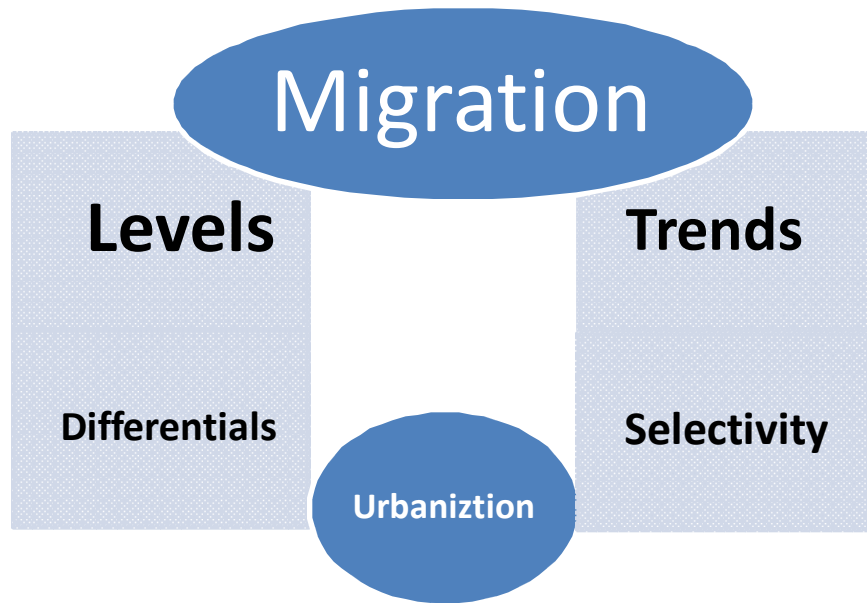


Lesson 9

Migration and Urbanization

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Migration and Urbanization

Introduction

Migration is the third component of population dynamics. The other two – fertility and mortality – have been discussed in the last two chapters. No population projections on a national or sub-national level can give valid results without thorough analysis of migration levels and trends.

Definition [1]:

“Migration is a form of geographic or spatial mobility involving a change of usual residence between clearly defined geographic units. Some changes of residence, however, are temporary or short term, and do not involve changes in usual residence; these are usually excluded from the statistics on migration. They include brief excursions for visiting, vacation, or business, even across national boundaries.”[1]

For analytical purposes, migratory moves are often classified as:

Internal (in-migrant/ out-migrant) vs. international (emigrant/immigrant)

Forced vs. voluntary

Refugees

Individual vs. group

Legal vs. illegal

Migration stream vs. counter-stream

Gross vs. net migration

Return migration vs. lifetime migration

Two related terms often used in the explaining migration are **push** forces/factors, and **pull** forces. Push factors are events and forces in an individuals' life compelling them to leave their usual place of residence, while pull factors relate to the attraction of the planned destination/s.

Migration Rates

The key to obtaining objective rates of any demographic event including migration, fertility, and mortality, is determining the **base population**. In fertility and mortality studies the appropriate bases are the total population of a study area, and females in reproductive ages respectively.

“In calculating rates of migration, though, the choice is less obvious. Most studies addressing this question focus on whether the initial, terminal, or midpoint population (i.e. the origin or destination population, or some average of the two) should be used to calculate migration rates and what adjustments for births, deaths, and migration during the time period should be made to estimate the total number of person-years lived.” [1]

$$m = (M/P) \times k$$

where:

m = the migration rate

M = the number of movers

P = the population at risk

k = a constant, such as 100 or 1000

Hence:

In-migration rate (m_i)

$$m_i = (I/P) \times k$$

Out-migration rate (m_o)

$$M_o = (O/P) \times k$$

Gross migration rate (m_g)

$$M_g = (O + I) \times k$$

Net migration rate (m_n)

$$M_n = (I - O) \times k$$

Where I and O are the number of in-migrants and out-migrants

Intercensal method for the calculation of net migration

$$M_n = (P^1 - P^0) - (B - D)$$

Where:

P^1	Represents the population at the end of the intercensal period
P^0	The population at the beginning of the period
B	The number of births
D	The number of deaths

Sources of data

Sample surveys and censuses are the main source data on migration, with the latter as the most common source of migration data in less developed countries. Ideally, the data will include information on:

- Origins and destinations
- Classification of migrants by single-age groups and sex

- Data on base population sizes and geographic sub-divisions for the calculation of migration rates

Unfortunately, this is rarely achieved in census and sample survey undertakings, and migration statistics in most countries are fraught with errors.

An ideal solution, but beyond the reach of countries such as Ethiopia is vital registration of population movements. In this system, pioneered by Nordic countries “a continuous population register requires every person to transfer his or her record from one local registry office to another when moving” [1]

The main sources of migration data in Ethiopia are the 1964 Household Survey (the first round of several national sample surveys) covering rural Ethiopia only, the 1967 Sample Survey of urban centers, the 1984 and 94 censuses, and the 1999 Labor Force Survey (LFS). [2]

Table 9.1 Types of Data Collected in Ethiopian Surveys and Censuses

1984 Census	1994 Census	1999 Survey
Place of Birth	Duration of continuous residence	Duration of continuous residence
Place of enumeration	Place of previous residence	Place of previous residence
Duration of continuous residence		

Source: [2]

Studies show that there have been gradual improvements in Ethiopia in the quality of migration-specific questions and classifications over time leading to better comparability of results across regions and over time. On the plus side:

“Unlike the 1994 census, the 1999 LFS included weredas, zones and regions in addition to rural and urban areas. This has improved the analysis of migration data significantly. The availability of information on migration at wereda, zonal and regional level has enabled the calculation of in-migration, out-migration and net migration rates. This has paved the way for inter-regional comparisons.” [2]

However, “...the birthplace question was substituted [in 1994] by the “place of previous residence”.... as a result of this inconsistency in information gathering, data on out-migrants was not available in the 1994 census. Because of this gap in data availability, it was not possible to calculate net-migration rates and identify losing or gaining regions”. [2]

Migration in Ethiopia

Historically, four types of migration, all of them internal, have been taking place in Ethiopia.

- I. Movements related to the invasion and settlement of new lands
- II. Phased mass relocations by the Oromo spanning several decades and generations
- III. Individual migrations; rural-rural, rural-urban, and urban-urban.
- IV. More recently, famine-induced out-migrations, and government-sponsored resettlement.

