

## TOWNS IN ETHIOPIA \*)

With 3 figures, 4 photos and 2 tables

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*Zusammenfassung:* Städtische Siedlungen in Äthiopien

Ein Vergleich der Siedlungsvorgänge in Äthiopien im 19. Jh. und in der Gegenwart zeigt einen beachtlichen Wandel. Früher gab es in den meisten Gebieten des Landes keine städtischen Siedlungen, wogegen heute Ansatzpunkte überall anzutreffen sind. Es ist nur wenig über diese städtischen Siedlungen bekannt, und dieser Beitrag greift zwei Aspekte, ihre Entwicklung und ihre wirtschaftliche Grundlage, auf. Die Entwicklung der städtischen Siedlungen hat sich in drei Perioden vollzogen: die voritalienische, die italienische (1936–41) und die nachitalienische Periode.

Die städtischen Siedlungen der voritalienischen Periode gehörten meist der alten Feudalordnung an, mit Ausnahme der Eisenbahnstädte, die mit dem Bau der Addis Abeba–Dschibuti-Eisenbahn entstanden und in vieler Hinsicht die neuere Entwicklung vorwegnahmen.

Die italienische Periode kann als die entscheidende Wende in der Entwicklung städtischer Siedlungen angesehen werden, weil die Feudalordnung einen empfindlichen Schlag erhielt, die funktionalen Verknüpfungen zunahm und eine lebhaftere Siedlungsgründung in Gang kam.

Nach dem Abzug der Italiener folgte eine kurze Zeit der Stagnation, abgelöst von zahlreichen Neugründungen und deren beachtlichem Wachstum.

Eine Untersuchung der funktionalen Grundlage zeigt, daß diese modernen städtischen Siedlungen meist zentrale Orte sind; der Einzelhandel hat die weitaus wichtigste Funktion, und Gasthäuser sind die wichtigsten Einrichtungen.

In their examination of urbanization in Africa, geographers have concentrated on large cities. In Ethiopia, for example, there have been two major studies of Addis Ababa by geographers, yet almost nothing has been done on the remaining towns in the country <sup>1)</sup>. In a continent where there is a strong tendency toward a primate distribution of cities, it may be argued that focus on the largest city is an emphasis on the exception rather than the general case. It is not being suggested that sufficient work has been done on large cities in Africa, but rather that more attention should be directed toward the more representative urban phenomenon – the small town.

Urbanization in Ethiopia has undergone fundamental metamorphosis during the twentieth century. A system of towns existed in historic Ethiopia, but

they were substantially different from the towns one encounters within the country today. In Messing's study of northern Ethiopia, he observed that towns had their origin within the feudal social organization of Amhara society <sup>2)</sup>. Traditionally, cities and towns in the core area of Ethiopia (the Amhara-Tigre areas) were feudal settlements within a feudal state. Over much of the remainder of what is found within the confines of the modern state of Ethiopia, towns were absent. Today one finds towns developing all over Ethiopia; these, however, bear little resemblance to towns in historic Ethiopia, in terms of social, political, and economic organization.

This discussion of the development and nature of towns in Ethiopia is derived from a study of twenty-one towns in the immediate umland of Addis Ababa <sup>3)</sup>. These towns are contained within a circular area having a 20-miles radius centering upon Addis Ababa. Ethiopia's capital city itself is not a part of this study. The 20-miles radius has no particular significance and the circular shape was a design used to solve another problem <sup>4)</sup>. It is felt that the conclusions derived here may be valid for towns developing over much of Ethiopia today; however, reliable comparative studies are not yet available to confirm this observation.

The purpose of this article is to probe into the nature of the small town in Ethiopia. Understanding of the

<sup>2)</sup> S. D. MESSING, The Highland Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, 1957, p. 285; –, "The Abyssinian Market Town", P. BOHANNON and G. DALTON, Markets in Africa, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1962, p. 389.

<sup>3)</sup> The sources of data include systematic field observations, interviews of residents of the towns, and aerial photographs. Two sets of air photos cover the study area: 1:20,000 photos held by the Imperial Highway Authority and 1:50,000 photos held by the Blue Nile Survey, both located in Addis Ababa. The photos were taken during 1957–1958. The 1:50,000 series were used to construct the base map for this article. The historical materials largely come from interviews of long time residents of the towns. The multitude of travelers who moved in and out of Addis Ababa rarely mentioned these towns, and an intensive examination of the written literature proved to be of little value. In addition, no national census has ever been taken. Field observations were made on a number of aspects of the towns including complete surveys of the functions of eight towns.

<sup>4)</sup> R. J. HORVATH, Around Addis Ababa: A Geographical Study of the Impact of a City on its Surroundings, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966.

\*) I wish to acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the African-American Universities Program. To the students in my two Urban Geography classes at Haile Sellassie I University who conducted surveys and wrote term papers on two towns, Akaki and Holeta, as part of their course work, I wish to express my appreciation.

<sup>1)</sup> E. BERLAN, Addis Ababa, Grenoble, Imprimerie Allier, 1963; MARTIN JOHNSON, Ph. D. dissertation in process, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles.

towns is sought primarily through an examination of urban functions. In the first section, the process of town founding and development is delineated. This is followed with a discussion of the functional basis of the towns. The term town, as used in this study, refers to permanent, agglomerated settlements whose populations are overwhelmingly engaged in urban (non-farm) occupations. No size criterion is employed in the definition; the population of the towns studied ranges from approximately 100 to 6,750. The settlements are locally referred to as "ketema", the Amharic word for city or town.

