opportunities was insignificant, although the number of establishments does not necessarily determine the amount of GDP and the number of jobs. Large-scale employment necessarily depends on the existence of labor-intensive industries while an increase in the GDP depends on the demand and value of the products for local consumption as well as for export. Even dependence on a mono-industry, (like petroleum, for instance) can significantly increase the GDP but does not necessarily augment employment opportunity. In other words, the growth of industries is not measured only by their contribution to the GDP, but also by the number of jobs they create and their effects on the lives of the citizens. Employment generation means attraction of people to industrial locations to benefit from the newly created economic opportunities.

Although Ethiopia had a few industries before the Italian invasion of 1935/6, their role in promoting the growth of the economy was insignificant. Unlike most African countries, independent Ethiopia was barely touched by the wave of changes resulting from colonial rule owing to the absence of penetration and investment of European capital. Although colonial

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[8]Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, ***An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*** (Addis Ababa: Birhanina Salam H.S.I. Printing Press, 1972), pp. 111-112. See also, Shiferaw Jammo, p. 22.

governments did not introduce large-scale industries, some colonies saw the production of industrial raw materials and created opportunities that did not exist before.[9] Further, colonial infrastructure, although weak and self-serving, provided a foundation for the future development of African colonies. The infrastructures outlived European colonialism and became the most important channels of contact (economic or otherwise) between African colonies and metropolitan powers. This relationship further facilitated and strengthened the involvement of African colonies into the entire world-system.

The period of Italian occupation was significant in exposing the Ethiopian people to European modernization. But the notion that the occupation was a turning point in the country's exposure to modernization can be seriously contended. First, the ruling elite had already felt European influence and some sort of revolution had been in progress since the turn of the twentieth century.[10] A very important example was *Ras* Hailu Tekle Haymanot, a business-minded hereditary ruler from Gojjam. He opened the first cinema house in Addis Ababa, introduced the first taxis to the city, and imported a boat to be used on

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[9]These, for instance, included the cocoa industry in Nigeria, the mining industries in Zaire, Zimbabwe, South Africa, the cotton industry in Sudan and Egypt. See for example, Toyin Falola (ed.), ***Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?*** (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1987).

[10]See Marcus (1975), pp. 198-200.

Lake Tana, located in his home province.[11] Second, small-scale factories had already begun to evolve, however crude they were.[12] Third, in response to the politico-economic and military developments in the last quarter of the nineteenth century which led to the creation of an Ethiopian empire state, the process of modern urbanization had begun long before the Italian occupation. In short, the Italians accelerated, rather than created, the pace of development. Most importantly, by garrisoning remote corners of the country, they took European influence to the doors of ordinary Ethiopians. The Italian occupation made it difficult for the post-1941 restored Ethiopian government to lead Ethiopia in pre-Italian ways.[13] Ultimately, some sorts of adjustment were necessary to cope with Italian developments and innovations.

The Italians contributed little to industrial growth in Ethiopia.[14] They established only four factories in Addis Ababa, two for construction materials, one printing press and one food factory. They also created a

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[11]For *Ras* Hailu's involvement in business and accumulation of wealth through excessive taxation, see Bahru (1991), p. 144.

[12]See Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), pp. 138-139; and Tesfaye Beza, **et.al.**, p. 17.

[13]See Benti Getahun, "The Overurbanization of a Metropolis: A Preliminary Survey of Migration to Addis Ababa, 1941-1974," in Harold G. Marcus (ed.) ***Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. I (Lawrenceville, New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, 1994), pp. 515-531.

[14]Bahru Zewde, (1991), p. 164.

cement factory in Dire Dawa, the only one of its type in the country until 1964[15] when another was established in Addis Ababa.

From 1941 to 1957 the progress towards industrialization was very slow because of financial constraints and the shortage of trained manpower. The reopening of the State Bank in 1942 and the Agricultural Bank in 1945 neither enhanced the process of industrialization nor solved the financial problem.[16] The achievements made in the 16-year period from 1941 to 1957 were more encouraging, even though they did not match the country's needs. During that period, the number of factories in Addis Ababa increased from about 14 to 43,[17] and the number of factory employees grew from 4,200 (in 1950) to 10,000.[18] Manufacturing industries[19] in the country grew from 21 in the period before 1941, to 91 between 1941-1956, to 88 between 1957-1962, and to 146 in 1963. Their

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[15]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 139, and Tesfaye Beza, **et.al.**, p. 18.

[16]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 140.

[17]Tesfaye Beza, **et.al.**, p. 19.

[18]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 142.

[19]This should not be confused with large-scale industries. Bakeries, flour and oil mills, and several small-scale handicrafts were included in this category and continued to be included in later censuses as well. For the list of pre-Italian manufacturing industries, See Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), pp. 138-139. For the post 1941 census, see CSO, "Survey of Manufacturing and Electricity Industry, 1964/5-1966/7," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 2*** (Addis Ababa: June 1969).

number was reported to have reached 401 in 1974 with a total of 51,000 employees.[20] Most industries were located in and around Addis Ababa which made the capital the country's largest industrial center.

Despite the problems in the post-Italian period,[21] some encouraging steps were taken in the 1950s that helped the promotion of industrial growth. With a loan obtained from the World Bank, the Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) was created in 1951.[22] The IHA not only maintained existing roads, but also built some new ones and thus improved the transport networks.[23] Addis Ababa benefited from the new construction more than any other town for all road networks converged on the city.[24] The problem of power was eased considerably with the inauguration of Koka (in 1960),

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[20]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 2*** (1969), p. 1. See also, Rogers, pp. 9-10. Figures are often confusing and inconsistent from one source to another. This is mainly due to the vague explanation of "factories" in which some sources considered any establishment with two and more workers as factories while others raised the number of workers in any establishment to 20 to be called a factory. In any case, the trend was that the number of factories was increasing in the period under discussion. For the confusions in the definition and categorization of industries, see Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1972), p. 141, Note 6. A decade later, in the 1981-1982 statistical year, the number of manufacturing industries in the country reached 419, and the total number of employees reached 82,165. CSO, 1984B, p. 3.

[21]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 142.

[22]Assefa Bequele and Eshetu Chole, p. 91.

[23]See Sylvia Pankhurst (1957).

[24]Informants: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97); Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.97); Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 02.03.97).

Awash I (in 1966) and soon afterwards Awash II power stations.[25] These developments encouraged financial institutions to increase their services, and the educational system provided trained young people to the modern sector. As a result, industrialization moved relatively fast.[26]

Given the favorable conditions created since the late 1950s, it was not difficult for Addis Ababa and its immediate environs to show remarkable signs of economic development. Between 1957 and 1974, the number of factories in and around Addis Ababa employing 20 workers or more increased from about 45 to about 153.[27] By 1974, it was reported that 70 per percent of the factories in the metropolitan region were located in the capital itself and employed 36,000 workers, which was more than 50 per cent of the country's total industrial labor force. In other words, the number of workers in the metropolitan area increased from about 10,000 in 1957 to about 36,000 in 1974.[28] In the period between 1957 and 1974, the Addis Ababa metropolitan region saw an increase of a 240 and a 260 per cent respectively in the number of industrial establishments and industrial

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[25]Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority (1984), p. 46.

[26]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 145.

[27]Tesfaye Beza, **et.al.**, p. 19; and Bekure, "Industrial Development in Addis Ababa" (1984), p. 46. Due to the absence of a regular census, the number of industries slightly varies from one author to another. However, that does not affect the overall trend and the conclusions reached in this chapter.

[28]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), pp. 147 and 149.

workers.[29]

Addis Ababa was also favored by the concentration of industries in Shoa province where it is located. Shoa had the largest industrial concentration of all the provinces. For instance, the regional distribution of industries in 1980/1 shows that 60 per cent of the establishments and 63.6 per cent of the employment in the country were located in Shoa.[30]

Even within Shoa, 79 per cent of the fixed assets of the modern manufacturing activities of the country were located in or nearby Addis Ababa.[31] In some specific manufacturing establishments, the concentration in Shoa, including Addis Ababa, was overwhelmingly higher than in any of the other provinces. For instance, 72 per cent of the food industries, 79 per cent of the leather and footwear factories, and 73 per cent of the chemical industries were located there. An overwhelming proportion of the food industries, 13 beverage factories, the tobacco and cigarette factory, almost all of the textile factories (including the fiber plants), 4 tanning establishments, all the leather and shoe factories, all except 3 of the non-metallic building materials manufacturing industries, the chemical industries and 17 out of 19 paper and printing enterprises found in the

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[29]Percentage computations are mine.

[30]MUDH, "Industrial Development in the Planning Region During the Next Twenty Years" (Addis Ababa, AAMPPO, NUPI, 1985), p. 9. (Hereafter, NUPI, "Industrial Development, 1985.)

[31]Techeste and Celccarelli, p. 3.4.

Shoan region were located in the capital and its environs.[32] The location of 60 per cent of the country's industries in a province with only 20.5 per cent of the nation's population, in only 85,400 square kilometers out of the country's total area of 1,221,900 square kilometers, meant there was a strong force of attraction to 61.6 per cent of the country's population (leaving out Eritrea and Hararghe) living in the other provinces, where only 10.8 per cent of the industries and 8.9 per cent of the jobs were located.[33] The geographical distribution of manufacturing industries is shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1

Geographical Distribution of Manufacturing Industries(in % of Total) 1980/1

Error! Bookmark not defined. Region	Population	No. of Establishments	Employment	Value Added
Shoa	20.5	60.0	63.6	67.8
Eritrea	7.8	23.3	17.5	17.2
Hararghe	10.1	5.9	10.0	6.3
Others	61.6	10.8	8.9	8.7
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: MUDH, "Industrial Development in the Planning Region During the Next Twenty Years" (Addis Ababa, AAMPPO, NUPI, 1985), p. 9.

[32]NUPI, "Industrial Development" (1985), pp. 10-11.

[33]For more details on this concentration, see Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 167; and Asrat Teferra, (1984), pp. 7 and 13.

Besides the centrality of Addis Ababa (geographically, economically and politically), this concentration also responded to the rapid growth of the population in and around the city and the creation of a big market. Furthermore, the city was rapidly becoming the center of modernization for the whole empire, since it enjoyed the availability of power and a network of roads, a railway line and an international airport that connected it with other important towns in the country and with the outside world.[34] Still, the concentration of industries in the capital was dictated by "inadequate local financial resources" which led to dependence on foreign assistance and the absence of effective domestic entrepreneurship.[35]

The absence of locally-trained manpower to direct development forced the country to count on expatriate experts who were not willing to work outside of the capital.[36] Also both domestic and foreign businessmen invested their capital in consumer goods at immediate market locations.[37] Although Ethiopians dominated trade in Addis Ababa in the post-Italian period, both the import and export trades were dominated by expatriate

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[34]NUPI, "Industrial Development" (1985), p. 11.

[35]Asrat Teferra (1984), p. 3.

[36]*Ibid.*

[37]*Ibid.*, p. 4.

merchants and only a "handful" of Ethiopian businessmen were involved.[38] Moreover, participation of local businessmen in the expanding manufacturing industries seems to have been limited although the government always had shares in most of them. But these shares appear to have been very insignificant. For instance, the Ethiopian share in the Dutch-dominated HVA (Handelsvereeninging Amsterdam) Sugar Factory, which provided 70 per cent of the industrial employment in 1965,[39] never exceeded 20 per cent.[40]

Local entrepreneurs were unable to dominate because they had limited access to domestic capital and because of insufficient resources. In fact, the shortage of domestic capital also held back the lending capacities of the State Bank of Ethiopia (SBE), the Development Bank of Ethiopia (DBE) and individual moneylenders.[41] Borrowers were required to show proof of urban landownership in Addis Ababa. A document in the Municipality of Addis Ababa indicates how financially incapacitated the banks and individual lenders were, as the following table shows.[42]

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[38]Bahru (1991), p. 197.

[39]Assefa Bequele and Eshetu Chole, p. 54

[40]Bahru (1991), p. 198.

[41]The source does not explain who individual moneylenders were. But it may be assumed that they were people, indigenous or foreigners, who have accumulated enough capital and were capable of lending to businessmen.

[42]MAA, File No. ሀ/40 is in the folder of Western Municipal Zone entitled

Table 4.2

Lending Capacities of the State Bank of Ethiopia (SBE) the Development Bank of Ethiopia (DBE), 1940-1950

Year	Total Amount (Birr)	Number of Borrowers From							Average Amount Lent*
		SBE		DBE		Individuals		TOTAL SBE+DBE +Indvid.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1940	980,609.00	108	97.3	-	_	3	2.7	111	8,834.31
1941	1,648,225.00	161	94.2	5	2.9	5	2.9	171	9,638.74
1942	1,786,042.00	146	94.8	1	0.7	7	4.5	154	11,597.68
1943	2,529,119.63	132	93.6	-	_	9	6.4	141	17,937.02
1944	1,296,600.00	126	96.2	-	_	5	3.8	131	9,897.71
1945	2,121,314.00	172	93.5	1	0.5	11	6.0	184	11,528.88
1946	4,888,440.00	347	96.4	9	2.5	7	1.9	363	14,087.72
1947	9,680,850.66	90	86.4	7	3.2	23	10.5	220	44,003.86
1948	6,052,476.22	380	94.8	6	1.5	15	5.7	401	15,093.46
1949	8,092,568.37	433	94.6	6	1.3	18	3.9	457	17,708.03
1950	10,076,169.50	469	95.9	7	1.4	13	2.7	489	20,605.66
Total	49,152,415.18	2,664*	94.3	42*	1.8	116*	4.6	2822	17,417.58

Source: Municipality of Addis Ababa Archives, File No. ኢ/40

The figures clearly indicate the inadequacy of the lending capacities of the country's financial institutions and that their role in the growth of the country's economy was insignificant. Moreover, there was no culture of large-scale lending by individuals, who also had no guarantees. Even then, it does not seem that there were wealthy individuals (especially Ethiopians) who accumulated enough money to be able to finance the establishment of

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ኢንዱስትሪ ሚኒስቴር (Ministry of Industry), which includes documents addressed to the municipality and the vice-versa. All the percentages and figures with asterisks are my computations.

industries. Yet, the city absorbed all available capital, and therefore the chance of disseminating industrial expansion into the other parts of the country was minimal.

From Table 4.2, it is apparent that the average amount lent to individuals was scarcely enough to provide wider employment opportunities. The shortage of domestic financial resources, therefore, must have led to the relative domination of foreign capital investment in manufacturing industries in Addis Ababa.[43] In 1952, the total amount of foreign capital invested in the manufacturing industry was birr 7.2 million.[44] Indeed, the Ethiopian government had invested considerably more in the expansion of industries. Sources from government documents indicate that the amount of new government investments in the manufacturing industry in the whole country except Eritrea for the years 1951-1954 was respectively, birr 2.9m, 8.4m, 7.4m and 6.1m. A greater part of these investments went to the sugar plantation, textile factory, and leather and footwear factories.[45] With the exception of the sugar industry, which was heavily dominated by Dutch capital, almost all factories established by the government during this period were located in Addis Ababa.

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[43]Rogers, pp. 10-11.

[44]Shiferaw Jammo, pp. 22-23.

[45]***First Five-Year Plan***, p. 100.

4.2 Migration to Addis Ababa and the State of Urban Employment

Having discussed the state of industrial growth in Ethiopia between 1941-1974, one needs to ask how much employment was generated by these developments, especially by the growth of industries in and around Addis Ababa. Was migration to Addis Ababa attributable to its industrial growth? Addressing these questions helps to assess the degree of attraction and migration to the city that these developments may have caused. It has been noted above that Ethiopia experienced some degree of industrial growth between 1957 and 1974 and most of the industries were concentrated in the Addis Ababa region. Data from the Central Statistical Office for 1961 and 1967 show not only a corresponding increase in Addis Ababa's population, but also a much higher increase in the rate of in-migration. Based on these data, the International Labor Organization reported that "between 1961 and 1967 the population [of Addis Ababa] grew at 7 per cent per annum, consisting of 2.4 per cent natural growth and 4.6 per cent immigration ... [and] one quarter of the 1967 population consisted of post-1961 immigrants."[46] In other words, the rates of both industrial growth and migration to Addis Ababa were correspondingly high in the period after 1957, which suggests connections between the two processes. The migrants of this period comprised a very high proportion of

[46]International Labor Office (1973), p. 55.

economically "active" and "non-active" population, of employable age. Of the total number of migrants in the city between September 1961 and September 1967, 36 per cent of them were in the group of 15-24 years of age.[47] The 1967 sample survey of the population of Addis Ababa has indicated that 46.5 per cent of those aged 10 and above were economically active, of which 70.5 per cent were males and 23.5 per cent were females. About 70 per cent of this economically active population was between 20-44 years of age.[48]

The population of the city in general and the rate of migration in particular increased in tandem with industrial growth and the expansion of infrastructure. Yet, the industrial sector repeatedly made an insignificant contribution to the employment of migrants it had pulled in. A considerably larger number of the economically active population was apparently employed in other sectors. In other words, a migrant who came to Addis Ababa having in mind to find employment in industry might have discovered other opportunities about which he or she had never thought. A larger proportion of the active population of the city found work in community, social and personal services, where 42 per cent of the males and 56 per cent of the females were employed. Manufacturing accounted

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[47] *Ibid.* There was a 1 per cent out-migration and the net increase was 6 per cent.

[48] CSO, Statistical Bulletin No. 8, p. 21.

only for the employment of 21 per cent of the men and 23 per cent of the women while wholesale and retail trade, catering and tourism employed 15 and 12 per cent respectively. "These three sectors alone comprised almost 82% of the total active population."[49]

The rest were employed in transport and communications (5.6 per cent), construction (3.4 per cent), electricity, gas and water (1.4 per cent), agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing (1.3 per cent), finance, insurance, real estate and business services (1 per cent), mining and quarrying (0.8 per cent), and a miscellany of activities constituting 7.5 per cent of the total. In absolute terms, the share of industrial employment was only 31,862 out of the total reported active population in 1967 of 150,052 in the city.[50] Even after the 1974 Revolution, the contribution of the industrial sector to employment was very low. Only 76,800 or 3.5 per cent of the urban labor force, aged 15-54, in the entire country was employed in manufacturing in 1978/9.[51] The rate of migration and labor supply was faster than the rate of economic growth and industrialization. A report in 1974 by the labor office of the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs indicated that the rate of economic growth was 2.2 per cent while that of

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[49] ***Ibid.,*** p. 22.

[50] ***Ibid.,*** p. 73.

[51] International Labor Organisation (1983), p. 6.

labor supply was 2.5 per cent.[52]

Given many other developments in the city, migration to Addis Ababa was inevitable with or without industrialization. Whether migrants could find employment in the industries or whether the industries had the capacity to provide jobs to immigrants they attracted or not, are different questions. What is important to note is that Addis Ababa was a source of attraction to all walks of people. Certainly, the nature of Ethiopian industries was such that they could not generate employment sufficient enough to absorb all the job-seeking migrants. Most manufacturing industries produced consumer goods and thus "in most cases raw materials are semi-processed industrial products imported for only a final touch."[53]

Now, let me track back to the employment opportunities that industries created in Addis Ababa. The following table shows the distribution of employment in industries in the capital in 1973/74.

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[52]MNCDSA, Employment Policy Paper (1974), pp. 6-7.

[53]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 170.

Table 4.3

"Number of Employees by Industry by Sex in the Addis Ababa Region (1973/4)"

Industrial Branch	Employees		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Food	11,746	32.6	11,184	95.2	562	4.8
Beverages	2,105	5.9	1,779	84.5	329	15.5
Tobacco	832	2.3	?	-	?	-
Textiles	12,256	34.1	7,968	65.0	4,288	35.0
Leather & Shoe	1,956	5.4	1,400	71.6	556	28.4
Wood & Furniture	1,338	3.7	1,264	94.5	74	5.5
Paper	459	1.3	382	83.2	77	16.8
Printing Press	1,397	3.9	1,085	77.7	312	22.3
Chemical	1,146	3.2	947	82.6	199	17.4
Non-Metallic	1,911	5.3	1,894	99.1	17	0.9
Metallic	839	2.3	810	96.5	29	3.5
TOTAL	35,	100.	28,7		6,4	

Source: Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p.173

A survey made by Bekure Woldesemait indicated that the total number of employees in 1973/4 in Addis Ababa was 35,985 which was an increase of only 4,123 (12.9 per cent) from 1967.[54] This is a clear indication that the absorption capacity of the industries was very low. By contrast, the population of Addis Ababa grew by 60.6 per cent, from 683,530 in 1967 to 1,097,600 in 1972, at about the same time.[55] Although industrial wages were low, and nearly 81 per cent of the employees earned below birr 100 (about US$48) in 1967,[56] people were not discouraged and kept on

[54]Bekure made his own independent survey and the figure is thus not an official one.

[55]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8***, p. 4.

[56]International Labour Organisation (1983), p. 9. Although birr 100 per month was a significant earning in Ethiopia at that time, it does not mean that all the workers

migrating to Addis Ababa. However low they were, earnings in Addis Ababa were better than those in other towns or in the rural areas. Moreover, employment in non-industrial activities had increased, thus absorbing a significant number of the migrants.

The fact that industries were concentrated in Addis Ababa and its environs, theoretically reduced the other regional towns into mere exporters of industrial raw materials and into importers of the capitalist finished goods produced in the capital.[57] In the absence of parallel or similar opportunities, therefore, people inevitably flocked to the capital to exploit the few opportunities created there. In the ten-year period before the outbreak of the 1974 revolution, the manufacturing sector in Addis Ababa and the surrounding region reportedly grew at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent and the handicraft sector by 7.8 per cent.[58] Moreover, CSO surveys indicate that industrial employment grew at an average rate of 6.6 per cent per annum in the 5-year period preceding the revolution.[59] Yet, there were more job-seekers than the number of available jobs in factories in Addis Ababa and migrants who could not find jobs preferred to stay in the capital

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earned that amount. Wages were as low as birr 5-15 for some work categories in which a significant number of people were employed.

[57]Techeste and Celccarelli, p. 3.5.

[58]NUPI, "Industrial Development" (1985), p. 3.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 7.

and wait for opportunities to come rather than returning home or proceeding to other towns of lesser and unpredictable opportunities. Data collected by the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs at different times[60] clearly indicate the gap between job seekers and the available jobs. But they are not thorough and thus fail to provide complete information for making concrete conclusions. The only nearly complete registration document for migrant job seekers in Addis Ababa is that of 1975/6. This vital document contains not only the number of available jobs and of applicants but also invaluable information on the origins, sex, educational levels and age group of the migrant job seekers.

To begin with, the total number of registrants from both Addis Ababa and those who came from the provinces was 73,216 in 1975/6 out of which 49,393 were male and 23,823 were female.[61] Although the

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[60]MNCDSA, Public Employment Administration, "Labor Exchange Information" (Addis Ababa, Quarterly Issue, July 1960 E.C.), File No. 52/ኦ/ሰ6/1, Vol. 1. In fact, there are several quarterlies, but they too are incomplete to make a comparative analysis on yearly basis. Some years have only two quarterlies and others three and yet others one. This makes the comparison very difficult. Yet, it is possible to come to a reasonable conclusion that every year the number of registrants was increasing and disproportionate to the number of available jobs.

[61]Region 14 Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, "የአዲስ አበባ ሥራና ሠራተኛ ግኙኛ ፅሕፈት ቤት የ1968 ዓ.ም. የሥራ ክንዉን ዓመታዊ ሪፖርት" translated as: "Addis Ababa Labor and Employment Office Annual Performance Report, 1968 E.C." (File No. ጠጉ/36.) (Hereafter Region 14 Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, File No. ጠጉ/36.) This is the only complete document concerning the registration of job seekers in Addis Ababa. Complete, because it took place a year after the revolution of 1974 in which the revolutionary leaders were obsessed with the promise of providing jobs for the unemployed. The venture to reap the fruits of this promise must have attracted a large number of job seekers to register.

document does not explicitly indicate who was a migrant and who was not, its "origins" column clearly shows that with the exception of those from Addis Ababa, the registrants originated from the provinces. There is no doubt that they were migrants, but the important point which is not mentioned in the document is the date of their migration. It is also true that even many of those registrants from Addis Ababa were migrants who came to the city earlier at different times and who could not get jobs, and thus had to register every year.

Table 4.4

Origins of Registered Job Seekers in 1975/6

Origins	Male	Female	Total	%	% Female
Addis Ababa	7,599	7,946	15,545	21.2	51.1
Arsi	693	396	1,089	1.5	36.4
Bale	231	132	363	0.5	36.4
Begemidir	1,849	689	2,538	3.5	27.2
Eritrea	1,172	349	1,521	2.1	23.0
Gamo Gofa	310	177	487	0.7	36.3
Gojjam	2,214	693	2,907	4.0	23.8
Hararghe	6,625	385	1,050	1.4	36.7
Ilu Abba Bora	323	142	465	0.6	30.5
Kafa	502	167	669	0.9	25.0
Shoa	22,790	9,535	32,325	44.2	29.5
Sidamo	890	268	1,158	1.6	23.1
Tigray	2,185	748	2,933	4.0	25.5
Wallagga	1,180	333	1,513	2.1	22.0
Wallo	6,790	1,863	8,653	11.8	21.5
TOTAL	49,393	23,823	73,216	100.1	32.5

Source: Region 14 Labor and Social Affairs Bureau, File No. ጠጉ/36.

The document is also helpful in examining the dynamics of the migration of job seekers to Addis Ababa in a number of ways. First, as will be discussed in the chapter on education dynamics below, the largest

number of job-seeking migrants came from the provinces where educational facilities were available. For example, the largest number of migrants to Addis Ababa came from Shoa, where 183 (13.4 per cent) out of the empire's 1,362 total schools were found in the 1962-63 school census.[62] Provinces with the lowest percentage of educational facilities sent the smallest number of migrants, well exemplified in the cases of the provinces of Bale, Arsi, Gamo Gofa and Ilu Abba Bora.[63] Second, the provinces with the lowest number of migrants were also those with the lowest distribution of health facilities. Thus, the higher the distribution of schools, health facilities and other social services in a province, the larger is the number of migrants from that province. Third, it is quite interesting to note that for the Shoan case the existence of such facilities and even the concentration of employment opportunities did not deter people from migrating to Addis Ababa. Similarly, the data have evidenced that the more backward a province, the smaller the number of migrants from there was.[64] This is perhaps in contravention to the conventional theory that people migrate to towns from areas where social services are poor, inadequate or even non-existent. The Ethiopian

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[62]See MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1962-63*** (Addis Ababa: Bureau of Educational Research and Statistics, n.d.). See also chapter V below.

[63]***Ibid.***

[64]"Backwardness" in this context is roughly measured by the degree of the expansion of educational facilities, social services, access to transportation and communications networks and other related basic infrastructures and needs. It never connotes "backwardness" in culture, however.

case leads to the conclusion that the existence of such services creates more awareness in the minds of people and motivates them to migrate to places where the services are better.

In another context, a large number of job-seeking migrants came from the provinces where landownership was communal and where, consequently, people owned their own land.[65] Of 73,216 job-seeking migrants registered by MNCDSA, 50,877 (69.5 per cent) migrated to Addis Ababa from Begemidir, Eritrea, Gojjam, Tigray, parts of Wallo and Shoa,[66] areas where communal landholding existed.

Bekure Woldesemait, who made an independent study of industrialization in Addis Ababa also found out that the largest number of workers came from the six northern provinces. Likewise, his findings revealed that, within the six provinces, Shoa was the largest contributor of migrants to the capital. He reckoned that 76.1 per cent of them were from Shoa, 4.2 per cent from Wallo, 3.2 per cent from Gojjam, and 2.5 per cent

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[65]See chapter III above.

[66]Region 14 Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, File No. ጠ፣/36 (computed from figures given in the tables). In fact, the data do not specify from which *awraja* the migrants came. Therefore, it is very difficult here to come to a sound conclusion as to which migrant came from the communal land tenure system areas of Shoa and Wallo for both types of land tenure systems existed in these two provinces. However, given my points in the regional dynamics of migration in Chapter III above, it can be assumed that more migrants from Shoa came from the areas where communal land tenure system existed. Moreover, the Shoan establishment, which had dominated the city of Addis Ababa ever since its foundation, were Amharas from the communal land tenure areas.

from Eritrea. Arsi, a southern province, but located very close to Addis Ababa, contributed 3.7 per cent while the other southern provinces of Ilu Abba Bora, Bale, Gamo Gofa and Kafa contributed only a total of 1.6 per cent of the surveyed industrial workers.[67] While the Shoan case would seem to prove that the closer a region to Addis Ababa, the larger the number of migrants, the case of migrants from the northern provinces justifies the push exerted by the land tenure system (lack of access to sufficient land) and other factors relating to socio-cultural and ethno-linguistic dynamics.

Interestingly enough, the MNCDSA document revealed that the proportion of female migrants was relatively high from provinces where facilities and services were not developed. For instance, the number of women migrants from Arsi, a small province closer to Addis Ababa, and Bale farther from Addis Ababa, were 396 and 132 respectively, or 36.4 per cent of the total migrants from each province. The percentage of female migrants for Gamo Gofa and Ilu Abba Bora were 30.5 and 36.3. On the other hand, the ratio of women migrants from provinces with better educational facilities and access to good transport and communications networks was relatively low in comparison with that of their male counterparts. For instance, of the 32,325 total migrants from the province of Shoa, only 30 per cent or 9,535

[67]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 175.

were female. Similarly, only 25.5 per cent of the 2,933 total migrants from Tigray were female.

Yet, what is even more surprising is that the number of Addis-based female job seekers was larger than that of their male counterparts. The explanation may reflect discrimination against women in the job market or their low level of educational attainments. Consequently, they had to apply for jobs at the Employment Office every year. Moreover, the number of jobs was limited (only 6,880[68]) which made the competition favorable for male applicants. The breakdown of the available jobs based on the required qualifications was as follows:

Table 4.5

Types and Number of Available Jobs

Types of Jobs	Number of Jobs			
	Male	Female	Total	%
Various senior jobs	339	13	352	5.1
Administrators/managers	81	1	82	1.3
Typists	1,043	463	1,506	21.9
Salesmen	19	3	22	0.3
Service "givers"	97	132	229	3.3
Agricultural workers	44	-	44	0.6
Industrial Workers				
a) With training in different areas	2,466	22	2,488	36.1
b) Laborers	2,100	57	2,157	31.4
TOTAL	6,189	691	6,880	100.0

Source: Region 14 Labor and Social Affairs Bureau, File No. ጠ፡ /36.

[68]Region 14 Labour and Social Affairs Bureau, File No. ጠ፡/36.

Out of the 6,880 available jobs reported by different employing institutions, the Addis Ababa Employment Office helped only 2,884 (41.9 per cent of the available jobs) to get employed. Two thousand five hundred thirty nine (88 per cent) were male and only 345 (12 per cent) were female. Five hundred sixty one or 19.5 per cent of those employed through the Addis Ababa Employment Office were registered from the city and 821, or 28.4 per cent from Shoa. Out of a total of 345 women employed through the same office, 140, or 40.6 per cent were from Addis Ababa, and 97, or 28.1 per cent were from Shoa, an always privileged province. Wallo, the province that stood next to Shoa in terms of the number of women migrants, had only 21, or 6.1 per cent of the women employed through the Addis Ababa Employment Office.[69] In fact, excluding job seekers from Addis Ababa, Wallo was the origin for the second largest number of both male and female migrants to the city.[70]

In sum, there were jobs for only 691 (2.9 per cent) females out of the total 23,823 registered females. Of those available jobs 140 went to those females from Addis Ababa and 97 to those from Shoa, a total of 237, and only 108 jobs were left for 6,342 females coming from 13 other provinces. Excluding Addis Ababa, Shoa alone took 47.3 per cent of the jobs available

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[69] ***Ibid.***

[70] As to why there were many female migrants from Wallo, see the chapter on the migration of women to Addis Ababa.

for all female migrants; Wallo took the next largest share of jobs for females, that is, 21 or 10.2 per cent, and only 87 jobs went to migrants from 12 other provinces. In short, out of 49,393 male registrants and 23,823 female registrants, only 6,189 men and 691 women found work. Seen in terms of percentage, jobs were found only for 12.5 per cent and 2.9 per cent of male and female registrants respectively.[71] This situation undoubtedly put females at a disadvantage and that could be one of the factors that forced a large number of female migrants into prostitution.[72]

While this was the state of employment in the industrial sector, periodic employment surveys made by MNCDSA in Addis Ababa indicate that in the period before 1974 the economy of the city was growing in both public and private sectors.[73] In all the surveys, a persistent increase in the number of employed people was observed.[74] Total employment reached highs of 225,711 in 1971, 254,647 in 1972, and 285,375 in

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[71]Region 14 Labor and Social Affairs Bureau, ጠ፣/36 (calculated from figures given in the tables).

[72]See chapter VI.

[73]See MNCDSA, Department of Labour and Employment, Reports on "Addis Ababa Employment Survey" (Issued by The Employment and Statistics Division), Employment Survey Series A, Nos. 2 (September 1971), 3 (March 1972), 4 (September 1972) and 5 (March 1973). (Hereafter, MNCDSA, Employment Survey.)

[74]See MNCDSA, Employment Survey, Report for the Half-Year Ending 30 September 1971, Series A, No. 2, p. 1.

1973.[75] The survey classified the state of female employment in Addis Ababa. Accordingly, 28 per cent, or 61,172, of the total employment in the September 1971 survey were females. In March 1972, this number increased to 77,970, which means that almost 31 per cent of the total estimated number of persons employed in Addis Ababa were females. In the September 1972 report, the total number of employed women was placed at 86,643 or 32.7 per cent of the total employment. In March 1973, the number of employed females reached 94,551 which was 33.5 per cent of the total estimated employment in Addis Ababa. The distribution of female employment in the different economic sectors is shown in the following table, summarized from the annexes of employment series 1[76], 2, 3, 4 and 5.

[75]These figures were the highest in the mentioned years though there were fluctuations. For details, see, Employment Survey, Series A, No. 2 (September 1971); Series A, No. 3 (March 1972); Series A, No. 4 (September 1972); Series A, No. 5 (March 1971). As this was a general report on employment, none of the documents indicate how many of them were migrants.

[76]The compiled survey report for Employment Survey Series A. No. 1 (that is for the half-year ending 31 March 1971) is not available. But the summary of figures for that period is presented in annex 3 of No. 2 for comparison with figures in the preceding survey. Such comparisons with the preceding period are found in all the series.

Table 4.6

Estimated Employment of Women in Establishments in Addis Ababa, 1971-1972[77]

Industry	Series Numbers				
	1	2	3	4	5
Mining and Quarrying	121	121			
Manufacturing	12,157	11,663	14,086	14,285	13,872
Electricity, gas and Water	58	74	111	130	129
Construction	151	150	130	281	185
Wholesale and retail trade hotels and restaurants	31,426	36,865	48,954	54,850	65,054
Transport, storage and Communication	838	1,192	1,140	1,144	1,279
Finance, insurance and business services	340	536	561	497	594
Community, social and personal services	9,989	10,692	12,988	15,456	13,438
TOTAL	55,080	61,172	77970	86,643	94,551

Source: MNCDSA, Compiled from Employment Survey Series A, Nos. 2 (September 1971), 3 (March 1972), 4 (September 1972) and 5 (March 1973).

An overwhelming majority of the women in the surveys were employed in the private sector. The sectoral distribution is summarized from the Employment Surveys in Table 4.7 below. In all the surveys, nearly over 75 per cent of the women were employed in businesses generally assumed to be economically unviable to guarantee job security.

[77]For a comparative analysis of male-female employment, see appendix 4.1 and 4.2.

Table 4.7

Sectoral Employment of Women, 1971-1973

Period	Public Sector	Private Sector Establishments Employing			
		50 Persons or more	Less than 50 Persons	Total Private Sector	GRAND TOTAL
March 1971 (No. 1)	6,491	8,320	40,269	48,589	55,080
September 1971 (No. 2)	6,263	7,585	47,348	54,933	61,196
March 1971 (No. 3)	7,179	8,171	62,620	70,791	77,970
September 1972 (No. 4)	7,661	7,951	71,031	78,982	86,643
March 1973 (No. 5)	8,112	8,449	77,990	86,439	94,551

Sources: MNCDSA, Employment Survey Series A. Nos. 1-5 annexes 3.