The following paragraph relates to migration types in categories I and II above:

“About 1529 a Muslim Afar-Somali army overran the highlands, and during the 1530s nearly succeeded in destroying the Amhara-Tigray state and Christianity. At almost the same time, the Oromo were in the midst of a decades-long migration from their homeland in the far southern lowlands. The Oromo moved north through the southern highlands, bypassing the Sidama on the west, and into the central highlands, where they settled in the center and west on land, some of which had formerly belonged to the Amhara”. [3]

Blessing Uchenna Mberu (2005) contends that, to this day, “...population movement in Ethiopia is substantial” despite its low level of socio-economic development [4]. Given many authors’ and researchers’ argument that migration is the prime catalyst driving development [5], Ethiopia’s under-development might in part be the result of insufficient migratory moves.

Evidence suggests that internal migration can play an important role in *poverty reduction* and economic development; internal migration should therefore not be controlled or actively discouraged. Policy should instead concern itself with ways of maximising the potential benefits of migration to the individual concerned and society at large. While there have been few formal efforts to estimate the economic contribution of migrant labour, it is evident that many developing countries would probably not have had the roads, buildings, manufacturing and trade centres that they have today had it not been for migration. By not acknowledging the vast role played by migrant labour in driving agricultural and industrial growth, governments escape the responsibility of providing basic services to millions of poor people who are currently bearing the costs of moving labour to locations where it is needed most. [5]

It is being reported, however, that Ethiopia’s current land policy is hampering migration through tenure insecurity and lack of guarantees that a returning peasant will have unaltered use rights over land left behind [6]. Desalegn Rahmeto (quoted in [6]) has put forth a strong argument that in Ethiopia:

“The land system has discouraged peasant mobility and trapped the population in the rural areas.... Improvements in livelihoods are impossible unless a considerable portion of this population is released from the land and moves out of the rural areas. ... The greater mobility of peasants out of agriculture will stimulate the greater mobility of land. Land

will be able to move “freely” from those who cannot use it efficiently to those who can. ...The destination of a mobile peasantry will be the urban areas.”

The authors of a recent article on international migration agree with Desalgn. They view migration as “.... an important livelihood strategy for poor groups across the world and not just a response to shocks”. [7] They also report that “...despite overwhelming evidence that internal migration can lead to the accumulation of household wealth as well as positive changes in both sending and receiving areas, it continues to be viewed as an economically, socially and politically destabilizing process by policy makers, bureaucrats, academics and even NGOs”. In their view, “...one reason is that migration is an administrative and legislative nightmare: it crosses physical and departmental boundaries confusing rigid institutions that are not used to cooperating with each other”. [7] Tesfaye Teklu whose synthesis of existing migration data is broad and comprehensive revealed, among other things, that “distant migration as a way to maximize income across seasons and cope with food shortage has a long history” in Ethiopia.

Pankhurst and Tadele [8] identify four migratory phases in Ethiopia, most of them in the twentieth century and stretching into the current decade:

I. From Menelik 1887- Italian Occupation 1941

Includes a) southward expansion of the territorial limits of the country and formation of outposts and garrison towns which acted as magnets drawing peasants from the surrounding countryside, b) the founding of Addis Ababa in 1888 and the attendant influx of rural-urban migrants as well as construction laborers, c) Italian occupation (1935 – 41) which accelerated and further intensified rural to urban migration, and d), the building of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway line and the attendant acceleration of movement across the Rift Valley to central Ethiopia leading to the proliferation of new towns linearly astride the railway line.

II. Post Liberation (1941 – 74)

This phase includes further acceleration of rural to urban migration (predominantly long-term migrations) in response to new stimuli including the reach further into the interior, of new highways, urban zoning efforts delimiting commercial and industrial sections, commercial agriculture run by hired labor, increased mobility of civil servants, and a further influx of domestic and sex workers into urban centers.

III. Socialist ,Derg Period (1974-91)

The socialist system under the military rule of Mengistu Hailameriam is noted by Pankurst and Tadele for its destabilizing impacts on society. Some of its policies forced people out – land confiscation, red terror, e.t.c. - while others placed serious impediments on movement – check-points, pass systems, e.t.c. Most important from the point of view of mass dislocations and

migration were its villagization schemes involving millions of peasants, and the botched resettlement of draught/famine victims from the North to the South and West.

IV. The current EPRDF- period (1991-to present).

The government now in power has adapted a federal system with ethnic-based regions. Coupled with the lack of tenure security over rural land as well as frequent redistribution of land, the federal system may have curtailed movement across regional boundaries and into cities and towns despite continued rise in rural landlessness, environmental push factors, and increased attraction of urban destinations. However, Alula and Tadele argue that rural to urban migration, seasonal and long-term, increased during this period despite these impediments.

A unique migration-gender-health-specific survey was conducted recently in five regions of Ethiopia as a team effort. The team members were the Demographic Training and Research Center (DTRC), Institute of Development Research (IDR) and the Population Studies and Training Center, Brown University (USA). Five regions were selected - Oromia, Amhara, Tigray, SNNP, and Addis Ababa – and “data on migrant status, living conditions in the household and the demographic characteristics of respondents were collected using the household questionnaire” [4]. Blessing Uchenna Mberu’s [4] multivariate analysis of the data revealed, among other things, the high levels of internal migration and return migrations. The resilience of the peasantry is noted in the fact that substantial return migration is taking place all over the country “despite the push factors associated with environmental degradation, famine, and war...” [4]. Return migration has also been linked to the 1991 change of government and the administrative reconstitution of the country along ethnic lines which involved “... the political restructuring of the country into new regional federal states according to ethnic and linguistic composition. This new policy aimed at achieving ethnic equality, resulted in massive return migration from resettled communities in the southern parts of the country to the north and the urban centers, particularly during 1991-93.

Assessment of the post-1991 period sheds some light into government policies that may have had significant bearings on the migration process [4]:

- There were significant living condition improvements for both long- and short-term migrants as opposed to non migrants
- The improvements were driven primarily by the differential educational advantage of migrants compared to natives, and access to non-agricultural sources of income especially for long-term migrants
- Stable urban residence with access to non-agricultural employment is key to success in improving one’s living conditions
- Due to relatively low population densities Oromiya is the most prosperous of all regional states and Tigray is in second place due, largely, to “...political patronage and investment in the region since the coming to power in 1991 of the current government led by the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front”. With 76 percent of its population classified as destitute Amhara is the region most vulnerable to poverty, food insecurity, and future waves of out-migration on a major scale.

- There was a statistically significant advantage of female-headed migrant households over male-headed households (this came as a surprise)
- Government reliance on resettlement in which complete dependence on agriculture in one location is transferred to another location with the same level of dependence on agriculture will not have the desired outcome of bettering the living conditions of peasants. Rather it will aggravate their suffering.