### Background

The towns being examined are located in the center of highland Ethiopia in the province of Shoa (see inset, Fig. 1). The area has a flat aspect as compared to much of highland Ethiopia despite the thousands of feet of local relief; the median elevation is near 8,000 feet. Physiographically, the area is a plateau of volcanic origin dotted by a few denuded, volcanic cones. The area has a temperate, wet and dry climate (Cwa) and the soils, which are of volcanic origin, are very fertile. Little of the climax vegetation remains and the most conspicuous tree is the ubiquitous eucalyptus (*E. globulus*) which was introduced to Ethiopia near the turn of the present century (see photo 1).

In order to understand the cultural geographic milieu in which towns of the study area developed, one must examine the interrelationships between three groups: 1. the Amhara, 2. other Ethiopian tribal groups (the Galla, the Gurage), and 3. the foreigners. The vast majority of the people in the towns are Galla.

A Cushitic speaking people known as the Galla occupied the study area during the 19th century. Galla social structure was quite different than the Amhara. A basic feature of Central (Tulama) Galla society was its decentralized character. The clan was the basic unit of the society with only weak trans-clan integration such as periodic ritualistic intercourse. One of the distinctive features of Galla society was its age grade system known as the "gada" system<sup>5</sup>). One's position in the "gada" cycle prescribed one's social, political, and military obligations to the community. Today, by contrast, only a century since the "gada" system was the key institution of Galla society, the author found few vestiges of the system remaining in the study area. Indeed, the "gada" system had virtually disappeared from the memories of the young Galla of the area.

<sup>5</sup>) ASMARON LEGESSE, "Class Systems Based on Time", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, I, 1963, pp. 1-29, has put together the known surces on the nature of the "gada" system among the Central Galla. Also see HABERLAND, E. von, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1963, pp. 536-544, where the historical sources are recapitulated and some new information has been added.

The economy and settlement of the Galla in the study area were relatively simple during the middle of the 19th century. The Galla practiced a near subsistence form of mixed farming and grew an impressive range of cereals, pulses, and oil seeds. Animals were very important to the Galla, having ceremonial as well as subsistence significance. Periodic markets, which were important mechanisms for economic articulation above the village level, were few and insignificant from the point of view of the local economy<sup>6</sup>). The fabric of Galla settlement was almost entirely composed of small agglomerations of farmsteads which travelers referred to as villages and hamlets<sup>7</sup>). Only one small urban center called Roggie, which was near the site of the present periodic market by the same name (see Fig. 2), was located in the study area and it was part of a system of cities established by Muslims engaged in the slave, gold, and ivory trade<sup>8</sup>). Roggie ceased to exist around the turn of the 20th century. The Galla of the study area themselves did not possess towns.

During the 1880's the Galla became part of the Shoaan Kingdom which was located in the northeastern province of Shoa. In the century since their conquest and incorporation into the Amhara kingdom, the Galla of the study area have experienced thorough metamorphosis. Indeed, one anthropologist observed "The Shoa (central) Galla living in the environs of Addis Ababa have been so strongly influenced by Amhara culture that they might be called Galla-speaking Amhara."<sup>9</sup>)

The Amhara are important because they are the dominant group in Ethiopia and as such their culture has established the context within which other groups in their empire have operated. The Amhara are a Semitic speaking, Coptic Christian people. Unlike the Galla, the Amhara have a well stratified society. Traditionally, the elite was composed of the emperor

<sup>6</sup>) C. W. ISENBURG and J. L. KRAPP, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenburg and Krapf, Detailing Their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa, and Journeys in Other Parts of Abyssinia in the Years 1839 to 1842*, London, Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1843, pp. 187-217; W. C. HARRIS, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, London, Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844, Vol. II, pp. 187-202; BOHANNON and DALTON would call these markets "peripheral". BOHANNON, *op cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup>) G. BIANCHI, *Alla Terra dei Galla, 1879-1880*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1886, pp. 288, 484; HARRIS, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 48 and Vol. II, pp. 188, 191.

<sup>8</sup>) A. CECCHI, *Da zeila alle Frontiere del Caffa*, Roma, Ermanno Loescher, 1886, Vol. II, p. 489; M. ABIR, *Trade and Politics in the Ethiopian Region 1835-1855*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1964.

<sup>9</sup>) HABERLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 776; my own brief examination of changes in some aspects of Galla culture corroborates this observation.

and a clerical and feudal nobility. The lower class was largely composed of the peasantry. Today, especially in the larger cities, the dimension of Amhara culture has expanded. Great numbers of educated people have replaced or joined the old nobility. At the same time a middle class has developed <sup>10)</sup>.

It is the Shoan Amhara who are important from the point of view of the area studied. The Shoan Amhara Kingdom under Menelik II during the last decades of the 19th century extended hegemony over much of what is southern Ethiopia today. The Shoan Kingdom could boast a modest system of cities and during the process of Shoan Amhara expansion, Menelik moved his capital city out of Amhara country into Galla country. In 1889, Menelik became emperor of Ethiopia and his then military camp, Addis Ababa, became the capital of Ethiopia <sup>11)</sup>. Between 1890 and the present, Addis Ababa grew from a small temporary settlement to a metropolis of approximately a half million people <sup>12)</sup>.

The Gurage are a Semitic speaking people who came originally from a district 40 miles southwest of Addis Ababa. The Gurage have migrated to Addis Ababa in great numbers and constituted 17.2 per cent of the city's population in 1952 <sup>13)</sup>. Today the Gurage represent a small but conspicuous minority within the study area where they are engaged in fresh vegetable cultivation, in various aspects of eucalyptus production, and in the retail shops as merchants in the towns and periodic markets.