The mismatch between the number of jobs and job seekers, the latter being perpetually reinforced by migration, was a chronic problem for Addis Ababa. Indeed, besides rural-urban migration, unemployment also originated from insufficient labor market information, structural problems attributed to shortage of investment capital, rigid technologies, and unsuitable macroeconomic policy. In fact, all these factors are not mutually exclusive.

According to a report by the Exploratory Employment Policy Mission of the International Labor Organisation to the Imperial Ethiopian Government, "educated unemployment" was an important problem among both academic school leavers and those with vocational training. The curriculum of higher education did not emphasize the immediate needs of the country and thus resulted in educated unemployment. There was also "voluntary unemployment," a situation whereby job seekers only look for their first choices or even do not take some jobs because of social taboos, or

jobs they consider inferior.[78] The Exploratory Mission strongly emphasized rural-urban migration as a key element in urban unemployment for both educated and non-educated individuals.[79]

4.3 Concentration of Jobs in Addis Ababa: Implications for Migration

Once the conquest of the southern provinces and the military campaigns were over, Addis Ababa became the center of all government bureaucratic functionaries. All ministries, organizations and agencies had their head offices in Addis Ababa, from which they recruited functionaries. Educated people thus poured to the capital for competition for employment in the civil service, and uneducated people for low-level jobs. Even for jobs located in the provinces, recruitment and qualifying examinations were given in Addis Ababa. What is interesting is that those who failed (often larger than those who were selected) to be recruited did not usually return to their provinces of origin. Rather they remained in Addis Ababa looking for other opportunities. The number increased from year to year, and there has never been a time when all job seekers were employed.

The centralization of government functionaries in Addis Ababa thus set in motion a continuous wave of migration from the provinces. The concentration of all government activities in the city undoubtedly led to the

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[78]International Labour Office (1973), pp. 52-53.

[79]*Ibid.*, p. 55.

concentration of a large number of civil servants there. According to available records, in 1968 the central government employed 22,761 people in Addis Ababa, up from 15,803 in 1965 which was, according to Eshetu Chole, an increase of about 15 per cent every year.[80] The civil servants usually came with their families and dependents and eventually brought their friends and relatives, giving rise to process of chain migration to Addis Ababa.[81]

A great majority of the civil servants as well as members of the armed forces, regardless of their status or rank, always thought of going to Addis Ababa either by transfer or upon retirement. In fact, transfer migration is an important means of population movement, that remained unnoticed by scholars. Transferees built houses in the capital even before they were gazetted there or before they retired. Upon transfer or retirement to Addis Ababa, almost all of them were followed not only by their families, but also by a large number of relatives and friends. Some of them even brought their maidservants to Addis Ababa with them.[82] Being aware of their inevitable migration to Addis Ababa, most government officials used to invest more in

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[80]Eshetu Chole (1976), p. 194.

[81]Informants: Bayana Abdi (Addis Ababa, 17.06.97); Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Tsegaye Badhadha (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97); Fayisa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97).

[82]Informants: Bayana Abdi (Addis Ababa, 05.05.97); Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Bekele Mulugeta (Addis Ababa, 08.05.97).

the capital than in their home provinces or the ones where they worked. Besides building houses in the capital, some of them opened businesses or contributed heavily to the establishment of hospitals and schools[83] for their children, whom they sent to Addis Ababa even before they were transferred or retired. By investing in Addis Ababa, provincial governors and officials made the capital attractive to the rural population. Directly or indirectly, they contributed to the creation of employment opportunities and facilitated the expansion of social services in the capital at the expense of the rural areas or provincial towns.

In fact, bringing friends and relatives was not confined only to civil servants, but lower level workers also did likewise. Although information on how many people civil servants brought with them is not available, Bekure Woldesemait's survey of industrial workers in the city indicated that 530 migrants, or 24.1 per cent of his interviewees brought with them an average of 2.4 relatives each. He thus concluded that, "If this is applied to the total migrant industrial worker in the Addis Ababa region, some 20,000 dependents might have migrated."[84]

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[83]See, for instance, ***Birhanina Salam*** (March 4, 1926).

[84]Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 177. Bekure concluded that the average family size of the workers was 4.8, which makes the number of those who depended on industry 172,728. See Bekure, "Pre-1974 Industrialization in Ethiopia" (1983), p. 175.

Because of low wages, it is possible that most of the industrial workers were unable to bring the same number of dependents and friends as professional and civil servants did. The latter's salary and socio-economic status was higher, and they could afford to support their dependents and help them to get jobs. Many informants attested that they have helped friends or relatives to migrate to Addis Ababa. A couple said that they brought 9 friends whom they helped to go to schools and to get jobs. Two of them succeeded in graduating from colleges with diplomas.[85] Another brought 6 friends and relatives, all of whom he helped to school until they all got jobs.[86] On the other hand, some informants said that friends or relatives brought them,[87] while others followed relatives who had already migrated,[88] and some came to Addis Ababa with their migrant mothers.[89]

The expansion of the civil service, the concentration of government functionaries, and the opening of various international organizations and embassies in Addis Ababa led to a construction boom in the period under

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[85]Informants: Zenebech Bekele (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97); Girma Alamu (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97).

[86]Informant: Walde Yohannis Worqneh (Addis Ababa, 05.22.97).

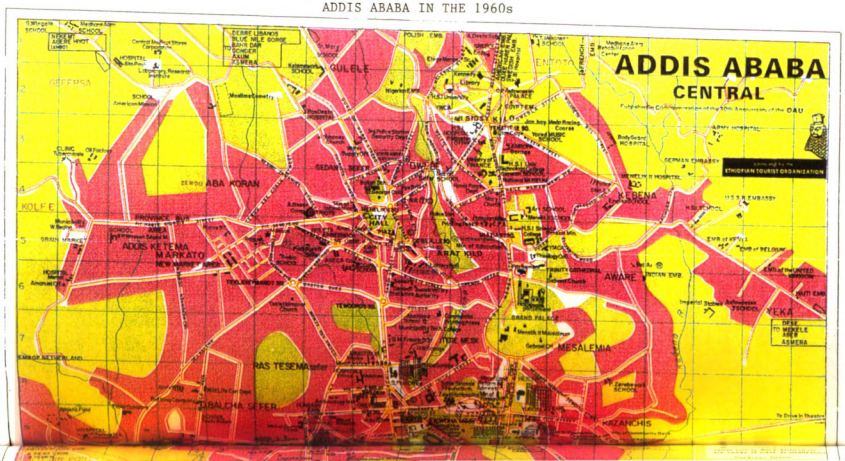
[87]Informants: Darartu Gada (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Mulu Rorisa (Addis Ababa, 05.24.97); Tsehay Teshome (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

[88]Informants: Yerom Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Shiferaw Assefa (Addis Ababa, 06.18.97).

[89]Informant: Abarash Balcha (Addis Ababa, 06.06.97).

Map 3

ADDIS ABABA IN THE 1960s




MESKEL SQUARE
MESKEL FLOWER
MESKEL SQUARE
ST. GEORGE CATHEDRAL
ARAT KILO
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
GOLF COURSE
TOYOTA MENAGESHA PARK
Menagesha SCHOOL
LYCEE SCHOOL
Zambia Embassy Compound
St. Paul's Hospital
Millennium Medical College
Ethiopia Tobacco Monopoly Manufacturing
ETHIOPIA TOBACCO MONOPOLY
ZAIRE EMBASSY
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
MENANSSA
TUNISIA
National Coffee Board
Ministry of Commerce
Ministry of Industry
Ministry of Mines
Ministry of Agriculture
Ministry of Transport
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Information
Ministry of Interior
Ministry of Planning
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Finance
Ministry of Justice
Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs
Ministry of Land Reform & Administration
Ministry of Public Works
Ministry of Water Resources
Ministry of Defence
Ministry of Post, Telegraph & Telephone
Ministry of Transport & Communications
Ministry of Urban Development & Housing
Ministry of Water Development
Ministry of Mines
Ministry of Agriculture
Ministry of Commerce, Industry & Tourism
Ministry of Communications
Ministry of Public Health
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Information
Ministry of Interior
Ministry of Justice
Ministry of Labour
Ministry of Land Reform & Administration
Ministry of Mines
Ministry of Planning & Development

discussion. High rise buildings were erected and several other office complexes were built. All needed laborers, and as most of the construction jobs did not require any prior skill and training, uneducated people poured into the city. It was also during the period covered by this work that many of the roads currently in use in Addis Ababa were built and paved, which also provided work for a large number of people. Those who were temporarily employed remained in the capital even after their jobs were over, and those who were not employed at all waited for opportunities.

Because of the absence of sources, it is difficult to provide figures for those employed by autonomous authorities and agencies. But given that almost all of them were headquartered in the capital, the number of their workers would be significant. Two important international organizations are worth mentioning here. They are the Secretariats of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) opened in 1958 and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), established in 1963. These two giant organizations served the whole continent with large and complex offices, which became important landmarks in the capital. The United Nations has various specialized agencies[90] with offices outside the main complex that employed a large number of Ethiopian staff.

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[90]Some of the major specialized agencies that had offices in Addis Ababa include: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Technical Assistance Board

Furthermore, Addis Ababa hosted embassies of a large number of countries that also provided job opportunities to a significant number of Ethiopians. Salaries paid by the international organizations and embassies were by any standards better than those paid by the Ethiopian government and other local associations. Even barely literate cleaners, maidservants and other low-level workers were paid two or three times as much what college diploma holders would earn from Ethiopian domestic employers. The existence of such organizations in the capital, therefore, was an important pull factor for many Ethiopians, especially the educated ones, to migrate to Addis Ababa from different parts of the country.

4.4 The Concentration of Health Facilities in Addis Ababa

Like most other social services, modern health facilities had long been concentrated in Addis Ababa. The first modern hospital, named after Menilek II, was opened in 1910. It was eventually followed by Tafari Makonnen Hospital in 1922, Empress Zawditu Hospital (built by the empress herself, r.1917-1930), Ras Dasta Damtew Hospital in 1931, Imperial Body Guard Hospital in 1944, St. Paul Hospital in 1947, Dajazmatch Balcha Hospital in 1948, Omedla (Police) Hospital, Takle

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(UNTAB), United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), World Health Organization (WHO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), International Labour Office (ILO), International Livestock Center for Africa (ILCA) and agencies of several other international organizations.

Haimanot Hospital, Princess Tsehai Memorial Hospital, and by several other health centers and clinics.[91] Although some parts of the country had also seen the establishment of few hospitals, 93 health centers and 649 clinics,[92] Addis Ababa hosted major health facilities throughout the period under discussion.

Migration scholars have noted the concentration of health facilities in the capitals of third world cities as being one of the major social factors attracting people to cities. The first beneficiaries of such services are always those people who have been exposed to some sort of modern education or those who have access to information on life in cities. In other words, both factors reinforce one another and are sometimes mutually inclusive, or as in this case, one observes the education factor reinforcing the health factor. Also, like any other information regarding city life, information about the existence of health facilities and benefits in cities were disseminated to potential migrants by pioneer migrants or visitors who returned to the countryside.

This section discusses the concentration of health facilities in Addis Ababa and its implications for migration to the city by a comparison between Addis Ababa and the provinces. The problem is that there is no

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[91]MAA, ***Mirror of Addis*** (Published on the Occasion of the 58th Anniversary of His Majesty's Birthday, Addis Ababa: Berhanena Selam Printing Press, 1950) p. 15.

[92]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 34.

data as to how many people migrated to Addis Ababa primarily in search of health services. Oral sources indicate, however, that a considerable number of people came to Addis Ababa for medical treatment. While under medication, these people saw the attractiveness of the city and decided to remain there. Others became destitute, could not afford transport back to the provinces, and decided to remain. Yet others who could not recover from their diseases remained in the city until their death.[93] The reason why civil servants in the provinces wanted to be transferred to Addis Ababa and why others migrated to the city to live after retirement was partly the availability of better health services.

Most training centers for medical personnel were concentrated in Addis Ababa too. The two major medical and public health training facilities in the country in the period under discussion were the Medical Faculty of Haile Sillassie I University in Addis Ababa and the Public Health College in Gondar. The former trained medical doctors, the latter trained students in community nursing, public health, sanitation and laboratory work. It is not the number of schools though that matters here, but the number of enrollment and the degree of available services and facilities. Of the 8 nursing schools at different hospitals in the country 6 of them were located in Addis Ababa, one in Asmara and one in Naqamte. While the total nursing

[93]Informants: Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Yohannis Huluqa (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97).

enrollment for the period 1972-1975 was 429, Addis Ababa's share was 252 (58.7 per cent). Asmara had 147 (34.3 per cent) and Naqamte took the remaining 30 students (7 per cent).[94] Besides this, there were 19 dresser training schools in the country. Of these 3 were located in Addis Ababa with an enrollment of 123 (27.4 per cent) students out of the total enrollment of 449 in 1971/2.[95] The remaining 326 were distributed over 16 schools in nine provinces.[96] There were also two schools for the training of technicians, both located in Addis Ababa, a Medical Auxiliary Training School in Menilek II Hospital and the Imperial Central Laboratory, a.k.a. the National Research Institute, formerly known as Pasteur Research Institute.[97]

When the Italo-Ethiopian war broke out in 1935, the country had only 10 "hospitals."[98] Thirty-seven years later, in 1972, the country had 91 registered "hospitals" with 8,622 beds. Out of these 16 hospitals and 2,781 beds were in Addis Ababa, followed by the provinces of Eritrea with 19

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[94]MPH, "Directory of Medical and Health Institutions in Ethiopia" (January 1972), in ***Medical Miscellanea 2*** (in the IES library), p. 148 (hereafter, MPH, 1972).

[95]***Ibid.***, p. 149.

[96]The figures for the provincial distributions were: Shoa, Eritrea and Ilu Abba Bora two schools each with 85, 55 and 23 students respectively, Wallagga, Harar, Wallo, Tigray, Gojjam and Kafa had one school each with 10, 13, 15, 20 and 15 students respectively. Only Sidamo had 3 schools with 75 students. ***Ibid.***

[97]***Ibid.***, p. 150.

[98]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 34.

hospitals and 2,240 beds, Hararghe with 12 hospitals and 882 beds, and Shoa with 11 hospitals and 462 beds.[99]

The distribution of health services was ultimately biased towards Addis Ababa. A CSO source made available in 1967/8, clearly demonstrated the discrepancy. For instance, there was one hospital for about every 40,000 people in Addis Ababa, while in the countryside one hospital attended 340,000 people. Moreover, the capital enjoyed one doctor for roughly 3,500 of its inhabitants, while the ratio was 1 doctor for every 128,000 rural residents. The ratio of nurses for Addis Ababa and the rest of the country was 1 to 2,100 and 1 to 123,000 respectively. Bale and Arsi had only one hospital each while Bale and Gamo Gofa had only one nurse each.[100] All specialized health centers were overwhelmingly located in Addis Ababa. Most of them were very vital and included communicable disease control centers, the services of which all Ethiopians needed. These included Venereal Diseases Control and Treatment Center, Malaria Eradication Service, Tuberculosis Control, Leprosy Control, Nutrition, and Smallpox Eradication Services.[101] The distribution of hospitals and hospital beds for the entire country and in Addis Ababa is shown in Table 4.8 below.

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[99]MPH (1972), pp. 151-153. The number of hospitals was exaggerated because the term "hospital" was broadly used. Even today, the number of hospitals is by far lower than what was reported then.

[100]Eshetu Chole, pp. 191-192.

[101]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 35.

Table 4.8

Number of Hospitals and Hospital Beds in Ethiopia, January 1972[102]

Province	Hospitals		Beds	
	No.	%	No.	%
Arsi	3	3.3	102	1.2
Bale	1	1.1	25	0.3
Begemidir	2	2.2	222	2.6
Eritrea	19	20.9	2,240	26.0
Gamo Gofa	2	2.2	98	1.1
Gojjam	2	2.2	215	2.5
Hararghe	12	13.2	882	10.2
Ilu Abba Bora	2	2.2	95	1.1
Kafa	3	3.3	246	2.9
Shoa	11	12.1	462	5.4
Sidamo	5	5.5	387	4.5
Tigray	5	5.5	332	3.9
Wallagga	4	4.4	292	3.4
Wallo	4	4.4	237	2.8
Addis Ababa	**16**	**17.6**	**2,781**	**32.3**
TOTAL	91	100.0	8,616[103]	100.0

Source: MPH, "Directory of Medical and Health Institutions in Ethiopia" (January 1972), in ***Medical Miscellanea 2*** (in the IES Library), p. 154.

With an estimated population of only 958,700 in 1972,[104] Addis Ababa had the largest concentration of health facilities in the country. Although Eritrea had a larger proportion, it should be noted that it was a large province with a population of 1,893,800,[105] while Addis Ababa was a city with a relatively smaller population. Moreover, the Eritrean case is

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[102]MPH (1972), p. 154. Percentage computations are mine.

[103]The total given in the document is mistakenly 8,622. See MPH (1972), p. 154.

[104]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8***, p. 6.

[105]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 10***, p. 2.

unique because basic infrastructures for such facilities and services were laid down during the six-decades of Italian colonial rule. Shoa, the very province in which Addis Ababa is located, also had a significantly larger share in the distribution of health services.

Besides those health facilities established by the government, the Municipality of Addis Ababa had health clinics established in most of the city's districts. These clinics provided free services to the needy poor.[106] Some of the clinics also gave childbirth services to the poor people of the city. In 1969/70 alone, two clinics located in Gulale and Lidata districts, treated 127,067 children for different illnesses, gave vaccines to 54,902 children, distributed milk and baby foods to 62,883 children, made various medical examinations to 14,408 mothers, provided delivery service to 2,839 mothers, and gave house sanitary education to 2,793 mothers.[107] In other words, the municipality's public health department provided services which were not available in most Ethiopian rural and urban communities. In rendering such basic services, therefore, the municipality created a permanent means of attracting people from different parts of the country.

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[106]MAA, "የ1962 ዓ.ም. የሥራ ሪፖርት" translated as: Performance Report for the Year 1962" (Tinsae Zagubae Printing Press, Addis Ababa: 1963 E.C.), p.24 (hereafter, MAA, 1963 E.C.).

[107]*Ibid.*, p.25.

The concentration of health facilities became an important pulling factor for migrants to Addis Ababa in two ways. First, the concentration of different training institutes and schools for medical personnel in the city attracted young school graduates from the provinces to seek training. As the capacities of the schools were always below the number of aspirant trainees, quite a large number of them roved in the city trying their chances every year or waiting for other opportunities. That is, once one is in Addis Ababa, he would rarely return to his origin. In other words, like all other specialized schools discussed above and also below, the need to join these schools was an important factor that pulled youngsters to Addis Ababa. Secondly, the very fact that health facilities are concentrated in Addis Ababa attracted more people to the city than to any other town. In Addis Ababa were to be found the best hospitals, the best clinics, the best laboratories and the best medical personnel, ranging from highly qualified physicians down to dressers and health assistants.


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THE DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA (ETHIOPIA) AND THE OVERURBANIZATION OF THE CITY, c.1941-c.1974

VOLUME II

By

Getahun Benti

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CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA

Introduction

For the growth of modern economic sectors and the enhancement of socio-economic changes in any society, education was a very essential instrument. Both education and economic growth strongly influenced the growth of towns and the process of urbanization. For obvious reasons, schools and industries were located in big towns where the necessary services were located or in small growing towns with promising potential to provide those services. From the perspective of the government, the need to cope with the pace of the slowly but surely expanding modern economy and the need to staff the modern bureaucracy with educated personnel necessitated the expansion of schools at all levels. From the perspective of rural people (especially the youngsters), the need to benefit from these developments led to their migration to towns.

Although on a limited scale, the introduction of modern education in Ethiopia was initiated by the local ruling elite in the period before the Italian occupation. The opening of early schools was designed to staff the newly emerging bureaucracy and facilitate the administration of the Empire State.[1] In the period after 1941, the Ethiopian government made serious attempts to enhance the expansion of modern education and the overall development of

[1]Markakis, (1974), p. 144.

the country presumably for two reasons. First, the government seems to have realized that Ethiopia's backwardness was an important factor for her easy defeat, and it wanted to redress that humiliation. Second, and perhaps most importantly, the restored government found itself in a situation where it could not reverse those aspects of modernization which were introduced to the country during the short-lived Italian occupation.

The Italians opened a small number of modern factories; they built modern roads and connected several provinces and towns to one another and above all to Addis Ababa.[2] Most importantly, however, they introduced modern methods of administration, both provincial and urban. The maintenance and continuity of the new developments required educated personnel. Therefore, the period after 1941 saw the expansion of modern education in both the capital and, gradually in the provinces that paradoxically served as an important "pull" factor to Addis Ababa. This chapter examines historical issues relating to the expansion of education and its implications for migration to Addis Ababa.

[2]For some of the changes introduced by the Italians, see Bahru (1991), pp. 163-165.

5.1 The Expansion of Modern Education in Ethiopia

Christian Abyssinia had a long-developed church educational system to train clerics. But, it lacked dynamism because its purpose was "...not to extend man's understanding of the world, but rather to lead men to accepting the existing order of things as it is, to preserve whatever has been handed down through the years, and in turn to pass it on unchanged to the next generation."[3] For both the church and the state the education attained was more than enough to permit clerics to discharge their duties and to keep the political system functional. The church maintained the status quo and thus made no effort to innovate or modernize the indigenous educational system. "The Church has continued to offer the main resistance to all forms of innovation or change, even if such change meant the enrichment of the national culture."[4] The education offered by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was later overtaken easily by European missionaries who introduced modern education in various regions of the empire. The state itself eventually abandoned its age-old reliance on graduates of church schools and began to invest in the expansion of modern schools.[5]

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[3]Girma Amare, "Aims and Purposes of the Church Education in Ethiopia," in ***Ethiopian Journal of Education***, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1967), p. 4. For a similar view, see Randi Rønning Balsvik, "Haile Selassie's Students – Rise of Social and Political Consciousness" (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Tromsø, Norway, 1979), pp. 1-2.

[4]Girma (1967), p. 10.

[5]Although the first modern school was opened in 1908 by Menilek and another important school by *Ras* Tafari in 1925, the secular school system still remained under the strong influence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The government did not want

Since Ethiopia remained uncolonized, modern education was introduced only when Ethiopian rulers began to sense the difference that education was making in the adjacent British, French and Italian colonies.[6] Similarly, the progressive platform projected in the 1920s by *Ras* Tafari Makonnin[7] ultimately required modern educated manpower in order to develop the country. In short, Ethiopia's backwardness was seen as a lack of modernization, and western education was recognized as the best remedy.

The first modern school, opened by the emperor Menilek in 1908,[8] focused on the teaching of foreign languages and its graduates mainly became interpreters. Graduates of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church schools, called *dabtara* (church literati) continued to occupy key posts and thus dominated the state administration, and it took quite some time for modern school graduates to make Ethiopian society feel their presence. The *dabtara* became obstacles to the upward mobility of the better-educated graduates of

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to antagonize the church, which had also a strong political influence on the state itself. Bahru Zewde noted that, "Menilek's initial arrangements had made it [i.e. the secular school] a mere adjunct to the office of the archbishop." The real departure towards secularizing the education system began in the 1930s following the creation of the Ministry of Education. See Bahru (1991), p. 109.

[6]Of all, the impact of education in the Italian colony of Eritrea was significant. The coming of educated Eritreans to Ethiopia and their entry into the service of the government and the going of Ethiopians to Eritrea, were the two channels by which education in colonial Eritrea influenced Ethiopia. See Bahru (1991), pp. 109-110.

[7]Regent and heir apparent to the throne, 1917-1930 and emperor, 1931-1974 with five years of interruption during the Italian occupation, 1936-1941.

[8]Although it was introduced at about the same time with other African countries, its extent was limited.

ern schools.[9]

In 1925, Tafari Makonnin School opened.[10] Its curriculum was gned to produce a cadre of educated people to enhance the efficiency of ern administration. Graduates of this school dominated Haile Sellassie's -war government.[11]

With the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1935, many rnment initiatives came to a halt, including the school system. It was on April 25, 1942, almost one full year after liberation in April 1941, a decree to reopen government schools was issued. The opening began schools in Addis Ababa and only gradually extended to the provinces.[12]

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[9]Indeed, graduates of modern schools who considered them almost "illiterate" or rant," looked down upon them because they were incompetent at the work place. today, the term *dabtara* is synonymous with ignorance or too little knowledge. For information on traditional schools and the role of the *dabtara* in Ethiopian cs, see Paulos Milkias, "Traditional Institutions and Traditional Elites: The Role of ation in the Ethiopian Body-Politic," in ***African Studies Review***, Vol. 19, No. 3 5), pp. 79-93.

[10]The following is a brief chronology of the expansion of modern education in s Ababa in the 1940s. The Empress Menen Girls' School opened in 1932, and was tually followed by Medhane Alem Secondary School in 1934, Technical School in , Princess Zenebe Work School in 1942/3, Patriots Association School in 1943, Sillassie I Secondary School in 1943, Qusquam School in 1943, Theological ge in 1944, Franco-Ethiopian Lycee Gabremariam in 1944, Tesfa Kokeb anage School in 1944, Commercial School in 1944/5, Teachers' Training College 45, Shimelis Habte Secondary School in 1945, Beyene Merid School in 1945, Asfa en School in 1945, General Wingate Secondary School in 1946, American Institute School in 1946, Haile Selassie I Elementary School in 1947/8, Alliance Francais ol (n.d.), Adventist Mission Girls School (n.d.), British Institute Night School (n.d.). ***Mirror of Addis***, pp. 24, 26-30 and 33.

[11]Two of my knowledgeable informants, Emmanuel Abraham and Zewde Gebre t, were among the first graduates of this school. Both worked in Haile Sillassie's rnment until his overthrow in 1974.

[12]*አዲስ ዘመን* (hereafter ***Addis Zaman***) Amharic Daily (April 17, 1934 E.C.). The

Menilek II School was the first to be reopened, staffed by volunteers who were top-ranking government officials.[13] Shortages of teachers, teaching materials, classrooms and financial constraints were then major hindrances to the expansion of schools. Against all odds, soon upon its reinstitution in 1941, the Ministry of Education opened a class whose size was limited only to 100 students, to meet the immediate demands for trained manpower to maintain the functioning of the bureaucracy. To this effect, it offered basic training in mathematics, shorthand writing, typewriting, operating calculating machines and translation from English to Amharic.[14]

By 1943 the number of government schools in the country reached 120 with 450 teachers and 19,000 students.[15] The need for educators led to the opening of two new important schools, Tafari Makonnin Secondary School in 1943 and a teachers' training program in 1944. By 1944, there were 20,000 students in government primary schools, and the figure rose to 53,000 five years later. There were schools in all provinces by 1956 and total enrollment reached 141,000. Moreover, a number of specialized educational

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opening of schools continued in various parts of the country. See for example, ***Addis Zaman*** May 7 and 26, 1935 E.C. for Indibir and Arjo; July 17, 1935 E.C. for Dambi Dollo; December 1, 1936 E.C. for Hasaina; and March 23, 1936 E.C. for Holota.

[13]Some of the officials included Makonnin Dasta (Minister of Education), Lorenzo Taezaz (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Dr. Alemwork (a veterinarian), Yilma Dheressa (Director in the Ministry of Finance), Getahun Tasama (Director in the Ministry of Pen) and several others whose names were not mentioned. See ***Addis Zaman*** (Miazia 17, 1934 E.C.).

[14]***Ibid.***

institutions were opened but they were largely concentrated in Addis Ababa.[16]

Public response to modern education was cool, owing to the negative influence of the old-established church education. The clerics discouraged people from sending their children to modern schools. Also, Muslim parents kept their children away from modern schools first, because they did not like its negative influence on their Kuranic schools, and second, they feared the influence of Amhara-Christian cultural traditions on their children. The government therefore provided stipends and free services to students in order to attract others[17] although such rewards were limited only to students enrolled in the so-called prestigious schools in Addis Ababa. Many were children of the ruling elites who were thought to become loyal servants of the system.[18] As Markakis noted, "...the majority of the first generation of educated Ethiopians have humble origins and owe their subsequent rise to

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[15]Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce, p. 35.

[16]Girma Amare, "Government Education in Ethiopia," in ***Ethiopia Observer,*** Vol. VI, No. 4 (1963), pp. 335-336.

[17]Informants: Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

[18]Only very few individuals from "illegitimate" family backgrounds went to such schools. Incidentally, they became staunch supporters of the establishment. A typical example was Emmanuel Abraham from Wallagga who was substituted for a son of a local chief. As the quota for Wallagga had to be met, the local governor had to find someone to fill in the gap. Emmanuel was eager to take the opportunity. Emmanuel Abraham became a successful graduate from Tafari Makonnin School. He served the government in different capacities, and he was instrumental in the up-keeping of Haile Sellassie's establishment from the pre-Italian period until his imprisonment by the Derg following the 1974 Revolution. He has produced an excellent autobiography.

their own efforts and royal favor."[19] Eventually those students who went to schools began to get good jobs with handsome salaries even with a low level of educational attainments.[20] Their success eventually changed public opinion, and approval of modern education grew. For instance, in a period of twelve years from 1955/6 to 1967/8, the number of operating public schools increased by closer to 91 per cent, that is from 581 in 1955/6 to 1,109 in 1967/8. The number of students enrolled in public schools increased by 410 per cent, from 80,031 to 408,156, in the same 12-year period.[21]

Although the growth was a great achievement, education reached an insignificant portion of school age children. According to data from the Ministry of Education, only 8.2 per cent of primary school age children could go to school in 1963/4. Five years later, in 1968, the figure was a little over 10 per cent. As to the expansion of secondary schools, the 1960s were the period when they were opened in most provincial capitals.[22] The extension of educational opportunities beyond Addis Ababa was influenced by "a supplementary land-tax ... the proceeds being earmarked for elementary education with the province of collection."[23] The

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Reminiscences of My Life (Oslo, Norway: Lunde Forlag, 1995).

[19]Markakis (1974), p. 146.

[20]Ralph Purdy, "Education Sector Evaluation" (Addis Ababa: USAID/ETH, May 29, 1969), p. 16; Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/4; Informants: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Zewde Gebre Hiwot (Addis Ababa, 02.13.97, 03.13.97); Kebede Akale Wold (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97); Bekele Walde Giorgis (Addis Ababa, 03.13.97).

[21]Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/4. See also Purdy, p. 15.

following figures demonstrate the rapid expansion of education in the late 1950s.

Table 5.1

Enrollment in Government Elementary Schools In Ethiopia (including Eritrea), 1955/6-1959/60

Year	Total		Female	
	Number	Annual Increase (%)	Number	Annual Increase (%)
1955/6	109,368	-	19,321	-
1956/7	135,749	24.1	24,364	26.0
1957/8	150,892	11.2	29,028	19.1
1958/9	158,005	4.7	32,794	13.0
1959/60	170,460	7.9	38,731	18.1

Source: MOE, ***Education in Ethiopia: A survey Issued by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts of the Imperial Ethiopian Government*** (1961), p. 22.

The cumulative increase in the five-year period between 1955/6-1959/60 was an impressive 55.9 per cent. The increase in the rate of enrollment continued throughout the period under discussion and in the 15 to 20-year period before 1974, primary schools grew by 11 per cent, secondary level schools by 19 per cent and higher education by 20 per cent.[24]

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[22]Seyoum, p. 18.

[23]MOE, ***Education in Ethiopia: A Survey Issued by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts of the Imperial Ethiopian Government*** (Addis Ababa: Printed by the Communications Media Center, Ethiopia-United States Cooperative Education Program, 1961), p. 11.

[24]MOE, "Education in Ethiopia" (Addis Ababa: 1960) in ***Education Miscellanea 2*** (in the IES library), pp. 98-99. (Hereafter, MOE, Education in Ethiopia, 1960).

The period between 1941-1951 was considered the reconstruction era, and much emphasis was put on the expansion of schools and on the training of educated manpower to meet the demand for administrators, technicians, and other professional personnel sufficient to run the government. But most of the schools opened in the 1950s were on the elementary level; yet, they laid the ground for the expansion of secondary education.[25] For instance, in 1958/9 enrollment in the first four grades of government schools reached 100,693 boys and 28,592 girls while it was respectively 24,518 and 4,202 for the second four grades, for a total of 158,005 for both grade-levels.[26]

5.2 The Concentration of Educational Facilities in Addis Ababa

Perhaps with the exception of Asmara (the capital of Eritrea) Addis Ababa was the first to reap the fruits of modernization in Ethiopia. It was the gate to all other regions in the country and, as center of the empire, it had obviously the largest concentration of modern activities and services.[27] The expansion of educational facilities ranging from elementary to tertiary and from academic to vocational, specialized technical and commercial schools in

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[25]Teshome Wagaw, ***Education in Ethiopia: Prospect and Retrospect*** (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), pp. 79-80.

[26]MOE, "Education in Ethiopia" (1960), pp. 98-99.

[27]Martin Johnson compares Addis Ababa's growth into a primate city with the early history of Paris, which has undergone through a similar process of centralization of major activities in it. Martin Johnson, "An Introduction to the Population of Addis Ababa," in ***African Urban Notes***, Vol. II, No. 3 (1967), 17.

the capital was part of this concentration.[28]

To mention some of them, six of the 10 teacher training educational institutes in 1958/9 were located in Addis Ababa; three were in the provinces and one was in Asmara. Of the total enrollment of 1,104, Addis Ababa had 413 (37.4 per cent), Asmara 79 (7.2 per cent) and the rest of the provinces 612 (55.4 per cent).[29] It was only in this area of education that the provinces surpassed Addis Ababa in terms of total enrollment. Yet, in terms of their population, the share of the provinces in this area was very insignificant. Of the 1,490 students enrolled in technical and vocational schools, 1,323 (88.8 per cent) were in Addis Ababa and 167 (11.2 per cent) were in Asmara.[30] There were none in the twelve provinces of the empire. The concentration of schools in Eritrea-second largest in the empire-was the result of six decades' of Italian colonial rule.

Throughout most of the period under discussion almost all higher

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[28]Girma Amare, "Government Education in Ethiopia" (Xeroxed - published - material in IES, 1973), in ***Pamphlet No. 31***, p. 17; MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 7.

[29]MOE, "Education in Ethiopia" (1960), p. 100. (Percentage computations are mine.) Generally speaking schools for highly needed skills such as electricity, radio, auto mechanics and machine shops, forging and welding, foundry, drafting, surveying, sheet metal, plumbing, masonry, carpentry, dress-making (sewing), metal work, weaving, carpet making, carving, traditional and modern crafts, home-making, child care, needlework, cooking and in many other related fields were mostly located in Addis Ababa. ***Ibid.,*** pp. 100-101. Most of the jobs in these fields were also located in the capital, and the trainees remained in the city after completion.

[30]These included schools for vocational trade, handicrafts, carpentry, metallurgy, and for the training of women in home keeping, childcare and dressmaking, and in weaving modern and traditional crafts. MOE, "Education in Ethiopia" (1960), p. 101.

education institutions were located in Addis Ababa, with the exception of the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Haro Maya in Hararghe and the Public Health College in Gondar with enrollments of 160 and 77 students respectively in 1958/9. In the capital that same year, the Commercial School of Addis Ababa had 341 students, the College of Engineering 110, and the Theological Academy 94.[31] Twenty per cent of the nation's nursing schools was located in Addis Ababa with 29.1 per cent of the enrollment.[32]

Table 5.2 shows annual increase of enrollment in all types of schools located in Addis Ababa in the school census years, 1959/60-1963/4. It clearly shows that the increase was very high in the 1960s, the very decade the city experienced a higher rate of in-migration.