The last point is clearly elucidated in these concluding remarks by the author:

“Following the government voluntary and involuntary resettlement initiatives of the 1980s and attendant conflicts and clashes ... those who moved were likely the marginally embedded in the social and economic structures of origin communities, lacking location-specific incentives to stay. Furthermore, the creation of new federated regions based on ethnic nationalities in the early 1990s resulted in massive return migration to places of origin, thus exposing returnees to the same push factors that most likely prompted their initial outward migration. To the extent that government policies generated out-migration to settlements in the south and south western Ethiopia in the 1980s and return migrants to northern origins following policy change in the 1990s, it may be valid to suggest from the result of this study that Ethiopian governments succeeded not only in engendering stress migration but also [in] reinforcing poor living outcomes” [4]

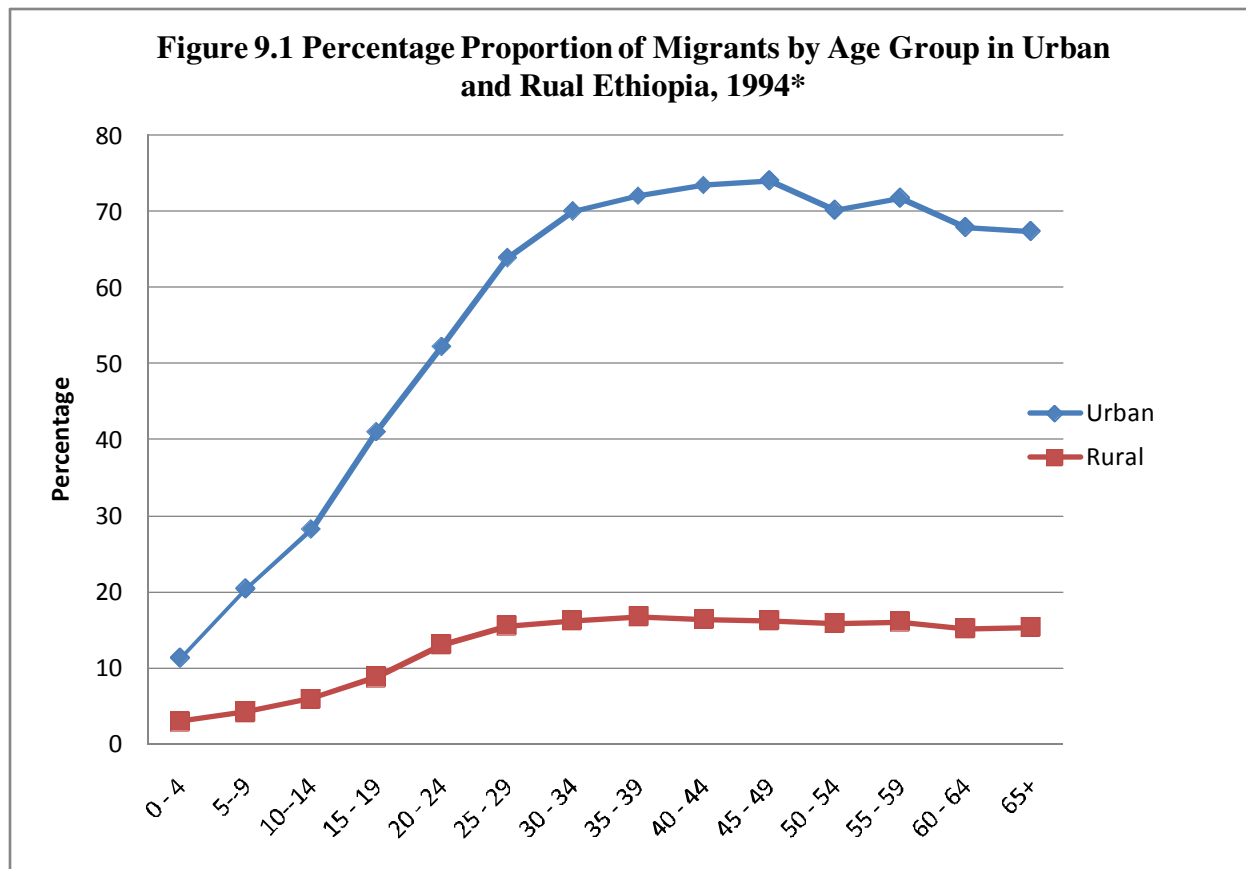
Migrant Selectivity

Migration is not a random event; it is selective of the most able, or most capable, most desperate, most pressed, most informed, most to gain, etc. members of society. It is also age and sex selective.

Age Selectivity

Figure 9.1 is based on a nation-wide census. It is possible for babies, toddlers and other youngsters to be represented significantly in a local migration involving entire families, but not for the entire population in a national census. The percentage of rural migrants by age group remains very low until about age seventeen and a half (the average age of the 15 – 19 group) where it reaches almost double digits. It reaches 13 percent in the 20 – 24 group and plateaus at about 16 percent where it stays through the age groups of 25 – 29, 30 – 34, 35 – 39, 40 – 44, 45 – 49, 50 – 54, 55 – 59 and drops slightly in the 60 – 64 and 65+ age groups. Nationally, 9.6 per cent of the population (6,917,000 people in) did not live at their usual place of residence at the time of the 1994 census. We will soon discover if these percentages, or the age-specific percentages shown in figure 9.1, have changed between 1994 and 2007 when the results of the 2007 national population census are announced. The numbers will be higher for sure due to an increase in population size (of both migrants and non-migrants) but the percentages won't necessarily rise or fall unless the proportion of migrants nationally or by age group goes up or

down. It is also very likely that the shape of the curve in Figure 9.1 will remain more or less unaltered.



