

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion and Recommendation

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#### 5.1 Conclusion

##### 5.1.1 Ethiopia, Homogeneity and Variability on an Internal Scale

The analysis of the characteristics of the population and of migrants in Ethiopia (based on a territorial grid including 105 administrative Zones) reveals the existence of enormous divergences within the country. The first major gap is, as expected, between the rural and urban areas, which differ in many aspects. On closer inspection, it appears that even within each area, either urban or rural, the factors affecting different demographic, ethnic, religious, socio-economic and housing characteristics operate in different ways.

Three factors have been identified in order to describe the variety of situations, which characterise Ethiopia in the mid-'90s.

- a) **Ruralization and Non Attraction Factor**, which expresses the characteristics of the urban-rural dichotomy and those linked to the role of urban areas in attracting migratory flows in the preceding five years.
- b) **An Axis of the Population Age Structure**, which opposed to the demographically younger and the older sub-regions.
- c) **An Axis of the Selection of Migratory Attraction**, interpreted in terms of the capacity to isolate the sub-regions that have a specific attraction for the rural world.

It has been possible to define six major groups of homogeneous areas with respect to these three factors. These groups, which are geographically located, two grouped rural areas (**Lowland and Highland Rural Cluster**), one in the west and the other in the south west of the country, very homogeneous, even morphologically, including 52 of the Zones considered. A cluster reflecting a high **attraction capacity from rural zones** including only five zones (four urban and one rural) dotted somewhat around the western part of the country. Two big urban clusters called Northern and Southern Urban Cluster, including 40 out of the 54 urban zones. Finally, there are the cluster of the **Main Cities**, isolating the urban areas of Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Harar.

In conclusion, the variable characteristics of the zones highlight a more detailed classification of the connotation of urban areas than that of rural areas since they differ greatly from one another, above all in the capacity of attraction and in the age structure. There appears to be little real contrast among the rural areas, which in the analysis are grouped in to two quite large groups, confirming the very homogeneous nature of the agricultural world in Ethiopia.

### 5.1.2 Internal Mobility, Attraction Factors and Areas

The aim of the research work was quite ambitious. It includes analysis of internal mobility in Ethiopia, the delimitation of the main factors active in the attraction areas and the determination of the links among structural indicators and the characteristics of internal mobility. The analysis of internal flows for labour reasons permits a delimitation of seven sub-areas roughly homogeneous considering internal mobility pattern.

- a) **Cluster A**, consists of two south-western areas, Gambella and Bench Maji, very attractive and with low dependency, recording a very high net in-migration rate above all in the rural areas;
- b) **Cluster B**, formed by ten attractive areas, with a very high net in-migration rate and a considerable level of mobility. It includes the three city-regions (Addis Abeba, Harari and Dire Dawa), some areas with at least one town with a population of over 50,000 (Misrak Shewa, Jimma, Sidama and Debubawi Tigray) and other less heavily populated areas (Benishangul and Borena).
- c) **Cluster C**, formed by two areas, Oromiya (Amhara region) and Gedeo, with a net in-migration rate, characterised by intensive migration interchange with the outlying areas and a considerable concentration of dependency.
- d) **Cluster D**, includes five sub-regions, not bordering each other, characterised by very high levels of concentration, attraction and dependency.
- e) **Cluster E**, includes two pairs of areas, rather isolated and with very low dependency (above all in the rural areas).
- f) **Cluster F**, includes eleven areas, nine distributed throughout the country from north to south nearly uninterrupted, and two in the central-southern area. These are not very attractive areas and are characterized by net out-migration rate, which indicates low mobility.
- g) **Cluster G**, formed by six central and adjacent areas may be defined as part of the area of attraction of Addis Ababa, mainly in the rural component.