Table 5.2

Increase in the Rate of Enrollment in Addis Ababa (1959/60-1963/4)

Year	No. of Students	Annual Increase (%)
1959/60	79,393	-
1960/1	94.838	19.5
1961/2	105,180	10.9
1962/3	117,203	11.4
1963/4	129,637	10.6

Source: Belihu Badi, "Urban Labour Market in Relation to Unemployment: A Case Study of Addis Ababa" (B.A. Essay, HSIU, Department of Economics, May 1972), p. 64.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

From 1959/60 to 1963/4 the rate of enrollment in the capital increased by 63 per cent,[33] the result of an increasing concentration of educational facilities there. Sources from the Ministry of Education indicate that, in 1959/60, there were 643 government schools of all levels with 4,834 teachers, 4,502 classrooms and 180,163 students in Ethiopia. Of these, 30,303 (16.8 per cent) students were enrolled in schools in Addis Ababa and the rest in twelve provinces and Eritrea. Similarly, 1,116 (23.1 per cent) of the 4,834 teachers, 48 (7.5 per cent) of the 643 schools and 756 (16.8 per cent) of the 4,502 classrooms were located in Addis Ababa. The 48 schools included 18 elementary, 11 secondary, 16 special secondary and 3 colleges.[34]

The 1962/3 school census also showed a similar disproportion in Addis Ababa whereby total enrollment at all levels was 46,035 students in a total of 100 schools. They were shared among 40 government (29,908), 17 mission (4,911), 40 private (10,271) and 3 church schools (945). The total number of schools in the empire in the same period was 1,362: 701 government, 170 community, 199 mission, 193 private and 99 church. Compared with the provinces, 7.7 per cent of the government schools, 8.5 per cent of the mission schools, 2.1 per cent of the private schools, 3 per cent

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[33]Belihu Badi, p. 64.

[34]MOE, ***Government, Mission Private, Community and Church Schools, 1959-1960*** (Addis Ababa: 1961), pp. iii-5. For more details, see the entire text. All percentage computations are mine.

of the church schools or 7.3 per cent of all schools were concentrated in Addis Ababa. Eritrea still enjoyed the greatest share among all the provinces. In fact, the concentration of schools in Eritrea had significantly raised the share (in terms of percentage) of the other twelve provinces. Of the empire's total indicated above, 173 government, 8 community, 53 mission, 56 private, 16 church or 323 of the 1,362 (23.7 per cent) schools were located in Eritrea.[35]

Short of Eritrea, therefore, the share of Addis Ababa was profoundly higher. This considerably dwarfed the share of the other provinces. Thus, excluding Eritrea, Addis Ababa had 9.6 per cent of all types of schools (excluding tertiary levels) in 1962/3. This included 7.8 per cent of the government schools, 11.6 per cent of the mission schools, 29.2 per cent of the private schools and 3.6 per cent of the church schools.[36] Indeed, the number of schools do not necessarily determine the rate of enrollment but it is the availability of facilities, the existence of sufficient number of teachers and other necessary personnel to facilitate the smooth operation of the school system. And, in all these aspects, Addis Ababa had a commanding position over any of the Ethiopian regions. In other words, not only were the specialized schools concentrated in Addis Ababa but also a great majority of

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[35]MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1962-63***, pp. 8, 32-35. All percentage computations are mine.

[36]***Ibid.***

the graduates and professionals that facilitated the process of the expansion of education in the capital were there. This increased the capital's importance as the center of better services in the whole empire. The following table shows the percentage of these professionals in the city relative to Shoa, Eritrea and the rest of the empire.

Table 5.3

Percentage of Service Establishments and Professional Personnel in Addis Ababa, Shoa, Eritrea, and the Rest of the Country

Service	Addis Ababa	Eritrea	Shoa	Rest of the Country
Teachers	29.3	24.2	15.2	31.3
Elementary Schools	13.2	17.4	15.0	54.4
Secondary Schools	30.9	18.4	14.3	36.4
Doctors	48.1	21.0	4.9	26.0
Nurses	61.4	24.3	1.6	12.7
Hospitals	20.0	17.4	8.1	54.4
Clinics	8.5	25.8	13.5	53.0

Source: Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, "The Rural Urban Split in Ethiopia," in ***Dialogue***, Vol. II, No. 1 (December 1968), p. 12.

Similarly, with only 2.7 per cent of the country's population in 1967/8, Addis Ababa had 20.5 per cent of teachers in all types of government schools, more than 60 per cent of teachers in technical and vocational schools, 29 per cent of all junior and secondary school teachers, 14.3 per cent of all students, 26.5 per cent of all junior and secondary school students and 50 per cent of all students in technical and vocational schools. Addis Ababa alone accounted for 10 per cent of all classrooms, 15 per cent of all teachers and 11.5 per cent of all

students in government primary schools.[37]

Despite the relative expansion of schools in the provinces, the gap between the two regions widened from time to time. Students who acquired primary or secondary education in the provinces migrated to Addis Ababa to continue learning in the various specialized schools that were only found there. The capital offered them the chance to finance their education by working during their spare time or to continuing their education in night schools. Even civil servants who worked hard to get transferred from the provinces to Addis Ababa had the ultimate plan of continuing their studies in night schools. The acquisition of education in the rural areas created a strong awareness in the minds of the students about modern life and job opportunities in Addis Ababa.[38]

Moreover, the expansion of education in the provinces was not followed by a corresponding growth of socio-economic opportunities in the rural areas that could have absorbed the school graduates. Nor was Addis Ababa able to account for the increasing number of students who migrated to the city from the provinces in search of jobs. In other words, the government was unable to strike the balance between expanding educational opportunities and of creating job opportunities. In another context, though

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[37]Eshetu Chole (1976), p.191.

[38]Informants: Yohannis Huluqa (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97); Bayana Abdi (Addis Ababa, 05.06.97, 06.17.97); Mulugeta Bekele (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Yirbab Zemene (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97).

the formal education system absorbed on average 20-35 per cent of the national budget, it accommodated at most 3 out of 10 children of school age throughout most of the period under discussion. Even that was terminal, for at least 50 per cent of those who got access to primary education. The instincts of these unfortunate students (including the dropouts) were to head for the urban centers and especially for Addis Ababa.[39]

5.3 Education, Urbanization and Migration to Addis Ababa: The Dynamic Relationships

A closer observation of the relationship between the rate of expansion of schools, the degree of urbanization and migration to Addis Ababa shows that most migrants came from more urbanized provinces which also had more educational facilities. It is also evident that the city with the largest concentration of schools was the largest recipient of migrants as well. The two important provinces that fit into this comparative analysis are Shoa and Eritrea. Shoa, the very province where Addis Ababa is located, was the greatest beneficiary of the expansion of educational facilities in the empire and the most urbanized; and Eritrea was on an equal footing in both respects.[40] And the further people went

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[39]Goitom Girmatsion, "Youth Urban Unemployment and Training Needs for Rural Development," in ***Proceedings of the Social Science Seminar Held in Nazareth, October 27-1978*** (AAU, IDR, 1978), p. 413.

[40]Wallagga was the only exception where schools expanded in the absence of a higher degree of urbanization. Interestingly enough, the number of migrants from that province to Addis Ababa remained one of the lowest for reasons that will be discussed below in Chapter VII.

up the education ladder, the more they moved to Addis Ababa. The following Table shows the concentration of schools and the degree of urbanization in Shoa, Eritrea and Addis Ababa versus the whole empire.

Table 5.4

Distribution of Schools in Addis Ababa, Shoa and Eritrea (1962/3) vs. Degree of Urbanization and Number of Migrants to Addis Ababa

3 Regions (1)	Total Number of Schools	Total Number of Students	Degree of Urbanization (1967)[41]
Addis Ababa	100	46,035	
Eritrea	323	60,358	16.6
Shoa	183	43,752	21.5
Total (of 1)	606	150,145	
% of 1 to 2	44.49		
Empire Total (2)	1,362	304,138	8.0
2 - 1	756	153,993	
% to 2	55.5	50.6	

Source: Summarized and computed from MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1962- 63*** (Addis Ababa: n.d.), pp. 3, 32-42 and 84-97.

The above data demonstrate the uneven distribution of schools and enrollments in Addis Ababa, Eritrea and Shoa on the one hand and the other twelve provinces on the other. A similar disproportion continued throughout the period under discussion, but it was more noticeable at the secondary school level. For instance, 20 of the 46 government secondary schools in 1969 were located in the province of Shoa. Of these, 13 were found in Addis Ababa; Eritrea had 6, and the other provinces shared the remainder. The total enrollment in secondary school levels for Shoa and Eritrea was

[41]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 1*** (1968), p. 1. For the degree of urbanization in each province, see Appendix V.1. "Degree of urbanization" is defined here as the proportion of urban population to rural population.

considerably larger than the combined total for the rest of the provinces.[42]

In terms of population size, however, the three regions were far below the other twelve provinces. The population of the country was estimated at 24,068,000 in 1970, of which 6,816,400 lived in Addis Ababa, Eritrea and Shoa.[43] Of this, the population of Addis Ababa was estimated at 837,400 in 1967,[44] just three years before the national sample survey of 1970. Furthermore, Shoa and Eritrea, where 13.4 per cent of the schools and 14.4 per cent of the student population, and 23.8 per cent of the schools and 19.9 per cent of the student population were concentrated respectively, had the largest number of migrant population in Addis Ababa.[45] Accordingly, out of the capital's total population of 1,167,301, as reported by the Central Statistical Office in 1978, 316,702, or 27.1 per cent, came from Shoa while 30,168, or 2.6 per cent, were from Eritrea.[46]

Given the concentration of schools in Eritrea, the number of migrants from that province is, indeed, very low. But given the distance

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[42]MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1967-8***, Part I, p. 38, Table 20.

[43]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 10***, Vol. I (1974), p. 2.

[44]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 6. Because censuses were not taken, it is impossible to find corresponding population figures for both the country and the city of Addis Ababa. Most figures were based either on estimations or sample surveys by the CSO.

[45]Percentages are my own computations based on figures in Table 5.5. In fact, distance could also be taken as another contributing factor in the case of Shoa. For more details on the role of distance, see Chapter III.

[46]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), pp. 28-29.

between Addis Ababa and Eritrea, the farthest of all the provinces, the number is considerable. This finding undermines the distance theory of migration that holds that the farther the distance the less is the number of migrants. In a world that is changing very rapidly, the theory is being increasingly undermined by the shrinking of distance as a result of the expansion of modern communication and transportation systems, often called the "time-space-compression." Eritrea was more favored in these respects than any of the Ethiopian provinces. The expansion of education and the relative availability of modern communication facilities enhanced the migration of more Eritreans to Addis Ababa. Academic knowledge increased awareness of their employability among the Eritreans outside their home province, and improved transportation facilities facilitated their movement to Addis Ababa.

Indeed, Asmara had better educational opportunities but it was remote from the center and southern provinces, 1081 kilometers from Addis Ababa alone. Consequently, it was not within easy reach of education and job seekers in comparison with Addis Ababa. Consequently, Addis Ababa remained the better destination for both education and job seekers.

Interestingly enough, quite the reverse was true for closer provinces with few schools.[47] For, example, nearby Arsi, had in 1966/7, 15,266 (3.7

[47]Other factors have also strongly contributed to the fewer migrants from many provinces. See Chapters VI and VII below.

per cent) students out of the total of 409,710 for the entire country,[48] and the province contributed only 0.8 per cent, or 9,561 migrants to the capital.[49] And the trend was similar for several other provinces. The relationship between the expansion of education[50] (in terms of enrollment) and migration to Addis Ababa from the provinces is shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5

Provincial Enrollment Distribution vs. Origin of Migrants to Addis Ababa

Provinces	School Enrollment (1966/67)[51]		Migrants to Addis Ababa (1967)[52]	
	Students	%	Numbe	%
Addis Ababa	**68,096**	**15.2**	316,240[53]	**46.3**
Arsi	15,266	3.4	5,570	0.8
Bale	6,057	1.4	1,330	0.2
Begemidir	21,623	4.8	9,830	1.4
Eritrea	76,729	17.1	20,600	3.0
Gamo Gofa	7,610	1.7	16,500	2.4
Gojjam	21,845	4.9	12,960	1.9
Harar	28,393	6.3	12,280	1.8
Ilu Abba Bora	14,092	3.1	1,150	0.2
Kafa	16,867	3.8	6,490	1.0
Shoa	68,791	15.3	225,920	33.0
Sidamo	28,879	6.4	7,440	1.1
Tigray	20,306	4.5	14,800	2.2
Wallagga	34,140	7.6	7,580	1.1
Wallo	19,748	4.4	24,840	3.6
Total	448,442	99.9	683,530	100.0

Source: MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1966/1967***, Part I; and CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8***, p. 81.

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[48]Seyoum, pp. 16-18.

[49]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 29.

[50]Seyoum , pp. 16-18.

[51]Compiled from MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1966/1967***, Part I (Published by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Bureau of Educational Research and Statistics).

[52]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8***, p. 81.

[53]These are Addis-born, not migrants.

The data explains the correlation between availability of educational opportunities and migration to the capital. While schools in the provinces produced educated migrants who looked for jobs in the capital, the expansion of schools in the capital provided another attraction for those who sought to continue higher learning. It does not, however, mean that all migrants from the provinces were literate, nor was the expansion of education the only indicator of migration to Addis Ababa. For reasons that will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, I strongly argue that most migrants from non-Amhara regions, with the exception of the Gurage, were literate in comparison to the migrants from Amhara regions.

5.4 Further Expansion of Educational Opportunities in the Provinces, Educated Migrants[54] and the State of Employment in Addis Ababa

As indicated in the preceding discussions, the opening of modern schools began in the pre-Italian period and eventually expanded in the period after 1941. The effect of the pre-Italian modern schools on enhancing the socio-economic transformation of the country and the consolidation of a modern bureaucracy was minimal because graduates of traditional church schools dominated the period. The government trusted them more for their

[54]For the sake of convenience, educated migrants are understood as those who completed or dropped out of schools in the provinces due to various reasons and migrated to Addis Ababa to look for employment opportunities and/or to continue their schooling.

political loyalty and appointed them to key government positions.[55] On the other hand, graduates from modern schools were marginalized and excluded from holding key positions or were watched carefully by their less educated clerical bosses. The latter ignored their views as "contaminated" by European capitalism and by modern ways of European thought. As John Markakis observed, they were "distrusted because of their missionary connections and disliked for their assumption of European customs, [and] they were [thus] employed sparingly and in lowly posts."[56] But the new post war world-system, in which Ethiopia was a part, required a modern bureaucracy staffed by educated and enlightened personnel. Yet, the government found itself in a situation where it had to hasten the pace of expansion of modern education to meet the desires created by the short-lived Italian rule. A departure from the past was ultimately required; and however slow it was, educational innovation was inevitable and was in the making.

While the first few years after 1941 were spent as the period of reorganization from the damages caused by the occupation and the wars of resistance, the 1950s saw some degree of recovery and the beginning of infrustractural developments, including opening schools in Addis Ababa and

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[55]Among these were Hiruy Wolde Sellassie who became a foreign minister in the immediate period before the Italo-Ethiopian war and Makonnin Habte Wold, one of the Habte Wold brothers who engineered Haile Sillassie's post-war government. See Bahru (1991), pp. 106-107.

[56]Markakis (1974), p. 145.

in the provinces. The relative expansion of schools led to the increase in the number of graduates that often surpassed employment opportunities. The private sector did not develop enough to absorb the newly educated class, and the state administration remained the sole source of employment for them, especially, for university graduates.[57] But the government itself did not have enough jobs to absorb all educated job seekers. The problem of unemployment of educated people thus reached crisis points in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when most of the provincial schools matured to higher (secondary) levels and began to produce employable graduates.

The relatively many elementary schools which were opened in the provincial, district and local towns produced a large number of school graduates who could not be absorbed by the very few secondary schools mostly located in provincial capitals. In the absence of sufficient employment opportunities to absorb the graduates in the provinces and of any reasonably alternative large and medium-sized towns to offer opportunities, a majority of the students from the provinces flocked to the capital. Yet, the very few graduates each province produced every year were too much for the economy of the city to accommodate.

The concentration of economic activities and expansion of schools in Addis Ababa in the period under discussion was thus partly a response to large-scale migration of youngsters to the capital. This was especially the

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

case in the 1960s, when the city experienced the highest rate of in-migration. According to W.T.S. Gould, "This increasing proportion in the younger age groups [put] a great strain on the school system [in Addis Ababa]. In addition to the effects of in-migration of adults on this growth, there [was] direct in-migration of children specifically to find a place in school... Addis Ababa [was] a focus of educational opportunity in addition to its role as a focus of employment opportunity."[58]

Many Ethiopian families were unable to support their children in post elementary schools, mostly located in provincial capitals, and even there were provinces that did not have secondary schools at all. Consequently, close to 50 per cent of primary school students were forced to terminate schooling: for instance, out of a total of 59,901 grade 6 students in 1971/2, 26,178 terminated their schooling, and 12,917 out of a total of 34,024 junior secondary (grade 8) school leavers dropped out. Since the provinces were not able to provide jobs to such students, their schools produced a migratable population ready to move to the capital where jobs were presumably located. With many types of schools and other opportunities, Addis Ababa, thus became the destination for the greatest number of such students.[59] Even elementary school graduates had acquired some degree of training that made

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[58]W. T. S. Gould, "The Provision of Secondary Schools in African Cities: A Study of Addis Ababa," in ***Town Planning Review***, Vol. 44, No. 4 (October 1973), p. 395.

[59]Goitom, p. 413.

them ready to take over jobs that were only available in towns. While the number of such jobs and openings were limited to one or two in most provincial towns, they were comparatively larger in Addis Ababa. Moreover, the hope of finding employment lasted longer in Addis Ababa than in any other town in the country.

Addis Ababa experienced large-scale in-migration and a significant increase in its population in the 1960s when there was major expansion of schools and educational opportunities in the provinces.[60] The expansion of elementary schools in the provinces in the five-year period between 1962/3 and 1966/7 is shown in the table below.

[60]Interestingly enough, only Addis Ababa, Shoa, and Eritrea had missionary-run secondary schools. Wallagga, Harar and Begemidir had up to grade 8, Bale to grade 7, and Tigray up to grade 11. In all cases, indeed, as in all types of schools, the higher the grade the lower was the number of students. See, MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1962-63***, pp. 14-15, Table 10.

Table 5.6

Total Enrollment in Government, Mission and Private Primary Schools (Grades 1-6) in Addis Ababa and the Provinces, 1962/3 and 1966/7

Provinces	Government		Mission		Private		Total		
	1962/3	1966/7	1962/3	1966/7	1962/3	1966/7	1962/3	1966/7	% increase 1962-7
Addis Ababa	**22,863**	**36,164**	**4,189**	**5,704**	**8,865**	**10,414**	**35,917**	**52,282**	**45.5**
Arsi	6,012	12,737	734	1,010	500	-	7,246	13,747	89.7
Bale	2,399	4,737	460	787	-	-	2,859	5,524	93.2
Begemidir	9,211	18,080	825	1,309	-	160	10,036	19,549	94.8
Eritrea	36,942	42,991	5,235	8,741	9,900	16,020	52,077	67,752	30.1
Gamo Gofa	2,948	7,028	439	-	-	-	3,387	7,028	107.5
Gojjam	8,331	19,476	94	193	-	-	8,425	19,669	133.5
Hararghe	10,569	18,751	2,512	2,507	1,213	3,340	13,994	24,598	75.8
Ilu Abba Bora	5,461	12,517	60	84	143	781	5,664	13,382	136.3
Kafa	5,154	12,641	939	2,417	196	269	6,298	15,325	143.3
Shoa	30,956	52,488	4,044	5,768	2,212	2,565	37,212	60,781	63.3
Sidamo	11,914	20,998	2,971	4,719	711	862	15,596	26,579	70.4
Tigray	7,520	15,260	1,267	1,916	320	273	9,107	17,449	91.6
Wallagga	11,805	22,116	3,099	5,044	1,626	681	16,530	27,841	68.4
Wallo	9,962	16,223	376	489	361	4,875	10,699	21,587	101.8
TOTAL	15,0229	312,207	26,953	41,742	26,047	40,240	235,047	39,4189	67.71

Source: Complied from MOE, ***School Census, 1962/63 and 1966/67.***.

In Addis Ababa and Eritrea, where school systems were already more developed the percentage of increase was relatively lower than in the other provinces. In absolute numbers, however, the increase was still higher. It was well over 100 per cent for the provinces of Gamo Gofa, Gojjam, Ilu Abba Bora, Kafa and Wallo; over 90 per cent for Arsi, Bale, Begemidir and Tigray; and over 60 per cent for Hararghe, Shoa, Sidamo and Wallagga. Moreover, the total enrollment of traditional church schools[61] for the 1962/3 school census year at all levels was 1,063 with only three provinces having junior and secondary levels - Addis Ababa with 133 students in grades 7-12, and Hararghe and Eritrea with 52 and 102 students respectively in grades 7-8. Total enrollment in community schools for the same period was 22,358 in the whole empire. Only one province, Bale, had a junior secondary level of grade 7 with 9 students. The rest had all between grades 1 to 6.[62] The increase in secondary school enrollments in the period between two school census years in the provinces was even more dramatic as shown in Table 5.7.

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[61]Although it remained devoted to the traditional schools, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church later opened a few schools, which provided modern education alongside religious education. The number of such schools was limited and was mostly confined to Addis Ababa. A very few of them grew to junior secondary levels. A typical example of this is the Kidane Mihiret school just behind the compound of Medhane Alem church on Intoto Avenue. At higher level, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church established Trinity College whose Protestant (Lutheran) counterpart was the Mekane Yesus Seminary, the only two of their kind in the country.

[62]MOE, ***School Census for Ethiopia, 1962-1963***, pp. 14-15, Table 10.

Table 5.7

Total Enrollment in Government, Mission and Private Secondary Schools (Grades 7-12), 1962/3 and 1966/7

Provinces	Total Enrollment[63]		Increase (%)
	1962/3	1966/7	
Addis Ababa	9,173	17,610	119.0
Arsi	827	1,519	83.7
Bale	204	533	161.3
Begemidir	1,167	2,277	95.0
Eritrea	4,469	9,810	119.5
Gamo Gofa	215	582	170.7
Gojjam	1,196	2,176	81.9
Hararghe	1,425	4,256	198.7
Ilu Abba Bora	284	710	150.0
Kafa	646	1,540	138.4
Shoa	4,054	9,415	132.2
Sidamo	731	2,326	218.2
Tigray	1,385	3,918	182.9
Wallagga	1,003	2,481	147.4
Wallo	864	2,355	172.6
Total	26,237	61,508	134.4

Source: Complied from MOE, ***School Census*, 1962/63**, pp. 14-15; and MOE ***School Census, 1966/67***, pp. 32-33..

On a regional basis, the rate of enrollment was higher in the north (Begemidir, Eritrea, Gojjam, Shoa, Tigray and Wallo). For instance, in the 1962/3 school year, the provinces constituted 50.1 per cent of the country's entire enrollment in secondary schools. Addis Ababa alone had 35 per cent of the empire's total. Both regions (the northern provinces and Addis Ababa) constituted 85 per cent of the total enrollment of the empire, leaving only 15 per cent for the southern provinces, which are larger in terms of size,

[63]The figures include enrollments in mission and in private secondary schools. (2,682 for 1962/3 and 4,088 for 1966/7). Figures for 1966/7 enrollments in private secondary schools are not available.

population and resources. The gap did not narrow in the 1966/7 census. This time the six northern provinces had 68.2 per cent of the total provincial enrollments and Addis Ababa had 31.8 per cent of the empire's total. The six provinces and Addis Ababa had 86 per cent of the total enrollment in the empire and the southern provinces shared the remaining 14 per cent among themselves.

The imbalance in the degree of enrollment between the northern and the southern provinces was a reflection of biases in government policy. Even in Addis Ababa, the largest proportion of the student population comprised the Amharas and Tigres. The former constituted the largest proportion of educated people in the country for they were advantaged by their favorable location in the political landscape of the empire. Data collected in Addis Ababa in 1947 revealed that out of 4,795 students, 3,055 (63.7 per cent) were Amharas. In one school alone 70.3 per cent of the students (701 out of 997) reported that they were Amharas.[64] In his memoir, Emmanuel Abraham, an Oromo, who headed the Ministry of Education and who was accused by the Amhara of favoring the Oromos, concluded that:

> On hearing this [the outcome of the survey], my accusers were alarmed and, realizing that it could be dangerous if it were widely known that it was the Amharas rather than the Gallas [Oromos] who were being educated in large numbers, prostrated themselves before the Emperor and implored him not to allow the list to be published. The Emperor reprimanded them severely and reversed the order. The list was never published.[65]

[64]Emmanuel, p. 64; Bjerén, p. 249.

The number of Amhara students was larger for two reasons. First, they took advantage of their control of political power. Second, the schools in the south were concentrated in towns where the population of the northerners, especially the Amharas, was significant. Thus, their children took advantage of the educational opportunities.

Even at the University level the Amharas and the Tigres constituted the largest proportion of the student population. This is evident from the fact that 55.5 and 23.5 per cent of the university freshmen were respectively from these ethnic groups in 1968, whereas the remaining 21 per cent came from other ethnic groups. The Oromo, the largest ethnic group in the empire, took only 10.4 per cent[66] of the entire freshman population. Enrollment in the university was a reflection of the availability of educational facilities in the home provinces. In any event, the expansion of schools in the provinces has impacted the process of migration to Addis Ababa in two very important ways.

First, they became breeding centers for migrants to Addis Ababa to seek jobs or to continue higher learning in institutions only located in the capital. Likewise, the same dynamic pulled illiterate youngsters to Addis Ababa to begin schooling for the city provided them with any type of job to

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[65]Emmanuel, p. 64.

[66]Robert L. Cooper and Michael King, "Language and University Students," in M. L. Bender, **et.al.**, (eds.) ***Language in Ethiopia*** (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 273-274. See also Balsvik, pp. 102-103.

support themselves. Such opportunities normally included part-time employment in domestic services, shoe shining, selling of lottery tickets, peddling, carrying goods (coolies), and other informal activities. Only a limited number of migrants would be involved in such activities in provincial towns because of the low number of clients who need such services. Addis Ababa had a larger population and it was continuously increasing, thus expanding opportunities for migrants to engage in such activities. The return was also high. Moreover, Addis Ababa had factories and other business organizations with capacities to employ a large number of people. The job market was also increasing rapidly. In response to this, school dropouts from the provinces flocked to Addis Ababa to find jobs, however low their educational attainments were. By starting with low-paying jobs, migrants would eventually seek more profitable employment in industries or in other modern sectors located in the capital.

Second, the expansion of schools in the provinces and the absence of sufficient employment opportunities in the provincial towns have undoubtedly become important push factors that put pressure on Addis Ababa. Compared to most contemporary developing countries and even to most African countries, the rate of educational expansion in Ethiopia was among the lowest.[67] However, even the low rate of expansion was not

[67]See, for example, Gould, pp. 391-392.

accompanied by enough economic growth to absorb educated youngsters. Nor was the type of education offered oriented towards accelerating agricultural production which was the mainstay of the rural economy. That orientation might have kept potential migrants in the countryside and eased the pressure on the capital. Furthermore, as indicated above, most modern economic establishments, particularly industries capable of providing better, large scale and durable employment, were located in Addis Ababa. Likewise, all ministries that had the capacity of employing a large number of civil servants from among young educated people had their offices in the capital. Almost all non-governmental organizations, trading companies and other similar establishments were also headquartered in Addis Ababa. All these were attractions to educated youngsters, no matter what their educational levels were.

Lack of finance and infrastructure impeded development in the provinces. Given these constraints, the government was forced to make Addis Ababa the center of the empire for all practical purposes. Even in areas where decentralization was possible, the government was not willing to adopt policies towards that effect.[68] Under such circumstances, therefore, the very few educated people in the provinces migrated to the capital.

A note directly addressed to the emperor in 1971/2 by the MNCDSA

[68]Informant: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97).

had squarely stated the seriousness of the migration of educated people to Addis Ababa and the problems it was posing to the city. The Ministry admitted that the government and its various agencies in Addis Ababa were unable to provide jobs to educated migrants whose number was increasing from year to year.[69] The note's issuance coincided with the period when provincial secondary schools were annually producing a large number of educated migrants to Addis Ababa. The note made it clear that in the period before 1966/7 students at all levels of educational attainments used to get jobs on their own without bothering the government.[70]

With the continuous migration of educated job seekers, the capital's job market was increasingly congested. In order to facilitate their employment in different government offices, organizations and in private industries, the Ministry started registering them. This was accomplished without much difficulty for a brief period of time between 1966/7-1969/70. After 1969/70, however, it was noted that due to the slowing down of the economy, private industries and organizations were unable to accept new employees and that there was not enough work even for those employed

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[69]MNCDSA Archives, Prime Minister to the Emperor, "Note to His Imperial Majesty" (in Amharic 1964 E.C., No File Number). (Hereafter, MNCDSA, "Note to His Imperial Majesty"). The note was sent by the Council of Ministers to the Emperor but in the name of the Prime Minister in his capacity as chairman of the council.

[70]*Ibid.*, p. 3. Elderly informants who were part of the story also testified that this was true at the time. Informants: Yohannis Hulluqa (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Mulugeta Bekele (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97).

earlier. By and large, the government remained the only employing institution, but it was unable to absorb all educated job seekers.[71]

The number of students with different levels of educational attainments who were registered for employment in 1971/2 was very alarming, indeed. In that year alone, 43,293 were registered at the Addis Ababa Employment Office with educational levels ranging from grade 6 up to university. They came from all over the country. But the number of jobs that the government had in the same year was only 3,533. Twelve thousand of the registrants had failed in grade 6; 25,000 in grade 8; 4,720 in grade 12 and could not continue their education in the university. One thousand two hundred and forty eight failed after joining university, and 325 were dropouts for political reasons.[72] As mentioned earlier, the provinces did not have enough jobs to absorb their respective educated job seekers and the only alternative destination, common for all, was Addis Ababa where all jobs and opportunities were presumably available.

In the decade before 1974, the number of educated job seekers totaled an average of 11,000 every year. Indeed, these were reportedly highly-trained graduates from government training institutions, including the university, technical and commercial schools, comprehensive and academic secondary

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[71]MNCDSA, "Note to His Imperial Majesty," p. 3.

[72]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

schools,[73] from private, mission and community schools. They also included dropouts from different academic levels. In his short survey of educated migrants in Addis Ababa, Tekle Mariam W. Michael concluded that:

> Gradually the number of vacant jobs began to be filled up. The supply of the educated manpower began to exceed the demand in the last five years. The economy of the country could not absorb the unemployed school leavers. Jobs which were normally given to elementary school leavers became difficult to secure. A new class of 'unemployed but educated' people began to appear. In the last five years the class of unemployed-educated grew very rapidly as a result of fast increase of high school students. The high rate of increase of the class of 'unemployed-educated' is caused primarily by the high rate of increase of twelfth grade school leavers. In Ethiopia there is only one university. The number of the training institutes and colleges is small. Consequently the population of the twelfth grade school leavers has increased rapidly.[74]

Studies of educated migrants in Addis Ababa are very scarce. The very few surveys made by the MNCDSA are often incomplete and contain only fragments of information. The only Ministry study worth-mentioning dealt with 989 educated job seekers in Addis Ababa, clarifying the relationship between age, education and migration and between employment and education, and education and migration. It concluded that the older the interviewee, the lower the educational level, which is indicative of the recent expansion of education in Ethiopia.[75] Though the document does not provide

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[73]MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 5.

[74]Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/5.

[75]MNCDSA, Department of Labour and Employment, "A Study of Educated Job-Seekers in Addis Ababa" (Addis Ababa, Issued by Employment & Manpower Division for the period of April 1965-April 1973), p. 2. (Hereafter, MNCDSA, Educated Job-seekers, 1973.)

clear information about who was a migrant, the provincial origins of the registrants were noted, which, by implication, means that those originating outside Addis Ababa were migrants.

Of the 989 educated job seekers registered at the Addis Ababa Employment Office and the Central Personnel Agency, 63 per cent had their home provinces outside of Addis Ababa. Job seekers from the province of Shoa alone constituted the second biggest group with 15 per cent; 13 per cent came from Eritrea, and 6 per cent each from Wallo, Tigray, Begemidir and Hararghe. The remaining 11 per cent originated from the other 9 provinces, where the distribution of educational facilities was lower. According to the study, more educated provincial migrants had completed secondary schools than the capital's job aspirants.[76]

As indicated above, more migrants came to Addis Ababa from those provinces which had larger number of educational facilities. Thus, Shoa was the origin for the largest proportion of educated migrants. Of the 989 registrants hinted above, 63 per cent were educated migrants or born outside Addis Ababa while 51 per cent had their elementary education outside the capital. Moreover, in 64 per cent of the cases, the last school attended was located in Addis Ababa[77] which presupposes that quite a significant number of the registrants either started or continued their

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[76]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[77]MNCDSA, "Educated Job-seekers" (1973), p. 4.

schooling after their migration to the capital.[78]

The background of these job seekers was such that 72 per cent came from large families with 5 or more children. Thirty-six per cent reported that their fathers were farmers while 24 per cent said their fathers had clerical jobs. Seventeen per cent reported that their fathers were employed as production workers and laborers. Fathers of 16 per cent were engaged in professional/ technical and administrative occupations, while those of the remaining 7 per cent were employed in the armed forces.[79] Although the level of their parents' income and capacity to support their children is not indicated, it appears that family size and economic reasons were factors for the migration of most of them to Addis Ababa. These reasons could have accounted for their inability to complete their education, thus forcing them into migration to the capital.

That the expansion of education was one of the most important pull factors is evident from the population characteristics of the city. According to the latest censuses, unlike in the early years of the period under discussion, the population of the city was *relatively* literate due to a large-scale migration of educated people. A substantial majority of the migrants had some form of

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[78]The survey did not distinguish the two categories. The weakness of the study is that 63 percent of the interviewees never responded to *why* they left school, a key question for the analysis of other issues raised in this dissertation. Only 17 per cent said they left due to financial reasons, and 7 per cent gave "reasons connected with job-seeking or helping family." ***Ibid.***, p. 6.

[79]***Ibid.***, p. 3.

educational attainment. For instance, the 1978 CSO survey of the city's population indicated that almost 50 per cent of migrants to Addis Ababa from urban areas were literate. On the contrary, 62.7 per cent of rural migrants were illiterate,[80] which indicates the slow expansion of education into the rural areas.[81] It does not, however, mean that the so-called "urban" migrants were all from urban areas. Ethiopians characteristically identify themselves with the capitals (towns) of the districts they come from rather than citing rural locations because such an identification is equated with being "uncivilized" and "uncultured." Thus, it is possible that most of those "urban" migrants were originally from rural areas.

Although the search for jobs and schooling brought educated migrants to Addis Ababa, some critiques blamed the Ethiopian educational system itself for failing to prepare students for rural-oriented jobs. They contended that the educational system created people who refused to touch the mud and the dirt as had their fathers and forefathers.[82] However, this rationale does not satisfactorily explain the dynamics of school-leaver migration to Addis Ababa. Their family had strong expectations that they would succeed and send money back. Finally, staying in the rural areas would be an

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[80]As will be seen below in Chapter VII, most of the illiterate migrants (especially women) were Amharic speakers, for knowing the language was an important means to migrate to the city. On the other hand, other migrants had to learn the language on arrival or had to learn it before migrating.

[81]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 23.

[82]Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/7.

admission of failure.[83]

As Tekle Mariam W. Michael correctly observed, "They are pressured by their communities to leave their home town or village and 'hide themselves' in the urban centers." Moreover, educated school leavers regarded farming as an inferior job performed by illiterate people. If they were to engage in agriculture, they wanted to use modern technologies of farming that would put them above the ordinary farmers.[84] Generally speaking, despite the problem of securing jobs in Addis Ababa, most youngsters who migrated "to enhance their educational background, remain[ed] in the capital because of limited employment opportunities in their home areas."[85]

Pressure from successful peers, often former classmates or close friends, who had already migrated, significantly influenced those who remained behind the latter usually felt inferior, as others looked down upon them for engaging in farming. One educated migrant told Tekle Mariam W. Michael that, "'Whenever our former friends [who did not migrate] see us, they feel ashamed and humiliated about themselves.'" Thus, "Instead of

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[83]I have witnessed this myself. If I were unable to pass the Ethiopian Schools Leaving Certificate Examination and not join the university, I would have disappeared from the sight of my parents and friends. This has been (and is even today) a common frustration for most students.

[84]Rather than engaging in farming and leading a sustainable life in the rural areas, students prefer to migrate to towns and live on casual jobs or even on handouts from friends in the city. Some are even forced to "beg" under acute conditions.