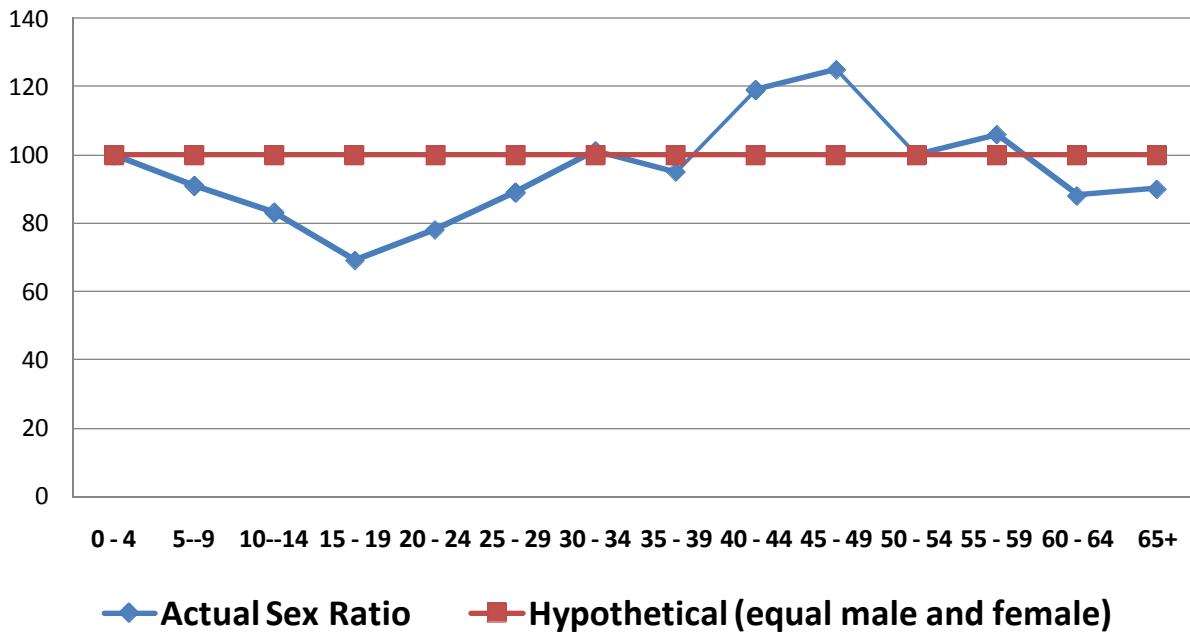
Source: Based on [9] * Excludes Somali and Afar

The picture is very different for migrant proportions by age in urban areas. The percentages shoot up from an early age reaching double digits in the first (0 – 4) age group, and then rises sharply to cover half of the population in the 20 – 24 group. It then continues to rise to the peak ages of 40 to 44 where it covers three-fourths of the urban population in that age group. Since most urban areas in Ethiopia became urban with their population sizes reaching the threshold limit of 2000 in the second half of the twentieth century, the percentages increase with age and then stabilize rather than decline. This would not be the case in mature towns and cities of Western Europe, for instance, where the great majority of the population in the middle and older age groups are “native-born” city-dwellers and proportionately higher percentages of the young are immigrants.

Sex Selectivity

Fig. 9.2 is based on data for urban migrants only. On a national level there are more female than male migrants in most (not all) age groups. Sex ratio of 100 represents an even balance between the sexes (the red line), with ratios below representing a predominantly feminine population. Ratios above 100 show masculinity. The urban migrant sex composition remains feminine until about age 40 after which a slight male dominance is observed only to be reversed after age 50. The most feminine age groups are in early adulthood ages of 15 – 19 (69 males per 100 females) and 20 – 24 (78 males per 100 females) due, obviously, to differentially high female in-migration into urban areas of youngsters in their late teens and early twenties. The sex ratios are also impacted by differential return-migrations that often vary with age.

Fig. 9.2 Sex Ratio of All Urban Migrants by Age Group , 1994*



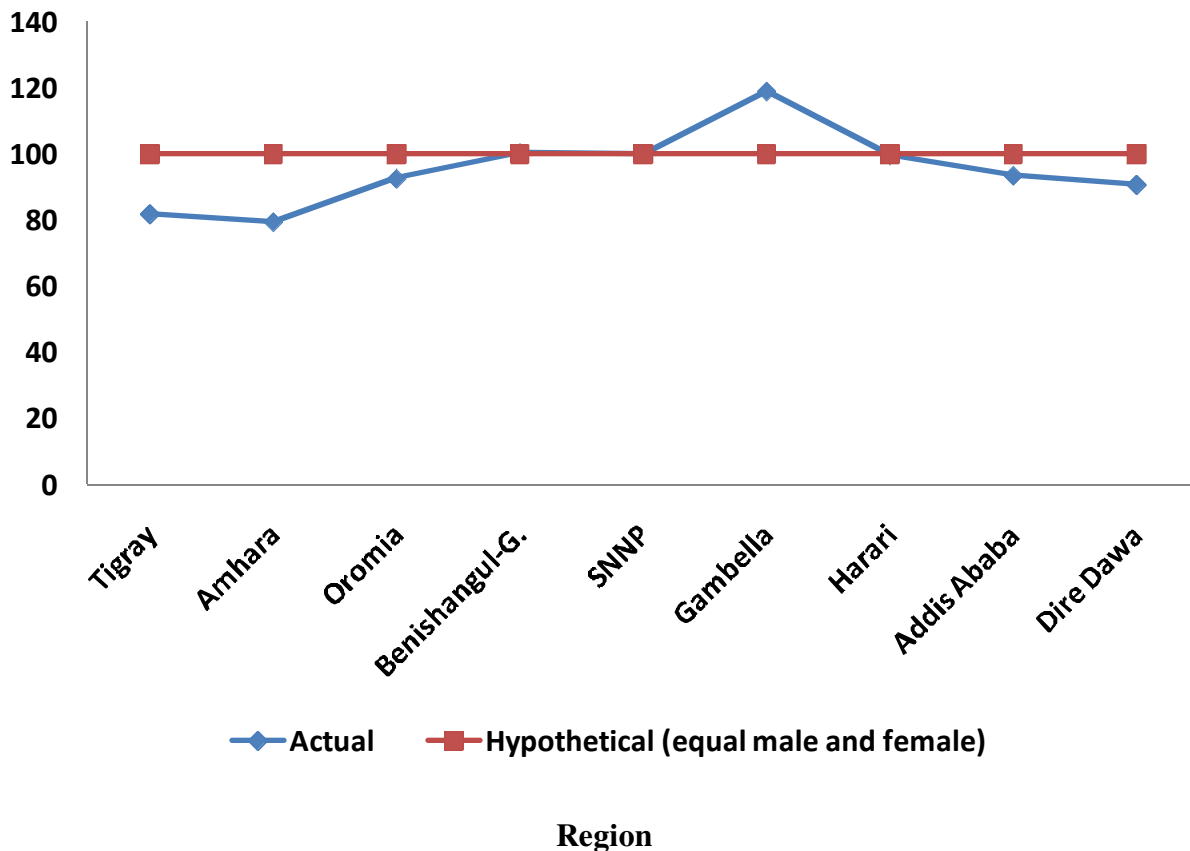
Age Group

Source: [9] * Excludes Somali and Afar

In Figure 9.3 a different classification is considered in which the sex ratio of migrants in urban destinations of the various regions is considered. Gambella being a frontier Regional State stands out as the most masculine of all regions with a sex ratio of 119 (males per 100 female), while urban Tigray (82) and Amhara (80) come off as the most feminine. These are, of course,

averages for the entire urban population of all of the cities within a region, and mask the variations in sex ratios within the same region from one town to another, from one city to another, and from one age group to another.

Fig. 9.3 Sex Ratio of Migrants in Urban Centers by Region. 1994.