A consolidated analysis strategy was followed to link the indicators of population with those used to summarise the characteristics of migration in the areas with reference to the origin and destination flows. However, instead of linking each indicator with an objective variable, it was decided to summarise indexes into few significant factors by a Principal Component Analysis. These factors were then used as independent variables in some regression equations. A set of factors that characterized the territorial units called *sub-regions*, emerged from the analysis. The migration attraction, the degree of urbanisation, ageing and several factors related to the ethnic and religious composition of either the population or the migrants flowing to the sub-regions (i.e. ethnic concentration, prevalence of Amhara or Oromo ethnic group) were utilised.

In general, the results could be summarised as follow.

- a) All the factors considered seem to favour the capacity of attraction of an area, except for the factor of ethnic concentration, which acts as an inhibitor of incoming mobility.
- b) The religious factor, with the difference between the Orthodoxies (in the positive part) and Muslims (in the negative part), behaves differently according to the model taken into consideration. The areas (sub-regions) characterised by a mainly Orthodox population are also characterised by a greater migration attraction, except in the case of the flows coming from urban areas where the factor acts in a contrary manner.
- c) The models seem to work better in the case of migrations coming from the more advanced areas of the country, the urban ones.
- d) The model better represents the capacity of attraction of the urban areas.

### **5.1.3 Urbanisation Process, Evidences and Perspectives with Special Reference to Addis Ababa**

Ethiopia is largely under-urbanized, even considering African standards. According to the very recent estimates and projections of the Population Division of the United Nations, around 1975 only 9.5 percent of the population lived in urban areas of at least 2,000 people. For the whole Africa, the percentage was 25.1. Even, if in the last decades and very likely in the next ones, the urbanization rate will be faster in Ethiopia than in Africa. In 2030, the proportion of urban population in the country would be largely lower than in the Continent (35.3 versus 54.5 percent). Still, in 2030, the rural population (83 millions) could almost double the urban one (45 millions).

The difference in the speed of growth is mainly related to the differences in fertility. From 1975-1980 to 1995-2000, the Population Division estimates that the average number of children per woman fell for the total population of Africa from 6.52 to 5.06 and for Ethiopia from 6.81 to only 6.30. Without any doubt, in Ethiopia, one can observe an “excess” fertility, which leads to an “excess” population growth, in spite of a very burdensome high infant mortality rate and low expectation of life.

Urban growth was especially evident in the northern half of Ethiopia, where most of the major towns are located. The period 1967-1975 saw the rapid growth of relatively new urban centers. As a result of the intense and rapid growth of many cities, the weight of Addis Ababa as home of the country’s urban population largely declined starting from 1950. At the middle of the last century, the capital was home to a little bit less than half of the urban population, while at the end, it was home to about 24 percent.

Indeed between 1975 and 1984, the speed of growth of cities and towns was reduced. It became rapid again between 1984 and 1994, but at rates largely smaller than those of the first period. As a result, a new kind of urban system has developed, even around the largest city, where a dense network of smaller cities developed and proved to be more dynamic than the large city itself.

For most of the towns, the one explanation for the decline in growth rates could possibly be the 1975 rural land act, which reduced the rural to urban migration. One more factor could be the socio-economic deterioration of the urban environment, the shortage of housing and lack of jobs, which largely reduced rural-urban and urban-urban movements. Last, but not least, differential allocation of investments for the development of socio-economic activities among the urban areas could have contributed to maintaining the growth rates of some urban towns high as compared with some others. In conclusion, the period 1967-94 saw a very rapid growth of relatively new urban centres, while the growth of old centres was much more modest.

Considering both the pattern of relief and the structure of occupation and looking at a map of Ethiopian, one might observe six “clusters” of cities and towns, developed in some specific, often historical, areas and or along the principal communication roads and the most important infrastructures. These clusters form the backbone of the Ethiopian urban network, a weak backbone, which stretches out to cover hundreds and hundreds of small and tiny towns. It should be noted that in the extensive Ethiopian landscape, vast “urban deserts” exist. What are lacking are true and proper urban systems, made up of small and smallest cities. It can be affirmed that apart from Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and the special regions of Harar, on the one hand and the cluster of cities, on the other, Ethiopia, generally speaking, is a vast “urban desert. This can only be overcome partially by the steep urban population increase estimated by the United Nations for the next thirty years (34 million people, at a rate of 4.7 percent year, one of the highest in the world).