The Arabs are the largest group of foreigners in the towns in the study area. Traditionally Muslims (not always Arabs) controlled Ethiopia's foreign trade. Today one may find Arabs in most of the towns in the study area engaged in retail trade.

The population of the towns to be discussed is primarily made up of the groups mentioned above and only a fraction of the population comes from other groups <sup>14)</sup>. The relationship between the Amhara and non-Amhara groups varies a good deal. The Galla, on one hand, have rather readily accepted Amhara norms, whereas on the other hand, the Gurage have largely resisted Amharization. The distinction between the Amhara and Galla is diminishing rapidly in many of the towns. Certain occupations have traditionally been

regarded as ignoble by the Amhara, and non-Amhara people have performed these tasks <sup>15)</sup>. Trade is but one of these ignoble occupations and traditionally Muslims conducted the foreign trade. More recently Gurage have come to also engage in trade and have been displacing the Muslims in this occupation.

The complex relationship between the various ethnic groups in the study area is but a part of the story of the evolution of Ethiopia in the late 19th and early 20th century. During the 20th century a great number of fundamental changes have occurred in Ethiopia, one of which was the emergence of a system of towns. The following is an attempt to relate the way in which part of this system of towns came into being.

### *The origin and growth of towns*

The evolution of towns in Ethiopia may be divided into three periods: the pre-Italian period, the Italian period (1936–41), and the post-Italian period. In each period we may see important changes in the nature of the towns. Near the turn of the present century, towns very much belonged to the historical pattern of urbanization in Ethiopia. Before the Italian invasion in 1936, we already begin to see some signs of change. Addis Ababa had changed in many profound ways by the third decade of the 20th century, but in the small towns change had not yet manifested itself markedly.

*The pre-Italian period.* Holeta, located west of Addis Ababa, was founded about a decade after Addis Ababa (see Fig. 1). Shortly after 1902, Menelik built a summer palace at Holeta because the general vicinity was thought to have more pleasant summer weather than Addis Ababa. Ethiopian emperors commonly had alternative residences in historic Ethiopia, and the present Emperor, Haile Sellassie, has residences all over the Empire.

During Menelik's reign Holeta grew into a settlement of perhaps several hundred houses. The basis of support of early Holeta was the palace. Menelik had a permanent staff of freemen, *corvée*, and slaves who performed the varying needs of the emperor while he was in residence. There was a clear division of labor, and reportedly, there were 44 occupational groups, some of which were carpenters, fence makers, guards, and blacksmiths. These people were reimbursed by being given parcels of land (on which they grew crops), a small annual salary, and periodic feasts in the palace. Palace duties took up only a portion of their time.

The division of labor in Holeta was manifested in the town's territorial divisions. The emperor allotted each occupational group an area known as a "sefer". Thus, there was the carpenter's "sefer" or the guard's "sefer".

Very soon after Holeta was established, a Saturday market was founded. The market met both the needs of

<sup>10)</sup> D. LEVINE, Wax and Gold, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965, Chapter 5.

<sup>11)</sup> R. PANKHURST, "The Foundation and Growth of Addis Ababa to 1935", Ethiopia Observer, Vol. 6, 1962, pp. 33–61. W. KULS, „Addis Abeba: Entstehung und Entwicklung der äthiopischen Hauptstadt“, Paideuma. Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde, Vol. 6, 1957, pp. 318–325.

<sup>12)</sup> See BERLAN, op. cit.

<sup>13)</sup> C. K. WANG, "The Population of Ethiopia's Metropolis", Ethiopia Observer, I, 1957, p. 57.

<sup>14)</sup> One can find an occasional Greek or Italian operating a restaurant, or a Tigre girl working in a tavern.

<sup>15)</sup> MESSING, op. cit., 1962, p. 393.

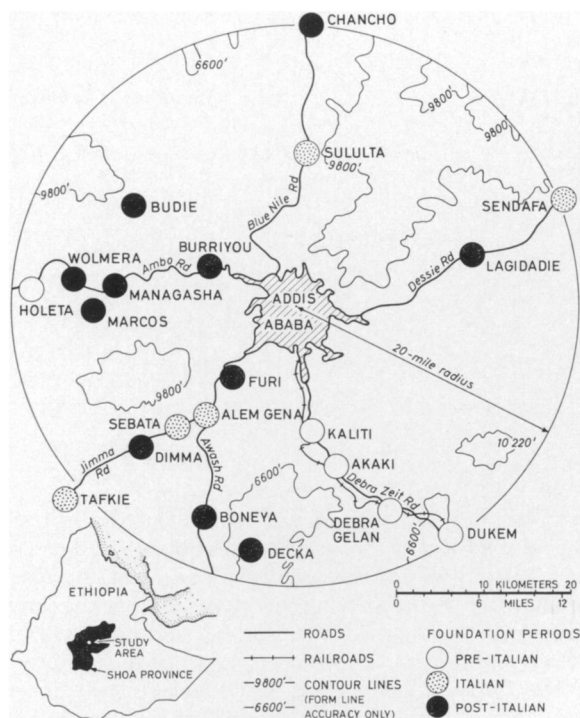


Fig. 1: Town Foundings in Ethiopia

the town and of the surrounding peasants, and very soon Holeta's market was one of the important markets of the region. Merchants who traded in the market were attracted to the town and in many cases established residences. Nevertheless, until approximately 1930 the town depended almost exclusively on the palace.