Source: [9]

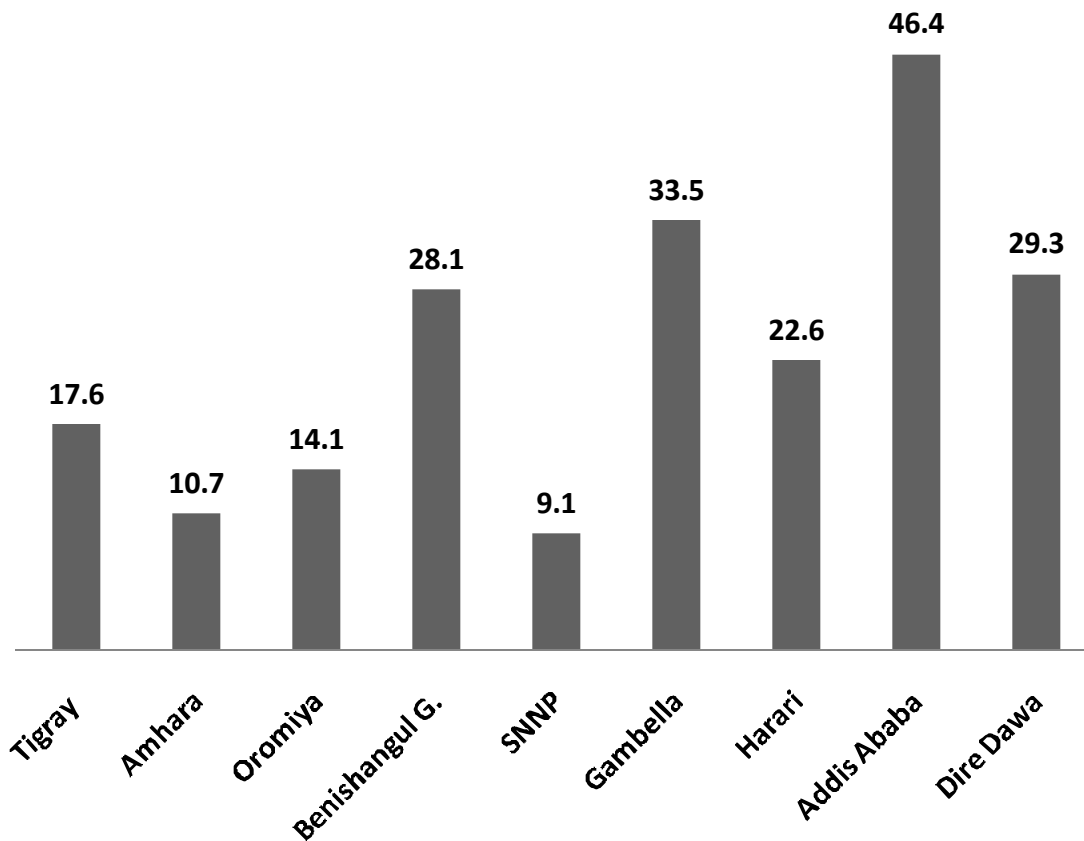
Proportion of Migrants in Regional States:

Some regions have greater proportion of migrants than others (Fig. 9.4). Is this because they have been migrant friendly, offering better adaptation potential or services upon arrival? Did/do they have greater attractiveness to migrants than do other regions? Are they better known to would be migrants? The data source used to plot Figure 9.4 does not answer any of these questions but if the numerical dominance of migrants relative to natives is the sole determinant of whether or not the answer to all of the questions above should be a “yes”, Addis Ababa would have the highest rating followed by Gambella, benishangul-Gumuz, and Dire Dawa. It is not

surprising at all that Addis Ababa tops all other regions; it is the capital. Capital cities are the strongest magnets in all regions of the developing world drawing on a migrant pool of labor from sources near and far in the deep countryside.

The southern region of SNNP has the least percentage of migrants. Percentages are used (rather than actual numbers) because the data is about a decade old. The 2007 census is likely to produce results that are very different in terms of actual numbers of migrants and non-migrants, but somewhat similar proportions as those shown in Fig. 9.4 unless drastic changes have taken place in the causes and directions of out-migration to locations within or outside of a region of birth.

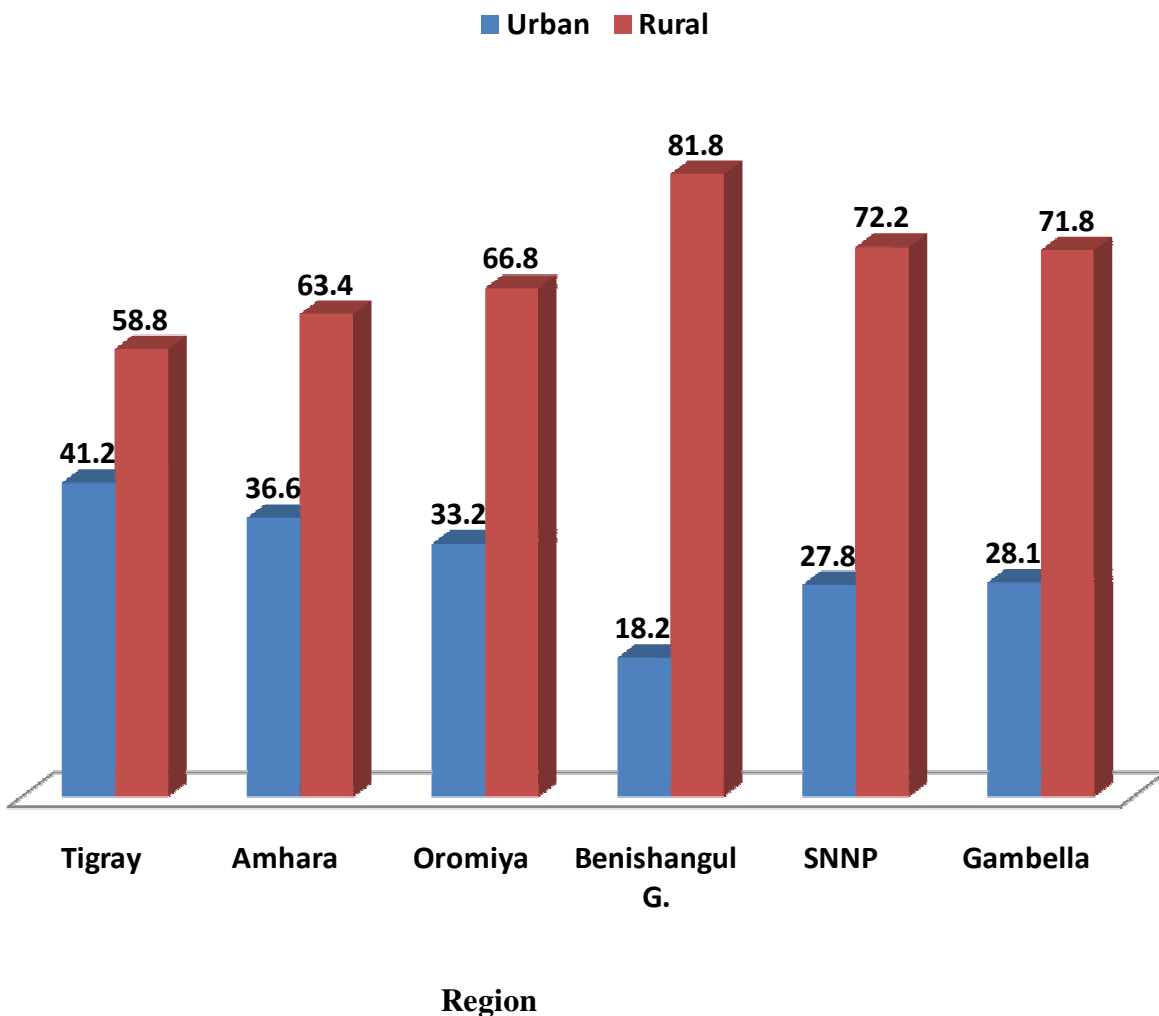
Fig. 9.4 Percentage of Migrants in a Population by Region. 1994