[85]Peter Harold Koehn, "The Municipality of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Performance, Mobilization, Integration and Change" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado, 1973), p. 126.

suffering from such feeling of inferiority, many school leavers choose coming to Addis Ababa from their home town or village."[86] Similarly, one migrant told me that he left home because a former schoolmate described life in Addis Ababa in very positive terms. Upon arriving in the capital, he settled with his former schoolmate's friends until he eventually found a place of his own.[87]

Concentration of employing organizations, government as well as private, and the existence of wider educational opportunities for successful school leavers, made Addis Ababa the major destination for educated migrants, including dropouts. Some came to look for jobs, and others to continue their schooling. Working during the day and learning at night school programs were opportunities only available in the capital. Furthermore, recruitment into jobs or into training institutes was mostly made in the capital, even for those jobs and institutes located in the provinces.

> Almost all the training institutes and colleges administer their entrance examinations in Addis Ababa. The school leavers who could not take the examination at their hometown or village have to migrate to Addis Ababa. Several instances, even when the entrance examination was given at the provincial capital or town many school leavers come to Addis Ababa after they took the test elsewhere. They come to the city because they can follow-up more effectively the outcome of the examinations.[88]

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[86]Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/8.

[87]Informant: Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97). Although the details of their migration to Addis Ababa are not the same, most educated migrants interviewed for this work said that they were encouraged by their friends who migrated earlier.

[88] Tekle Mariam W. Michael, pp. TW/8-9.

Those who failed in the entrance examinations chose to stay in Addis Ababa to wait for other opportunities to come.

5.5 Conclusion

Addis Ababa, as a modern city, was more appealing to educated youngsters than to others. They learned in schools about the employment opportunities in the city, its marvels, the cinemas and entertainment industries, the tall buildings, the shopping centers, hotels and bars, the women (for male migrants), the sports, and the modernization going on in the capital.[89] Of all, Addis Ababa was the only city that depicted the sophistication of modernity in Ethiopia. It was a place where fortunes could be made. Educated youngsters thus liked to live in the country's most modern and largest city to exploit the opportunities that it offered. For many of them, the news of Addis Ababa's modernity created a mirage of hope.[90] A migrant from Gojjam told me that he was equating Addis Ababa with paradise, two "best" places he had to work hard to see.[91] Similarly, when asked why he migrated to Addis Ababa, one educated school-leaver responded: "`I c[a]me to Addis Ababa to see the city, to see

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[89]For information on these points, see the background chapter. See also Tekle Mariam, p. TW/9; and Koehn, (1973), p. 126.

[90]See for instance, Yared Gebra Mikael, ይምጡ በዝና አዲስ አበባ translated as: "Come to Addis by Its Fame" (Addis Ababa: Birhanina Salam Printing Press, 1958 E.C.).

[91]Mulugeta Yihun (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97).

things which I have heard about with my own eyes."[92] Moreover, the expansion of schools in the provinces significantly narrowed the social and cultural distance between Addis Ababa and the rural areas. Once they were in the city, they continued to swell the rank and file of educated job seekers. Even today school leavers constitute the majority of migrants to Addis Ababa and the employment problem is continuing at an alarming rate.

[92]Tekle Mariam, p. TW/9.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN TO ADDIS ABABA

Introduction

This chapter examines factors influencing the migration of women to Addis Ababa. It investigates their position in Ethiopian society; problems of access to modern education; and the implications of early (often forced) and, consequently, easily dissolvable marriages and the resultant divorce for their migration to the city. Finally, it examines the connection between these factors, migration and prostitution in Addis Ababa.

For women seeking migrating to Addis Ababa, the city was a symbol of modern life with presumed freedoms of all sorts for its inhabitants. Rural Ethiopia represented the other extreme where traditions were highly valued. With the gradual penetration of modernization, especially the expansion of education into the countryside, youngsters began to challenge old traditions such as forced and family-arranged (customary) marriages. Insecurity of marriage in some areas and the desire for freedom and liberty in many others, led to the migration of women to the city. Both factors were reinforced by difficult rural conditions and externally attractive opportunities in Addis Ababa. Partly because of their gender and partly because they did not have the necessary education, women were unable to find decent jobs in the modern sectors and a significant number of them

were forced to live on prostitution.

6.1 The Condition of Women in Ethiopian Society

As in many traditional societies, women occupied a lower status than men in Ethiopia despite their eminent roles in their respective communities.[1] Their duties ranged from rearing children to farming, weeding, harvesting, fetching firewood and water, milking and looking after the cattle, caring for poultry, grinding grain and preparing food, to building houses in some areas. Ethiopian women were responsible for as much as 60 to 80 per cent of the traditional agricultural activities.[2]

They woke up early in the morning, prepared breakfast, took care of the children, milked the cows and followed their husbands to the fields, carrying the farm implements for them. They worked alongside their husbands the whole day and would return home earlier than the husband to get water and firewood, and to cook the family meal. Thereafter, they had to clean house, grind grain for breakfast, fetch additional water and

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[1]For an excellent work on the role of women in the economy of rural Africa across societies and across different historical periods, see Jeanne K. Henn, "Women in the Rural Economy, Past, Present, and Future," in Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (eds.), ***African Women South of the Sahara*** (London and New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 1-18.

[2]MNCDSA, Social Welfare Department, "Feasibility Study on Mrs. Oba's Proposed Pilot Vocational Institute for Girls in Ethiopia" (Addis Ababa: October, 1974), p. 5. (Hereafter, MNCDSA, "Feasibility Study"). Besides my personal observation, female-migrant informants also testified that the burden of agricultural production fell on women.

firewood, milk the cows, and put the children to sleep. They would go to bed long after midnight. It was cyclic and this was the life of women in rural Ethiopia.[3]

Women were responsible for going to markets to sell surplus produce and to buy household requirements. They were required to meet the clothing needs of the family by spinning cotton themselves, and making baskets and other domestic items for household use and for sale to support the family with additional income.[4] They did not, however, have control over the product of their labor: not only did men control the proceeds of their labor but also many Ethiopian women did not control land[5] in their own right and thus had no authority over that important means of production.

Socially, women were considered inferior because of their gender. Within the family, girls were under their fathers' authority. After marriage, they were reduced to a more inferior status by their

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[3]Informants: Abarash Balcha (Addis Ababa, 06.06.97); Yerom Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Malke Asfaw (Addis Ababa, 06.03.97); Yeshihareg Zeleke (Addis Ababa, 04.22.97, 06.04.97); Darartu Gada (05.08.97); Tsehay Teshome (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

[4]MNCDSA, "Feasibility Study," p. 5. See also, Zenebe Work Tadesse, p. 34.

[5]See for instance, Zenebe Work Tadesse, p. 34. That women barely or nominally owned land is true in other African societies, too. For instance, see Nici Nelson, "The Women Who Have Left and Those Who Have Stayed Behind: Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Western Kenya," in Sylvia Chant (ed.), ***Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*** (London and New York: Belhaven Press, 1992), p. 112.

husbands.[6] Moreover, most mothers-in-law directed the wives of their sons, and the inevitable conflicts might force the daughters-in-law to run away[7] or to divorce. In the latter case, the wife had to leave the house. Moreover, husbands would not tolerate their wives living nearby even after divorce, forcing them to leave the area for their security and livelihood.

6.2 Women's Education and Its Effects on Their Migration to Addis Ababa

Most Ethiopians were not willing to send their daughters to school away from home for fear of exposure to "bad behaviors." Moreover, Ethiopians value the continuity of their lineage by having children so that they could see their grandchildren (even great-grand children) before their death. By keeping sons at home, the father could exploit their labor. The mother, on whom the greatest burden of family responsibility fell, used her daughters to lighten her burdens. Mothers wanted their sons to marry in order to get support from their daughters-in-law.

The expansion of modern education, the influences of industrialization and urbanization, slowly penetrated rural Ethiopia. News coming from Addis Ababa suggested that there was greater freedom

[6]Hirut Terefe, pp. 44-45.

[7]Mamitu, p. 14.

there than in the rural areas. These possibilities gave youngsters the hope that they could travel there one day and decide their fate themselves. The expansion of modern education hinted that these relatively remote possibilities were feasible.

This notion had significant implications for rural female youngsters. As time passed by, illiterate young women also felt the influence and started to migrate to Addis Ababa in the hope of finding employment as maidservants and other lowly jobs. Moreover, educated male migrants recruited their wives from among girls from their own regions. When one was successful, others were motivated to make the trip.[8]

MNCDSA sources indicate that the literacy rate in Ethiopia was 6.6 per cent in 1975/6 but only 1.7 per cent for women.[9] Even in Addis Ababa where the literacy rate among women was presumably higher than the national figure, only 2 women in every one hundred had higher learning and only 2 out of 10 were able to read and write.[10] The absence of regular

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[8]Informants: Demsis Adferissew (Addis Ababa, 05.21.97); Yeshihareg Zeleke (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Abarash Balcha (Addis Ababa, 06.06.97); Tirunesh Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97); Tirunesh Makasha (Addis Ababa, 05.07.97, 06.22.97); Asalafech Warata (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97).

[9]MNCDSA, "የዝሙት አዳሪነት ጠባይ መነሻና ችግር፣ በኢትዮጵያ አስር ከተሞች የተደረገ የመስክ ጥናት" (MNCDSA, Department of Social Affairs, 1968 E.C.), p. 17. Translated as: "The Nature, Origin and Problem of Prostitution: A Field Study on Ten Ethiopian Towns." (Hereafter, "MNCDSA, 1968 E.C.")

[10]Maria Renner, "Understanding the Addis Ababa Dweller and His Problems," in ***Social Science Miscellanea 2*** (IES Library, n.d.), p. 2.

censuses makes the analysis of women's education in Ethiopia difficult. There are only indirect sources indicating the low level of women's participation in the educational system. For instance, a study made on 1,798 prostitute migrants in ten Ethiopian towns revealed that 1,356 of them were illiterate. Of the 336 who had been to school, 196 had completed elementary school, 109 were from grades 7-8 and only 23 had secondary education.[11] The figures reveal the difficulty of access to modern education for Ethiopian women.

While Ethiopia's exposure to modern education was late, that of Ethiopian women was much too late. Ethiopian society considered schooling to be appropriate only for boy. Schools were located in provincial, *awraja* or district towns and involved long absences and separation from parents. However, parents would not allow the long absence of their daughters. Consequently, girls who started their education at the local level were unable to advance very far.[12]

The first girls to be educated were daughters of the ruling elites, government officials or rich merchants and middle class people who had the money to send their children to school. Few well-to-do farmers also

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[11]MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 15. The levels of their secondary education are not identified.

[12]See for example, "The Situation of Women in Ethiopia: Problems of Ethiopian Women," in ***Women Miscellanea 1*** (no author, n.d., in the IES library). Hereafter, "Problems of Ethiopian Women".

sent their daughters to schools with their sons who were expected to watch after their sisters. A number of parents also sent their daughters to schools established by missionaries. For the great majority of the Ethiopian peasantry, sending their daughters to schools was literally unthinkable in the period before 1974. After the revolution, some rural girls asserted their right to attend school, effectively challenging the authority of their parents.

Table 6.1

Summary of Enrollment of Females Compared to Males in the Empire Total, 1955-1960

	1955/6	1956/7	1957/8	1958/9	1959/60
Boys	93,601	116,131	128,113	132,793	140,429
Girls	19,736	24,899	30,121	34,116	39,734
TOTAL	113,337	141,030	158,234	166,909	180,163
% of Girls	17.4	17.7	19.0	20.4	22.1

Source: Summarized and computed from MOE, ***Government, Mission, Community and Church Schools, 1959-1960***, (1961), p. 1.

Addis Ababa and Asmara had 43.3 per cent of the empire's female enrollment in the 1955-1960 census years. On the other hand, the twelve provinces that constituted rural Ethiopia *per se* (with the exception of a very few towns) had only 51.5 per cent of the empire's total enrollment and 56.7 per cent of the female enrollment in the same census years. The rate of enrollment for the five census years (1955-1960) was almost similar, ranging from roughly 42 per cent in 1955/6 to 46 per cent in 1959/60, an

average of 43 per cent.[13] The rate of female enrollment did not improve much in the years covered by this dissertation. For instance, in the 1960-70 census period, girls constituted only 31 per cent of the students enrolled in primary schools, 27 per cent in junior secondary schools and 20 per cent in senior high schools. They accounted only for 8 per cent of the university enrollment in the period between 1960 and 1970.[14]

Despite the problem of access that women had to education and the lower rate of their enrollment, the migration of most women to Addis Ababa does not *necessarily* seem to have been motivated by the need for education. It was rather because the city offered them immediate opportunities that did not require possession of modern education. It was simply the easiest way of liberating themselves from the family, husbands and society at large. This was demonstrated by the fact that a significant number of women migrants in Addis Ababa were illiterate. CSO sources indicate that female literacy in the city was only 25.8 per cent as compared to males' 60.5 per cent in 1967.[15] A survey taken 11 years later in 1978 showed that the trend was still similar.[16] It concluded that:

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[13]Computed from figures in MOE (1961), p. 1. The figures are summarized in Appendix VI.3.

[14]"Problems of Ethiopian Women," p. 94.

[15]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 18.

[16]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 23.

> The illiterate female migrants are considerable, that is about 80 percent of the rural and 67 percent of the urban female migrants are illiterate. 16 percent rural and 15 percent urban male migrants were literate with no grade or learned in priest or koranic schools as compared with about 2 percent rural and urban female migrants. In general, 72 percent of the rural and 59 percent of the urban migrants have never been to school in contrast to 20 percent of those born in Addis Ababa. Male migrants to the city, especially those from the urban areas are better educated than their female counterparts.[17]

This is quite indicative of the fact that women did not have access to education in the rural areas. Their migration to Addis Ababa appeared to have been influenced partly by the education of men whom women migrants targeted as their immediate hosts to serve as house servants, as lovers, and eventually as potential wives and at worst as prostitutes. As these services did not require any sort of schooling, a large number of women migrants must have thus been illiterate and "often their skills are limited to those they learned from their mothers which enable them to do nothing more outside of domestic chores."[18]

6.3 Migration for Marriage?

A closer investigation of women's migration to towns challenges the assertion that they were motivated by the need to search for husbands. Nadia Youssef has correctly argued that "evoking marriage ... as the factor accounting for the moves of such large numbers of people can only obscure

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[17] ***Ibid.,*** pp. 20 and 24.

[18] Laketch (1973), p. 4.

understanding of the economic and social factors that affect women and men migrants differently."[19] In other words, understanding the underlying causes of their migration requires an in depth examination of a combination of economic and socio-cultural factors. When asked why they migrated, my informants emphasized exactly economic and cultural reasons, and the desire to take advantage of urbanization. It was true, however, that the recruitment of wives from the rural areas by some male migrants motivated other women to travel to Addis Ababa after seeing changes in the lives of their friends. It is, therefore, true that such women had in their mind the hope and possibility of finding husbands among unmarried male migrants. This situation had a cyclic effect on country girls and set a pattern for a chain migration.[20] As time passed and as the number of women migrants increased, male migrants did not bother to return to the countryside to recruit wives. Indeed, quite a number of migrant women ended up as wives.[21]

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[19]Nadia Youssef, **et.al.**, "Women in Migration: A Third World Focus" (International Center for Research on Women, Office of Women in Development, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., June 1979), p. 83.

[20]Chain migration was one of the patterns in the migration of women, as for all other migrants, to Addis Ababa.

[21]Informants: Tirunesh Makasha (Addis Ababa, 05.07.97, 06.22.97); Asalafech Warata (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Zufan Terefe (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97); Darartu Gada (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Mazgabe Bayane (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97). A number of migrant informants told me that their marriage did not last long because of their husbands' inability to support them economically.

Life in Addis Ababa was undoubtedly better and the possibilities were wider than life in the rural areas where women lived under the domination of their parents, husbands or under conservative and oppressive socio-cultural traditions. Escape to Addis Ababa opened a better life through self-employment or, at best, employment in the modern sector. Also getting married to educated or "urbane" husbands with some kind of income was another possibility. Regardless of his educational level, a husband in an urban area was believed to have a greater potential of making money than a husband in the rural areas.[22] He was considered more civilized and less oppressive than his rural counterpart.

Potential migrants also believed that women in urban areas could defend themselves before the law in cases of spousal conflicts better than their rural counterparts whom customary traditions made subjects of their husbands.[23] In other words, rather than getting married to a dominating husband supported by oppressive socio-cultural traditions in the countryside, rural women preferred an enlightened and lenient husband. In another context, most male migrants in Addis Ababa preferred women

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[22]This was similar to the attitudes of women migrants in other parts of Africa. See for example, Josef Gugler and Gudrun Ludwar-Ene, "Gender and Migration in Africa South of the Sahara," in Jonathan Baker and Tade Akin Aina (eds.), ***The Migration Experience in Africa*** (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1995), p. 266, note 11.

[23]Generally speaking, in Ethiopia, people living in urban areas are aware of the legal systems and defend themselves before the law better than their rural counterparts.

from the rural areas to those who were born in the city for the latter were considered too exposed to deviant urban behavior to be good wives.[24] Thus, the migration of women to Addis Ababa was not necessarily for marriage but was due to a combination of factors of which the possibility of getting married was one. As a last resort, the possibility of living on prostitution was another.

6.4 Divorce Migration

Divorce is considered a deviant behavior among most Ethiopians. Divorced women had to disappear from the sight of families and friends and migrate to Addis Ababa or to other towns where they could hide themselves.[25] Even in communities where divorce was tolerated, divorcees migrated to Addis Ababa.

CSO sources indicate that 40-45 per cent of female migrants above 15 years of age were divorced at the time of migration. On a regional basis, divorced women constituted a larger proportion of rural-urban

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[24]A migrant-informant from Gojjam said that his parents and friends prevented him from marrying an Addis Ababan (often identified as a Shoan) because of her exposure to "unwanted urban culture." They advised him to bring a wife from his own region. Whether native or migrant, a girl in Addis Ababa was labeled "chulule - ጭልሌ" – a type of bird (hawk) which is very clever in intriguing - literally meaning one who makes mischief and runs from place to place so frequently that she cannot be a reliable partner. Informant: Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97). The tradition of bringing wives from one's own region was slowly subsiding although there are still people who adhere to that tradition.

[25]Informants: Yohannis Huluqa (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97); Fayissa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97); Malkamu Oge (Addis Ababa, 05.12.97); Bogale Alamu (Addis

migrants from the northern provinces than from their southern counterparts.[26] The reason was due to attitudinal differences towards divorce. Divorce was tolerated among the Amharas (north), and it was usually effected with full participation and approval of the family.[27] In the south, divorce was difficult because of its social cost for the women, their families and relatives. Those who effected the divorce completely disappeared from the sight of parents and relatives. They could barely visit their families or make their whereabouts known.[28] By contrast, divorce-migrants from the northern provinces would visit their parents at least once every year regardless of what they did in Addis Ababa.[29]

The influence of pioneer migrants was very important in attracting potential migrants and even encouraging divorce.[30] Informants testified that they were encouraged by the changes they saw in the lives of friends who had migrated earlier. Pioneer prostitutes stimulated migration of

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Ababa, 06.02.97); Kuma Arado (Addis Ababa, 05.12.97).

[26]CSO, "Urbanization in Ethiopia," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 9*** (Addis Ababa: 1972), p. 4.

[27]The Amharas have a popular saying which confirms family involvement and approval of their daughter's divorce: "ሥራ ከምፈታ ልጄን ላፋታ" literally translated as: "Rather than sitting idle (as jobless), let me work on the divorce of my daughter/son."

[28]Anonymous informants (Addis Ababa).

[29]Anonymous informants (Addis Ababa).

[30]Informants: Darartu Gada (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Zenebech Bekele (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97); Tirunesh Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97).

women (married or unmarried) to Addis Ababa through frequent visits and remittances. Their clothes and ornaments demonstrated the quality of life in Addis Ababa,[31] though such a conclusion was a total misreading of the reality of migrants' life in the city. As Laketch Dirasse has correctly noted:

> Relatives in cities are often viewed as leading comfortable and luxurious lives by their rural kin. As such, by far the largest number of women who migrate to cities initially leave with the intent of visiting their city folk. As a rule, the extended family system in Ethiopia can be viewed as giving great incentive to rural-urban migrants. They can always count on the support of their relatives until such time they are able to support themselves and go on their own. Thus, most such women end up by staying in the cities for good. There are also a large number of urban families who bring rural kin, usually girls in their early teens, under the pretence of educating them. These girls often end up as maids and baby-sitters for their relatives' children without getting any education. Having been in the city for sometime, they get tired of life with their relatives. But they never return to their homes. In stead, they desperately try to make a living for themselves in the city.[32]

Out of the 1,798 interviewed prostitutes mentioned above, 940 or 52.3 per cent, responded that they normally visited their families. The parents of 897, or 49.9 per cent, knew that their daughters lived on prostitution.[33] According to my Amhara informants, most families tolerated the unpalatable fact because they needed the remittances they received from their daughters. Informants said: "The parents know what their daughters do in Addis Ababa, but they would not ask them nor

[31]Informants: Tihune Taddesse (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Tirunesh Makasha (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Asalafech Warata (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Itagegn Izazew (Addis Ababa, 06.15.97). See also Lema Gutema, "The Problem of Prostitution in Urban Areas of Ethiopia" (A Paper on Urban Problems, HSIU, Faculty of Law, June 1968), p. 23.

[32]Laketch (1973), pp. 3-4.

would the daughters tell them their profession. There was a mutual silence between them."[34]

6.5 Factors for the Migration of Women into Prostitution[35]

Most prostitutes migrated to Addis Ababa from the rural areas either directly or through a step migration. Early or arranged marriages, divorce, harsh rural situations, problems of lack of access to family resources and to modern education were some of the factors leading to their migration to Addis Ababa. The problem of finding jobs, owing to their lack of education, was a factor for their subsequent involvement in prostitution. But it is very difficult to extract information from prostitutes as to exactly why they were engaged in that profession. One scholar noted that prostitution "...is a very important step in the transition of uneducated women from rural to urban environments."[36]

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[33]MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 34.

[34]Anonymous prostitute informants (Addis Ababa).

[35]Here, prostitution should not be understood only as "open prostitution." There are several ways of prostituting and this discussion includes all forms. For details on each type of prostitution in Ethiopia, see Laketch (1991), pp. 43-51. The unopenness of the practice made it difficult to know the exact number of prostitutes in Addis Ababa. According to official estimates, they numbered 60,000 in 1974. See Mesfin Mekonnen, "Prostitution One of the Most Serious Social Problems in Addis Ababa and Its Social Consequences" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, June 1982), p. 2. See also, "Karlefors - Minst 60,000 Prostetueradè i Addis Abeba" (no author, no date). My thanks go to the Reverand Joseph Negasa for the translation of this document from Swedish to English.

[36]Asmerom (1978), p. 7.

It is also possible that economic hardships stemming from sexual discrimination in work place or by employers forced female migrants into prostitution for survival. This problem was compounded by women's lack of the necessary education and skill to compete for other jobs in the urban labor market.[37] Even those who were formally employed got a bare minimum wage, and a number of women were engaged in prostitution to boost their income.[38] Furthermore, "Being denied wage labour...women [migrants] were often obliged to cohabit with men for survival...in exchange for money," and clothes[39] called *demoz* (wage) marriage. This was a contract marriage entered into freely, and is most common among the Amhara and the Tigre. Although there was a possibility to be permanent, *demoz* marriage was a form of prostitution the only major difference being that the women were kept constantly until separation is made. They were required to satisfy the desires of the men, and this system generated female mobility both in times of war and peace.[40] In

[37]See Laketch (1991), pp. 91-93. The study of 1,798 prostitutes in ten Ethiopian towns also emphasized this point as one of the major causes of their migration. See, MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), pp. 10 and 14.

[38]Anonymous informants (Addis Ababa). Two of my anonymous informants have regular (but low paying) jobs, yet they prostitute to boost their income. Also during my tenure in Asmara, Eritrea, I have witnessed a number of women who worked in the textile factory during the day, and often slept with men in a bar at night for gifts and money.

[39]Cutrufelli, p. 31.

[40]Bjèren, p. 247.

urban Addis Ababa, when the arrangement failed women often resorted to prostitution for survival.[41]

Studies on prostitution in Addis Ababa are very scanty. Moreover, owing to the "embarrassing" nature of the profession, prostitutes do not volunteer information.[42] Only one survey made by the MNCDSA in 1975/6 provides comprehensive information on prostitution. This survey was conducted in ten major Ethiopian towns including Addis Ababa. Of the 1,798 women interviewed, 695 responded that they were forced into prostitution because of poverty or other economic reasons.[43] Widowed women and women in disputes with their husbands entered the profession because they lacked any other skills to support themselves and their children. In total, 303 of the women responded that they joined the

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[41]Anonymous informants who were involved in such arrangements. It may end up in marriage for some fortunate ones, especially if children were born.

[42]The beginning of private press and relative openness among some people have begun to break this tradition among old prostitutes. Private newspapers started to hunt for old prostitutes in order to boost their incomes by reporting on their life histories. Their interviews shed invaluable historical information on the origins of the prostitutes as well as on the causes and course of their migration to Addis Ababa. The newspaper which exclusively focuses on love affairs and provides information about prostitutes is the private "የፍቅር ጫወታ" meaning "Love Play". Many prostitutes came from the northern provinces of Gondar, Gojjam, Wallo and Shoa. See "የፍቅር ጫወታ," Nos. 4 (March 22, 1989 E.C.); 6 (April 6, 1989 E.C.); 10 (April 27, 1989 E.C.); 11 (April 30, 1989 E.C.); 13 (May 7, 1989 E.C.); and 22 (June 9, 1989 E.C.)

[43]Marriage "destruction" was a cause for 165 of them and 164 by their own mistakes. Thirteen became prostitutes because of lack of any other job and 24 because they were angry. One hundred forty seven wanted to work in nightclubs while 4 were raped by their teachers. The rest gave different personal reasons for becoming prostitutes. MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 36.

profession before getting married and 92 or 30.4 per cent of them had children or had become pregnant before becoming prostitutes.[44]

Another survey of 300 marriage and divorce histories of prostitutes in Addis Ababa indicated that shortness of the duration of marriage and the high rate of divorce were important factors for their migration to Addis Ababa. The dissolution of marriage was mainly caused by age differences between the couple. Forty-seven of the women were married at the age below 10, 163 between 10-14, 76 between 15 to 19 and none over 20 years.[45]

The MNCDSA survey of 1975/6 also revealed a similar pattern of age difference between the couples. Of the 1,798 prostitutes, 33 or 1.8 per cent were between the ages of 10-14, and 1,221 or 67.9 of them were between 15 to 24. The breakdown of the ages at which the prostitutes were married is quite frustrating. Of the 1,495 prostitutes who were married and divorced before they entered the profession, 3.1 per cent

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[44]MNCASA (1968 E.C.), p. 28. Given the secretiveness of the Ethiopian society, this figure could be much underestimated for most women do not want to admit that they had children or been pregnant before migration. Telling of such truths would alienate potential husbands and destroy their relations with permanent or temporary non-husband lovers. Changes in the lives of prostitutes encouraged many women to migrate to Addis Ababa. See for example, MNCDSA, Zewde Gebre Hiwot to Getahun Tasamma, (File No. 5, January 10, 1957 E.C.). Almost all prostitute (and even non-prostitute) informants told me that they were encouraged to migrate to Addis Ababa and engage in prostitution after they saw their prostitute friends visiting their family. Anonymous informants (Addis Ababa).

[45]Jack Riley, "Final Report of the United Nations Consultant on Social Defense to the Ministry of Community Development, Government of Ethiopia" (December, 1964).

(47) were married at the age of 7; 15.5 per cent or 232 were married at the ages of 8-10; and 69.9 per cent or 958 were married at the ages of 10 to 15. On the other hand, the age of all the husbands at marriage was above 15. Thirty-four per cent of the males were married at the ages of 20 to 25 to women aged between 7 to 14. The average age of marriage according to the study was 12 for girls and 24.3 for the husbands. Eighty-six per cent of the marriages were destroyed before six years. Moreover, of the 1,798 prostitutes, 1,086 (60.4 per cent) were divorced while 311 (17.3 per cent) were in the process of divorce.[46]

Early marriage and age differences were very common among some ethnic groups. Among the Amhara, a girl who reached the age of 10 before marriage was considered a spinster, a social taboo, an insult and an embarrassment to the family.[47] She should be married at that age or, at least, be engaged before reaching that age. The girls had no idea about their husbands, nor were they prepared to assume family responsibility.[48] Moreover, given the situation in which it was effected,

[46]MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), pp. 15, 17, 19, 21-22 and 32.

[47]Informants: Itagagn Izazew (Addis Ababa, 06.15.97); Tirunesh Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97); Yeshihareg Zeleke (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Yirbab Zemene (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Tihune Taddesse (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97).

[48]Mamitu, p. 13.

the marriage was not based on affection between the couple for they were brought to one another as strangers.[49]

Parental choice of husband caused daughters marriage problems and subsequent divorce. In the survey of 300 prostitutes, Jack Riley reported that 260 (86.8 per cent) were in arranged marriages. Only 9 (3 per cent) were married to husbands of their own choice, and 31 married husbands chosen for them by others.[50] In the 1975/6 MNCDSA survey, of 1,798 prostitutes 89.5 per cent of those who responded (1,495) to this question said their parents chose husbands for them.[51] Close to 96 per cent (1,428) of the 1,495 and 89.7 per cent (269) of the 300 prostitutes studied had their husbands chosen for them by their parents, friends and others. This was a very important cause for divorce, shortness of marriage duration and a major step towards migration to Addis Ababa. The following Table shows the distribution of duration of marriage as summarized in Jack Riley's study.

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[49]Informants: Tihune Taddesse (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Mezgabe Bayane (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Zufan Terefe (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97); Tsehay Teshome (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97). See also, Mamitu, p. 13.

[50]Lema, p. 22-23. My informants have also strongly emphasized this factor.

[51]Eighty-five (5.7) and 5 (0.3), of the 1,495, respectively said that friends, and 'others' chose husbands for them. MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 18.

Table 6.2

Duration of Marriage and Frequency of Divorce, 1964

Number of Marriages	Duration of Marriage			
	Below 6 months	6 months to 2½Years	2½ to 5 Years	5 Years +
1st Husband	46	100	74	76
2nd "	26	50	42	45
3rd "	24	25	17	29
4th "	7	10	3	8
5th "	6	1	0	3
6th "	2	0	0	0
7th "	1	0	1	0

Source: Summarized from Jack Riley, ***Final Report of the United Nations Consultant on Social Defense to the Ministry of Community Development, Government of Ethiopia*** (December, 1964).

6.6 Origin of Prostitutes

The great majority of the prostitutes came from the Amhara provinces where early and easily dissolvable marriages and divorce were prevalent.[52] According to Helen Pankhurst's findings, the prevalence of a high rate of divorce in the Amhara society was a reflection of women's power to exit from a marriage relationship to look for a better one, as well as their dissatisfaction due to stress, poverty, and domination. The divorcees would "abandon their community and migrate into urban centres."[53] The migration of Amhara women to the south and their

[52]Gugler and Ludwar-Ene, p. 266, note 12. For more details on these issues, see Helen Pankhurst, ***Gender, Development and Identity: An Ethiopian Study*** (London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992), pp. 114-123.

[53]Helen Pankhurst, p. 121.

engagement into prostitution had deeper historical roots than their very recent migration to Addis Ababa. The military conquests that successive Amhara rulers waged on their neighbors for centuries led to the emergence of groups of women who followed the soldiers[54] to "cater to their sexual desires which in turn led to prostitution. When the high officials came to Addis Ababa with thousands of their retainers, many of these women followed them to the city. When the men followed their leaders to the provinces, quite a number of women chose to remain in Addis Ababa and continued with prostitution as a way of life."[55] This partly explains why most prostitutes in Addis Ababa originated in the Amhara provinces as the following table demonstrates.

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[54]Informants: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97). See also Mamitu, p. 13.

[55]Informant: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); For an excellent discussion on this point, See Pankhurst, "The History of Prostitution in Ethiopia," pp. 159-178. For a brief note on the history of prostitution in Addis Ababa, see Lars Bondestam, "Prostitution in Addis Ababa" (mimeographed, Addis Ababa, March 19, 1972).

Table 6.3

Provincial Origins of Prostitutes in Addis Ababa, 1968 E.C.

Birth Place (Origin)	Number	% of Total	Headed for Addis	% of those Headed to Addis[56]
Arsi	39	2.2	5	12.8
Bale	3	0.2	1	100.0
Begemidir	**245**	**13.6**	**33**	**13.5**
Eritrea	**25**	**1.4**	**6**	**24.0**
Gamo Gofa	1	0.1	-	-
Gojjam	**184**	**10.2**	**51**	**27.7**
Hararghe	108	6.0	20	18.5
Ilu Abba Bora	11	0.6	3	27.7
Kafa	151	8.4	7	4.6
Shoa	**484**	**26.9**	**169**	**34.9**
Sidamo	15	0.8	10	66.7
Tigray	**157**	**8.7**	**26**	**16.6**
Wallagga	87	4.9	15	17.2
Wallo	**288**	**16.0**	**94**	**32.6**
Total	1,798	100.0	440	24.5

Source: MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 7.

More prostitutes originated in the northern provinces of Begemidir, Eritrea, Gojjam, Shoa, Tigray and Wallo, which jointly accounted for 76.9 per cent[57] of the entire category in ten Ethiopian towns. Only 415 were from the remaining nine provinces. Of the 440 who migrated to Addis Ababa, 84.8 per cent were from the six northern provinces. Only 67 were from the other 9 provinces.[58] Tigray, which is a non-Amhara province but politically, culturally and socially affiliated with the Amhara, accounted for 8.7 per cent of the prostitutes. The rest, or 24.6 per cent, came from

[56]This is my computation. Northern provinces are indicated by bold print.

[57]MNCDSA (1968 E.C.), p. 7. Computation is mine. Only the number of prostitutes from Eritrea is very low for reasons not clear.

[58]*Ibid.*

the other 9 southern provinces, the lowest number originated in the provinces of Gamo Gofa (0.1 per cent), Bale (0.2 per cent) and Ilu Abba Bora (0.6 per cent).[59]

Ethnically, a great majority of them were Amharas. Laketch Dirasse's study, the only scholarly work on prostitution in Addis Ababa, also confirmed that the largest number of prostitutes in the city were Amharas. Her sample survey showed that 60.5 per cent of the prostitutes were Amharas, 19 per cent Oromo, 13.5 per cent Tigre, and 3 per cent Gurage.[60] The Tigre and the Amhara thus comprised 74 per cent of the prostitutes in Laketch's survey. This represents a similar pattern of the regional distribution of women in other areas of analysis made in this work elsewhere. For instance, out of the total number of 15,877 women job applicants registered at the employment office in Addis Ababa in 1975/6, 13,877 were from Begemidir, Eritrea, Gojjam, Tigray, Shoa and Wallo.[61]

Prostitution was not common among southerners. According to Laketch's study, Oromos "consider prostitution a most despicable

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[59]*Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 14. Among the southern provinces, Hararghe and Kafa provided the largest number of prostitutes, some of whom could have been descendants of Amhara settlers.

[60]Laketch (1991), pp. 54-55. Although there is an assertion that "the Tigre consider prostitution as a deviant behavior" (Laketch, 1991, p. 57), Tigre prostitutes constituted a considerable proportion compared with those from the southern provinces.

[61]For more details, see chapter IV above.

practice."[62] Both written and oral sources contend that prostitution arrived in the south with the Amhara.[63] Even then, it was not widespread, and open prostitution was a post-Italian phenomenon.[64] Yet, most of the prostitutes in southern towns, as in Addis Ababa, came from the northern provinces.

The major reason why the number of prostitutes from the southern provinces was low is that divorce was not allowed among several of the ethnic groups in the region, and "impartial" elders resolved marital conflicts, especially among the numerically dominant Oromo people.[65] The Oromo rarely took marital conflicts to Amhara courts, since elders and families handled conflicts before couples irrevocably decided to divorce.[66]

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[62]Laketch (1991), p. 57.

[63]See for example, Pankhurst, "History of Prostitution" (1974), p. 165.

[64]Informants: Abbay Zequsuam (Shashamanne, 09.07.86); Ali Abba Bora (Shashamanne, 09.24.86); Fayissa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97).