Around 1915 the nuclei of four towns were established by the company building the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railroad (the railroad reached Addis Ababa in 1917). A string of stations was built along the railroad and four of these are found within the study area: Dukem, Debra Gelan, Akaki, and Kaliti (see Fig. 1). The railroad company owned a 20-meter wide strip of land straddling the track<sup>16</sup>). Thus, along the railroad from Addis Ababa to the Red Sea ran a corridor of land held by people with a fundamentally different concept of land tenure than the land adjacent to railroad property. This strip of land was in many ways removed from the feudal social and economic organization. For this reason it is significant that the first buildings were built on railroad property. Several buildings were built which were multifunctional affairs serving as rest stations for passengers, offices, warehouses, and residences for employees. These settlements grew by slow accretion during the years following their foundation. Periodic markets were established at Dukem and Akaki, and some merchants even put up permanent shops. In

addition, some craftsmen (weavers) established themselves and land owners and tenant farmers built residences. Before the Italian invasion, settlements composed of 20 to 25 buildings had developed around the original railroad station nuclei of at least two of these settlements.

**The Italian period.** The Italians occupied Ethiopia between 1936 and 1941. During this period they initiated a number of changes of which the building of a system of all-weather roads in the country is noteworthy. The Italians also left their mark on the urban scene by founding towns and stimulating the growth of existing urban centers.

The role the Italians played can be illustrated by describing the foundation and development of Sendafa, located to the northeast of Addis Ababa. After the Italians built the Dessie Road, they founded Sendafa by constructing an army camp on confiscated land. Former officers' barracks, made of stone, can still be seen in the town today. An existing periodic market located a few kilometers away from Sendafa was moved to a site adjacent to the military camp. The Italians encouraged people to take up residence in Sendafa in a variety of ways. Single women were recruited to entertain the troops. According to informants the first places selling beer and mead in the small towns were established during the Italian occupation. Free land was another inducement used to attract settlers and carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers (see photo 3), merchants and members of a variety of other occupational groups came. The Italians required that the houses be laid out to from a rough grid pattern.

Budie, Alem Gena, Sebata, Tefkie, Sululta and Sendafa were all founded during the Italian Period. Fortresses or army barracks were established to form, in most cases, the first urban function. To the existing urban centers of Holeta and Akaki, army garrisons were added. Periodic markets were relocated. In Kaliti a biscuit factory was built and in Alem Gena a large garage for repairing trucks was established. By the end of the Italian occupation some of these centers, such as Sebata or Budie, were little more than a dozen buildings, although the rest of the settlements were much larger.

Thus, the Italians promoted urbanization in several significant ways. Firstly, new towns were founded. Secondly, to existing urban centers new functions were added, such as army garrisons and factories which expanded the economic base of towns noticeably. Thirdly, the Italians promoted the reorganization of the economy of the area. For example, many occupational groups, such as merchants, blacksmiths, weavers, or carpenters, were formerly scattered over the countryside in a dispersed pattern of settlement. It is likely that most of the individuals who engaged in these occupations were part-time farmers; these now became

<sup>16</sup>) Conveyed privately by Ato Lakew Kiros, General Manager of the Addis Ababa-Jibuti Railroad.

full-time occupations. A second example of reorganization was moving existing periodic markets to urban centers. In this way the Italians encouraged the process of centralization of non-farm economic activities. Finally, giving free land to the new settlers in the towns provided a break with the traditional land tenure system. Thus Italian towns developed outside the feudal order. Clearly, the role changes in land tenure have played in the development of towns in Ethiopia is crucial.

The post-Italian period. Accompanying the departure of the Italians in 1941 was a period of urban decline. The destruction and disorganization resulting from the Ethiopian-Italian conflict seriously disrupted the economy of the country. Shortages of capital, shortages of technical skill, and other problems contributed to economic decline, and this was reflected in the small urban centers. The Ethiopian government could not maintain the sophisticated institutions set up by the Italians. All-weather roads deteriorated. In addition, the land confiscated by the Italians was returned to its owners and payment of rent was required of people living on the land. (The railroad company is still involved in litigation in an attempt to remove squatters who moved onto railroad property during the Italian occupation.) Many people just could not afford the rent. For a variety of reasons men went back to farming, harlots took husbands, and urban decline occurred. Budie was completely abandoned and, in almost all of the towns, many buildings stood empty.

Slowly, however, the pace of urbanization began to quicken. Eleven towns were founded after 1941<sup>17)</sup>. The word foundation may have too dramatic a connotation for what actually happened in most cases. In the early development of most of the towns, one or two buildings may have been built each year. In the last few years, growth has been generally rapid (see Fig. 2). The early development of Managasha illustrates the way in which many of these settlements grew<sup>18)</sup>. From 1944 to 1952 some six structures were built. Several of the buildings had more than one unit. In addition, around 1950 a periodic market was established. Table 1 summarizes the sequence of buildings and the first activities which were housed in each unit.

In the period after 1941, the Ethiopian government established a variety of programs and offices in the small towns all over Ethiopia, including schools, police stations, local administrative offices, judicial offices,

<sup>17)</sup> Including Dimma, Furi, Chanco, Lagidadie, Budie (on the site of the defunct Italian garrison), Burriyou, Managasha, Wolmera, Aba Samuel, Marcos, and Boneya.

<sup>18)</sup> It was not possible to get this kind of information for all of the towns. In a number of the towns, the author obtained the approximate dates for the building of the first five or six structures and the kinds of economic functions carried on in these buildings.