Another question not readily answered in Figures 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4 is: “where did the migrants come from”? Unfortunately, the second national census did not ask that question or provide alternative ways of arriving at an answer. It does, however, answer the question of whether they settle in urban or rural destinations within the region chosen as a new home.

The easiest classification of destinations within a region would be urban vs. rural. Reports of the second Ethiopian census results classified migration data based on a migrants’ place of residence at the time of enumeration. The results, shown in Fig. 9.4 reveal that the majority of migrants settle in rural destination (the predominantly urban regions of Addis Ababa, Harari, and Dire Dawa are excluded). The census did not solicit or gather information on migrant origins. However, it is not illogical to assume that the migrants who settled in rural Ethiopia in larger numbers than in urban destinations, also originated in rural Ethiopia.

Fig. 9.4 Percentage of Migrants by Urban vs. Rural Destination within a Region



Source: [9]

The proportion of migrants settling in rural destinations ranged from three-fifths (Tigray) to four-fifths (Benishangul). These migrants, most likely, originated in rural locations and have traded an agrarian life in one part of the country or region for a similar profession elsewhere but, surely, not without reason. Most of these migrations are voluntary the individuals involved are driven by a set of rational decisions regarding the benefits (whether perceived or real), of moving to a new location.

Urbanization in Ethiopia

Like in the rest of the developing world, Migration has been the main engine driving urban population dynamics in Ethiopia contributing far greater percentages to the annual growth rates than the annual balance between births and deaths. It supplies and replenishes the towns and cities of the country with new waves of able-bodied men and women primarily from rural origins. Ethiopian historical studies suggest that this process has been in play for two millennia. Addis Ababa the capital, just over a century old “... is only the last in a long succession of capital cities dating back to the first century B.C.” [10]

The capital has shifted every few centuries over the past two-thousand years along with the nomadic people of the Amharic and Somali plateaus. The Pre-Christian city of Axum was followed as capital by Lalibela, Gorgora, Gondar and Mekele, all of which are located in northern Ethiopia ... The primary reason for the continuing relocation of capitals was exhaustion of wood resources for fuel and construction. New capitals were prosperous for several decades until the sparse forests around the city became depleted. Each capital went through a stage of decline and was finally abandoned in favor of a new site.

Despite the long history, Ethiopia remains under-urbanized, even by African standards. Only 17 percent of its population (13,225,000, in 2008) lives in urban areas. [11]. One shouldn't be misled, however, into thinking that low urbanization here meant fewer problems. The majority of living quarters in most cities and towns of the country are nothing more than slums that have mushroomed overnight as people flocking to cities found it impossible to find descent accommodations upon arrival. Homeless International's study of slums in Addis Ababa [12] has characterized the city as “...nothing but a gigantic slum interspersed with modern high-rise buildings and a few affluent neighborhoods”. With the second largest population in Africa, Ethiopia's low percentage of the urban population share is still high (more than 13 million people) and represents a number far beyond its capacity to serve, educate, employ, feed, house, or entertain.

In a recent study of sample urban enumeration areas “... 59 percent of enumeration areas are classified as slum settlements, i.e., in 59 percent of the enumeration areas at least 80 percent of the population has some basic needs unmet with respect to their living conditions”. In addition, “a significant difference is found in the prevalence of slum settlements across the urban spectrum: 66 percent of the enumeration areas are classified as slum settlements in small/medium towns, compared to 47 percent in major towns”. These results are consistent with other studies in which “...even cities as large as Addis Ababa display very integrated residential structures where the poor live side-by-side with the non-poor” [13]. The following are among the other findings of the study:

- The proportion of the population living in slum-like conditions reaches 75 per cent when loose criteria are adopted signifying that 75 percent of the population faces some form of nonmonetary deprivation “...while only a small percentage suffers from multiple forms of deprivation”
- Slum settlements, as defined by “spatial concentration of people living in slum-like conditions”, are more widespread in small urban centers than in major towns.
- A 2002 estimate puts the proportion of the urban and rural populations with access to improved water supply at 81 and 11 percent respectively. Overall, greater proportions of the population in major urban centers have a better access to clean water than smaller towns. Moreover, inequality of access persists between the lowest and highest wealth quintiles (25 percent) where access by the latter group is twice as high as in the poorest quintile.
- It is estimated that half of the urban population does not have access to improved sanitary services. There is also a difference by wealth quintiles. “Only 35 percent of the poorest quintiles has access to improved sanitation, against 57 percent of the wealthiest quintile”
- The seven major urban areas with a population of 100,000 account for 35% of the urban population. Addis Ababa alone has 25% of the total urban population, and is 14 times bigger than the second largest urban center – Dire Dawa. The remaining 65% lives in small and medium-sized towns.
- “Deepening urban poverty is accompanied by rising urban inequality. The Gini coefficient paints Ethiopia as an equal, but equally poor society” [13].