[65]Anonymous informants (elders) testified that the Oromo considered the Amhara litigation system a curse and an imposition of alien practice. They consequently refrained from taking their cases to Amhara courts and settled themselves informally. See also Dida Mideso, "The Social Life of the Oromo People," in ***Student Papers Miscellanea 3*** (November 1976, in the IES library), p. 192.

[66]It does not, however, mean that Oromo husbands would not dominate their wives. But what is clear is that marriages were not easily dissolved in Oromo society. Maintaining marriage intact was a collective responsibility among Oromo communities. From the perspective of both the Amhara and Oromo women, by migrating to Addis Ababa, the former "liberated" themselves from all odds, and by reconciling and keeping the couple together, Oromo conflict resolution system may have forced women to acquiesce traditions. On the other hand, the former undermined family as a unit while the latter strengthened family to that effect.

Oromo society would not permit separation and divorce on the grounds that both parents should bring up the children. In the case of a husband's death, one of his brothers would marry the wife because it is believed that a distant stepfather would not really care for the children. If the deceased did not have a brother, the community would assist until the widow was married to a relative of the deceased. Similarly, if the wife dies, the husband would marry one of his sisters-in-law, who, it was assumed, would treat her sister's children better than an outsider and safeguard the family's wealth and property.[67] The tradition also prevented widows from migrating somewhere else and possibly engaging in prostitution for their livelihood.

Among some communities, the attitude towards sterility forced some women into prostitution. For instance, among the Amhara and the Tigre, a sterile wife would simply be divorced and the husband would marry another.[68] Among the Oromo, however, "...sterility is by no means a cause for divorce ...if they [the couple] do not have any child, the man has the right to marry another woman to produce a child. The first born

[67]Dida, p. 197.

[68]My informant Asnakech Adam (Addis Ababa, 05.05.97, 05.10.97) was divorced three times because she was a sterile. In Tigray, sterile women were divorced after the family had assured that she was infertile. This may take up to ten years. Informant: Tecle Haimanot Gebre Selassie (Addis Ababa, 07.04.97).

child is given to the elder wife and is brought up by her. Besides, the younger wife respects the senior wife and helps her in every aspect."[69]

Among the Gurage, the most mobile people in central Ethiopia, the terms of divorce are very harsh. The "wife has no claim of any kind on the husband, or outside property," except for her clothes and some household items as a compensation for what she had brought in at the beginning of the marriage. If the man is generous, he may give her some money or grant her a piece of land.[70] Divorce is effected by a committee of six elders, three from each side. In front of the committee, the husband identifies the names of people whom he does not want to marry his ex-wife. A divorced woman is not allowed to marry another man without the consent of her former husband. Any such liaison is considered illegal, and the man "sentenced to pay a fine." This system is called **ankit**.[71]

The Gurage society heavily fined and ostracized anyone who dared to marry a divorced woman. The harshness in divorce cases must have stimulated long-distance migration of Gurage women to Addis Ababa, from where they were very unlikely to return and visit their parents.[72]

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[69]Dida, p. 197.

[70]The Gurage Exhibition Committee, p. 23.

[71]***Ibid.***

[72]Informants: Bogale Alemu (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Shikur Hussein (Addis

Perhaps, it was also due to this that Gurage prostitutes in Addis Ababa "disguise[d] their ethnic identity," and mostly posed as Amharas.[73]

6.7 Conclusion

The increasing influence of Addis Ababa on the rural areas, the inevitable interaction between the two, and the expansion of infrastructures connecting them, created a wide range of opportunities for rural people, both men and women, to migrate to the city. Most importantly, Addis Ababa gave women opportunities to lead economically and socially independent lives. It freed them from oppressive husbands and customary traditions, partly explaining why many women engaged in prostitution and other informal activities such as selling locally brewed beverages and breads for survival. As Pernille Baardson has correctly observed: "For the majority of alone [single] women, economic subsistence and independence can only be achieved in the informal sector of Addis Ababa."[74] Women got the chance of deciding where they would live and choosing their occupations. Generally speaking, Addis Ababa had more to

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Ababa, 05.27.97); Mohammad Hussein (Addis Ababa, 05.27.97).

[73]Laketch (1991), p. 51.

[74]Pernille Baardson, "Child Prostitution in Addis Ababa," (Survey and Background Report Prepared for Rädda Barnen, Swedish Save the Children, Uppsala University, Department of Cultural Anthropology, May 1993), p. 5.

attract women from the rural areas as well as from other towns in the country.

Reasons for the migration of women to Addis Ababa varied from region to region and from one individual to another. Although they are all important, it is not possible to discuss each factor in depth. For instance, marriage was one of the factors that caused the migration of women to Addis Ababa, often in contradictory ways. First (in a positive way), those who were married to men working in the city, like truck drivers, teachers and other civil servants, moved to Addis Ababa with their husbands. Although such women might occasionally visit their villages, their migration was permanent, and they would rarely return to the countryside even in the event of divorce or death of husbands.[75] Second, widowed and divorced women would migrate to the city for survival and to find another husband. Third, because marriage was customarily arranged and because some females were too juvenile to be wives, a number of young married women migrated to Addis Ababa.

In recent years, some women migrated to Addis Ababa in search of education, employment and better social opportunities for self-improvement. Also, natural disasters, usually accompanied by famine, have forced a large number of women to migrate to Addis Ababa mainly

[75]Anonymous informants.

from the drought-stricken northern provinces of Wallo and Tigray.[76] Moreover, the migration of women to the capital also had much to do with the ethno-linguistic dynamics of migration to the city. The next chapter addresses this factor in greater depth.

[76]Because of a number of problems, little research has been done on this area. As a result, it is very difficult to know the number of those who migrated to Addis Ababa and to other areas because of famine. For a general work on famine in Ethiopia in the period under discussion, see Mesfin Wolde Mariam, ***Rural Vulnerability to Famine in Ethiopia, 1958-1977*** (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1984); and "Twenty Years of Famine in Rural Ethiopia," Paper Presented at Institute of Development Research Seminar on ***Strategies for Socialist Rural Transformation in Ethiopia, October 27-29, 1978***, (Addis Ababa, 1978).

CHAPTER VII

THE POPULATION OF ADDIS ABABA, THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY OF NORTH-SOUTH MIGRATION AND THE ETHNO-LINGUISTIC DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA

Introduction

The absence of sufficient population data is a major problem encountering scholars of most Third World cities. Available information is mainly based on estimates and projections while censuses are irregular and too incomplete to give an accurate picture of the population. Although some foreigners made estimates[1] for Addis Ababa, they did not provide much information on the historical, economic, political and cultural forces behind the migration of the many ethnic groups that made up the population of the city.[2]

In this chapter, I define the term "ethnic" as a group of people claiming the same origin, speaking the same language and identifying themselves with the original speakers of that language.[3] I use the phrase

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[1]For different estimates, See Richard Pankhurst (1968), pp. 709-710.

[2]Mérab first provided an ethnic breakdown of Addis Ababa in 1910. See Pankhurst (1968), p. 709.

[3]Webster's College Dictionary defines the word "ethnic" as "pertaining to or characteristic of a people, especially a group sharing a common and distinctive culture, religion, language, etc." ***Webster's College Dictionary*** (New York: Randomhouse, 1990). Although, I agree with this definition, members of the same ethnic group are not necessarily followers of the same religion. There are Oromo Muslims and Oromo Christians but both are still Oromos ethnically. Also there are people who have the same religion but belong to different ethnic groups or even to different countries (a Saudi Muslim and an Ethiopian Muslim). Therefore, the most important characteristic in my analysis here is the affinity of a common ethnic origin with a common language and culture, and most importantly tracing to a common origin.

"ethno-linguistic" dynamics as forces that facilitated the migration to Addis Ababa of members of the same ethnic group who speak the same language or a condition in which an ethnic group used its language as an instrument to facilitate its migration to Addis Ababa or a condition created by the state to impose the pre-eminence of one language over the others thereby facilitating the migration of speakers of that language to the city. In order to understand the concept better, this chapter explores why some ethnic groups are underrepresented in the city's population in spite of their proximity to it. I specifically examine the dynamics of the migration of the first four largest ethnic groups into the city. These are the Amhara, the Oromo, the Gurage and the Tigre,[4] in order of their numerical importance.

The first and the last share common history, culture and reasons for migration to Addis Ababa. Moreover, both belong to the northern bloc and controlled the political machine of both the old Abyssinian kingdom and its successor, the Ethiopian Empire. The Oromo comprise the largest ethnic group in the country in terms of population, and the city of Addis Ababa is located in the heart of their land. The Gurage are the smallest in terms of population and territory and very invisible in the country's political landscape. But they are very mobile, and migration has become

[4]Population data provided in successive censuses (however incomplete they are) are used in this chapter as a basis to explain the imbalance of ethnic groups and the dynamics of their migration to Addis Ababa. The analysis is corroborated by information from extensive oral interviews.

part of their culture. Moreover, they are actively involved in the economic and commercial life of the city of Addis Ababa.

7.1 The Population of Addis Ababa, 1941-1974

A brief background to the population of the city is given in chapter II. The first attempt at taking the city's census was made by the Addis Ababa government in 1950/1, the second in 1961 and the third in 1967.[5] Despite some obvious problems in collecting data,[6] vital statistical information on ethnic and religious distributions, professions and sex structures were collected. It was reported in the 1950/1 census that the city contained 255,036 orthodox Christians, 4,120 Catholics, 1,353 Protestants and 46,257 Muslims. The ethnic composition was 164,627 Amhara, 56,453 Oromo, 52,954 Gurage and 6,202 Tigre. The rest belonged to various other ethnic groups including 10,563 foreigners of various national origins.[7] The census had a very long list of different occupations.[8]

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[5]Details of these censuses are given in Chapter II above.

[6]MAA (1944 E.C.), pp. 2-3, 15.

[7]The other ethnic groups listed were, 2,461 Hamassien, 429 Adare, 1,499 Gimira, 12,238 Walayita, 2,490 Kafa, 2,775 Dorze, 444 Somali, 1,249 Shanqila, 1,259 Gamo Gofa, 1,143 Kulo Konta, 216 Adal and 3,328 Kambata. One of the flaws of this census can be seen from the figures for the distribution of sexes. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23. It was reported that there were 175,209 males and 131,557 females, which does not add up to the given total of 401,916. These flaws call for caution for researchers dealing with such census data.

[8]The occupational distribution was, 1,368 church (orthodox) clerics, 768 medical, 59 engineers, 9,422 secretaries/typists, 240 attorneys, 56,151 housewives, 33,866 traders,

The 1961 census survey had a wider coverage than the preceding one, including such important variables as the rate of literacy, age distribution and housing conditions.[9] The literacy rate showed that 39 per cent of the total population could read. Sixty-two per cent of those aged 10-14 years and 48 per cent of those between 15-19 were literate. The growth in the rate of literacy was the result of the expansion of educational facilities in the 10-15 year period before the census.[10] The age distribution showed that 33.5 per cent were between 10-14 years, 62.3 per cent between 15-59 years and 3.6 per cent over 60.[11] The total population was 443,728 and the total area of the city was 218 kilometer squares, for a density of 2,035 people per kilometer square.

In both the 1950/1 and 1961 censuses, the male population was slightly greater.[12] This was typical of contemporary African cities as "the structure of employment ... [was] mostly for men. Consequently, men

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647 teachers, 34,745 students, 61 judges, 8,905 soldiers, 9,417 weavers, 4,525 farmers, 3,810 tailors, 3,207 handicrafts, 192 artists, 2,176 carpenters, 1,041 industrial laborers, 913 brick layers, 2,052 mechanics, 8,077 pensioners, 3,099 beggars, 30,267 daily laborers, 23,000 servants, 2,090 drivers, 681 charioteers, 23 witches, 291 shoe shiners, 71 officials, 87 artists, 207 smiths, 66 barbers, 10,772 garage workers, 66 cattle shepherds, 12,722 prostitutes and 2,693 jobless people. MAA (1944 E.C.), pp. 24-28. For the composition of the foreign population, see annex.

[9]MAA, "የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ የሕዝብ ቆጠራ ሪፖርት" (1954 E.C.), p. 37.): translated as "Addis Ababa Census Report." Hereafter, MAA, 1954 E.C. For the analysis of the 1961 census, see Municipality of Addis Ababa, ***Report on Census of Population, 10-11 September 1961*** (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1962).

[10]***Ibid.***, p. 32.

[11]***Ibid.***, p. 19.

tend[ed] to migrate alone, leaving their wives and families behind ..." Very few women migrated as wives or for different reasons. Gradually, however, the need for "economic independence through self-employment or wage earning..." increased "autonomous female migration"[13] thus changing the sex ratio.

In the third census, taken in 1967, the population of the city reached 637,831, a 42.2 per cent increase over the six-year period. The gross annual growth rate between the two censuses was 7 per cent,[14] 5.6 per cent in-migration and 2.4 per cent natural increase. Out-migration was 1 per cent, which made net in-migration 4.6 per cent, and the net growth of the city's population 6 per cent.[15]

Districts with residential and business concentrations had higher population densities. Twenty four percent of the residents lived in Takle Haymanot *warada* (district), 16 per cent in Makakalagna, and 13 per cent in Bole. The rest of the *waradas* had 5-8 per cent of the city's population each. The population density for the entire city was 2,925 people per square kilometer, an increase of 47.3 per cent over the

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[12]***Ibid.***, p. 15. The ratio was 100 women for every 105 men. ***Ibid.***, p. 31.

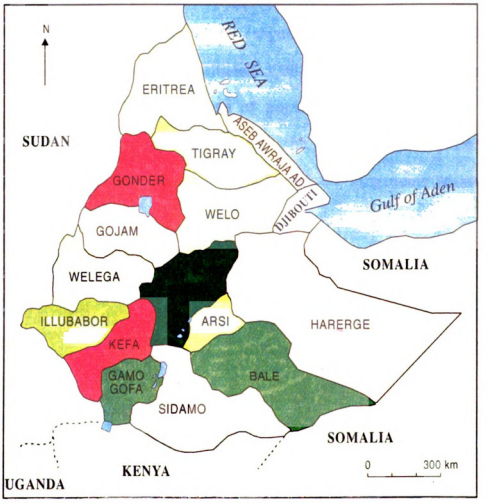
[13]Aderanti Adepoju, "Migrant Africa," in ***UNESCO Courier*** (January 1992), pp. 37-38.

[14]MAA (1960 E.C.), p. 2.

[15]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 8*** (1972), p. 26.

Map 4

ETHIOPIAN ADMINISTRATION MAP



Source: Addis Ababa University, Department of Geography (special thanks to my colleague Muluneh Gebre Tsadik).

previous census. The size of the city did not increase during this period (1961-1967) and remained 218 square kilometers.[16]

Although Addis Ababa is a multi-ethnic city, the Amharas have always comprised the largest single ethnic group. The Oromo, the largest group in Ethiopia and in whose heartland Addis Ababa is located, occupied the second place, yet with a wide margin. The Gurage and the Tigre were the third and the fourth respectively. In the 1976 CSO report, these four ethnic groups constituted 1,038,860 or 94.5 per cent of the city's population.[17] In both ways of population categorization, i.e., by languages spoken and by ethnic group, the distribution is quite similar. The breakdown of the ethnic groups based on *languages* spoken is as follows:

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[16]In actual numbers, 9,475 of the inhabitants lived in Takle Haymanot, 7,203 in Arada, 6,702 in Gulale, 6,262 in Makakalagna, 5,201 in Gafarsa and between 500-5,000 in the rest of the districts. MAA (1960 E.C.), pp. 3-4. The density was wrongly reported to be 4,379 in the 1960 E.C. census. If it were true, the population of the city would have been 954,622 in that year. For locations of the districts, see Map 4.

[17]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (1977), p. 5.

Table 7.1

Population of Addis Ababa by Language, 1976

Language	Male	Female	TOTAL	% of Total[18]
Amharic	258,446	321,446	579,892	52.7
Oromo	97,238	114,222	211,460	19.2
Gurage	98,888	75,176	174,064	15.8
Tigre	34,189	39,255	73,444	6.7
Dorze	14,697	5,745	20,442	1.9
Walayita	9,956	7,269	17,225	1.6
Other Languages	6,952	8,864	15,816	1.4
Foreign Languages	4,329	3,179	7,508	0.7
TOTAL	524,695	575,156	1,099,851	100.0

Source: CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (1977). (Summarized from Table 3.)

Another survey taken two years later in 1978 displayed a similar ethnic distribution of the city. It was 50.5 per cent Amhara, 18.6 per cent Oromo, 16.6 per cent Gurage, and 8.2 per cent Tigre. These four ethnic groups jointly constituted 93.9 per cent, or 1,094.190, of the reported 1,167,301 of the city's population.[19] The Dorze, Walayita, Kambata, Adare, Tegre, Warji, Kafa, Hadiya and other Ethiopians and foreigners shared the remaining 6.1 per cent.[20]

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[18]Percentage computation is mine.

[19]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 17. The Tegre are different from the Tigre. The former live in Eritrean lowlands and have their own language known by the same name.

[20]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 17. The first three constituted 85.7 per cent of Addis Ababa's population in 1978. It is interesting to note that the pattern was similar two decades back in 1956 when they reportedly comprised 89 per cent. The Tigre then constituted only 2 per cent. See Johnson, (1967), pp. 17-18. The Tigre population increased remarkably following Ethiopian annexation of Eritrea in 1962, and after 1975 due to the intensification of the war of independence in their home provinces of Eritrea and later in Tigray.

Table 7.2

The Ethnic Distribution of Addis Ababa's Population, 1978

Ethnic Group	Male		Female		Both Sexes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Amhara	259,910	46.9	329,242	53.7	589,152	50.5
Oromo	99,261	17.9	118,072	19.2	217,333	18.6
Gurage	108,627	19.6	83,535	13.6	192,162	16.6
Tigre	44,989	8.1	50,554	8.2	95,543	8.2
Dorze	18,190	3.3	9,801	1.6	27,991	2.4
Walayta	6,411	1.2	6,637	1.1	13,048	1.1
Kambata	2,338	0.4	1,898	0.3	4,236	0.4
Adare	1,590	0.3	1,381	0.2	2,971	0.2
Tegre	1,258	0.2	1,200	0.2	2,458	0.2
Warji	722	0.1	879	0.2	1,601	0.1
Kafa	685	0.1	825	0.1	1,510	0.1
Hadiya	730	0.1	546	0.1	1,276	0.1
Other Ethiopians	3,365	0.6	3,205	0.5	6,570	0.7
Foreigners	4,287	0.8	4,679	0.8	8,966	0.8
Not Stated	1,318	0.2	1,166	0.2	2,484	0.2
TOTAL	553,681	99.8	613,620	100.0	1,167,301	100.0

Source: CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 17. (Table 7).

In this numerical comparison, the Tigre, currently controlling the political power, were insignificant in relation to the first three. However, they are considered because of their strong ties with the Amhara with whom they share many of the migration characteristics discussed in this dissertation. They are distinct in their social and urban neighborhood ties, and conscious of their identity. They use their language more openly than any other minority in the city and consequently make their presence strongly felt among others. Gurage migration to Addis Ababa was motivated by overpopulation, scarcity of land and by the need to earn cash for taxes. Despite their numerical majority and the location of Addis Ababa in their heartland, the Oromo population in the city is insignificant. The Amhara,

whose home provinces are far away from Addis Ababa, are the second largest ethnic group in the country but an overwhelming majority in the city.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I will discuss the political, economic, historical, social and cultural forces behind the migration of the four ethnic groups to Addis Ababa. By emphasizing the Amhara and the Oromo, I will examine the political economy of migration within Ethiopia since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the differences in regional economies and in the patterns of urbanization in northern and southern Ethiopia where these two ethnic groups respectively dominate.

7.1 Factors Affecting Migration of Ethnic Groups to Addis Ababa

7.2.1 The Amhara and the Political Economy of North-South Migration

The Amhara inhabited the northern provinces of Gondar, Gojjam, parts of Wallo and Northern Shoa. They formed the core of the old Abyssinian kingdom since the thirteenth century A.D. and spearheaded its conquest of the south. The Orthodox Church earnestly supported the state as it benefited from the conquest in the form of land grants and played an active role in preaching Christianity and propagating Amhara culture and language.[21]

From the first half of the sixteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century, even though their expansions and conquests were

[21]For the whole history of the conquest in this period see Taddesse Tamrat,

halted at times the Amhara remained a homogeneous people with a common language (Amharic) and a common religion (Orthodox Christianity). This homogeneity even survived the most turbulent period of their history, known as the *zamana massafint* or *era of the princes* (1769-1855),[22] when they were politically divided among themselves into very small local entities and engaged in fratricidal warfare. Despite all this drawbacks and internal weaknesses, the Amhara never ceased to consider themselves harbingers of biblical Ethiopia.

Subsistence agriculture was the basis of the economy of northern Ethiopia. The land had, however, lost its fertility due to over-cultivation and environmental changes resulting in lower productivity. A rapidly growing population, abject poverty[23] and competition over the scarce resources aggravated the situation. Moreover, the communal landholding system[24] was too restrictive to provide land to newcomers. Changing the landholding system would not solve the problems either. The drive to control the fertile

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Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

[22]Harold G. Marcus, "Some Reflections on the Development of Government and Taxation in Southern Ethiopia Around the Turn of the Century," in ***IV Congresso Internationale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10-15 aprile 1972)***, Tomo I (Roma: Academia Nationale dei Lincei, 1974), p. 634. For details on the history of those chaotic periods, see Mordechai Abir, ***Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes; the Challenge of Islam and Re-unification of the Christian Empire, 1769-1855*** (London and Beccles: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1968). In fact, the Oromo of Wallo, especially the Yejju, and the Tigre were actively involved in the wars of the time. But the Amhara did not want to share power with them and knocked both out one after another.

[23]See Marcus (1974), p. 635.

lands of the southern regions through conquest and subsequent occupation was thus a response to these internal economic and demographic difficulties. The conquest was also motivated by the desire to control the lucrative trade and trade routes[25] of the southern provinces that would increase Ethiopia's involvement in the European market system.[26]

The expanding empire required permanent settlement and a continuous migration of the Amhara, the empire builders, to the conquered regions.[27] To realize this goal, the leaders created a favorable socio-cultural environment. The Amharas imposed on their victims their language, culture and religion to facilitate the governability and exploitability of their new subjects. Indigenous political systems were destroyed and the northerners introduced a new administration to implement these policies.

In order to make the operation of the system smooth, the Amharas established garrisons,[28] called *katamas*, originally "erected as control points"[29] but later "settled down to the job of reorganizing the country and

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[24]See Chapter III.

[25]For the importance of trade originating in the southern provinces, see Abir (1968), pp. 51-53; and R. H. Kofi Darkwah, ***Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire*** (London: Butler & Tanner Ltd., 1978), pp. 155-158.

[26]For details on how the conquest was motivated by a need to control the commerce, see Marcus (1975), pp. 57-76.

[27]The Amhara often call themselves አማራ, meaning colonizers.

[28]Akalou (1967), pp. 129-133.

[29]Marcus (1975), p. 65.

constructing a new administration."[30] These garrisons became political, administrative, and military centers for the new imperial rule.[31] Moreover, they were eventually transformed into centers of Amhara cultural, economic and religious hegemony. The Amharas shaped and reshaped the growth of the *katamas* to fit the interests of their co-ethnics. Consequently, they became permanent pull centers for continuous Amhara migration to the conquered regions. Through time, however, (especially with the expansion of education) they also became important destinations for migrants from everywhere in the empire.

The *katamas* were economically, socially, and psychologically designed to accommodate and entertain the Amharas in a number of ways. First, the government distributed land among the pioneers of the conquest - the commanders, the soldiers, later the civilian administrators and the church. They were followed by the migration of ordinary Amhara to the south, who also helped the consolidation of the new imperial administration in the region. Second, in order to accommodate the military, civil officials and the "ordinary" settlers in the conquered regions, the state made the living environment more attractive to them. Churches were built so that the

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[30] ***Ibid.***, p. 89.

[31] ***Ibid.***, pp. 191-192. Besides Amharas, the "northern soldiers" included a number of Tigres who joined Menilek's army to escape the famine that struck northern Ethiopia between 1888-1892.

settlers could feel at home and comfortable. The church and state once more found themselves interrelated.

From its inception, Addis Ababa was an important *katama*. The Amhara founders of the city and their successors considered themselves "indigenes or hosts...[and] tend[ed] to regard all others as outsiders."[32] In fact, this is characteristic of numerically dominant ethnic groups in most African cities. The Yoruba in Lagos, the Asante in Kumasi and the Mossi in Ougadogou,[33] acted likewise. Uniquely, however, the dominance of the Amhara in Addis Ababa was supported by the state and as such involved imposition of Amhara political will, culture and social values on other ethnic groups. This numerical, cultural and political predominance of the Amhara made the Amhara way the only avenue to upward mobility, "a scale of status to which all others had to conform."[34] As William Shack noted, non-Amharas "who seek upward mobility must do so within the Amhara cultural framework."[35]

In a nutshell, as the center of the newly created empire, Addis Ababa received the largest number of Amhara migrants in the period under discussion. Their migration to the city also continued during the Italian

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[32]Anthony O'Connor, ***The African City*** (London: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1983), p. 108.

[33]***Ibid.***

[34]Shack (Winter 1974-75), p. 5.

[35]Shack (1973), p. 276.

occupation. First, the wars of resistance, which were intensive in Amhara provinces, caused the movement of a large number of civilian Amharas to the city for security reasons. When the war was over, they remained in the city. Second, most patriots who participated in the liberation of Addis Ababa from the Italians as well as those who were in different parts of the country, headed for the capital to seek rewards, appointments and jobs. Most of them remained in the city, fairly to obtain benefits. Even collaborators came to the city from the provinces after liberation. A knowledgeable informant noted that "both war and peace brought the Amhara to Addis Ababa."[36] Third, Haile Sellassie made a large scale land grant to patriots (a great majority of whom were Amharas) in the south and thus fueled the wave of post-war Amhara migration.[37] Eritrean soldiers who fought on either side also remained in Addis Ababa after the war and they were joined eventually by their families and friends.[38] Haile Sellassie's post-war land grant was indicative of history repeating itself in an interval of approximately half a century. Triggered by an entirely unexpected event, the Italian aggression, Menilek's quartering of his soldiers and officials over the southern people was repeated in the form of granting land in the south to those soldiers who

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[36]Informant: Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97).

[37]Abdurahman, p. 34. For an excellent analysis of government land policy and post-war land grants, see Tekalign Wolde Mariam (1997). See also A. P. Wood, "Rural Development and National Integration in Ethiopia," in *African Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 329 (1983), pp. 509-539; See Benti (1988), p. 150; Informant: Berhe Oquba Giorgis (Shashamanne, 09.03.87)

fought in the patriotic wars. In other words, under a different historical moment, Haile Sellassie made extensive land grants to the northerners in the south to help him implement his post-war policy of centralization of political power. The majority of the grantees lived in Addis Ababa and made use of their lands through local proxies.[39]

7.2.2 Amhara Migration to Addis Ababa: The Language Factor

Having discussed the politico-economic forces behind Amhara migration to the southern provinces, I now turn to the language factor. Indeed, their migration to the city was part of the Amhara movement to the south that began in earnest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Successive Ethiopian governments had adopted a subtle policy of imposing the Amharic language on non-Amharas by suppressing the use of other languages. They propagated Amharic "as the language of the king (*yenigus k'wank'wa* [የንጉሥ ቋንቋ])"[40] to give legitimacy to its imposition on others. According to Robert Cooper, such a stance is characteristic of conquerors as the cases of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Arabs have demonstrated. Cooper put the imposition of Amharic within this historical context and

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[38]Informant: Seltene Seyoum (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97).

[39]After the fall of Haile Sellassie, the military government adopted a different way of settling the Amhara in the southern provinces under yet another historical circumstance, the famine that struck the northern provinces in the 1970s and 1980s. Thousands of Amharas and Tigres were forcibly settled in different parts of the south and most escapees headed for Addis Ababa.

[40]Robert L. Cooper, "The Spread of Amharic," in M. L. Bender, **et.al.** (eds.) ***Language in Ethiopia*** (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 289.

concluded that: "Amharic has [also] spread as a consequence of Amhara military conquests and political supremacy."[41]

Although the existence of an official language in a multi-lingual society such as Ethiopia is vital, Amharic was made to play that role at the expense of the other languages. Indeed, from the perspective of the government, the imposition of Amharic was a move towards national integration. From the perspective of non-Amharas, however, the policy was designed to help only Amharic speakers to reap the benefits of joining government services. The imposition of Amharic on non-Amharas and the Amharaization strategy became an almost open government policy in 1955/6.[42] It was enshrined in the statute to establish the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs. Article 7 of the statute clearly stated that the police and security forces should be recruited from the Amhara ethnic group. If the number of Amhara recruits was not enough, candidates from other ethnic groups must be Amharic speakers and orthodox Christians. The policy excluded at least 50 per cent of the non-Christian population of the country in terms of religious affiliation and close to 85 per cent of the population in terms of ethnic composition.

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 291-292.

[42] Whether given a legal cover or not, it would not make any difference for non-Amharas since it had long been "implicitly" imposed. An attempt to resist this imposition has cost some people their lives and others their positions and dignity. Thousands had languished in jails under successive Ethiopian governments. Among others, see Olana Zoga, ማሕተና ማሕተ የማዳ ተለማ መረዳዳ ማህበር, translated as ***A History of Maccaa Tulamaa Self-Help Association*** (Addis Ababa: Bole Printing Press, 1985 E.C.).

Furthermore, Article 15 of the same statute recommended the withering away of all other languages in Ethiopia in favor of Amharic.[43] Abir Mordechai has summarized the age-old Amhara policy of exclusion as follows:

> It seems that the conservative elements among the Amhara - and these are still very strong - do not favour a true partnership of the major population groups of Ethiopia. They would prefer that the predominant position of the Amhara be preserved and would continue the slow amharisation of the non-Amharic elements through administrative pressures, relying on the military power... This was achieved by creating a complex of pressures and inducements. Those who became converted to Christianity, were treated not as conquered people, but as partners, and were given a fair share in the government of the non-Amharic provinces. On the other hand, those who resisted the Shoan/Amhara domination were continuously attacked.[44]

As indicated above, the *katamas* were centers from where such policies were implemented. Amharic, the language which the southerners could not speak, was made the official language of the towns. Orthodox Christianity established itself in the *katamas* and gradually made headway into parts of the conquered regions. In some regions, like Arsi, the local people chose to embrace Islam rather than Orthodox Christianity for three reasons. First, Islam did not forbid them eating the products of their cattle,

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[43]Copy of the original document of this statute was published in ***Malada*** (ማሌዳ) magazine, No. 3 (in Amharic, March 1985 E.C.), pp. 5-7. Eighty one languages were listed to have existed in Ethiopia 80 of which were supposed to wither away in favor of Amharic according to the statute.

[44]Abir, Mordechai, "Education and National Unity in Ethiopia," in ***African Affairs***, Vol. 69, No. 274 (January 1970), pp. 46-47. For a similar view, see Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Education in Ethiopia," in ***The Social Studies: A Periodical for Teachers and Administrators***, Vol. XLVIII, No. 7 (November 1957), p. 247. Some people may argue that the retention of Abba Jifar of Jimma and Kumsa Moroda of Naqamte was a compromise. Although their autonomous status offered some protection for their subjects, (Guluma, 1996, pp. 153-158) they had to bear the burdens of the taxes and

as would Christianity. Second, it served as a religion of resistance to an outside intrusion.[45] Third, Orthodox Church services were in Ge'ez and the priests did not bother translating what they preached.

If they did not speak Amharic, people were also not employed in government services, which were located in the towns. Even those who learned the language (however fluent they were) were not treated equally with the Amharas.[46] These factors kept local people away from living in the towns, explaining why most people who migrated to Addis Ababa from the southern towns were people of northern origin.[47] Unless otherwise dictated by specific conditions, therefore, the Amhara had overwhelming advantages over all other peoples in the south, and they reinforced their advantages by their control of political power. That is why their number in Addis Ababa and in most other southern towns is significantly high compared with other groups.

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gifts carried to Menilek by their rulers every year and on every occasion.

[45]Informants: Ebiso Timo (Shashamanne, 09.04.87); Ali Abba Bora (Shashamanne, 09.24.86); Muzeyin Jawi (Shashamanne, 09.23.86, 09.05.87). For an excellent work on the conversion of Oromos into Islam as a form of resistance, see Mohammed Hassen, "Islam as a Resistance Ideology Among the Oromo of Ethiopia: The Wallo Case, 1700-1900," in Said S. Samatar (ed.), ***In the Shadow of Conquest: Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa*** (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1992), pp. 75-101.

[46]In fact, this is one of the most important complaints of Emmanuel Abraham, trusted by the emperor but persecuted by his Amhara colleagues and bosses.

[47]The indigenous people learned Amharic only after the expansion of education. Their knowledge facilitated their migration to towns dominated by Amharic speakers.

The consolidation of the new Ethiopian administration in the south created a constant chain of career migration to Addis Ababa, especially of people of Amhara origin. The appointees were followed by their families and relatives. As one scholar noted: "Each 'career move' ... [led] to a number of replacement moves, the length of the migratory chain depending on the rank of the person promoted. At the end of the chain, a new recruit ... [was] admitted to the niche."[48] While military service set the stage for the first wave of Amhara migration to Addis Ababa (and to the south in general), the beginning of modern administration and the gradual expansion of a modern bureaucracy set another equally important stage. The latter required educated personnel and the ethnic group who took advantage of the expansion of modern education was the first to reap the advantage. As speaking the Amharic language could also earn some jobs in the bureaucracy, people of urban background, largely Amharas, became the greatest beneficiaries of the new developments.[49] As Addis Ababa was the center of everything in the country, it is thus not difficult to imagine why the Amhara were the largest ethnic group in the city.

Research by the National Urban Planning Institute indicated that the demographic distribution of the regions surrounding Addis Ababa, roughly within a 50-kilometer radius, was 74.9 per cent Oromo, 20.5 per cent Amhara, 3.6 per cent Gurage, 1 per cent others and no Tigre at all. The

[48]Bjèren, p. 246.

distribution of the same ethnic groups in the city of Addis Ababa, however, was 17.1 per cent Oromo, 47.9 per cent Amhara, 17.6 per cent Gurage, 10.2 per cent Tigre, and 7.2 per cent others.[50] Why was this the case?

As indicated earlier, the Amharas shaped the growth of Addis Ababa to fit their interests. Indigenous people had to adapt to Amhara culture, society, religion and language in the city. Assimilation required abandoning one's own culture and language. Moreover, except for a very few people who acculturated, most indigenous people were discouraged from settling and living in the city. The Oromo, who were native to the entire region left for areas as distant as Arsi.[51] Others were permanently assigned to the periphery of the city and had to move continuously as the city expanded. They were marginalized and turned into laborers, providers (carriers, fetchers) of firewood and food products to the city. Since Amharic was the official language, the Oromo could not find jobs in the expanding state bureaucracy. Their access to the service industry was also limited. Only the Amharas, and those who learned the language, benefited in the rapidly growing city. The simple knowledge of Amharic language was enough to get some jobs in the city. When competing for the same jobs, an illiterate

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[49] ***Ibid.*** The second ethnic group that benefited from the situation was the Tigre.

[50] MUDH, "A Summary of Some Important Demographic Aspects of the Metropolitan Region" (NUPI, Demographic Section, 1985), p. 1.

[51] Garretson, pp. 188-190. In the course of a field research for my M.A thesis, I was able to interview second and third generations of Oromos whose forefathers were evicted to Chilalo from Addis Ababa. Informant: Gebre Hanna Shafo

Amhara was preferred to a literate non-Amhara, if the job did not require writing and reading. As Robert L. Cooper correctly observed:

> With respect to the material advantages associated with knowledge of Amharic, they are undeniably great. Knowledge of Amharic is a prerequisite for educational and political advancement. However, the benefits of a knowledge of Amharic are still confined principally to the urban population and to that part of the rural population with relatively easy access to towns.[52]

The knowledge of Amharic was thus the most important instrument to take advantage of opportunities not only in Addis Ababa but also in the empire as a whole. As one Amhara scholar noted, a non-Amhara "...wishing to obtain a position in government offices is required to have a good command of Amharic."[53] The Amharas met the requirement by birth because it was their mother tongue. Writing the Amharic language was taught at church schools mostly attended by Amhara boys. The conquest of the south required literate officials, and this increased Amhara migration.[54]

(Shashamanne,09.02.87); Nagesso Gabi (Shashamanne, 08.20.87).