Table 1: The Early Development of Managasha

Number	Number of Units	Original Functions
1 (1944)	1	Landlord's Residence
2	3	1) Residence 2) Restaurant 3) Tavern
3	2	1) Tavern 2) Tavern
4	1	Retail Store
5	3	1) Coptic Priest's Residence 2) Police Station 3) Daily Laborer's Residence
6 (ca. 1952)	1	Local Administrative Office („Mikital Worreda“)

and technical aid programs. The result of this institutional invasion of the small town is manifested today in a variety of governmental offices. Soon the total number of people living in cities within the area surpassed that of the Italian Period. Until about 1957 one is dependent upon local residents for a description of this process, but in 1957–1958 data can be gleaned from aerial photographs<sup>19)</sup>. In 1957 there were 10,330

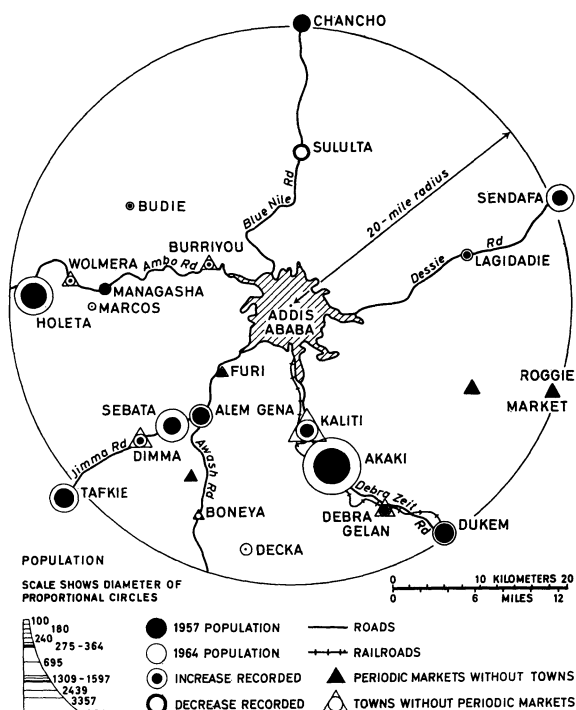


Fig. 2: Town Growth in Ethiopia

<sup>19)</sup> The number of buildings found in all urban centers was obtained from air photos. In 1964 the number of structures was counted by the author in the 21 towns. Popu-

people living in towns in the area around Addis Ababa, and by 1964 the population had increased to 23,215 or a 125 percent increase <sup>20</sup>). Growth rate has not been uniform. Cities south of Addis Ababa have grown much more rapidly than cities toward the north. Also observe that towns found off the all-weather roads are few and insignificant.

We may now turn our attention to determining what activities or functions support these urban places.

#### *The functional bases of the towns* <sup>21</sup>)

The small towns in the vicinity of Addis Ababa are quite diverse from the functional point of view. Ordinarily one would expect that these towns would be central places, i.e., towns which exist to provide goods and services to the surrounding territory <sup>22</sup>). However, in part owing to the proximity of Addis Ababa, the functional base of these towns has been modified. The incidence of functions is shown in the following table.

The following is a discussion of each of the functional classes. The towns are predominantly retailing centers; the retailing activities found in the town include taverns, retail shops, butcheries and restaurants. In addition, most of the towns also have open air periodic markets where a major portion of the retailing activity takes place.

Nearly half (46 %) of the units occupied by economic activities are taverns (see photo 4). The tavern is locally differentiated according to the type of drink sold; for example, there is a "tej bet," literally mead house, "talla bet," or beer house. Increasingly the

lation figures were obtained for four towns including one census of Holeta by my urban geography class from Haile Sellassie I University and three censuses by the National Pilot Area Tuberculosis Control Programme in Alem Gena Worreda (a subdistrict within the study area). The average number of people living in each structure was found to be 4.5 and this figure was used to estimate the number of people living in other towns.

<sup>20</sup>) These settlements were classed as towns in 1964 and not in 1957.

<sup>21</sup>) A bewildering variety of problems is involved in getting at the basis of support of the small towns in Ethiopia. A national census has never been taken and consequently it is necessary to gather one's own data. The townsfolk are unaccustomed to being queried which seriously complicates a door-to-door survey. In order to overcome some of these problems, the unit method was used; the primary economic activity of each unit or discrete subdivision of every building in the following eight towns was recorded: Chanco, Furi, Sebata, Burriyou, Managasha, Budie, Akaki, and Holeta. Functional units, not people, are used to determine the nature of town support. These activities were then ordered by using a rather standard generic functional classification.

<sup>22</sup>) See C. D. HARRIS and E. L. ULLMANN, "The Nature of Cities", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXLII, 1945, pp. 7-17.

word "bar" is being used to refer to a tavern where both traditional Ethiopian and Western beverages are sold. These establishments are operated by women who are in some cases married and are supplementing their husbands' income by selling local drinks. More typically, proprietresses are not married. Ethiopian beverages are produced on the premises by the proprietresses or hired servants.

*Table 2: The Functions of the Towns* <sup>23</sup>)

Functions	Percent	No. of Units
Retail	66.9	1,376
Public Administration	9.5	196
Manufacturing	8.0	165
Personal Services	4.4	91
Professional Services	3.5	71
Transportation & Communications	.8	17
Misc. Urban Functions	4.4	91
Farming	2.5	51
	100.0	2,058

Small retail shops selling consumer goods have become a standard part of the retail structure of towns in Ethiopia. These shops are locally called "arab bet" or "suq"; the former literally means Arab's house. Muslims have long carried on a substantial portion of commerce in Ethiopia, especially that commerce involving exotic commodities. Yemeni Arabs are found in most of the towns around Addis Ababa where they still operate most of the retail shops. The Arabs are commonly long term residents in Ethiopia and frequently take Ethiopian wives during their stay.

Butcher shops and restaurants are two other retail activities which are revealed by the unit method. Butchers buy cattle, sheep, and goats at the town's periodic market. The butchers slaughter the animals and sell the meat to both the town's folk and the peasants who come to the market. "Mugub bet", or houses run by women selling prepared food, are found scattered around the small towns. Commonly, a women will convert the front of her house into a place suitable for serving customers. She will prepare food for the travelers passing through the town or the numerous unattached men living within the town itself.