Poverty and Urban Unemployment:

With low economic base and declining per-capita gross national product (Ethiopia’s GNP = US\$100), the urban economic environment has yielded little by way of gainful employment and social progress. The endemic draught and famine besetting the peasantry for over three decades, rapid population growth, and wars of cessation have worsened the picture by driving unemployed young farmers off their land and forcing them to join the ranks of the urban homeless and unemployed. The 1999 Labor Force Survey estimated the population in the economically active age group at 27 million. It estimated the proportion of the unemployed at 8.2 percent nationally and 25.7 percent in urban areas [14]. Youth unemployment rate is much higher. “Ethiopia has one of the highest urban unemployment rates worldwide, at about 50 per

cent of the youth labour force” [15] The average for Sub-Saharan Africa is 18.4 percent. The reasons cited for such a sad state of youth employment in Ethiopia include the strains placed on the urban as well as national economy by [15]:

- Past wars
- Government policy
- Draught and its socio-economic impacts
- Low level of education and lack of skills (the proportion of the illiterate youth population was 62 per cent in 1999)
- Lack of investment, and
- “The absence of youth in decision making or implementation of policies affecting them”

The factors above are, at once, the causes and consequences of poverty, indicating that both urban and rural Ethiopia, are in the grip of a vicious circle of a restless and self-perpetuating poverty syndrome. “Poverty and urbanization are interconnected and multidimensional.” [16] Urban poverty is exacerbated by the accelerated rate of arrivals from the countryside and slow absorption into the labor market. Addis Ababa, for instance, “... took 90 years to reach a population of 1 million but only 30 years to triple and exceed 3 million. Currently the population of the city is estimated to be 4 million increasing at a rate of nearly 8% per annum and lives “... in 527,800 housing units with an average density of 6 persons per household”. It is one of the least developed cities in Africa, and “the accumulated housing backlog needs the construction of 300,000 units while 60,000 units per annum are needed to accommodate the 8% increasing population”. [16]

A study conducted to implement the MDG has found that more than 80% of the city’s population is living in slums which are characterized by overcrowded neighborhoods with no or little basic infrastructure and municipal services, worn out physical structures, under unhygienic conditions lacking safe drinking water and sewage, sprawling informal settlements in disaster prone areas, illegal land occupation and absence of tenure security, high rate of HIV/AIDS, high rate of unemployment and informal economy being vulnerable to all kinds of risks. [16]

Lack of housing and in-migration of under-age children has created an emergency-level crisis involving homeless street-children. There are an estimated 100,000 street children in Addis Ababa alone, one quarter of them girls, and “the ministry of labor and social affairs estimates another 500,000 children to be at risk of ending up on the street” [17].

There are a number of reasons for children living on the streets: family violence, family breakdown, rural to-urban migration, poverty or death of parents from HIV/AIDS. Street children often run away from their homes to reduce the burden on the family or simply because the family cannot cope with another mouth to be fed. [17]

Urban Population Growth

The data in Table 9.2 are based on the results of the 1984 Population and Housing Census, and the projected estimates for 2006 (from the 1994 Population and Housing Census). All urban centers with 10,000+ populations are considered excluding those lacking data for the base year, or for 2006, or both. The latter include Asayita, Awubere, Bichena, Degeh Bur, Derwenache, Dolo, Gode, Hartisheik, Kebri Dehar, and Softu.

The very rapid pace of urbanization in the 22 year period covered in the table is evident in the double-digit annual growth for most urban centers, and in the fact that all but two cities (Harer and Negele) had a growth rate of five percent or greater every single year. Gambella city in Gambella Administrative region registered the fastest urban growth rate by doubling its population twice (and almost doubling a third time), in a span of just over two decades. It grew by an average of 27% per year for twenty years. It had a population of 4,492 during the 1984 census which ballooned to 18,263 by the 1994 census, and was projected to reach 31,300 in 2006. Moyale (Oromia), Boditi (SNNP), and Zway (Oromia) all grew by an average of 20+ percentage points per year. In sum, a total of twenty three urban centers had a double digit growth per year. This assessment is, of course, based on the assumption that the data for 1984 are accurate and, most importantly, that the projected numbers for the year 2006 are reliable.

Table 9. 2 Urban Centers with Populations Above 10,000 Ranked by Annual Rate of Growth Between 1984 and 2006*

Rank	City	Growth Rate**	Rank	City	Growth Rate**	Rank	City	Growth Rate**
1	Gambela	27.14	29	Bahir Dar	9.32	57	Debre Zeyit	7.14
2	Moyale	23.59	30	Bedele	9.32	58	Debre Tabor	7.09
3	Boditi	20.55	31	Werota	9.32	59	Dila	7.05
4	Ziway	20.23	32	Nazret	9.09	60	Genet (Holata)	7.05
5	Areka	19.41	33	Dodola	9.05	61	Shewa Robit	7
6	Jinka (Bako)	18.27	34	Debark'	8.86	62	Yirga Chefe	6.95
7	Asosa	17.55	35	Shashemene	8.86	63	Dangila	6.91
8	Kembolcha	15.27	36	Asbe Teferi	8.82	64	Ginir	6.86
9	Jijiga	14.68	37	Finote Selam	8.82	65	Kibre Mengist	6.86
10	Shakiso	13.73	38	Nekemte	8.77	66	Sebeta	6.82
11	Adigrat	13.64	39	Dire Dawa	8.5	67	Dembi Dolo	6.73

12	Sawla (Felege Neway)	12.73	40	Bure	8.41	68	Dese	6.64
13	Hosaina	12.68	41	Hagere Hiywet (Ambo)	8.41	69	Shambu	6.64
14	Chagne	12.14	42	Welenchiti	8.32	70	Himora	6.5
15	Welkite	11.5	43	Mojo	8.27	71	Mot'a {Mota}	6.5
16	Metahara	11.23	44	Gimbi	8.18	72	Bati	6.45
17	Awasa	11.18	45	Metu	8	73	{Maychew}	6.45
18	Inda Silase	11.05	46	Mekele	7.95	74	Gonder	6.41
19	Robe	10.95	47	Yirga 'Alem	7.91	75	Asela	5.91
20	Mek'i	10.36	48	Adis Zemen	7.82	76	Fiche	5.55
21	Adet	10.23	49	Weldiya	7.82	77	Agaro	5.5
22	Alamata	10.23	50	Butajira	7.77	78	Goba	5.5
23	Arsi Negele	10.09	51	Giyon (Waliso)	7.77	79	Wik'ro {Wikro}	5.41
24	Arba Minch	9.77	52	Kobo	7.59	80	Debre Markos	5.23
25	Korem	9.68	53	Sodo	7.59	81	Aleta Wendo	5.05
26	Agere Maryam	9.59	54	Aksum	7.55	82	Addis Ababa	5
27	Adwa	9.45	55	Debre Birhan	7.32	83	Harer	2.32
28	K'olito (Alaba	9.45	56	Jima	7.32	84	Negele	1.27

Source: [Based on 18]

*Cities with incomplete data are omitted

** Annual growth rate

Appendix 9.1 ranks Ethiopian urban centers with a population of 10,000 or more by population size. A total of 214 urban centers are in this category in 2008. Seventeen of these cities are in Tigray, and five in Afar. The population giants of Amhara and Oromia each have 56 and 82 urban centers with a population size of 10000 or more respectively. SNNP has 30 such urban centers while Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz each contain one urban center with 10,000+ populations; their respective capitals. Somali has 21 such centers.