Strong differentials in demographic, social, economic and ethnicity can be observed among the characteristics of the main 18 cities of Ethiopia. Just to give an example, the mean age of resident population, as obtained by the 1994 census, is 20.9 years in Harar and only 11.1 in Arba Minch.

Even, inside Addis Ababa, one can observe strong differentials among the administrative and territorial subdivisions of the city. Concerning population size, the ratio between the smallest and the largest is 1:4.9 for the zones, 1:3.0 for the weredas, and 1:24.8 for the kebeles. The situation of the households testifies a somewhat varied urban morphology, considering old structured areas, social and economic stratification.

The demographic situation of Addis Ababa is certainly destined to be considerably altered in the period from 2000 to 2015, both considering the forecast of the Population Division of the United Nations (an increment of 2.5 million inhabitants) and that of the CSA (an increment of 1.3 million inhabitants). In both cases, the expected population increase is very high.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

### **5.2.1 The Issue of Internal Mobility, Urbanization and Socioeconomic Development**

1. Between 2000 and 2030, the increase of Ethiopian population is expected to be very large, both for urban (from 11 to 45 millions, at a rate of 4.7 percent a year) and rural (from 52 to 83 millions, at a rate of 1.6 percent a year) areas. If these possible 31 m additional people in rural areas remain with a very low level of education and confined to the

traditional agriculture, it is very unlikely that available land can assure even the present so low living standards, unless a sustained rise in farm productivity is reached. To escape from the limitations of peasant agriculture (even considering the 1993 estimates, arable land is only 12 percent of all Ethiopian land), there should be incentives to push poor farmers to make technical advances.

2. The problem is to accommodate both in a proper and in a larger sense, such a large additional number of people in rural areas. The problem is, therefore, to avoid rural poverty and the inadequacies in the provision of services in rural areas, beginning from water supply and sanitation. It has to be stressed, however, following adequate policies, rural-urban linkages can be positive and the extent to which high-value crops can support rising prosperity in rural areas and encourage a more decentralized pattern of urban development.
3. Moreover, since the agricultural sector is so central to the economy, both in terms of employment and its share of GDP, improvements in the sector could inevitably lead to advances in the economy as a whole. The Government may support rural development through road construction, the provision of education and health facilities, in the funding and dissemination of agricultural research. Strengthening macro-economic stability and development must, of course, remain a first rank priority for the Government, but this may be complicated by the economic and political federalism. Research suggests that a federal state tends to be more costly than a unitary one and that this additional cost is exacerbated in poor countries.
4. As peasants prosper, one can expect a more or less huge fall, both in relative and in absolute terms, in the agricultural labor force. As a consequence, expulsion of the labor force from the primary sector and of people from rural areas may create a parallel strong increase in migration pressure both due to internal rural-to-urban and international migration. The labor force supply in all sectors but agriculture should very rapidly increase not only for demographic reasons and the modernization of agriculture, but also due to the rise of the education level, especially for women, and of the GDP per capita. But it is doubtful that the labor force demand in other sectors could grow at the same pace of supply. During the demographic transition and economic transformations, as already happened in almost all countries, these four factors should lead, other things being equal, to a very massive and huge increase of population's propensity to move. For international migrations it could be useful to sign bi-lateral agreements with individual countries and the UE in order to manage flows and assure better conditions to emigrants and their families.
5. The annual change rate of the *urban population* in the next twenty years period could be only slightly minor of the previous one, but in any case, very high, about 5 percent. If one would like to maintain for the new comers, at least the same standards of living of the already existing population, this means that all the resources, financial, economic, administrative, managerial, should increase at the same rate to face a so high change rate. The challenge is to accommodate in the urban areas an additional number of 932 thousand people on average *a year* along a twenty year period;