The periodic market is an integral component of the retail structure of the small towns today. Periodic markets are weekly, biweekly, or even triweekly gatherings of people at recognized sites for purposes of exchanging goods and services. On market day, hundreds or even thousands of people may converge upon any one market. One may encounter at the

<sup>23</sup>) The functions are expressed as percentages of the total number of units having economic activities. Only 41 percent of the units in the towns had economic activities, whereas the remainder were private residences, vacant, or were under construction.



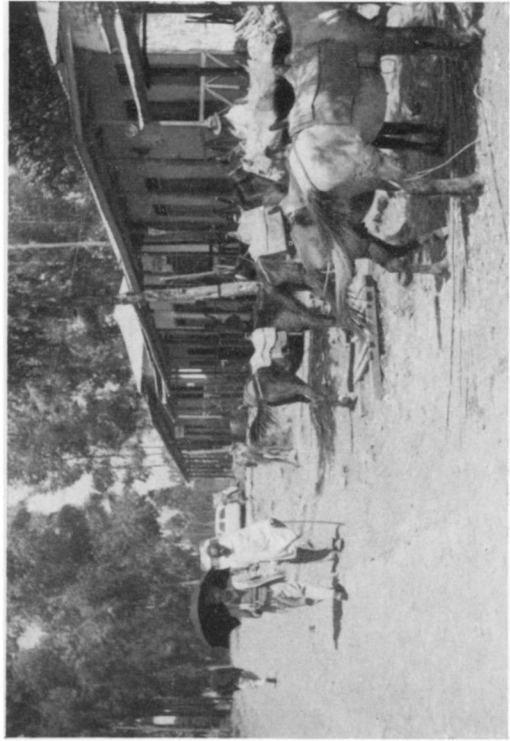
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2



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4



market itinerant merchants, peasants from the market's hinterland, and local townsfolk who come for trade and diversion (see photo 2). Unfortunately, the unit method, which was employed to inquire into the functional basis of the small town, takes into account only activities occurring in buildings, and for this reason it will be necessary to consider the market outside the context of the unit method.

Upon first impression periodic markets might appear to be unorganized confusion: people sitting on piles of stones or milling around, women gossiping, donkeys wandering about seemingly unattended, and goats trading a mouthful of grain for a swift stick across their sides. However, the market organizes itself naturally into a number of recognizable sections which specialize in a particular good or class of goods. One section will sell only large red chile peppers, whereas other sections may sell a wide range of manufactured goods. Figure 3 shows a fairly standard arrangement of a periodic market. There are 15 commodity groups including the following classes:

spices	butter and cheese
cloth	pottery
local hops ("geshu," Buckthorn)	fuel wood
hides and skins	vegetables
local bread	manufactured goods

*Photo 1:* A low oblique of the landscape of the study area.

In the middle ground is one of the smaller towns – Burriyou. Most of the trees seen in the photo are part of the eucalyptus plantings around Addis Ababa which meet the fuel and building material needs of Ethiopia's capital. A discussion of this phenomenon can be found in the forthcoming January 1968 edition of *The Journal of Ethiopian Studies* by the author. Above and slightly to the right of the town is a market garden area where Gurage people are engaged in the production of irrigated vegetables for the Addis Ababa market (see HORVATH, op. cit., 1966, Chapter 4, for a discussion of market gardens). The remainder of the area is devoted to semi-subsistence mixed farming. A rural settlement complex may be seen in the lower right. All photographs were taken by the author.

*Photo 2:* A period market scene. Several people may be seen paying or bargaining for items. On the right side of the middle ground, a merchant (the man in the dark jacket) is trying to buy some goods brought to market by a peasant woman. In the background is a series of permanent taverns housed in thatched buildings. Almost all of the people here are Galla.

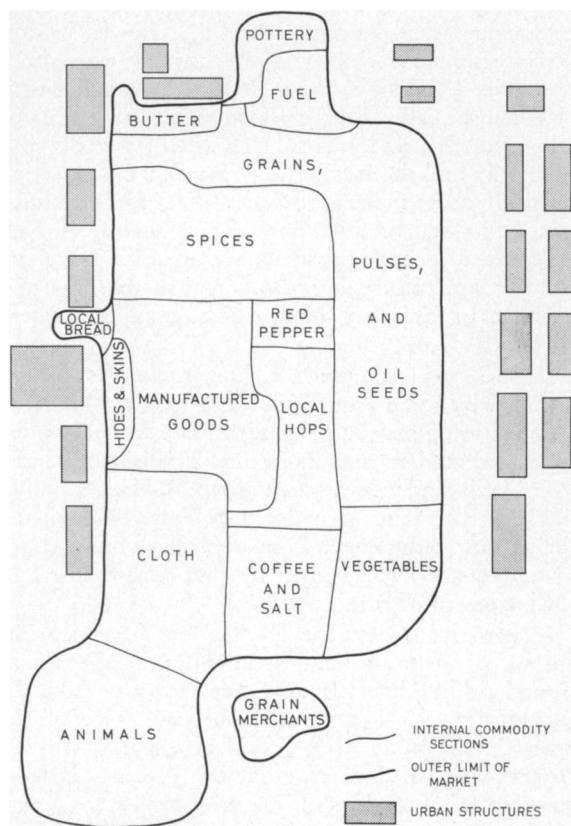
*Photo 3:* A weaver making a piece of cotton cloth. More typically, a weaver will have his entire apparatus within his residence.