[52]Cooper, "The Spread of Amharic," p. 293. Even Amhara prostitutes were advantaged over their non-Amhara counterparts. See the section on prostitution. For the same reason, some non-Amhara prostitutes, especially the Gurage, pretended to be Amharas. See Laketch (1991), p. 56.

[53]Girma Amare (1963), p. 340. For Ethiopia's language policy that favored only the growth of Amharic, see Tsehaye Teferra, "A Sociolinguistic Survey of Language Use and Attitudes Towards Language in Ethiopia: Implications for Language Policy in Education" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, May 1977), pp. 66-87.

[54]Informants: Yilma Worqneh (Addis Ababa, 01.21.97); Berhanu Abebe (Addis Ababa, 08.09.97); Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Fasil Wadajo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97); Ebba Babo (Addis Ababa, 06.02.97). See also, Cooper, "The Spread of Amharic," p. 294.

Radio broadcasts exclusively in the Amharic language, the very language which all Amharas but only a small number of non-Amharas understood, enabled the former to get information regarding Addis Ababa. Apparently, the effect of radio broadcasts was the same for all Amharas (literate or otherwise) while it affected only the educated segment of non-Amharas. Songs praising the resources and beauty of the south in general and the modernity and attractiveness of Addis Ababa in particular, created in the minds of northerners a state of hope for a better future and encouraged them to migrate to the city.[55] Here are pairs of couplets from praising Addis Ababa in three different Amharic songs.

1)	ዓለም አዲስ አበባ	Oh Addis Ababa, paradise
	ሸዋ ያብባል ገና	Shoa will prosper more
2)	አግረች አዲስ አግረች	Addis became beautiful
	አግረች አዲስ አግረች	Addis became beautiful
	የአፍሪቃ አህጉር ማዕከል ሆነች	And became the center of African continent
3)	አዲስ አበባ ነጫ ቤቱ	Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa
	አዲስ አበባ ነጫ ቤቱ	Where handsome brown boys reside
	ፈገግ ቆንጆ ጠይም ሸበላ	with their heart warming looks
	ልብ የሚገርክ ፈበቱ[56]	

[55]Informant: Yilma Worqneh (Addis Ababa, 01.21.97).

[56]My own recollection. There are also many other songs of admiration in Amharic for the southern provinces with a similar effect on migration. Here is one example praising the province of Sidamo. "አዋሳ ላንጋኖ ስሸርሸር ሂጂ ያየሁሽ፤ የሲዳሞ ቆንጆ እንዴት ነሽ?" literally translated, "That lady whom I saw in Awasa and Langano, Oh, greetings to that Sidamo beauty". Awasa is the capital of the fertile province of Sidamo, rich in coffee and gold, and Langano is a Lake close to Awasa with beautiful resorts. Not only Addis Ababa but southern provinces are generally praised for their natural beauties, coffee, a variety of minerals and wild animals. This created in the minds of the northerners the feeling that money could be made easily and that life is cheap and luxurious compared to the north.

The majority of Addis Ababa's population thus came from the Amhara provinces. Out of the city's total population of 1,099,851 in 1976, 331,630 were migrants from the province of Shoa, the province in which Addis Ababa is located. The remaining 143,596 were from the northern provinces of Eritrea, Tigray, Wallo, Gondar and Gojjam of which 98,186 were from the last three Amhara provinces. Out of the reported total population of 24,068,800, the nine southern provinces had 10,396,000 in 1974[57] but produced only 91,703 migrants to the city in the 1976 survey.[58]

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[57]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 10,*** Vol. I (1974), p. 2. Indeed, of the 24,068,800 estimated population of Ethiopia, 13,672,800 lived in the northern provinces, including Shoa. But three-quarters of Shoa is located within the south both geographically and politically. Shoa's population then was 4,922,600, which brings down the total population of the other five northern provinces (Eritrea, Tigray, Gondar, Gojjam and Wallo) to 8,750,200. If three-quarters of Shoa's population were added to the south, the total population of the region would be 14,087,950. (There is a two-year gap between the censuses of Addis Ababa and the country. That of Addis Ababa was taken in 1976 and that of the country was taken in 1974. This fact, however, does not significantly affect the conclusions drawn out of the comparison.)

[58]Computed from CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (1977), p. 6. Amhara provinces are highlighted.

Table 7.3

Population by Birth Place, 1976

Birth Place	Male	Female	TOTAL	%[59]
Addis Ababa	260,560	272,832	533,392	48.5
Arsi	3,643	4,760	8,403	0.8
Bale	948	1,894	2,842	0.3
Eritrea	10,267	11,346	21,613	1.9
Hararghe	7,011	10,762	17,773	1.6
Gamo Gofa	11,017	7,633	18,650	1.7
Gojjam	**9,842**	**11,252**	**21,094**	**1.9**
Gondar	**3,762**	**10,562**	**14,326**	**1.3**
Ilu Abba Bora	1,661	2,117	3,778	0.3
Kafa	1,661	4,294	6,895	0.6
Shoa	**160,813**	**170,817**	**331,630**	**30.2**
Sidamo	8,622	10,968	19,590	1.8
Tigray	9,184	14,613	23,797	2.2
Wallaga	5,984	3,860	9,844	0.9
Wallo	**26,400**	**36,366**	**62,766**	**5.7**
Outside Ethiopia	1,441	-	1,441	0.1
Not Stated	937	1,080	2,017	0.2
TOTAL	524,695	575,15	1,099,851	100.0

Source: CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (1977), p. 6. (Summarized from Table 4.)

Unlike other ethnic groups, a great many migrants from Eritrea and Tigray knew Amharic. They could thus compete for jobs where Amharic was necessary,[60] thereby setting in motion a chain migration of their co-ethnics. Accordingly, in 1976, there were 45,410 migrants from these two provinces alone compared to only 91,703 from the nine Southern provinces.[61] Four points need to be made clear here. First an overwhelming number of migrants from the provinces of Tigray and Eritrea were Tigres. Second,

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[59]Percentage computations are mine.

[60]Informants: Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.07.97); Mulugeta Yihun (06.07.96); Kebede Sahile (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Bekele Mulugeta (Addis Ababa, 05.08.97); Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97).

[61]Computed from CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (1977), p. 6.

migrants from the Amhara provinces were mostly Amharas, with some exceptions from Wallo where a large Oromo population is found. Third, migrants from the southern provinces were not *necessarily* indigenous, but were largely "re-migrating" Amharas. They spoke Amharic[62], their parents were administrators, civil servants, members of the military or landlords who could afford sending them to Addis Ababa for schooling, or otherwise. By virtue of coming from the provinces governed by their parents, they settled on the land granted to indigenous local chiefs in Addis Ababa. A typical example was *Dajazmatch* Kumsa Moroda whose land was settled by "re-migrating" Amharas from Wallagga.[63] Fourth, most migrants from Shoa were from the Amhara-inhabited northern part of the province, the very power base of Menilek and his successors. The Amhara from northern Shoa were pioneers of the great conquest under Menilek, and thus, formed the core of Amhara administration in modern Ethiopia. They had every privilege to migrate to Addis Ababa.

The establishment of many churches in Addis Ababa facilitated the migration of a large number of Amhara and Tigre clerics to the city.[64] On the

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[62]Interestingly enough, descendants of Amhara migrants currently living in the southern provinces are taking advantage of their knowledge of the local languages.

[63]Informant: Bayana Abdi (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97); Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Tsegaye Badhadha (Addis Ababa, 05.23.97).

[64]Informants: Seltene Seyoum (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97); Haile Mariam Naga (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Alamu Ti'um (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Walda Yohannis Worqneh (Addis Ababa, 05.22.97); Asafa Badhase (Addis Ababa, 05.14,97); Alamu Abebe (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97).

other hand, other religious groups, especially the traditional ones were not allowed in the city. For instance, out of thirty-nine houses of worship in Addis Ababa reported to have existed at one time, there were only two mosques and five Protestant churches of various denominations.[65] The rest belonged to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Muslims and followers of traditional religions, who constituted more than half of the Ethiopian population,[66] thus did not have religio-cultural and social incentives to migrate to the city.

In the early history of Addis Ababa, co-habitation, or mixed residences (neighborhoods) of Christians and Muslims was not tolerated,[67] reminiscent of the city of Gondar (capital of the Amhara-Abyssinian kingdom from 1632-1868) where Muslims were literally segregated,[68] explaining one reason for their minority status. Even the most recent population census has indicated that 82 per cent of Addis Ababa's population were orthodox Christians, 12.7 per cent Muslims, 3.9 per cent

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[65]MUDH, Working Paper No. 7, pp. 64-65.

[66]Apparently, because of political reasons, there is no reliable source on the proportion of Christian and Muslim population in Ethiopia. According to Robert Hess the Christians were 40 per cent and the Muslims from 40-55 per cent of the country. ***Ethiopia: The Modernization of Autocracy*** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 19. For Various estimations of these religious groups, see Tsehaye Teferra, p. 33.

[67]Informants: Avedis Terzian (Addis Ababa, 05.27.97); Fayisa Walde Amanuel (Addis Ababa, 06.17.97).

[68]See Akalou (1967), pp. 86 and 89.

Protestants, 0.8 per cent Catholics and 0.6 per cent followers of other religious groups.[69]

The system of Menilek's military organization also significantly contributed to the numerical superiority of the Amhara in Addis Ababa. Following the foundation of the city, Menilek gave land in the city to his commanders. Their settlements were called *safar* in Amharic, meaning quarters,[70] which became nuclei where new Amhara migrants could stay with the previously settled co-ethnics until they found jobs, or until they could adjust to city life. People of other ethnic groups lacked such pull centers and support.

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[69]CSO, Office of Population and Housing Census Commission, ***The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for Addis Ababa: Summary Report*** (Addis Ababa: August 1995), p. 2.

[70]For a general work on *safars* in Addis Ababa, see Bahru (1987), pp. 43-56; and among many specific works, see Berhe Fisseha, "Ras Kassa Safar" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1983); Solomon Abera, "A Historical Foundation and Development of Ras Tasama Safar up to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1984); Tekle Hagos, "Ras Mekonen Sefer up to 1961" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1983); Tesfu Kefyalew, "Dajazmach Balcha Aba Nafso Safar" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1983); Endalew Jirata, "A History of Tamanja Yazh Safar from its Foundation to 1974" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, 1987).

7.2.3 The Oromo

Although they are the largest ethnic group in the country and despite Addis Ababa's location in their heartland (see Map 5), the Oromo (derogatorily called Galla by the Amhara) are the second largest ethnic group in the city.[71] As indicated above, Oromo chiefs were not granted land in Addis Ababa to create a pull center for their country people. For example, *Dajazmatch* Kumsa Moroda, the *Mootii* (king) of the Oromo of eastern Wallagga was granted only one *gasha* (40 hectares) of land in the outskirts of the city, which was even occupied by Amhara settlers from Wallagga. *Fitawrari* Burayu Bakke, an Oromo nobleman of western Wallagga, was given a small plot of land outside the city limit.[72] Thus, Oromo chiefs, war leaders and soldiers were not given lands to the extent of facilitating the migration and settlement of Oromos in Addis Ababa.

Oromo war leaders and soldiers who participated in Menilek's wars returned to their respective regions, where the soldiers were given *gabbars*,

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[71]Only Mérab's 1910 estimate put the Oromo population in Addis Ababa at a very marginal majority of 20,000 (30.8 per cent) followed by the Amhara whom he reckoned at 19,000 (29.2 per cent). He placed the total population of the city at 65,000. Pankhurst, (1968), p. 709. The Amharas and the Tigres used "Galla" broadly to identify most southern ethnic groups. But it is most commonly and derogatorily identified with the Oromos. Thus, the figure must have included other ethnic groups. This would make the Oromo far less than 20,000 and would put the Amhara still at the top. Moreover, given the historical circumstances under which Addis Ababa was founded, it must be assumed that Mérab's estimation was inaccurate. For Mérab's figures, see chapter II, Table 2.1.

[72]The place was named after him and is called Burayuu Medaa to date. *Sheik* Khojale al Hasan, chief of the Bella Shangul along the Sudanese border in the west, was also granted land almost closer to Burayu's. Although the place retained the Sheik's name to date, people from other regions settled on it.

while some of the commanders were given governments. Even *Ras* Gobana, who is noted for conquering his own people for Menilek, was not given land in Addis Ababa but returned to his own village once he had accomplished his mission.[73] *Fitawrari* Habte Giorgis and *Dajach* Balcha Safo were exceptions. Both remained important figures in Menilek's administration until their importance as political servants expired during the reign of *Ras* Tafari. They were granted lands, but their Amhara followers settled on them.[74]

The language policy of the state also affected the Oromo. For ordinary Amharas, the simple knowledge of the language secured them a variety of jobs. They were hired as guardsmen, watchmen, babysitters, housemaids/servants, clerks in government offices, janitors, and other similar jobs that did not require writing and reading.[75] Meanwhile, Oromo and other non-Amhara migrants had to wait until they had mastered the Amharic language.[76] Moreover, most government offices at all levels were

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[73]Informant: Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97).

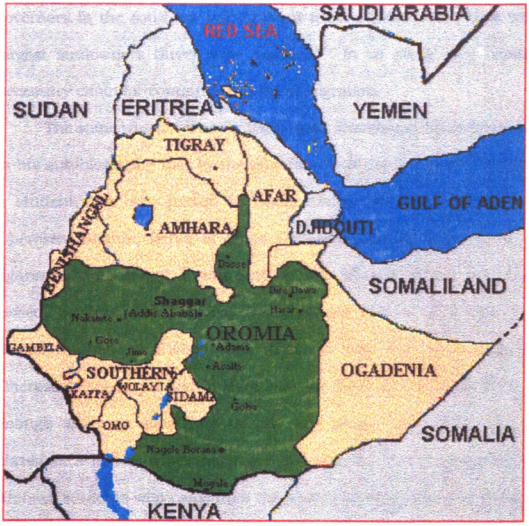
[74]Informants: Alamu Qitessa (Addis Ababa, 01.14.97); Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Bayana Abdi (Addis Ababa, 17.06.97). A very few non-Amharas who settled on the lands of Balcha and Habte Giorgis came as servants, called *ashkar* in Amharic. Informants: Asafa Badhase (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97); Alamu Abebe (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97).

[75]Informants: Itagagn Izazew (Addis Ababa, 06.15.97); Malke Asfaw (Addis Ababa, 06.03.97); Tihune Taddesse (Addis Ababa, 06.04.97); Tirunesh Degifew (Addis Ababa, 06.14.97).

[76]Informants: Balaynesh Kenne (Addis Ababa, 14.05.97); Darartu Gada (Addis Ababa, 08.05.97); Mazgabe Beyene (Addis Ababa, 04.06.97); Mulu Rorisa (Addis Ababa, 14.05.97).

Map 5

Oromia (the Country of the Oromo)



Source: http://www.oromo.org/osg/oromap2.htm. (The map is based on ethnic federalism adopted by the current Ethiopian government.)

occupied (or dominated) by the Amhara elite who always favored their kith and kin. According to Fantahun H. Michael, "By the end of [the] Haile Selassie regime [in 1974], ... more than 60 per cent of the government, 75 per cent of the officer corps, and 70 percent of the district (woreda) governors in the southern non-Amhara regions (who at the time were the largest landowners there) were Amhara."[77] In so doing they created the necessary chain for continuous Amhara migration.

The same was not true for the Oromo. Emmanuel Abraham recounted in his autobiography that by the time he was at Tafari Makonnen School as a student, the only person in Addis Ababa from Wallagga was *Blatta* Dheressa Amante, father of Yilma Dheressa, one of the most important figures in the post-war government of Haile Sillassie. When the school was closed, services discontinued, and students had to leave the campus, Emannuel had no friends with whom to stay and he finally went to Dheressa's house. He had to leave after six days, as Dheressa did not have enough space to allow him to stay any longer. He finally went to his classmate's house, where he stayed the summer.[78] In contrast, almost all Amhara students who came from the provinces did not face such problems. If the worst came, they would go to the churchyards, where the priests

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[77]Fantahun H. Michael, ***The Roots of Nationality Problems and the Challenge to Nation-Building in Ethiopia*** (Bergen, Norway: Derap Publications, 1989), p. 71.

[78]Emmanuel, p. 21.

would support them because they were Amharas and Christians, and a vast majority of the Oromo were neither.[79]

7.2.4 The Gurage

As is the case for all ethnic groups, the exact number of the Gurages in Ethiopia is not known. From a densely populated and over-congested homeland, the Gurage were the third largest ethnic group in Addis Ababa. They were involved in all kinds of commerce ranging from petty trade to shoe-shining, selling of lottery tickets, and street vending, to big businesses, all opportunities that Addis Ababa provided them. The Gurage are generally celebrated for their hardworking and frugality.

Their migration originated in the days of Menilek's conquest of the Gurage country. Some of them joined his army while "the majority gravitated to labour migration."[80] Their staple was *enset* (false banana), which did not have monetary value and had little importance outside the region. Moreover, they had to share their products with the new Ethiopian authorities that limited their capacity for sustenance and survival. Because they had no marketable cash crops, the Gurage were forced to pay tax in labor when it was imposed on them by Menilek following his conquest of the region. They went as far as Addis Ababa to render labor service in lieu of

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[79]Informants: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Bulcha Damkasa (Addis Ababa, 04.22.97).

[80]Shimelis Bonsa, p. 22.

tax. With the gradual expansion of the use of money at the turn of the century, the Gurage expanded their migration to earn cash.[81] The Land Act of 1929 making tax payable only in cash further stimulated large scale labor migration to Addis Ababa. What was a temporary migration gradually turned into permanent and the Gurage began to settle in Addis Ababa in large numbers.

Whether to pay tax in labor or in cash, the situation set in motion a constant Gurage chain migration. The Gurage started to stay longer in Addis Ababa for more earnings. Long absence was possible because inalienable land ownership rights permitted the owner to make use of his land even in absentia. Second, the *enset* plant can stay for 3 to 4 years without care, hence permitting a long absence. Third, an absent migrant was compensated through kinship and self-help associations which would even take care of the migrant's *enset* farm.[82]

As urbanization and the influence of modernization proceeded, the need for cash increased to cover the costs of sending children to schools, modern services, and luxury goods. Moreover, population increase created land shortages,[83] and "to fulfil the financial needs the people [were] forced

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[81]John Markakis, "The Politics of Identity – The Case of the Gurage in Ethiopia," in M. A. Mohamed Salih and John Markakis (eds.), ***Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*** (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998), pp. 132-133.

[82]Shimelis Bonsa, pp. 22-23. Gurage informants also concur with the same view. Informants: Bogale Alamu (Addis Ababa, 02.06.97); Mohammad Hussein (Addis Ababa, 03.06.97); Shikur Hussein (Addis Ababa, 27.07.97).

[to migrate] to Addis Ababa, and other towns where there [was] wage market and trade."[84]

According to Jonathan Baker's recent study, 86.6 per cent of the Gurage respondents migrated to the city in search of employment.[85] In the post-war period, their migration assumed a significant proportion facilitated by the channel the Gurage created over a long period of time.[86] Seventy-nine per cent of the Gurages in Baker's survey migrated to Addis Ababa between 1945-1974.[87] Youngsters came to the city to collect cash to cover the cost of very expensive marriage feasts and of building houses for their families.[88] There are also indications that young Gurages migrated to escape "tribal control" or rural social restrictions imposed on them.[89]

Since women bore all family responsibilities, males could stay away from home for long periods. The need to support large families also played a role. Three of my Gurage informants stated that families of six members each depended on the cash they remitted. Despite the success stories of

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[83]Shimelis Bonsa, pp. 35-39.

[84]Asaffa Alamu, "A Short Study of Migration and Rural-Urban Socio-Economic Continuity of the Gurage Families" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of Applied Sociology, 1980), p. 8.

[85]Baker (1992), p. 135.

[86]Shimelis Bonsa, pp. 35-39.

[87]Baker (1992), p. 134.

[88]Asaffa Alamu, pp. 8-9.

[89]Shack (1968), p. 78; and Shimelis Bonsa, p. 40.

most Gurage migrants in the city, these three men were not successful. One was a watchman in the house of a wealthy Armenian, the second is a guard at Mekane Yesus Hostel, owned by the German Hermansburg Mission, and the third is a street vendor. They all concurred that what their family produced at home was more important than what they earned in the city and remitted to the family.[90]

7.2.5 The Tigre

Tigray and the highland of Eritrea are the homeland of the Tigre[91] ethnic group. The population of these two provinces was reported in 1974 as 3,584,400 out of Ethiopia's total population of 24,068,800,[92] or about 14.9 per cent of the country's total population. There are several other ethnic groups living in these two provinces and their number, especially in Eritrea, is very significant. As successive Ethiopian governments made it a state secret not to disclose the figures of ethnic groups for political reasons, it is difficult for this study to know the exact number of the Tigre population.[93]

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[90]Informants: Bogale Alamu (Addis Ababa, 02.06.97); Mohammad Hussein (Addis Ababa, 03.06.97); Shikur Hussein (Addis Ababa, 27.07.97).

[91]Unless otherwise specified on provincial basis, "Tigre" refers to the Tigrinya-speaking people of Tigray and Eritrea.

[92]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 10***, Vol. I (1974), p. 2.

[93]It may, however, be assumed that the Tigre population can be estimated at more than half of the 3,584,400.

Together with the Christian Amhara regions, the Tigray and highland Eritrea form the heartland of the old Abyssinian kingdom. Those in Eritrea fell under Italian colonial rule in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and those Tigray remained part of the Ethiopian empire. The conquest of the southern provinces shifted Ethiopia's political center from the north to the south and was attended by migration of the people in the same direction.

As in the case of the Amhara, Tigre migration to Addis Ababa was the result of shortage of farmland, population increase, poverty, environmental degradation, endemic drought, and famine. This situation made the region more vulnerable to the Great Famine that devastated northern Ethiopia between 1888 and 1892.[94] The famine coincided with Menilek's conquest of the south and many Tigres took advantage of the situation and joined his army for survival as did so many others from different parts of northern Ethiopia.[95]

The number of Tigre migrants was, however, insignificant, since those Tigres who fought in the conquest of the southern provinces were not

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[94]These factors, especially the Great Famine of 1888-1892, forced the Tigre to migrate as far south as Borana along the Ethio-Kenyan border. See, Harold G. Marcus, "Motives, Methods and Some Results of the Unification of Ethiopia During the Reign of Menilek II," in ***Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1966*** (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, HSIU, June 1969), pp. 269-270. For the details of this famine and its effects, see Richard Pankhurst, ***The History of Famine and Epidemics in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century*** (Addis Ababa: Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, 1986); and "The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-1892: A New Assessment," in ***Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences***, Vol. XXI, No. 1, parts One and Two (1966), pp. 95-124, 271-294. See also Marcus (1975), pp. 135-136; and Bahru (1991), pp. 71-72.

[95]For more details, see Marcus (1975), p. 136.

enough to make much difference after the conquest was over. They neither controlled the political power nor the land with which they could have reinforced their migration to the southern regions. Consequently, a systematic Tigre migration to the rural south did not take place and a great majority of those who migrated went to Addis Ababa.

With less than 10 per cent of the city's population, the Tigre nonetheless formed the fourth largest ethnic group in Addis Ababa. In 1967, they comprised only 5.1 (34,860) per cent of the city's total population of 683,530; 73,444 or 6.7 per cent in 1976 (out of a total population of 1,099,851)[96]; and in 1978, 95,543 or 8.2 per cent of the city's 1,167,301 total population.[97]

The migration of the Tigre from Eritrea to Addis Ababa also originated in the region's unique history. Eritrea had been an Italian colony for over six decades, and experienced not only a modern administration but also a separate development. Its people had been exposed to modern education and ideas compared with their Ethiopian counterparts. The colonial economy created job opportunities in Eritrea and even attracted job seekers from the province of Tigray.[98]

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[96]MUDH, "An Assessment of the Demographic Characteristics of the Addis Ababa Metropolitan Region" (Addis Ababa: NUPI, AAMPP, 1984), p. 36.

[97]CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin No. 22*** (1979), p. 86.

[98]Informant: Gebre Medhin Simon (Addis Ababa, 07.07.97); Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97); John N. Moraitis (Addis Ababa, 04.05.97, 05.12.97); Taddesse Beyene (Addis Ababa, 05.14.97).

Yet, Eritreans were attracted to Ethiopia because the success of Haile Sellassie's modernization programs required trained manpower. Educated Eritreans found a wide range of opportunities and migrated to Addis Ababa to use the skills they had acquired under the Italians. Next to the Amhara, the Eritreans ranked second in holding high positions in the government of Emperor Haile Sillassie until 1974.[99] Third, given that Ethiopia and Eritrea had been connected together in historic Abyssinia, the Ethiopian government encouraged the migration of Eritreans to prove that the colony had been artificially separated from the motherland. Indeed, many Eritrean migrants were treated well in Addis Ababa as a gesture of historic oneness, perhaps as a tactic in Ethiopia's projected campaign to claim Eritrea.

A large number of Eritrean Tigres migrated as soldiers during the Italian occupation of 1936-1941. They invaded Ethiopia with the Italian army, then some of them deserted and joined the Ethiopian patriots in the war of resistance and remained in Ethiopia after the war was over. Even those who served the Italians to the last, did not go back after the defeat of the Italians. They remained in Ethiopia, and settled and established themselves in Addis Ababa. The educated ones joined government service. Others became businessmen. They dominated teahouses and taxi driving businesses right after liberation and created job opportunities for Tigres

[99]See, Fantahun, p. 72.

coming from Eritrea. "Only the fool went back to Eritrea," said an informant.[100]

Yet, the migration of most Eritreans to Addis Ababa in the post-Italian period was not necessarily the result of Ethiopian government propaganda. Nor was it only associated with the settlement of Ertirean soldier-migrants in the city. Most importantly, it was the outcome of the economic situation of the province during the federation era, 1952-1962. Some Eritreans argue that the federation era was characterized by rapid economic decline in the province, which instigated a wave of migration to Addis Ababa. They maintain that Ethiopia was economically unable to fill in the shoes of her predecessors, viz., the Italians and the British. As a result, most Eritrean businessmen migrated to Addis Ababa with their capital. Trained personnel, skilled laborers and many others who were related to Eritrean capital followed the businessmen.[101]

However, serious scholars contend that the federation opened a wide range of economic opportunity for Eritreans. The ex-colony's market expanded into the heartland of Ethiopia, while the latter offered employment opportunities for educated Eritreans.[102] Interestingly enough, migration of Tigres from Eritrea during and after the federation

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[100]Informant: Seltene Seyoum (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97).

[101]Informant: Seltene Seyoum (Addis Ababa, 05.10.97). See also Comhaire-Sylvain (1962), p. 4.

[102]Tekeste Negash, ***Eritrea and Ethiopia: The Federal Experience*** (New

included those who migrated from Tigray to Eritrea during the boom years of the colonial period. They included jewelers who migrated to Asmara from the district of Axum in Tigray province. The economic opportunities created by the state of the federation attracted them to Addis Ababa. That is why over 90 per cent of the jewelries in Addis Ababa are owned by Tigres from Tigray who migrated to the city via Eritrea.

Besides their participation in Menilek's conquest, there was one very interesting route of Tigre migration to Addis Ababa from Tigray. In the highly hierarchical system of the Abyssinian kingdom and its successor, the Ethiopian empire, the rank and file always opted to be followers of a commander or a governor with the highest rank in the hierarchy. When *awraja* governors went to the provincial capitals to pay homage to the governors-general, their followers always escorted them. Once they reached the provincial capitals, their followers remained there to be followers of the provincial governor who was higher in rank than the previous master. Most Tigres are said to have remained in Addis Ababa in this way. Whenever *Ras* Mangasha Yohannis, Tigray's governor-general visited Addis Ababa, a considerable number of his followers attached themselves to Menilek's palace as royal servants (*ashkars*). Although Mangasha's title was the highest of all titles bestowed on an official, and although he was from the royal family, his followers preferred to be servants of the emperor because

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Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1997), pp. 139-143.

Tigray was poor, and Mangasha had little to offer them while the emperor had everything at his disposal to provide them. Once they settled in the capital, they brought their families and relatives, hence swelling the population of the Tigre in the city.[103]

7.3 Some Observations on Factors Affecting Ethnic Migration to Addis Ababa: A Concluding Remark

Owing to frequent droughts in northern Ethiopia, famine-related migration to Addis Ababa was common, especially from Tigray and Wallo. When such disasters affected large parts of a province, they often led to the migration of single ethnic groups. No censuses were taken, however, either at the points of origin, or at destinations, to determine how many migrated to Addis Ababa or even to other towns and rural areas. Fragmented pieces of information indicate that 43,596 people left the provinces of Wallo and Tigray in seven famine years before 1974,[104] but we do not know the number of those who migrated to Addis Ababa. It is, however, possible that the overwhelming majority of these migrants were ethnically Tigres and Amharas since their provinces were most severely affected by the famine.

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[103]Informant: Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97). Mengasha is also said to have brought or sent a large number of poor Tigres to Addis Ababa to live on begging in the streets of the city.

[104]Even Mesfin Walde-Mariam, whose work is widely quoted on famine in Ethiopia, admitted the problem of data on the number of migrants. See, Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1978), p. 7. Thus, most conclusions on the effect of the famine are based on the general assumption that famines cause migration of a large number of people.

Ethnic migration to Addis Ababa was also affected by the legal system of the imperial government. This factor is detailed in chapter III with statistical evidence. Its implication for ethnic migration is worth noting here. A knowledgeable informant, *Dajazmatch* Dr. Zewde Gebre Sellassie, a Tigre, testified that northerners, especially the Amhara and the Tigre had an age-old tradition of taking their court cases as far as the emperor even for minor offenses. They had a saying: "An arm amputated at the king's decision amounts to normal," to mean that whatever verdict issued by the king is just and final.[105] In the process of bringing their appeals to the emperor which might take several years, most plaintiffs and defendants remained in the capital for good.[106] Losers would not return to their villages in shame.[107]

The nature of Ethiopia's towns also had significant implications for ethnic migrations to Addis Ababa.[108] Important towns in northern Ethiopia were mainly political and administrative centers with limited control over their hinterlands for their maintenance. Consequently, their capacity to

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[105]Amharic: "ንጉሥ ችሎት ደርሶ የተቆረጠ እጅ እንዳልተቆረጠ ይቆጠራል።" Informant: Zewde Gebre Sillassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97).

[106]Informants: Zewde Gebre Sellassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97); Mamo Wudineh (Addis Ababa, 06.24.97); Alamu Abebe (Addis Ababa, 04.07.97); Degu Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97); Abate Argeh (Addis Ababa, 06.22.97).

[107]Informant: Zewde Gebre Sillassie (Addis Ababa, 01.02.97). When he was Minister of Justice, Zewde claimed to have proposed the delegation of more power to district (*warada*) and provincial (*awraja*) courts and the cancellation of *sabar sami* (a panel that decides whether a case is worth appealing) and *zufan chilot* courts. He suggested the creation of a circular supreme high court to stop people from coming to Addis Ababa. The proposal was turned down and he was removed subsequently and sent to Somalia as an ambassador.

absorb potential migrants of the region was limited. Furthermore, the frequent wars[109] of the nineteenth century among the northern lords led to the decline of northern towns while conquest of the south diverted trade routes, thus adding to their economic decline.

On the other hand, following Menilek's conquest, towns developed in southern Ethiopia. With the construction of the railway to which southern towns were connected, northern towns became peripheral to the country's economy, leaving them largely dependent on small-scale service and on employment in government administration and services that did not provide many job opportunities for potential migrants.[110] By contrast, southern towns had a self-sustaining dynamic economy centered on Addis Ababa. The north lacked that kind of dynamism and was thus forced to export its people to Addis Ababa and to other southern towns. Their migration added to the ethno-linguistic dimension to the north-south migration since the major ethnic groups involved in the process were the Amhara and the Tigre. In conjunction with the politico-economic dimension of the movement discussed above, most migrants were Amharas, adding to their numerical dominance in Addis Ababa.

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[108]This is also discussed in detail in chapter III.

[109]See Abir (1968), pp. 27-38.

[110]Bahr Dar and Gondar are possible exceptions. The former eventually became the center of the Amhara region with two colleges, and some light industries. The latter was an old and relatively large town with a nursing school and a college for the training of health officers (elevated to a medical college for the training of physicians after the

Yet, in another context, ethnic groups coming from the "most" urbanized provinces are the largest in Addis Ababa. In this respect too, the Amhara provinces are the "most" urbanized and thus have the largest ethnic representation in the capital.

Table 7.4

Proportion of Urban Population in Ethiopia, 1966/7

Province	Percentage of Total	
	Urban Population	Population
NORTH		
Shoa	43.0	16.8
Eritrea	13.8	6.7
Tigray	5.5	9.7
Wallo	5.1	13.2
Begemidir	3.6	5.6
Gojjam	3.6	6.6
SOUTH		
Hararghe	7.9	14.1
Sidamo	4.7	6.4
Wallagga	2.7	6.9
Kafa	2.7	2.9
Arsi	2.1	4.0
Ilu Abba Bora	1.3	2.8
Gamo Gofa	1.1	3.5
Bale	1.0	0.6

Source: Eshetu Chole (1976), pp. 188-189.

In 1966/7 the six northern provinces of Shoa, Eritrea, Tigray, Wallo, Begemidir and Gojjam had a total of 74.6 per cent of the urban and 58.6 per cent of Ethiopia's total population. The southern provinces had an urban population of only 25.4 per cent with a 41.4 per cent of the national population. Among the southern provinces, only Hararghe had a large urban population, even larger than four of the northern provinces

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Revolution).

because it contained the historic city of Harar and Dire Dawa, the latter a fast growing railway, commercial and industrial town.

That the south had a better and sustainable economic base with cash crops and fertile agricultural land, made life relatively easier and discouraged out-migration. As southern towns grew into dynamic economic centers, they also became important destinations for potential out-migrants. In other words, both rural and urban south had the capacity of absorbing their own potential migrants.[111] There were many "intervening opportunities"[112] in the south as migrants might satisfy their needs at intermediate destinations[113] before reaching Addis Ababa. Such "intervening opportunities" were rare for migrants from the north and once they began the movement, they would proceed as far as Addis Ababa. This further upset the ethnic balance in the city.

To sum up, the conquest of the southern provinces in the last two decades of the nineteenth century helped the Amhara to control the political and economic life of the country centered in Addis Ababa. In so

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[111]Informants: Emmanuel Abraham (Addis Ababa, 12.30.96); Tasama Nagari (Addis Ababa, 10.07.89); Tarafa Lubo (Addis Ababa, 07.07.97). See also, A. P. Wood, "The decline of Seasonal Migration to the Coffee Forests of South-West Ethiopia," (n.d.) in ***Economics Miscellanea 8*** (in the IES Library). As a native of the region, I have also observed the situation.

[112]See Lee (1966).

[113]Some of the most important southern towns which are intermediate destinations for migrants before reaching Addis Ababa are Dire Dawa (Shiferaw Bekele, 1989); Shashamanne (Benti, 1988); Awasa (Adugna, 1985); Ghimbi (Lema Tamane, 1986); Jimma (Guluma, 1989); Ambo (Daniel, 1986); Dambi Dollo (Altaye, 1983); Nazareth (Atnafu, 1972); Agaro (Ephrem, 1988).

doing, they facilitated the migration of their fellow Amharas to the city. Their dominance in Addis Ababa significantly influenced the scale and the direction of the migration of their co-ethnics. As Anthony O'Connor stated: "people prefer to move to a city where their own group is well represented rather than to one where they would be a very small minority, and for some only the presence of co-ethnics permits a move."[114] In the case of the Amhara, they were also well protected by the government, another reason to migrate even to towns where their co-ethnics were minority. For all practical reasons, Addis Ababa became a major destination. Other ethnic groups did not only lack such opportunities but conditions discouraged them to migrate to the city.