Expectedly, Addis Ababa has the largest population of any city with 3.15 million inhabitants, or 23.8 percent of the total urban population. Dire Dawa and Nazret each have over a quarter of a million inhabitants, and represent the second and third largest cities. Gonder, Dessie, Bahir Dar, Jimma, and Mekele are close behind occupying the number three, four, five, six, and seven ranks respectively. Each has a minimum of 16,000 inhabitants. The ten most populous centers have a combined population of 4907785 (37.1%).

Appendix 9.1 Ethiopian Urban Centers Ranked by Population Size (2008)

Rank	Pop.	City	Rank	Pop.	City	Rank	Pop.	City
1	3147000	Addis Ababa	73	27172	Dodola	145	14401	Kofele
2	306499	Dire Dawa	74	26638	Boditi	146	14367	Shinile
3	250817	Nazret	75	26610	Bati	147	14245	Jiga
4	213673	Gonder	76	26341	Finote Selam	148	14239	Iteya
5	185512	Dessie	77	25791	Wenji Gefersa	149	14190	Habru
6	183489	Bahir Dar	78	25551	Bure	150	14123	Fik
7	174446	Jimma	79	24996	Hageremariam	151	14096	Durame
8	164973	Mekele	80	24701	Asayita	152	14014	Kuyera
9	143891	Debre Zeit	81	24659	Jinka	153	13942	Gore
10	137485	Awasa	82	24439	Areka	154	13873	Mersa
11	131000	Harar	83	24272	Hart Sheik	155	13851	Shinshicho
12	107297	Jijiga	84	23758	Bichena	156	13653	Menna
13	102199	Shashemene	85	23681	Ginir	157	13604	Alem Ketema
14	93902	Debre Markos	86	23681	Robe	158	13600	Ejaji
15	92861	Asela	87	23419	Metahara	159	13559	Debre Sina
16	92709	Nekemte	88	23355	Bedele	160	13285	Hamasut
17	79548	Arba Minch	89	23167	Adet	161	13275	Deder
18	75438	Kombolcha	90	23021	Welenchiti	162	13205	Genet
19	74741	Gode	91	23016	Yirgachefe	163	13145	Mehal Meda
20	73767	Debre Birhan	92	22504	Aleta Wendo	164	12979	Adigudem
21	72122	Sodo	93	22220	Shambu	165	12936	Gerbo
22	67049	Dilla	94	21884	Asosa	166	12814	Arjo
23	63016	Hosana	95	21818	Nejo	167	12645	Chinhahsan
24	55566	Goba	96	21755	Kuyu	168	12582	Bore
25	54219	Ambo	97	21573	Bonga	169	12437	Sheshedi
		Laelay						
26	51727	Mychew	98	21399	Asasa	170	12350	Arerti
27	49957	Waliso	99	21304	Gelemso	171	12214	Finchaa
28	49663	Alamata	100	21241	Bedesa	172	12202	Masha
29	48069	Yirgalem	101	21171	Mizan	173	12082	Merto Lemariam
30	47128	Negele	102	21099	Teppi	174	12043	Sire
31	46855	Weldiya	103	21071	Abomsa	175	12019	Awash Sebat Kilo
32	46836	Degehabur	104	20750	Ginchi	176	11994	Gewane
33	46136	Arsi Negele	105	20730	Kemise	177	11913	Majete
34	45657	Agaro	106	20505	Nefas Mewcha	178	11808	Geladin
35	45061	Endaselasie	107	20451	Bako	179	11745	Mersa
36	43132	Mojo	108	20272	Yabelo	180	11722	Daye
37	42841	Debre Tabor	109	19990	Abiyadi	181	11533	Zelambessa
38	41536	Fiche	110	19770	Mendi	182	11510	Waja

39	40771	Butajira	111	19677	Burayu	183	11506	Chencha
40	40645	Adwa	112	19611	Adaba	184	11479	Denan
41	40166	Gimbi	113	18808	Robe	184	11330	Mieso
42	40150	Meki	114	18724	Guder	186	11204	Gedo
43	39654	Kobo	115	18566	Huruta	187	11157	Gobesa
44	39588	KebriDehar	116	18366	Ebenat	188	11139	Amanuel
45	39553	Kibremengist	117	18356	Dera	189	11038	Were Ilu
46	39420	Ziway	118	18354	Bokoji	190	10991	Maksegnit
47	39357	Awabere	119	18350	Hirna	191	10926	Sagure
48	38990	Derwonaji	120	17580	Merawi	192	10918	Sendafa
49	38468	Dambi Dolo	121	17569	Mekane Yesus	193	10793	Dubti
50	37901	Metu	122	16985	Dejen	194	10777	Melka Rafu
51	37551	Maychew	123	16981	Fignan Bira	195	10753	Freweyni
52	36665	Asebe Teferi	124	16796	Koladiba	196	10591	Sheno
53	34538	Mota	125	16624	Dabat	197	10549	Finchaa Camp
54	33941	Chagni	126	16464	Dembecha	198	10537	Lumame
55	33878	Dolo	127	16359	Shone	199	10472	Kumbabe
56	32920	Holeta Genet	128	16235	Gidole	200	10463	Agew Gimjabet
57	32613	Gambella	129	16092	Lalibela	201	10462	Wurgesa
58	32072	Korem	130	15739	Kucha	202	10456	Harshin
59	31335	Sawla	131	15708	Hayik	203	10437	Melka Sedi
60	31245	Wukro	132	15696	Tulu Bolo	204	10282	Asendabo
61	31004	Shakiso	133	15664	Ayikel	205	10280	Mega
62	30471	Goro	134	15580	Kelafo	206	10236	Robit
63	30016	Alaba Kulito	135	15332	Daror	207	10191	Shendi
64	29296	Dangela	136	15257	Debre Werk	208	10161	Enewari
65	28870	Wereta	137	15041	Sire	209	10099	Rabaso
66	27584	Sebeta	138	15031	Sekota	210	10065	Deneba
67	27507	Humera	139	14841	Alem Tena	211	10061	Bike
68	27469	Moyale	140	14765	Durbete	212	10058	Wenago
69	27423	Debark	141	14727	Addis Alem	213	10051	Enfranz
70	27412	Softu	142	14430	Kebri Beyah	214	10032	Shiraro
71	27300	Shewa Robit	143	14417	Gida Ayana			
72	27261	Addis Zemen	144	14404	Asebot			

Source [19]

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