*Photo 4:* A side street in Holeta. Most of the structures shown contain taverns. The building frames are made of eucalyptus poles, to which is applied a mud, dung, and straw plaster. The wall of the building facing the street is frequently whitewashed. The riding animals belong to Galla peasants who have come to town for the day.

animals  
red pepper ("berbere")  
coffee and salt

grain (merchants buying)  
grains, pulses, oil seeds

In each section one may find either merchants or peasants selling goods. In certain sections, such as the manufactured goods section, one only encounters merchants, whereas peasants dominate the grains, pulses, and oil seed section.



*Fig. 3:* Periodic Market Structure

The periodic markets are of considerable importance to the towns in which they are located. An examination of the incidence of markets shows that 14 of the 21 towns have markets, and six of the seven towns without markets are quite small (see Fig. 2). These large gatherings of people concentrate the meager buying power of the semisubsistence peasants who then support certain activities in the markets and the towns which would otherwise be absent from the economic landscape. A peasant woman who earns some money in the market by selling eggs may spend the money on some cloth in the retail shops or have her grain ground at the millers, thus foregoing the arduous task of grinding it at home. A man may spend a portion of the money earned to pass a few pleasant hours chatting and drinking with kin and friends in one of the



taverns. All in all, on market day the small towns come alive: the taverns are full, grain mills are active, and retail shops are busy. Clearly, Ethiopian towns are more predominantly retailing centers than revealed by the unit method as summarized in table 2.

Public administration, constituting almost a tenth of the units occupied by economic activities, is represented by a variety of levels of administrative, judicial, and special purpose offices in the towns. Within Ethiopia there is a six level hierarchy of administrative offices starting with the national level, followed by the province, subprovince ("awraja"), district ("worreda"), subdistrict ("miketil worrieda"), and the smallest unit which may be called neighborhood or locality ("atbia"). Administrative and judicial offices for the district, subdistrict and the locality are found in the towns of the study area; the subprovince offices for the study area are in Addis Ababa. Special purpose offices, such as offices of the Ministries of Community Development or Agriculture, are also found in the towns in the area. In Holeta is found a sizable military reservation.

Manufacturing occurs in eight percent of the units occupied by some economic activities. Two kinds of manufacturing may be distinguished: traditional handicrafts and modern manufacturing. Traditional handicrafts, including weaving (see photo 3), blacksmithing, and basket weaving, are performed largely without the aid of new technology. Formerly, these occupations were frequently engaged in by part-time farmers in nonagglomerated rural locations.

Modern manufacturing has become far more important than traditional handicrafts in the towns around Addis Ababa. In areas further away from the capital city, this is not likely the case. Two of the towns in the study area, Akaki and Kaliti, may be properly classified as manufacturing towns because manufacturing employs the majority of people earning a living in these towns. In Akaki alone the Indo-Ethiopian Textile factory employs 3,000 people. Two new types of modern manufacturing, grain milling and oil seed pressing, are found in just about every town.

Nearly eight percent of the units were classified as personal and professional service functional units. The specific types of occupational groups involved in both categories include teachers, advocates, barbers, daily laborers, harlots, and others.

Three classes of functions remain: transportation and communications, miscellaneous urban functions, and farming, totaling 7.7 percent of the functional units. Units classified as transportation and communication units include railroad stations, highway maintenance camps, and telecommunications offices. Finally, a small number of people living in these settlements are full-time farmers.

Functional differentiation is in a very early stage of development within the towns; consequently, two

or three generically distinct activities frequently occur within one functional unit. Several attempts were made to systematically record the occurrence of secondary functions; however, it was too easy to miss many of these activities. The assessment made here is, for this reason, a qualitative one.

Secondary functions found within the various units in the towns include personal services, manufacturing, retailing, and farming. For example, men operating Singer sewing machines in Arab-run retail shops are common. Cotton cloth, which can either be purchased in the retail shop or in the periodic market, can be made into a dress or an apron. Taverns primarily sell drinks or food; however, these places also very commonly function as brothels. Most units are both shop and residence.

### Conclusions

The origin and evolution of towns can be thought of in terms of three periods: the pre-Italian Period, the Italian Period (1936–1941), and the post-Italian Period. Before 1936 towns were few. After Addis Ababa was established (1890) the emperor had several alternative residences built. One of these, Holeta, was established within the study area. The next important event was the coming of the Addis Ababa–Jibuti Railroad in 1915. Four railroad stations were built within the study area which formed a part of the chain of stations from Addis Ababa to the Red Sea. The building of the railroad was accompanied by one of the major town-founding spasms in Ethiopia. These stations formed nuclei for the development of towns. The Italians promoted urbanism significantly by founding towns and expanding the economic base of existing towns. Thus, towns grew rapidly in the Italian Period. After a decade of urban decline accompanying the departure of the Italians, towns were founded and grew at an unprecedented rate and by 1964, 21 towns were identified within the area studied.

Changes in urban land tenure were used as a diagnostic element to show the fundamental metamorphosis which has occurred to towns in Ethiopia. Only Addis Ababa and Holeta were, properly speaking, feudal towns.

The railroad towns represent the first significant departure from the traditional pattern of urbanism. The origin and, in fact, much of the subsequent development of the railroad towns was in many ways independent of the feudal organization. The fact that these cities started on railway property has been suggested as being an important change. During the Italian Period the free land distributed by the occupation government caused what appeared to have been a decisive blow to the feudal organization, and a major town-founding spasm was associated with it. Thus, changes in land tenure signaled the appearance

of a new type of town in Ethiopia, and this type of town exists in the study area today exclusively.