6. Among the eight proper regions (excluding therefore the two chartered cities, Dire Dawa, and Harar and Addis Ababa region) and 55 Zones, one can find very different situations from an urban point of view, which, obviously, require different urban approaches, evaluations, and policies.
7. The wide Ethiopian “urban desert” should be a main concern for ministries and other specialized agencies, which deal with urban development and, more in general, with development. Without an adequate physiological and managed urban development, it is uneasy to have a rapid economic and social development, which is necessary for the additional 65 million inhabitants expected during the next thirty year period, an increase which could double the current 63 million population. This projection should be valid in the absence, strongly desirable, of further warfare and droughts and in the hypothesis to put under control AIDS epidemics.
8. Rural-urban interactions in terms of “physiological” migration, exchanges and distribution of commodities and services, growth of communication infrastructures should be one of the highest priorities;
9. Efforts should be addressed to
  - manage variability, which represents a further element of complexity in the urban network;
  - monitor accurately and regularly the trends of urban population in order to intervene promptly with dynamic and attentive solutions adopted to Addis Ababa, which is continually changing;
  - assure consistent and continuous investment in education, specially in rural areas where the proportion of population aged 0 to 14 accounts for 46.6 percent;
  - give due consideration to the particular age composition of Addis Ababa population, with a small number of young and elderly people in relation to the population of working age. Such a situation generates a high production and income capacity, as long as, there are high production and occupational levels, which will value this high proportion of working age population;
  - make large and prolonged building investments, which among others, involve good management and town planning.

### **5.2.2 The Issue of Migration Data Collection**

Development in data collection is equally important as socioeconomic development. Socioeconomic data that is characterized by high quality and coverage enables accurate and efficient socioeconomic planning. Non-availability of such data cripples ones attempt to attain set goals and aims. As this paper has attempted to analyze the migration and urbanization situation in Ethiopia, the recommendations in data collection will purely focus in the field of migration and urbanization. Limitations in data pertaining to these two aspects have been

observed during the analysis and this recommendation advises to reduce such limitation if not totally illuminate them.

a) There should be consistency in migration data collection in order to maintain inter regional differentials and inter-census year changes. To meet this end, the “birthplace”, duration of continuous residence “ and “ place of previous residence” information has to be included in every census and surveys. Both place of birth and previous residence should include, besides rural and urban areas, regions zones and weredas as well.

b) Migration data should include inter-wereda and inter-urban movements. Due to the absence of intra-urban or intra-wereda movements, population movements or changes accounting for variations in the distribution of the urban or wereda population among the various size categories of the urban or wereda hierarchy within a given urban center or wereda are not available.

c) Migration data should include de facto and de jure information. In Ethiopia, short-term mobility is extremely important. Villagers come to the city and return to their villages after a week or two. Such people are considered as “visitors” in the census. Any criterion that specifies a definite time period of six months is liable to omission of the short tem movements. Hence, in order to improve the accuracy of migration information and to broaden the coverage of the census in relation to internal migration, it is important to incorporate the de facto approach along with the de jure approach.

e) Migration data should reflect the characteristics of migrants at the time of migration instead of at the time of enumeration. Taking into consideration the fact that migrants are selected group of individuals and this selection takes place before the move actually takes place, the characteristics of migrants, such as age, education, marital status, etc. collected in the census or survey should refer to the situation before migration takes place.

f) The level of analysis of migration data should not be limited at regional or zonal level. It should be at wereda level, since weredas are the lowest administrative units where the socioeconomic planing for every killil starts. In this contest every sampling must allow analysis at wereda level.

f) Sampling units should not be limited at regional or zone level but should, at the minimum, be at wereda level