[114]O'Connor, p. 117.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHALLENGE OF OVERURBANIZATION

Introduction

This Chapter examines the overurbanization of Addis Ababa and the challenges that the city encountered. In this context, overurbanization is conceptualized as a condition resulting from population concentration because of excessive migration. It also connotes a high degree of urbanization and a low level of industrialization and economic growth in the capital, and the resultant inability of the city to provide the necessary services to its inhabitants. Overpopulation led to labor market congestion, and to inadequate school, health, housing and other vital urban services. The result was fierce competition over available resources. Due to its overurbanization and lack of resources, the municipality of Addis Ababa was unable to implement city plans, which had to be readjusted to rapidly changing circumstances.

8.1 The Main Features of Overurbanization

Scholars generally agree that overurbanization is caused by rural-urban migration, and as such is a major problem facing the capitals of third world countries. But there is no holistic model to explain the factors that caused large-scale urban migration to the cities. Some scholars stress the pull caused by the location of industries in the capitals. Others emphasize

rural push caused by demographic factors and pressure on land, factors they hold responsible for rural poverty and mass migration to cities.[1] Some scholars argue that the degree of overurbanization is measured by "the percentage of the economically active males not engaged in agriculture to the percentage of population living in cities of 100,000 or more."[2] In one way or the other, overurbanization can occur even in countries where there is little or no pressure on land, high or low population, and where there is industry or no industry. Moreover, regardless of the severity of the causes, and however difficult life is in the cities, urban income is better than rural income and conditions are generally better for migrants in the cities than in the rural areas.[3] This leads to a constant rural-urban migration and eventually to the overurbanization of third world capitals.[4]

Dependency and world-system scholars have given a broader context

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[1]David R. Kamerschen, "Further Analysis of Overurbanization," in ***Economic Development and Cultural Change***, Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 1969), p. 235. For an excellent review of different perspectives on overurbanization, see N. V. Sovani, "The Analysis of 'Over-Urbanization,'" in ***Economic Development and Cultural Change***, Vol. XII, No. 2 (1964), pp. 113-122. From the perspective of urbanization in Asia, see Bert F. Hoselitz, "Urbanization and Economic Development in Asia," in ***Economic Development and Cultural Change***, Vol. 6, No. 1 (October 1957): 42-54.

[2]Anthony J. La Greca, "Urbanization: A World Perspective," in ***Contemporary Topics in Urban Sociology*** (Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Press, 1977), pp. 42-43. See also, Kingsley Davis and Hilda G. Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas," in ***Economic Development and Cultural Change***, Vol. 3 (1954-1955), pp. 6-26.

[3]Sovani, p. 118.

[4]***Ibid.***, p. 117. For a similar line of argument, see Kamerschen, pp. 235-238; and La Greca, p. 43-44.

to these conventional arguments contending that overurbanization cannot be simply explained only in terms of local factors.[5] These scholars were inspired by Marxism-Leninism and attempted to explain the overurbanization of third world cities from the perspective of the penetration and effects of global capital into third world countries. They began their studies with Latin America and extended their theories to other third world countries.[6] The center of their argument is that overurbanization results from structural relations between world capitalism (core) and the third world countries (peripheries). They contend that overurbanization is one of the manifestations of underdevelopment, and of dependency, caused by colonialism and its associate global capitalism. In the period after the end of colonial rule, multinational corporations maintained this state of dependency.[7] For these scholars, not only the economic growth but also the

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[5]See Terence K. Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein, ***World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*** (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1982); and Terence K. Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein, ***Processes of the World-System*** (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980). Indeed, "world-system" theorists are offshoots of their dependency counterparts. There is no fundamental difference between the two. For an excellent review of the works of the major theorists of dependency and world-system including those of the very famous Immanuel Wallerstein, Johan Galtung and Samir Amin, see Wil Hout, ***Capitalism and the Third World: Development, Dependence and the World System*** (England: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 1993).

[6]Ronald R. Chilcote, "Dependency: A Critical Synthesis of the Literature," in Janet Abu-Lughod and Richard Hay, Jr. (eds.), ***Third World Urbanization*** (New York: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1979), 128-131.

[7]Chilcote, p. 132. For an excellent analysis of the different interpretations of dependency theory in the case of Latin America, see Chilcote, pp. 128-139. For the history of dependency in Africa, see Amin (1979), pp. 140-150. Multinational corporations mostly work in alliance with local forces (the state and local capital). This congruence facilitates the state of dependency and the domination of the periphery by the core. See for example, Peter Evans, ***Dependent Development: The Alliance of***

nature of third world urban growth is a reflection of domination by the core.[8]

Like-minded scholars also argue that the dependent relationship between the core and the peripheries had a profound effect on the process of third world urbanization. Third world capitals became centers for multinational corporations,[9] resulting in what came to be known as *peripheral* or *dependent urbanization.*[10] Dependent urbanization "...connotes the idea of level of urbanization higher than that which can 'normally' be attained, given the level of industrialization."[11] The evolution of primate cities and the concentration of population in them beyond their ability to support are further manifestations of *dependent urbanization.*[12] The process of urbanization in the third world was

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Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979).

[8]Chilcote, pp. 136-140.

[9]Manuel Castells, ***The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*** (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1977), pp. 41-63. See also Saskia Sassen, ***The Global City*** (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991); Stephen Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development," in W. Bhagwati (ed.), ***Economics and World Order*** (New York: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 113-140. I have also tried to explain this point in my article "The Overurbanization of a Metropolis" (1994), p. 516.

[10]Michael Timberlake, "World System Theory and the Study of Urbanization," in Michael Smith and Joe Feagin (eds.), ***The Capitalist City*** (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 37-65; Walton, pp. 120-124; Anthony King, "Colonialism, Urbanism and the Capitalist World Economy," in ***International Journal of Urban and Regional Research***, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1989), pp. 1-18.

[11]Castells, p. 41; See also Hoselitz, p. 44.

[12]Kasarda and Crenshaw, pp. 471-474; Timberlake, pp. 49-55.

dictated by the interest of the core capitalist countries, or it was in response to external factors rather than to internal developments.

In their study of urbanization, Josef Gugler and William G. Flanagan argued that rural-urban migration and overurbanization in West Africa resulted from the concentration of economic opportunities in the cities, thereby causing "urban-rural inequality" and migration of people to towns.[13] To the contrary, some world-system scholars argue that the concentration resulted from rural-urban migration caused by the core's introduction of "capital-intensive agricultural technology" into the rural areas of the periphery focusing on export-oriented cash crops. As it was not labor-intensive, there were not enough jobs for the evicted people.[14] Indeed, there is not much difference between the two arguments, except that the former emphasized the pull factor and the latter the push factor. In both cases, rural-urban migration was caused by the investment of global capital leading to one result, the overpopulation of third world cities. Though not explicitly articulated, rural poverty in relation to opportunities in the cities was an important factor for rural-urban migration, thus causing the state of overurbanization in either case. The inability of the cities to provide jobs and vital urban services to the

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[13]Josef Gugler and William G. Flanagan, ***Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 34.

[14]Kasarda and Crenshaw, pp. 474-477; Walton, pp. 120-121; W. Armstrong and T. McGee, ***Theatres of Accumulation: Studies in Asian and Latin American Urbanization*** (New York: Methuen, 1985), p. 219.

population was a common phenomenon on which all scholars agree.

The question is whether dependency and world-system theories regarding overurbanization universally apply to all third world cities or not. How about countries like Ethiopia, which was not colonized and least affected by the ventures of multinational corporations or global capitalism, and yet have overurbanized cities?

8.2 The Ethiopian Context

Although challenged by European colonialism, which it survived, Ethiopia herself acted as a colonial power since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By conquering numerous peoples in the region, the old Abyssinian kingdom not only succeeded in establishing a large empire but also acted as a core by reducing the conquered regions into its peripheries.[15] Moreover, Ethiopia successfully resisted colonial encroachment both militarily and diplomatically.[16] The defensive nature of the Ethiopian state in the era of colonialism limited the infiltration of large-scale global capital and the establishment of a colonial-type economic and political domination experienced by other African countries.[17]

Ethiopia's involvement in the modern world economy was thus limited

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[15]This is exactly what Chilcote calls "internal colonialism." See Chilcote, p. 134.

[16]See Marcus (1975), chapters VI and VII.

[17]Eshetu Chole, "Constraints to Industrial Development in Ethiopia," in Eshetu Chole, **et.al.** (eds.), ***The Crises of Development Strategies in Eastern Africa*** (New Delhi: UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd., 1990), pp. 244-245.

and began to take shape only in the two decades before the Italian invasion of 1935.[18] Even then, despite Haile Sellassie's initiatives to integrate the country into the world economy, conditions were not ripe enough internally to achieve the desired objective. On the other hand, the country did not have the necessary required capital, technology and infrastructure to compensate for the absence of foreign capital investment. In other words, Ethiopia's political independence did not yield a dynamic economic independence. As Lars Bondestam noted:

> The fact that Ethiopia remained uncolonized for a long period of time puts her in a different position than the rest of Africa relative to the industrialized countries. This constitutional independence implied that foreign economic influence and subsequent economic dependence on Europe were delayed and have therefore not reached the level found in most other African countries.[19]

With the exception of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway, there was no significant foreign capital penetration into Ethiopia in the period before the Italian invasion. "The banking ventures in the first and second decades of the 20th century, mostly dominated by the British and the French, did not provide any sustainable investment in the economy of the country and were met with very little success."[20] Seen from this perspective, then, the railway was, indeed, a development of far reaching consequences both

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[18]Marcus (1970), pp. 559-567.

[19]Bondestam (1975), p. 125.

[20]Lars Bondestam, "Notes on Foreign Investments in Ethiopia," in Carl Widestrand (ed.), ***Multinational Firms in Africa*** (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute for African Studies, 1975), p. 127.

for the economy of the country, and for the growth of Addis Ababa. It handled the greatest proportion of Ethiopia's external trade and facilitated involvement in the world economy. The railway decided Addis Ababa's status as permanent capital and significantly contributed to its becoming a major industrial, distribution and commercial center of the empire, which in time led to its primacy.[21]

The first major foreign capital investment in Ethiopia after WWII was made in the sugar factory, controlled by Dutch company, Handelsvereeninging Amsterdam (HVA), with money borrowed from the International Finance Corporation.[22] Other investments were mainly made in textile factories, which represented Japanese, Indian and Italian interests with a few shares held by Ethiopians.[23] They were located in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Asmara. Although these foreign establishments represented multinational capital and contributed to Ethiopia's dependency on the countries or on the corporations they represented, the degree of its penetration into the country did not fundamentally change the economic landscape of the country.[24] Moreover, they were not export-oriented, as

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[21]For more discussion on this point, see Benti (1994), pp. 517-518.

[22]For an excellent account on post-war foreign investment in Ethiopia, see Duri Mohammed, "Private Foreign Investment in Ethiopia," in ***Journal of Ethiopian Studies***, Vol. VII, No. 2 (July 1967), pp. 53-78; Bondestam (1975), pp. 125-142; Lars Bondestam, "People and Capitalism in the Eastern Highlands of Ethiopia," in ***Journal of Modern African Studies***, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1974), pp. 423-439.

[23]Benti (1994), p. 519.

dependency and world-system theorists generally claim, but were oriented to the substitution of imports. Consequently, as Lars Bondestam noted, the influence of foreign capital "on the broad masses was negligible..."[25]

There are two points worth noting regarding the investment of foreign capital in Ethiopia. First, a large amount of it was invested in the rural agro-industrial projects such as the sugar plantation in the Awash Valley and the sesame plantation at Satit Humara in northwestern Gondar in the early 1970s. Second, in the urban areas, especially in Addis Ababa, it was invested mainly in textile industries and other small-scale factories.[26] The question is: to what extent have these developments induced migration to Addis Ababa and led to the *overurbanization* of the city?

To begin with, in line with the theories of dependency and world-system scholars, the sugar plantations and the other agro-industrial farms in the Awash Valley led to the general eviction of the local people.[27] But, when viewed critically from the perspective of the same theories, the overurbanization of Addis Ababa does not seem to have been caused by the migration of these dislocated people to the city, and thus their theories do not explain this particular case. The plantations were not capital-intensive,

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[24] ***Ibid.***

[25] **Bondestam** (1975), p. 127.

[26] **See Bahru** (1991), p. 194.

[27] **See among others, Bizuwork** (1985).

and thus had the capacity of generating employment for people in the rural areas.[28] The farms pulled potential migrants from different rural areas who would have, presumably, migrated to Addis Ababa or to other towns. The sugar plantations, for instance, took migrants from the densely populated areas of south-central Ethiopia. Accordingly, the Kambata, Hadiya, Sidama, Gurage and Walyita ethnic groups took advantage of the expansion of these plantations. In the north, people from Gondar, Tigray and the adjacent areas of Eritrea migrated to Satit Humara.

In contravention to the theories of dependency and world-system scholars, mechanization in rural Ethiopia perhaps caused more migration from rural areas to the plantations than to Addis Ababa, an important divergence from the theories when it comes to specific cases. Those evicted from the lands taken by the plantations were rather pushed to the periphery,[29] not to the center. They were mixed farmers, and were in transition from pastoral nomadism and farming to a sedentary life. External intrusion and eviction from their lands was a setback to the process of their transformation, and they were forced to step backwards to pastoral nomadism. They fled to unproductive and disease-infested lowlands, and migrants from distant areas took the jobs created on their lands. There was no indication that the evictees migrated to Addis Ababa.

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[28]Beyene (1985); Kloos (1982); and Regassa (1993).

[29]Jason W. Clay and Bonnie K. Holcomb, ***Politics and the Ethiopian Famine,***

Yet, the city was overurbanized due to factors discussed in the preceding chapters. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will address the major challenges and problems that Addis Ababa has encountered as a result of overurbanization and the responses of the government to meet those challenges.

8.3 Government Urban Policy and Overurbanization: Implications for Addis Ababa

There was no clearly defined urban development policy in Ethiopia until 1968. Both the First[30] and the Second Five-Year Plans did not contain any significant urban growth policy. Only achievements of the municipality of Addis Ababa were reported in the latter,[31] including installations, expansions or improvements of basic infrastructures such as the installation of water supply from the Gafarsa River, construction of intra-urban roads, streets, public squares, parks, and children's playgrounds.[32]

It was only in the Third Five-Year Plan (1968-1973)[33] that the government formulated an urban development policy to enhance the growth

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1984-1985 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Red Sea Press, 1986), p. 17.

[30]See ***First Five Year Plan, 1957-1961***.

[31]See ***Second Five Year Plan, 1963-1967 (1955-1959 E.C.)***, pp. 319-320. For the details of the history of the Municipality of Addis Ababa and its achievements, see Koehn (1973); and Eshetu Assen, "History of the Municipality of Addis Ababa, 1910-1941" (B.A. Essay, AAU, Department of History, June 1986).

[32]***Second Five Year Plan***, p. 319.

[33]See ***3rd Five Year Plan, 1968-1973 (1961-1965 E.C)***, pp. 383-385.

of towns in the country. The policy focused on the problems that the three major industrial towns of Addis Ababa, Asmara and Dire Dawa were facing as a result of rural-urban migration. The emphasis was to create a mechanism by which migration to these towns could be checked. Accordingly, the policy proposed the expansion of "new urban growth centres." It stated that:

> At present, whatever has been achieved in economic and social development, and particularly in industry, is mostly concentrated around Addis Ababa, Asmera and very few other cities. This has led too many able-bodied men to leave the countryside to seek employment in these cities. If not checked, this tendency will have grave economic and social consequences for both the cities and the countryside.[34]

The creation of new urban growth centers was thus proposed in response to the alarming circumstances created by rural-urban migration. The importance of urban growth centers was justified as:

> ...providing new job opportunities and cultural attractions...able to retain a portion of those individuals who tend to migrate from the countryside through urban growth centres to the large cities. At the same time a portion of the unemployed will also be retained as economic growth increases opportunities for employment.[35]

The policy also contained the need to create a condition whereby the urban centers and the rural areas could grow interdependently. It called for the decentralization of the existing economic and industrial establishments and their relocation in "well populated regions." Priorities were to be given to regions with resources for agricultural and industrial

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

growth leading to "import substitution."[36] It was hoped that this would create employment opportunities in the rural areas and curtail rural-urban migration.

It must be underlined that the major concern behind this policy was to address the problems facing Addis Ababa as it was then the city which bore the brunt of migration and unemployment. To solve the problem of housing in the city, the plan proposed the construction of 25,000 houses every year and the improvement of urban social services.[37] In order to attract industries and other vital economic establishments to the urban growth centres, the government promised to provide financial support and other related incentives.[38]

Was Ethiopia capable of implementing this plan of creating urban growth centers to ease the pressure on Addis Ababa? The economy of post-war Ethiopia started almost from scratch, with a low budget and consequently a low rate of economic growth, yet with an alarming population increase. With a population estimated at 23 million in 1965, the country's gross domestic product was about birr 3.4 billion (US $1.36 billion), which was approximately US $60 per inhabitant.[39] The economy

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[36] ***Ibid.***, pp. 383-384.

[37] MAA, "Outline of Addis Ababa Municipal Programme in the Third Five Year Plan" (File No. ๗๗1-1, n.d.). It was extracted from the ***3rd Five Year Plan***, (Chapter 28).

[38] ***3rd Five Year Plan***, p. 384.

[39] Pierre Jalèe, ***The Third World in World Economy*** (New York and London:

was based on earnings from agricultural products, insignificant to support the slowly growing industrial sector.[40] In other words, the income which was obtained from both sectors was not enough for the implementation of the newly planned urban growth centers. Consequently, the government was forced to go ahead with the concentration of modern economic activities and social services in Addis Ababa, and the city continued to be a major destination for rural-urban migrants. In a nutshell, the urban development policy introduced in the third FYP was not implemented and concentration of modern economic activities and services in Addis Ababa continued–as did the overpopulation of the city. Despite the efforts that the city government made from time to time to solve the problems of overpopulation, services remained unsatisfactory.

8.4 Population Growth, Urban Land and Overurbanization

As indicated above, overpopulation is one of the most important measurements of overurbanization. Municipal sources indicate that the

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Monthly Review Press, 1969), p. 162. One Ethiopian birr was then US $0.40. The same source indicates that there was a striking difference between Ethiopia and other African countries. Accordingly, the gross national product per inhabitant was US $230 for Algeria, $80 for Angola, $117 for Cameroon, $75 for Zaire (then Congo-Kinshasa, and today the Democratic Republic of Congo), $250 for Ghana, $110 for Guinea, $250 for Ivory Coast, $92 for Kenya, $110 for Madagascar, $175 for Morocco, $65 for Nigeria, $625 for the Republic of South Africa, $194 for Senegal, $250 for Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), $110 for Sudan, $70 for Tanzania, $185 for Tunisia, $83 for Uganda, $155 for Egypt, $220 for Zambia and $60 for Mozambique, the only country that Ethiopia equaled. Jalèe, pp. 159-179.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

population increased by 40 per cent between 1960/1-1966/7,[41] the very period in which the city experienced a high rate of in-migration. The density ranged from 2,500 to as high as 7,000 persons per square kilometer[42] depending on the location of economic activities, and of vital urban services.

The value of land eventually increased with large-scale migration and population concentration. In 1908, a square meter of land was valued at a quarter to one thaler in the market area, and only one-sixteenth of a thaler at the edge of the city. By 1930, it rose respectively to 5-8 thalers and between a half to one thaler.[43] Actually, the price of land was not high as the owners got it free from Menilek and in turn distributed it among their followers. It then passed from father to son. Only with the city's physical expansion and population growth, did owners begin to sell their land to newcomers and to businessmen, a sign of Addis Ababa's transition to a modern city governed by market system. Various municipal sources indicate that the municipality encouraged the sale of land, as it was potentially an important source of revenue. But it did not develop a mechanism of collecting taxes from land sales, and its income from these transactions remained very low.[44]

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[41]MAA, "Outline of Addis Ababa Municipal Programme in the Third Five Year Plan" (File No. ๗๗1-1, n.d.).

[42]"A Survey of Housing...," p. 19.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 18.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 80.

Tax on land ranged from birr 0.00075 to birr 0.10 per square meter.[45] The absence of a legal system to empower the municipality on land issues and the influence of landlords on the emperor through personal relationships led to the overriding of measures taken by the city administration. Consequently, the municipality's major source of revenue remained the business community. Even then, tax evasion was rampant and the lack of experienced and trained staff for effective tax collection worsened the situation.[46] Taking legal actions cost more money and time, while bureaucratic obstacles weakened the municipality's position to discharge its duties and responsibilities. For instance, suing tax evaders required the permission of the emperor at one time. On the occasion of his silver jubilee coronation celebration in 1955, the emperor declared an amnesty on tax evaders.[47] This weakened the financial base of the municipality and made it unable to render efficient service to the population.

In an attempt to increase the income of the Municipality and give as much service as possible to the population, Zewde Gebre Sellassie, the first

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[45] ***Ibid.***

[46] MAA, Gazahegn Gamachu, **et.al.** (all inspectors in the municipality) to Head of Inspection Department (No file number - cover lost, 7.9.46 E.C.). See also, MAA, Addresser (Illegible) to the Director of Urban Land Department (File No. ፯/78, 26.1.52 E.C.).

[47] MAA, Director of Tax Department to Mayor Zewde Balyneh (No file number - cover lost, 05.16.48 E.C.).

well-educated and enlightened mayor of Addis Ababa, asked the emperor for permission to raise the land tax. As the value of land increased with the growth of the town, Zewde correctly argued that the municipality deserved to increase the land tax accordingly.[48] He also proposed a 1.7 per cent tax on 10 percent of the value of land, which was considered profit.[49]

Land was highly concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and the church.[50] A survey in 1965 indicated that 1,768 proprietors owned 58 per cent of the land while 24,590 proprietors had only 7.4 per cent. Government agencies and embassies accounted for 12.7 per cent while the church and the royal establishment respectively owned 12 and 9.9 per cent. Only 65 per cent of the land in Addis Ababa was reported

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[48]MAA, Zewde Gebre Sellassie to His Majesty (File No. ፯/78, May 1951 E.C.).

[49]***Ibid.*** For instance, if the price of a-500 square meter land was estimated at birr 30,000, the 10 per cent profit would be birr 3,000, and the proposed 1.7 per cent municipal tax would be birr 51. In deed, the problems of imposing tax on land and collecting had preoccupied municipal officials throughout the period under discussion. It was only solved in 1975 following the Revolution. See, MAA, Addresser (Illegible) to the Director of Urban Land Department (File No. ፯/78, 26.1.52 E.C.); MAA, "Minute of the Special Committee on Urban Land Assessment and Tax Increase" (File No. ፯/78, 06.04.51 E.C.). For the nationalization of urban land, see Provisional Military Administrative Council, ***Negarit Gazeta,*** 34th Year No. 41, "A Proclamation to Provide for Government Ownership of Urban Lands and Extra Urban Houses," Proclamation No. 47 of 1975 (July 1975).

[50]Of the city's total area of 217 million 890 square meters, the state, churches, mosques, schools and hospitals owned 58 million 830; 158 million 59,700 square meters belonged to private owners numbering less than 50,000; 8.52 million square meters was owned by ten members if the royal family. Ten members of the nobility, 11 high ranking officials, and 20 businessmen possessed respectively 5,334,863, 6,465,004, and 988,361 square meters. Twenty churches and monasteries alone controlled 19,894,218 square meters of the urban land. According to the same source, five individuals and institutions owned 20 per cent of the land in the city. Ministry of Information, ***Yekatit,*** Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 2 (December 1986), p. 14. For the effort made by the Mayor of Addis Ababa to register and tax church land, see MAA, Wolde Mariam Namara to Zewde Gebre Sellassie (File No. ፯/78, 30.2.52 E.C.).

taxable.[51]

The rest of the land belonged to poor owners who could not pay the proposed tax. Nor were they able to develop their lands as recommended by the municipality. In 1958/9, some municipal officials made two recommendations regarding these poor landowners, especially those in the Arada business district. The first was to look into the possibilities of making them build modern houses to rent. The second was to force them to sell the land to developers who could afford building modern houses and paying the proposed tax to the municipality. Yet other officials argued that both poor owners and poor non-owners, living especially in the business district of Arada, who could not maintain the standard sanitation and cleanliness of the area, should be made to pay as high as three times the proposed tax.[52] In effect, this proposal was to evict the poor from the center of the city and lease the land to rich people who could develop it and pay the necessary tax to the municipality.

It was also difficult for the municipality to collect taxes from the church, which controlled a large tract of urban land. By a decree issued in 1921/2, the municipality was empowered to collect taxes from people living on all lands (including church land) within the city. Successive regulations also clearly empowered the municipality to tax all church lands except the

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[51]"A Survey of Housing...," pp. 78-79.

[52]MAA, Berhane Sellassie Bete (vice mayor) to Mayor Zewde Gebre Sellassie on

church compounds. The church earned a huge income from its lands by building and renting houses and collecting fees from people dwelling on its land. The municipality insisted that the church should pay land taxes as it was a constant beneficiary of all types of municipal services.[53] Moreover, exploiting the influence of the church on the government, people who lived on church land evaded remitting land tax to the municipality and when asked to pay, they refused on the ground that they were sending money to the church. The municipality took the case to the emperor, who ruled that the church should pay tax. But the Prime Minister failed to execute the instruction,[54] fearing perhaps antagonizing a politically influential institution.

Landlords evaded their obligations, and although the municipality was legally "empowered" to impose and collect taxes, corruption and the emperor's personal interference made it unable to fully discharge its duties. Thus, its source of income was limited to licensing businesses and motor vehicles and collecting sanitation fees. But this income was insufficient to enable the municipality to render the necessary services to the residents. Even the need to cover the expenses of municipal personnel

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"Urban Land Assessment and Tax Increase" (File No. ፯/78, 04.14.1951 E.C.)

[53]Addresser (illegible) to Lord Mayor of Addis Ababa (File No. ፟/3, 07.09 46 E.C.).

[54]MAA, Addresser (Illegible) to the Director of Urban Land Department (File No. ፯/78, 01.26.52 E.C.); See also, MAA, Wolde Mariam Namara to Zewde Gebre Sellassie (File No. ፯/78, 02.30.52 E.C.).

and of some public works put the municipality in debt throughout the period under discussion.[55]

8.5 Overurbanization and the State of Housing in Addis Ababa

The inadequacy of data makes it difficult to present a full picture of housing in Addis Ababa. But it is obvious that migration to the city and the concentration of people led to an acute housing problem. The 1961 census provides some information in terms of households and density of persons per room.[56] It reported serious overcrowding with a median density of 2.7 persons per room. Only 4.3 per cent of the population had more than one room per person.[57] The following Table shows the breakdown of the density of people per room.

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[55]MAA, Kebede Gebrewold to Zewdie Gebre Hiwot, "Preliminary Report on the Development Plan of Addis Ababa" (by Sub-Committee Considering the "Six Weeks' Report," File No. ๗/78, 01.05.61 G.C.), p. 23.

[56]A household was defined as "a group of people who slept in the same or related quarters [and] who had common arrangements for meals." "A Survey of Housing...," p. 38.

[57]*Ibid.*

Table 8.1

Proportion of Population Living at Specified Densities, 1967

Persons per room	Percent
Less than 1 person	4.3
1-2 persons	27.5
2-3 "	28.1
3-4 "	16.1
4-5 "	9.5
5-6 "	5.6
6-7 "	3.5
7-8 "	2.0
8-9 "	1.1
9-10 "	0.7
10 or more persons	0.9

Source: MAA, "A Survey of Housing...," p. 39.

The data clearly demonstrate that a vast majority of Addis Ababans shared rooms. Accordingly 72.4 per cent of the rooms were occupied by two to five persons, and 23.3 per cent of them by more than six persons. Only 4.3 per cent were inhabited by less than one person. Although the number of houses and living rooms increased in the 1967 census, the density of persons per house also rose due to population increase. The number of one-room houses was reported at 149,439, and the average of persons per house was 4.6 in 1967.[58]

It was not only the shortage of rooms that led to this situation but most people also could not afford having rooms of their own. This is evident from the low quality of houses. According to the 1967 census, 90.4 per cent of the households in Addis Ababa lived in shanties and

[58]MAA (1960 E.C.), pp. 4-5.

squatter settlements.[59] The proliferation of such low-grade dwellings and housing problems resulted from large-scale migration.[60] Consequently, the crowding in the capital increased from 2.7 persons per room in 1961 to 3.9 in 1965[61] and to 4.6 in 1967. About 16 per cent of the population lived in households that shared accommodations with other households.[62]

Although only 189 people were reported homeless, the number of people living under conditions of homelessness was very high. The 1961 survey reported that 8,527 persons or about 2 per cent of the city's population lived in hospital yards, hotels and other places in the city.[63] Due to the cost of construction, even people with jobs were unable to build their own houses and had to live in hotels. In 1975, 49 per cent of the city's residents earned less than birr 100 a month and paid over 30 per cent of it to landlords. According to official statistics, "from the 25,367 lessors in Addis Ababa, 139 individuals and religious institutions used to get 14% of all annual income from house rent." Twenty per cent of the landlords collected 62 per cent of the registered income from house

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[59]Only 4.4 per cent of the households enjoyed houses built from stone, metal or concrete with foundations; 38.7 per cent were constructed from mud with metal roof and foundations; 41.9 per cent from mud walls with metal roof and no foundations while 9.8 per cent were built from mud walls, thatched roofs and with no foundations and 5.2 per cent were not reported. "A Survey of Housing...," p. 41.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 46. For housing conditions in Addis Ababa, see Amos (1960 and 1962).

[61]"A Survey of Housing...," pp. 37-38.

[62]*Ibid.*, p. 38.

[63]"A Survey of Housing...," p. 38. It is very unlikely that only 189 persons were

rent.[64] The shortage of houses increased rents and exposed the renters to the exploitation of landlords.

8.6 Overurbanization and the State of Public Services

Overurbanization led to inadequate public services. Given the precarious financial situation and the pressure on the existing facilities through continuous migration, the city government was unable to provide sufficient public utilities. For instance, as late as 1961, the city did not have municipal sewage facilities, and only parts of the city were served by storm drainage systems. The absence of a human waste disposal system and public toilets was a serious health hazard.[65] People urinated and defecated in open fields.[66] A long report in the 1967 survey of housing in Addis Ababa noted that:

> **A vast majority of the population use dry pit latrines, the residence and other buildings having water flush toilets discharge their waste to septic tanks, and cesspools, or often to storm drains or directly to streams. These methods of human waste disposal result in contamination of adjacent areas and the ground water which leech and flow to the streams and water supply wells. There are no provisions for removal of waste water from most of the businesses and residences. The latrines and other accumulations of waste are often accessible to flies and rodents which...can spread the filth to the population and there is**

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homeless.

[64]Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, Ministry of Information, ***Yekatit***, Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 2 (July 1975), p. 14.

[65]MAA, "Progress Report on the Organisation and Administration of Public Health Services in the Municipality of Addis Ababa" (File No. ፯/78, 1961 E.C.), p. 3. Also the different documents in File No. 100 (2) largely deal with the problems of sanitation and the cleanliness of the city.

[66]MAA, Zewde Gebre Hiwot to Heads of all Municipal Departments (File No. 100 (2), 09.12.60 E.C.).

> extreme promiscuous defecation along the stream banks, in cemeteries and open areas. According to the report there are also large quantities of industrial wastes being discharged into streams. New large buildings, hospitals and other buildings are being forced to construct costly individual systems which do not provide for satisfactory disposal of the wastes and will have to be replaced in a few years. Furthermore, owners of residences and business with septic tanks and cesspools are faced with the continuing expense of having them pumped out...Some of the large buildings are discharging their wastes directly to the streams. Below these discharges people are using the streams for laundry and culinary purposes and cattle drink from the streams.[67]

There was also not enough money to install street lights and water pipes. Fire fighters, ambulances and hearses had trouble getting to their destinations. The police found it difficult to maintain security. People complained that they deserved municipal services as they had dutifully paid their taxes.[68] In some areas, people who had the resources had electric lines and water pipes run to their homes.[69] In other areas, people pooled their resources and labor together and opened roads to attract the

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[67]"A Survey of Housing...," p. 44. Although a big dam was built and pipe water was installed to the city's population in 1944 E.C., it fell short of satisfying its rapidly increasing population. See "ከገፈርሳ እስከ አዲስ አበባ ለሕዝብ ዉኃ ግደያ የተዘረጋዉ ቧንቧ መሥረት" translated as: "The Inauguration of the Extension of Pipe Water for the Public from Gafarsa to Addis Ababa" (no author, Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1944 E.C.).

[68]MAA, 214 petitioners from Takle Haymanot District to Zewdie Gebre Sellassie (File no. ሀ/57, 08.12.50 G.C.). For similar complaints from people of different parts of the city, see, MAA, People living behind Menilek II School to the Office of Makakalagna Warada (File No. መ/329, 11.06.52 E.C.); Residents of Intoto Warada to the Municipality (File No. ከ/129, 11.11.48 E.C.); Residents of Jiru Safar to the Municipality (File No. ጀ/29, 02.19.48 E.C., 06.19.56 E.C.); Residents of Little Akaki to the Municipality (File No. ጎ/25, 07.13.56 E.C.); Residents of Lidata Safar to the Municipality (File No. ለ/57, 06.15.64 E.C.); Residents of Qirqos Area to the Municipality (File No. ቀ/54, 06.30.40 E.C., 01.30.56 E.C.); Residents of Qera Safar to the Municipality (File No.ቀ/21, 12.08.43 E.C.); People living around Trinity Church to the Municipality (File No. ቅ/3, 06.29.46 E.C.); Residents of Jan Meda Area to Mayor Zewde Gebre Sellassie (File No. ከ/1, 04.15.51 E.C.).

[69]MAA, Committee of people of Lideta Warada to Zewde Gebre Hiwot (File No. ለ/57, 05.10.55 E.C.).

support of the municipality to upgrade the roads.[70] Indeed, the municipality was quite aware of the problems and the people's efforts to tackle them. But the "phenomenal growth"[71] of the city demographically and physically made it difficult to cope with the demands of the people. The government's failure was not a matter of neglecting the problems but of insufficient financial resources.

8.7 Health Services

Although most medical establishments were concentrated in Addis Ababa,[72] they were not enough to satisfy the ever increasing population of the city. Even available health facilities did not have adequate drugs, transport services, medical staff and service personnel. As indicated above, the widespread bad sanitation and pollution caused diseases.[73] The poor were the most affected section of the population. In one of its reports in 1968/9, the municipality noted that:

> The poorest urban areas are always the most needy. Yet they are often the areas least served. People with unhealthy housing, no sanitary or drainage facilities, a distant and limited water supply, and an income too low to afford a well-stocked medicine cabinet, are the people who most need to feel the presence of the Municipality's public health

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[70] *Ibid.*

[71] MAA, Abdela Abduraheman (Vice Mayor) to Tekalign Gedamu Minister of State Planning Commission, No. 10, (File No. ፯፻1-1, 1973 G.C.).

[72] For more details on this issue, see chapter IV.

[73] Progress Report on the Organisation and Administration of Public Health Services in the Municipality of Addis Ababa (File No. ፯/78, 1961 E.C.), p. 4; MAA, Tekle Birhan Zena to Ygazu Kidane (File No. 100 (1), 12.23.51 E.C.); Yohannis Walde Gerima to Vice Mayor (File No. 100 (2), 05.19.57 E.C.).

services.[74]

Joblessness and the need for survival led to the expansion of prostitution among migrant women. One study indicated that there were about 60,000 prostitutes in Addis Ababa in the early 1960s. This same study reported that 60 per cent of the women who worked in the bars or sold alcoholic drinks in their houses had sexually transmitted diseases. In a related study of 2,000 pregnant women at Lidata Clinic, 15 and 20 per cent of them respectively had syphilis and gonorrhea. Yet, a majority of the prostitutes avoided going to clinics fearing that they would not get clients.[75]

Indeed, the spread of venereal diseases was not the misfortune of only women in Addis Ababa. A large number of their unmarried clients were migrants and equally responsible for the spread of the diseases.

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[74] ***Ibid.***, p. 5.

[75] Karlefors - Minst 60,000 Prostetueradè i Addis Abeba (No author, n.d., in the IES Library), p. 13. (Translation: The Rev. Josef Nagasa). The seriousness of the rapid expansion of prostitution and the problems it caused to the city, prompted the municipality to make an interesting rersearch to be able to find solutions. But due to financial constraints, neither the municipality nor the government were able to implement the recommendations of the study, among which was creating jobs for the women. For more information on the rising problems of prostitution, see MNCDSA, Zewde Gebre Hiwot to Getahun Tesema (File No. 5, 05.10.57 E.C.); MNCDSA, "Report of the sub committee on Prostitutes, the Jobless, Beggars and the Sick People" (File No. 2.ኩ/ፊ5/7, 06.8. 65 E.C.); MNCDSA, Mulatu Debebe to the Emperor, entitled "A Short Description of Jobless Women and Prostitutes" (No File No., 06.29.64 E.C.). The problem of prostitution in Addis Ababa had, indeed, become a major concern even in the period before the Italian invasion. See ***Birhanina Selam*** (April 2, 1931). For public opinion on the problem of prostitution in Addis Ababa, see an article by a certain Nagash Gebre Mariam, "Zaman Layashashilew," translated as: "Something that does not change with time", ***Addis Zaman*** (08.28.55 E.C.). A copy of the article is also found in MAA, File No. 100(2). For an excellent account on the health of prostitutes in Addis Ababa, see H. Mayer, "Prostitution and venereal Diseases in Addis Ababa" (Addis Ababa: 1962), in ***Pamphlet No. 52*** (in the IES Library)

Strictly speaking, it is difficult to know who infected whom, but the blame has traditionally been put on prostitutes. Although there was a VD clinic in the city, it was committed to treating rather than to educating people to take precautionary measures. The clinic lacked financial resources and trained personnel. Thus, the cyclic nature of the diseases continued, another consequence of Addis Ababa's overurbanization.

8.8 Concluding Remarks

Not withstanding the theories of dependency and world-system, Addis Ababa was *overurbanized* with unemployment,[76] poor sanitation, diseases and inadequate basic services, bad housing, tainted water, lack of electricity, and inadequate public health facilities.

The government realized the seriousness of its problem as far back as the mid-forties, when it employed Sir Patrick Abercrombie to do some city planning. It took 10 years for Abercrombie to come out with a proposal that laid out a scheme to check population growth through the creation of satellite towns. The projection set a uniform annual rate of increase by 4,734 persons. Accordingly, what was estimated at 318,000 in 1956 was projected to be 407,946 in 1975.[77] However, the reality proved to be otherwise. The 1960s and 1970s saw a net 6 per cent or

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[76]For more details on the problems of unemployment, see MNCDSA, Working Paper (1974), p. 4.

[77]"Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Town Plan"; see also Amos, "A Development Plan for Addis Ababa."

50,000 annual rate of increase and in 1974 the total population of the city reached 1,097,600, primarily as a result of migration.[78] Fifty six per cent of the city's population was migrant in 1967,[79] and by 1975 Addis Ababa accounted for one-third of the total urban population of Ethiopia.[80]

Addis Ababa's problems were studied three times in a span of ten years: Abercrombie in 1956, Bolton Hennessy & Partners in 1959, and Architect L. de Marien in 1965.[81] Indeed, one plan followed another before the first one was implemented, and finally none of them saw the intended fruition - hence, a continuous process of overurbanization throughout the period covered by this work.

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[78]Palen (1974), pp. 428-434.

[79]Tekle Mariam W. Michael, p. TW/6.

[80]Koehn and Koehn, pp. 215-241; Palen (1976), pp. 205-224.

[81]For more information on these city planners, see chapter II above.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Migration in pre-colonial Africa was associated, among others, with trade, land colonization, drought, epidemic diseases, and ethnic conflicts.[1] Although destinations depended on circumstances and on the decision of those involved in the movement, people migrated to towns, which were seats of rulers and economic nodes. With the establishment of colonial rule, the movement of people came to be determined largely by the new political economy of colonialism. Accordingly, plantations, mining, commercial and administrative centers[2] became major destinations.

The most important development in Africa following the advent of colonialism was thus the creation of centralized states with fixed political and economic capitals. In spite of the differences in historical experiences from other colonized African countries, by conquering various nations and nationalities to its south, Ethiopia acted as a "colonial" power and shaped the course of migration to its capital in an almost similar way with European colonial powers in their respective colonies. Like European colonial powers, Ethiopia created a major administrative and commercial capital, Addis Ababa, and built a railway that connected her

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[1]Simmons, pp. 17-18.

[2]*Ibid.*

to the world market.

Among major structural factors that influenced migration to African cities were externally oriented colonial development strategy, low agricultural productivity, pressure on land due to population growth[3] and socio-cultural factors. While the effect of the first factor was more or less indirect, all others have significantly induced migration in Ethiopia. Like the capitals of most African countries, the location of modern educational facilities and social services, the concentration of major economic activities and jobs were very important in inducing migration to Ethiopia's capital.

The scope of this dissertation has not allowed making a comparative analysis of migration to Addis Ababa and to its African counter parts. Yet, by providing a case study on one of the fast growing primate cities in Africa, I believe that the dissertation is an addition to the existing literature in the field of migration not only to African capitals but also to other third world cities.

In writing this dissertation, I used two approaches. One is from the perspective of the city and the other is from that of the rural/regional origins. In the former case, I detailed the historical circumstances under which Addis Ababa has emerged and developed into a primate city with emphasis on its dramatic growth between 1941 and 1974. The desire to

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[3] ***Ibid.***, pp. 19-26.

take advantage of the expanding modern economic opportunities and social services created in Addis Ababa in this period led to the migration of a large number of people to the city. Demographic information on Addis Ababa collected from various sources indicate that its population had been showing sharp increases from year to year primarily through migration.

Table 9.1

Estimated, Projected and De Facto Population of Addis Ababa, 1902-1988

Year	Population
1902	40-50,000
1903	50,000
1910	60-70,000
1928	70,000
1938	105,000
1952	400,000
1961	455,470
1962	487,350
1963	521,460
1964	557,970
1965	597,020
1966	638,810
1967	683,530
1968	731,400
1969	782,600
1970	837,400
1971	896,000
1972	958,700
1973	1,025,800
1974	1,097,600
1975	1,174,000
1976	1,257,000
1977	1,345,000
1978	1,439,000
1979	1,539,000
1980	1,647,000
1983	1,782,250
1988	2,128,873

Source: Collected from various sources

From the perspective of the rural origins, I examined such major rural factors as land tenure systems, regional patterns of urbanization, the nature of regional economies, distance from Addis Ababa and population density. The role of these factors in inducing migration to Addis Ababa varied from region to region depending on historical, social, economic and cultural circumstances. Consequently, I followed a comparative approach to investigate the impact of these factors on migration of people from different regions and ethnic groups of Ethiopia. The comparison took the form of a north-south dichotomy based on differences in the history, society and culture of the peoples of the two major geographical divisions of the country.

I have also emphasized the role of the state in the ethnic migration to Addis Ababa because the migration of ethnic groups to Addis Ababa has been influenced more by the mechanisms created by the state and the dominant ethnic group in the city. The two major concepts, the "political-economy of north-south migration" and the "ethno-linguistic dynamics of migration" to Addis Ababa, are thus coined to analyze these mechanisms.

In a nutshell, migration to Addis Ababa could be understood best if treated on a regional comparative basis because Ethiopia is a country divided into two major geo-political regions. In each of theses regions lived different ethnic groups, each with its own history, culture,

language, and social organization. The following table summarizes the major differences between the two regions, which are used in this dissertation to explain the dynamics of migration to Addis Ababa.

Table 9.2

Factors to be considered in the study of migration to Addis Ababa

FACTORS	NORTH	SOUTH
Land tenure	Communal	Private
Land disputes	Rampant	very insignificant
Tenancy	20%	57%
Sharecropping	insignificant	widespread
Roads connecting with AA	good	very few
Urbanization	more urbanized	less urbanized
Economy, urban/rural	service/cereal	commerce/cash crop
Education/expansion	high	low
Population density	high	low
Distance	affected by roads	affected by roads
Urban tradition/ culture	advantage	disadvantage
Rural customs/traditions	flexible	egalitarian
Age difference at marriage	wide	narrow
Marital conditions	loose	intact
Divorce rate	high	low
Prostitution	tolerable	despicable
Religion	predominantly +	predominantly non +
Ethnic groups	Amhara/Tigre	various groups
Social relations	Hierarchical	egalitarian
Number of Migrants	**Very High**	**Very Low**

This dissertation only touched the tip of the iceberg of the history of migration to Addis Ababa. It outlined the major factors and provided a groundwork for further studies on the city relating to consequences of migration. The details have yet to be studied. Migrants' adaptation to urban life, interactions and socialization between the recipient population and the migrants, and between different migrant ethnic groups have yet to be investigated. Relations between migrants at work places, market places, schools, churches, on the streets and at urban

neighborhood associations are worth studying. Conflicts between different ethnic groups in the city, and the mutual transmission of cultures between the migrant and host groups and between the different migrant groups are interesting areas of research. There are always continuities and changes in the very behavior of the migrants in an urban environment. Scholars have to, therefore, look into the flow of urban culture to the rural areas through migrants who continue having relations with their relatives at home on the one hand and the retention of rural culture in an urban setting on the other.

Finally, this work provides a chapter for scholars to examine such important issues as the relationship between urban poverty, migrant survival strategies and urban informal economy. Socially, it provides a background for the study of the relationship between migration to Addis Ababa and the expansion of juvenile delinquency, crime, and prostitution. In a yet broader sense, it helps explore the relationship between language, nationalism and migration within the Ethiopian context.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX IV.1[1]

Employed Persons by Occupation

Occupation	Male	Female	TOTAL
Professional & Technical	15,676	4,114	19,790
Administrative & Managerial	4,035	NA	4,035
Clerical & Related	10,203	7,005	17,208
Sales	30,704	13,202	43,906
Service	42,352	45,732	88,084
Agriculture & Related	3,819	4,433	8,252
Production & Related	74,556	29,357	103,913
Not Classified	22,286	14,466	36,752
TOTAL	203,631	118,309	321,940

Source: CSO, "Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey - Dec. 1976," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (Addis Ababa: August 1977), summarized from Table 1 on page 18.

APPENDIX IV.2

Employed Persons by Industry

Industry	Male	Female	TOTAL
Mining & Quarrying	3,297	244	3,541
Manufacturing	40,289	21,342	61,631
Construction	11,210	1,377	12,587
Trade	2,067	NA	2,067
Transport	5,511	261	5,772
Financing	36,603	25,612	52,215
Service	9,422	473	9,895
Not Classified	95,232	69,000	164,232
TOTAL	203,631	118,309	321,940

Source: CSO, "Addis Ababa Manpower and Housing Sample Survey - Dec. 1976," ***Statistical Bulletin No. 15*** (Addis Ababa: August 1977), summarized from Table 2 on page 19.

[1]The numbering of appendices indicate corresponding chapters.

APPENDIX V.1

Estimated Urban and Rural Population in 1967 by Province (000's)

Province	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population	Percent Urban
Arsi	1,110.8	1,069.4	41.4	3.7
Bale	159.8	139.8	20.0	12.5
Begemidir	1,348.4	1,277.9	70.5	5.2
Eritrea	1,589.4	1,324.1	265.3	16.6
Gamo Gofa	840.5	818.5	22.0	2.6
Gojjam	1,576.1	1,506.3	69.8	4.4
Hararghe	3,341.7	3,189.2	152.5	4.5
Ilu Abba Bora	663.2	637.9	25.3	3.8
Kafa	688.4	635.1	53.3	7.7
Shoa	3,970.3	3,115.4	854.9	21.5
Sidamo	1,521.9	1,430.9	91.0	6.0
Tigray	2,307.3	2,200.4	106.9	4.6
Wallagga	1,429.9	1,376.0	53.9	3.8
Wallo	3,119.7	3,021.1	98.6	3.2
TOTAL	23,667.4	21,742.0	1,925.4	8.0

Source: CSO, ***Statistical Bulletin, No. 1*** (1968) p. 1.

APPENDIX VI.1

Enrollment of Females as Compared with Males in Addis Ababa and Eritrea Government Schools (1955/6-1959/60)

Addis Ababa & Eritrea	Elementary 1-8		Academic Secondary 9-12		Technical and Vocational Secondary I-IV		Higher Education 13-16[2]		GRAND TOTAL		
	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	%
1955/6	33,372	7,909	1,887	203	1,058	151	247	10	36564	8271	22.6
1956/7	42,520	10,150	2,173	254	1,354	210	309	7	46356	10624	22.9
1957/8	44,128	11,534	2,658	273	2,290	727	432	27	49508	12561	25.4
1958/9	47,310	13,443	2,746	313	2,529	880	523	44	53108	14680	27.6
1959/60	56,603	16,945	2,806	356	2,621	861	560	49	62590	18211	29.1

Source: Summarized and computed from MOE, ***Government, Private, Community and Church Schools 1959-1960*** (Addis Ababa, n.d. 1961), p. 1.

[2]All female enrollment in higher education was in Addis Ababa.

APPENDIX VI.2

Enrollment of Females as Compared with Males in the Twelve Provinces in Government Schools (1955/6-1959/60)

Provinces	Elementary 1-8		Academic Secondary 9-12		Technical and Vocational Secondary I-IV		Higher Education 13-16		GRAND TOTAL		
	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	TOTAL	F	%
1955/6	75,996	11,412	210	14	469	37	98	-	76,773	11,463	14.9
1956/7	93,229	14,211	455	14	833	50	157	-	94,674	14,275	15.1
1957/8	106,764	17,493	834	3	955	64	173	-	108,726	17,560	16.2
1958/9	110,695	19,351	1,750	5	1,119	80	237	-	113,801	19,436	17.1
1959/60	113,857	21,426	2,467	42	1,025	55	224	-	117,573	21,523	18.3

Source: Summarized and computed MOE, ***Government, Private, Community and Church Schools 1959-1960*** (Addis Ababa, n.d. 1961), p. 1.

APPENDIX VI.3

Summary of Enrollment of Females Compared to Males in the Empire Total, Addis Ababa and Eritrea 1955/6-1959/60

	1955/6	1956/7	1957/8	1958/9	1959/60	Total
Empire Total (1)	19,736	24,899	30,121	34,116	39,734	148,606
Addis Ababa & Asmara (2)	8,271	10,624	12,561	14,680	18211	64,347
% (2 of 1)	41.91	42.7	41.7	43.0	45.8	43.3

Source: Summarized and computed from MOE, ***Government, Private, Community and Church Schools, 1959-1960*** (Addis Ababa, n.d. 1961), p. 1.

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1.2 Articles in Journals and Conference Proceedings
1.3 Government Publications (E.g. CSO, publications by various ministries and government agencies)

2. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

2.1 Papers and Reports (Anything unpublished like those in NUPI)
2.2 Essays, theses and dissertations

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5. NEWSPAPERS

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March 4, 1926
April 2, 1931

5.2 አዲስ ዘመን (Addis Zaman)

April 17, 1934 E.C.
May 7, 1935 E.C.
May 26, 1935 E.C.
July 17, 1935 E.C.
March 23, 1936 E.C.
December 11, 1936 E.C.
August 28, 1955 E.C.

5.3 የፍቅር ጫዋታ ("Love Play")

March 22, 1989 E.C.
April 6, 1989 E.C.
April 27, 1989 E.C.
April 30, 1989 E.C.
April 7, 1989 E.C.
June 9, 1989 E.C.

6. ARCHIVES

6.1 Municipality of Addis Ababa (MAA)

100 (1)
100 (2)
አ/40
አ/129
ጀ/29
ሀ/57
ሠ/329
ግ/78
ግፓ1-1
አ/1
ቂ/54
ቃ/3
ቄ/21
ት/25
No File No. (cover lost, dated 07.09.46 E.C.)
No File No. (cover lost, dated 05.16.48 E.C.)

6.2 Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs (MNCDSA)

2.አ/ሸ5/7
ጠጉ/36
No File No. (dated 1964 E.C.)
No File No. (dated 03.29.64 E.C.)
52/አ/ሸ6/1-Vol. 1

LIST OF INFORMANTS[1]

The scarcity of written sources made intensive archival research and oral interviews extremely vital. The method of retrieving information from archives is discussed in Chapter I above.

Interviewing knowledgeable people from all walks of life and experiences compensated the deficiencies of other sources. Oral sources were particularly used in chapters dealing with the migration of women and the ethno-linguistic dynamics of migration. Most issues raised in these chapters deal mainly with the fabrics of society, culture, ethnicity and politics which are both delicate and controversial in the sociological and historical discourse.

This necessitated a careful selection of informants. First, informants were picked from different age groups from both migrants and Addis-born. For the former group, migration to Addis Ababa is a living memory and interviewing them is just sharing part of their life experience. Second, informants were selected on the basis of responsibilities they held in the municipal, government or provincial administration. Some of these people were involved in policies affecting the migration of people to Addis Ababa and others with affairs relating to the lives of migrants in the city or policies affecting the planning and development of the city. Young informants in the first category and post-

[1]Unless indicated, the place of interview is Addis Ababa.

1974 officials in the second category are important in providing the continuity of information regarding migration to Addis Ababa. Third, some informants were selected because of their profession. Thus, oral information on prostitution was mainly collected from prostitutes themselves. Although the same information could be obtained from other women and men, the need to secure first hand information for historical authenticity justifies interviewing individuals, who are directly involved in the situation. A similar pattern is followed in selecting informants regarding the migration of people for education and educated migrants.

	Name	Date	Age	Description
1.	Abarash Balcha	06.06.97	55	A housekeeper; came to Addis Ababa as a child with her mother who migrated to the city after divorce.
2.	Abate Argeh	06.22.97	86	A Gojjame patriot in the resistance wars against Italian occupation; Joined *Dajazmatch* Belay Zelek's revolt against Haile Sillassie; captured and exiled following the crushing of the revolt; upon release, he moved to Addis Ababa; very knowledgeable on the migration of patriots to the city in the post-war period.
3.	Abay Zaqusquam	09.07.86	87	A very informative *naftagna* (Shashamanne) who served under different Ethiopian governors of the southern provinces, including the emperor's son-in-law, *Ras* Dasta Damtew, who was governor of Sidamo in the immediate period before the Italian occupation.
4.	Alamu Abebe	04.07.97	73	Sergeant, a Gojjame patriot, fought the Italians during their occupation, entered the capital with the emperor, integrated into the national army; retired.

5.	Alamu Qitessa	01.14.97	82	A Colonel, served as President of the Maccaa Tuulama Self-Help Association formed to promote the social life of the Oromo but indicted for allegedly promoting political interests; some leaders were executed, others imprisoned, and Colonel Alamu was exiled to a remote locality in Gondar for life; set free after the 1974 revolution; now retired.
6.	Alamu Ti'um	06.07.97 06.22.97	64	A retired clerk, came to Addis Ababa to look for his father who came earlier to attend a church conference called by the Patriarch; did not return to Gojjam with his father and remained in the city until today.
7.	Ali Abba Bora	09.24.86	94	An old settler in Shashamanne (Shashamanne) from Jimma; has an extensive knowledge about Ethiopian administration of the southern provinces.
8.	Antenah Chale	06.22.97	46	A teacher who migrated to Addis Ababa to continue his education at a higher level; very knowledgeable on issues relating to migrants seeking education in the city.

9.	Asafa			
	Badhase	05.14.97	69	A Gurage whose father was a soldier in *Dajazmatch* Balcha's (one of Menilek's commanders in the conquest of the southern provinces) army and later settled in Balcha Safar, Addis Ababa, where migrants from Sidamo were concentrated; lived in Addis as a gari (horse-pulled chariot) driver, auto driver and later as a mechanic; retired.
10.	Asnakech			
	Adam	05.05.97	53	
		05.10.97		A migrant from Wallo; married three times the first at 7; began her life as a prostitute, now a bar owner.
11.	Assalafech			
	Warata	05.07.97	58	
		06.07.97		From Wallo, married at 8; escaped and migrated to Dessie (the provincial capital) after 8 years; proceeded to Addis Ababa after 5 years; attracted by the "quality" of life in Addis Ababa as she observed from her friends.

12.	Avedis Terzian	05.23.97 05.27.97	94	An Armenian born in Harar in 1904, moved to Addis Ababa in 1908 with his father who was in the service of the Emperor Menilek. He has a wider knowledge of the history of Addis Ababa where he lived from its early growth to the present.
13.	Balaynash Kenne	05.08.97 05.14.97	30	A housemaid, brought to Addis Ababa by her aunt who was a long time migrant herself.
14.	Bayana Badi	05.06.97 17.06.97	66	Elementary education in Ghimbi, Wallagga; Secondary school in Addis Ababa Menilek II, Teachers' Training Institutes in Addis Ababa and in Harar; Addis Ababa University, LLB; worked for several years as school teacher and director in different schools in Wallagga; elected as member of the imperial parliament in the chamber of deputies, 1965-69; re-elected, 1973-74; following the dissolution of the parliament after the revolution in 1974, he joined the Ministry of Justice and became a judge at different provincial high courts, Supreme Court Judge, President of the Supreme Court, and President of Arbitration and Appeal court for government agencies at the Council of ministers. He retired in

1991. His experiences in the educational system of the country as a teacher and director made him an invaluable informant on the role of education on migration. His participation in the legislative and judiciary bodies of the government also exposed him to wider issues of the country from inside. He was jailed by the current government since December 1997.

15. Bekele Mulugeta — 05.08.97 — 78 — Migrated to Addis Ababa at the age of 12 from northern Shoa; influenced by pioneer migrants; he also wanted to join the army which was easier, and joined the Imperial Body Guard; retired 1965.

16. Berhanu Abebe — 08.09.97 — 65 — A professor of history at Addis Ababa University; educated in France; worked in different capacities under the imperial regime including director of the Haile Sellassie Prize Trust; born and grew up in Addis Ababa and knows almost every aspect of the city's history.

17. Berhe Oquba Giorgis — 09.03.87 — 61 — An Eritrean, first migrated to Awasa, (Shashamanne) the capital of Sidamo, then moved to Shashamanne in 1962 where he opened a shop; a knowledgeable informant on the migration of Eritreans to the southern provinces including Addis Ababa.

18.	Bogale Alamu	06.02.97	50	An unsuccessful Gurage who migrated to Addis Ababa in 1955; lived on casual works and currently a guard; retains his family in his home of origin.
19.	Bulcha Damaqsa	04.22.97	66	A well-educated Oromo from Wallagga; elementary in Wallagga; secondary at Akaki Adventist College, B.A. at University College of Addis Ababa in Economics, and M.A. in Economics at Syracuse, USA; served in different high ranking capacities as vice minister; member of the Board of World Bank; UNDP policy officer in New York; UNDP Resident Representative in Gambia, Nigeria, Tanzania; retired in 1991 and continued to serve as a consultant for the UN on African Affairs; returned to Addis Ababa in 1993; architect and founder of the private Awash International Bank; currently serving as Chief Executive Officer of the bank and Chairman of its Board.
20.	Darartu Gada	05.08.97	45	A housemaid; brought to Addis Ababa by her sister who migrated earlier (chain-family migration).

21. Degu

Argeh	06.22.97	85	Brother of Abate Argeh (see 2); a patriot in the resistance wars; also joined Belay Zeleke's revolt but evaded capture until he was persuaded and granted amnesty, then surrendered and became integrated into the army and moved to Addis Ababa where he settled until now; also as knowledgeable as his brother on the migration of patriots and the Gojjame (people of his province, Gojjam).

22. Demsis

Adefrissew	05.21.97	67	A well-educated (B.A., M.A.) long-time civil servant in different capacities directly or indirectly related to issues/ problems of migration to Addis Ababa; worked as head of various departments in the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs, later as vice-minister; transferred to the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission during the acute famine period in Wallo in 1973/4; returned to the MNCDSA where he worked until his retirement. Currently, he is consultant to the retirees who collect their pensions from the Social Security Authority. His training and positions made him an invaluable informant on migration to Addis Ababa, problems of employment, poverty and welfare that the migrants faced in the city.

23.	Desalegn Makonnin	06.22.97	45	Migrated to Addis Ababa from Gojjam in 1965 to escape his family's decision to force him to marry following his father's death; and fled to Addis to join the army but got a job in a spaghetti factory owned by an ethnic Gojjame.
24.	Desalegn Rahmato	07.02.97	56	A respected scholar, an assistant professor and a senior research fellow at the Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University. He has written extensively on rural development and poverty issues in Ethiopia, which together with oral interview with him, are very pertinent to the explanation of migration of people from rural areas to Addis Ababa.
25.	Duressa Obo (Tullu Ayira, Wallagga)		87	A family friend; a caravan trader, traveled to different parts of western Ethiopia; has a broad knowledge of pre and post-Menilek history of southern Ethiopia; gathered an immense information about the Ethiopian administration of the southern provinces; died, March 1997.

26.	Ebba Babo	06.02.97	68	Migrated to Addis Ababa in 1945 for education, inspired by the letter he got from his migrant friend; completed his education up to college level in the city and worked in various government organizations as chief internal auditor and financial administrator; currently retired.
27.	Ebbiso Timo	09.04.87	48	An Arsi Oromo born in (Shashamanne) (Shashamanne) area. He was mission-educated; very knowledgeable on the political, social, and cultural history of the Arsi before and after the imposition of the imperial administration, and the changes they experienced since then; a one-time member of the imperial parliament, he was a pharmacist by the time of the interview.
28.	Elias Ahmad	01.13.97	38	A Gurage, first migrated to Addis Ababa (Shashamanne) where he lived as a factory worker at Akaki; later migrated to Shashamanne and lived as a shopkeeper; a typical example of migrants to and out of Addis Ababa.

29. Emmanuel Abraham — 12.30.96 — 83 — One of the first graduates of Tafari Makonnin School (established in 1925); served as ambassador to different countries, then as Minister in different capacities in the imperial regime; imprisoned for 10 years; now retired; a devout Christian, Emmanuel has also immensely contributed to the dissemination of the Gospel through active participation in church activities; authored an excellent biography.

30. Fasil Wadajo — 06.02.97 — 67 — Came to Addis Ababa in 1942 for education inspired by his uncle and brother who migrated earlier; completed high school in Addis Ababa, joined the Teacher Training College and became a teacher for 10 years. He later worked in the Ministry of Finance for 22 years, now retired.

31. Fayisa Walde Amanuel — 06.17.97 — 78 — A retired member of the Imperial Body Guard; born in Shoa and migrated to Addis Ababa in 1937; very knowledgeable on many aspects of Addis Ababa's history ever since its foundation.

32. Garamu

Gurmu	06.02.97	65	An Oromo whose relatives were evicted from their ancestral land following the foundation of Addis Ababa; joined the Imperial Body Guard (IBG) but transferred to the army following the attempted coup d'état instigated by the IBG in 1960; later discharged from the army and currently works as a guard.

33. Gebrehanna

Shafo	09.02.87	51	An Oromo from Kofale in Arsi province; (Shashamanne) generation of Oromo evictees from Addis Ababa after the foundation of the city. Has a good memory of the history of the eviction.

34. Gebre Medhin

Simon	07.07.97	45	A university instructor from Tigray, a knowledgeable informant on factors causing migration of people from that province.

35. Girma

Alamu	05.10.97	50	Employee of the Ministry of Finance; migrated to Addis Ababa in search of education and successfully graduated with a diploma from the Commercial College of Addis Ababa; together with his wife (see 72), they helped 9 of their friends migrate (chain migration) to Addis Ababa whom they supported at schools until they got jobs.

36. Haile Mariam

Naga	06.22.97	78	An Orthodox priest from Gondar region; came to Addis Ababa first as a church school student in 1945; returned to his province but occasionally visited Addis; because of poverty, he finally settled in the city where he is living on begging.

37. Itagagn

Izazew	06.15.97	45	First migrated to Gondar at the age of 13 with her mother who moved to the city after divorce; later proceeded to Addis Ababa where she lived on different casual works.

38. John

N.Maraitis	04.05.97 05.12.97	92	A Greek, came to Addis Ababa in 1910; Reuters correspondent in Ethiopia before the Italian invasion; Inspector-General in the Ministry of Posts, Transport and Telecommunications; served as advisor to the Ministry of Finance in the post-war period; currently runs a private business.

39. Kebede

Akale Wold	03.13.97	64	Head of the municipality's technical department (1957-1962); manger of the Ethiopian Petroleum Corporation (1962-1988); retired.

40. Kebede

Sahle	05.13.97	59	An uneducated office man in the Pension and Social Security Authority; migrated to Addis Ababa from northern Shoa due to lack of enough land.

41. Kebede Walde

Giorgis	03.13.97	68	Head of planning department in the municipality; Chief Engineer in the municipality's department of the Ministry of the Interior (1963-1967); served in different capacities in the Ministry of Works and Urban Development (1967-1989); retired.

42. Kuma

Arado	05.12.97	66	Migrated from Salale because of shortage of land; his plan was to proceed to the province of Bale where there is a vast land but decided to remain in Addis to live on daily labor; worked as a guard for 33 years for a German Mission center; currently retired.

43. Malke

Asafaw	06.03.97	48	Janitor from Wallo; married two times, the first at 8; finally migrated to Addis Ababa.

44. Mamo

Wudineh 06.24.97 62 Born in Wallo, he is a talented journalist, author, translator. His multi-dimensional profession brought him into contact with all walks of life, from top to bottom. Mamo is thus, undoubtedly, the source of information and knowledge on many aspects of Ethiopian history.

45. Mahammad

Hussein 05.27.97 68 A guard in the house of Avedis Terzian (see 11 above); a long time Gurage migrant who still retains his family of 8 in the rural areas to maintain the small farmland he owns.

46. Mazgabe

Bayane 06.04.97 40 Janitor; married at the age of 14 to a husband of 30, who was "lazy" and did not care for his marriage; she finally fled to Addis Ababa where she entered into yet two unsuccessful marriages.

47. Mekonnen

Mulat 1990 A French educated Engineer; Interviewed by ***Addis Ababachin*** (see bibliography) in 1990 and used in this work; one of the very few educated people Ethiopia had in urban planning and architecture; served as the head of that department for a long time in the municipality; Mayor of the city after the revolution;

was in charge of the physical changes that the city has undergone for most part of the period under discussion; retired.

48. Malkamu
Oge 05.12.97 48 A Dorze migrant from Gamo Gofa whose migration was inspired by the presence of a community of Dorze weavers in Addis Ababa who helped him adjust to the city life until he found his way; currently employee of the Makane Yesus.

49. Mulu
Rorissa 05.08.97
05.14.97 34 Migrated from the vicinity of the city; victim of tradition, Mulu was kidnapped and married against her will; had a daughter but because the marriage was not based on a "true love," her aunt took her to Addis Ababa where she is living as a housemaid currently.

50. Mulugeta
Yihun 06.07.97 45 An Orthodox priest from Gojjam, migrated to Addis Ababa with his wife due to conflict with her family who did not approve the marriage.

51.	Nagesso Gabi (Shashamanne)	06.09.87	44	An Arsi Oromo migrant in Shashamanne.
52.	Richard Pankhurst	04.21.97	70	A renowned Ethiopicist; wrote on every aspect of Ethiopian history; taught at Addis Ababa University for a long time, and instrumental in the creation of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies for which he was the first director.
53.	Seltene Seyoum	05.10.97	47	An Eritrean educated at Addis Ababa University; very knowledgeable on migration of Eritreans to Addis Ababa; currently teaches at Bahir Dar College of Pedagogy.
54.	Shiferaw Asafa	05.14.97 06.18.97	51	Retired member of the army; could not continue his education at home following the death of his mother and headed for Addis for education; his migration in 1962 was facilitated by his friends who migrated earlier.

55.	Shikur Hussein	05.27.97	72	A Gurage, migrated to Addis Ababa during the Italian occupation; went back to his locality to marry, still retains a family of 7 there who worked on his land; very unsuccessful in Addis Ababa and lives on street hawking.
56.	Taddesse Beyene	05.14.97	53	Came from Adwa to join college after completing high school in his home province, Tigray. Worked as auditor in the Ministry of Water Resources Development; now retired.
57.	Tarafa Lubo	07.07.97	60	A businessman in the center of Addis Ababa (Piazza), originally from Dambi Dollo, Wallagga; well-informed of the land factors of migration to Addis Ababa.
58.	Tasamma Nagari	07.10.89	62	An Oromo from Wallagga; a school teacher; served as member of parliament until 1974, and later as vice-governor of the province of Wallagga; died 1990.
59.	Tekle Haimanot G.Selassie	07.04.97	49	A university instructor, originally from Tigray; well-informed on the history of the region and on factors causing migration of people from that province to Addis Ababa.

60. Tihune Taddesse 06.04.97 26 A young woman from Gonadar, engaged at the age of 6; her mother changed her mind and sent her to Addis Ababa to hide with her aunt.

61. Tirunesh Degifew 06.14.97 30 Sister of Yerom (see 67), migrated to Addis Ababa long after her sister because of difficulties following the death of her parents; first migrated to a small town in Wallo where she was engaged at the age of 6, but the arrangement was dissolved for her fiancé's parents decided to send their son to school. She then migrated to Addis Ababa.

62. Tirunesh Makasha 05.07.97 06.22.97 48 From Wallo, influenced by pioneer migrants, she migrated to Addis Ababa where she married but divorced after three years; began to live "alone" (ዝሙት - prostitute) for survival, and also works as a housekeeper in Ras Hotel.

63. Tsegaye Badhadha 05.23.97 58 Born in the vicinity of Addis Ababa; graduated from Teachers' Training Institute and became an elementary school teacher for 38 years; retired.

64. Tsehay

Teshome	05.14.97	58	Early marriage and divorce, migrated to Addis Ababa from Wallo; inspired by changes she saw in the lives of her friends who migrated to the city earlier.

65. Warkayehu

Geta	06.22.97	37(?)	A Gojjame, migrated to Addis in 1965 to escape forced marriage; had a well-posted friend in a spaghetti factory owned by an ethnic Gojjame where he got a job.

66. Walde Yohannis

Worqneh	05.22.97	55	Came to Addis Ababa through transfer; has a broader knowledge of Ethiopian history; currently auditor in the Commission for Relief and Rehabilitation; co-authored a book on the history of the Oromo .

67. Yerom

Degifew	06.07.97		
	06.14.97	40	Engaged at the age of 8, migrated to Addis Ababa from Wallo before the marriage was effected; stayed with her aunt who settled in the city long before her; lives on janitorial work.

68.	Yeshihareg Zeleke	04.22.97 06.04.97	44	From northern Shoa; married at the age of 14; came to Addis Ababa with her husband who was a government employee (transfer migrants).
69.	Yilma Warqneh	01.21.97	58	Served in different capacities in the Ministry of Education; currently a senior expert.
70.	Yirbab Zemene	01.17.97 06.04.97	33	A bright young woman, migrated from a remote locality in Gondar; married at the age of 7 – fled the marriage to Addis Ababa at 13; works in the Municipality of Addis Ababa.
71.	Yirgedu Degu	06.22.97	53	Daughter of Degu Argeh (see 19), migrated to Addis Ababa with her father when he was transferred to the city as member of the army.

72.	Yitbarek Faqadu	05.12.97	59	From Wallo, abandoned his wife and family and migrated to Addis Ababa because he could not support them due to lack of enough land; joined the army but dismissed after four years because of disciplinary reasons; currently a guard for the Makane Yesus Hostel in Addis Ababa.
73.	Yohannis Huluqa	04.07.97	65	An Oromo migrant from Wallagga; attended school up to grade 3 and migrated to Addis Ababa in 1948 to purse his education; completed high school at Akaki Adventist College; joined the evening program of HSI University College from where he graduated with a diploma; worked in different private companies and government agencies.
74.	Zenebech Bekele	05.10.97	47	An employee of AAU who helped a number of her friends migrate to Addis Ababa.
75.	Zewde G.Hiwot	02.13.97 03.13.97	85	One of the first graduates of the famous Tafari Mekonnin School; served the imperial government in different capacities – ambassador, mayor of Addis Ababa, Minister of the Interior, member of the Crown Council; retired.

76. Zewde

G.Sellassie	01.02.97	69	Member of the Tigray Royal family and related to the family of Haile Sillassie by marriage; served the imperial government in different capacities; Mayor of Addis Ababa; exiled after the revolution; now retired.

77. Zufan

Terefe	05.14.97	46	A housemaid from Wallo, brought to Addis Ababa by her uncle to save her from a projected early marriage at the age of 12.

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