It was shown that the towns are primarily central places which are urban centers which exist to provide

goods and services to the surrounding territory. However, non-central place functions, such as manufacturing, are important in several towns. The proximity of Addis Ababa is important in explaining the presence of most of the non-central place functions.

## AGRARE BETRIEBSFORMEN IM VORLAND DES TIEN-SCHAN<sup>1)</sup>

Mit 6 Abbildungen (Abb. 2 u. 6 als Beilage III), 6 Bildern und 2 Tabellen

ERNST GIESE

*Summary:* Forms of Agricultural Organization in the Tien-Shan Foreland

The agriculture of Soviet Central Asia is limited by the aridity and marked continentality of the climate. Therefore, the structure and the aims of production of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Tien-Shan foreland are primarily determined by the utilization of melt waters flowing down from the snow and ice region of the Tien-Shan in spring and summer. On the basis of irrigation farming the foreland with its extremely fertile loess-plains has developed into one of the most important agricultural regions of Central Asia. In the western foreland of the Tien-Shan with its great quantities of radiation and heat and long growing seasons cotton is the chief irrigated crop (oases of Fergana, Taskent, Chimkent). Sugar beet, tobacco, fruit, vegetables, corn and vineyards occupy the irrigated land of the eastern oases, where climatic conditions are not so favourable for the growing of cotton. The share of irrigation farming is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the area under cultivation, the remainder is under corn in dry farming (Bogar farming). In the kolkhozes and sovkhoses the keeping of livestock involves alpine pasturing as well as transhumance. As an example of the Tien-Shan piedmont region the foreland of the Zailiyskiy Alatau near Alma-Ata is described. Types of connective farms are illustrated in detail by the kolkhozes Voroshilov and Luch Vostoka.

### *I. Kolchose und Sovchose*

Mit dem Kollektivierungsprozeß der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft entstanden in der Zeit von 1929 bis 1933 in der Sowjet-Union (SU) zwei neue Organisationsformen landwirtschaftlicher Nutzung, die Kolchose und die Sovchose<sup>2)</sup>. Die Kolchose als staatlich organisierter und gelenkter fabrikähnlicher Agrarbetrieb, in dem die Produktionsmittel, der Viehbestand und die Agrarprodukte genossenschaftliches Eigentum der Kolchosmitglieder sind, der Grund und Boden aber ausschließlich dem Staat gehören und von diesem zur Verfügung gestellt werden, resultiert aus der zwangsweisen Zusammenfassung der in einer Siedlung gelegenen individuell geführten Bauernbetriebe. Demgegenüber ist die Sovchose ein landwirtschaftlicher Staatsbetrieb, ein Großbetrieb, der in der ersten Phase der Entwicklung auf einen bestimmten Produktionszweig spezialisiert war und nach seiner Organisation eine landwirtschaftliche Fabrik darstellt.

Schlechte Erfahrungen mit allzu großen Mammutbetrieben und mit übermäßig spezialisierten Sovchosen führten dazu, den Betriebsumfang zu begrenzen und die Spezialisierung zugunsten eines mehr gemischtwirtschaftlichen Systems aufzugeben. Da die Sovchose im Gegensatz zur Kolchose im allgemeinen eine Neusiedlungsgründung ist, findet man sie vor allem in den Neulandgebieten der SU (Kazachstan, Nordkaukasien) konzentriert.

Als dritte Betriebsform hat sich innerhalb des umfassenden Kollektivbetriebes der Nebenerwerbsbetrieb, die sog. Hoflandwirtschaft<sup>3)</sup> des Kolchosnik (Kolchos-Bauer), entwickelt. Sie basiert auf der privaten Nutznießung eines Hofes, eines kleinen Stückchens sog. „Hoflandes“ (priusadebnoe učasok) (bis zu 0,5 ha) und der Haltung einer Kuh nebst Kleinvieh verbunden mit Weiderechten in der Kolchose. Zunächst lediglich ein Zugeständnis des Staates an den enteigneten Bauern zur weiteren Eigenversorgung, wurde die Hoflandwirtschaft im Laufe der Zeit

<sup>1)</sup> Im Frühjahr 1966 führte ich mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft eine Studienreise nach Sowjet-Mittelasien durch. Die Anregung dazu gab mir Herr Prof. Müller-Wille (Münster), der ursprünglich selbst diese Reise mit Prof. Hempel unternehmen wollte. Besondere Umstände ließen ihn zurücktreten, so daß ich diese Studienreise mit Prof. Hempel durchführen konnte. Im Mittelpunkt meiner Untersuchungen standen agrare Betriebsformen sowie alte und neue Formen der Bewässerungswirtschaft. Stationen der Reise waren die Städte Taschkent, Alma-Ata, Samarkand, Buchara und Aşchabad. Sie bildeten den Ausgangspunkt für eine Reihe von Exkursionen, die in den Zailiyskiy Alatau (Tal der Kleinen und Großen Almatinka) und in das Zeravşangebirge (Kara-tjube) sowie in die Zadarom-Steppe, in die Čirčiktalung und an den Kara-Kum-Kanal führten. Verbunden waren die Untersuchungen mit dem Besuch mehrerer Kollektivwirtschaften (u. a. der Kolchosen Pravda, Kizil Uzbekistan und Luč Vostoka) und einiger Forschungsinstitute.

<sup>2)</sup> Kolchose und Sovchose – deutsche Formen der russischen Abkürzungen kolchoz (von kollektivnoe chozjajstvo = Kollektiv-Wirtschaft) und sovchoz (von sovetskoe chozjajstvo = Sowjet-Wirtschaft).

<sup>3)</sup> Der Begriff Hoflandwirtschaft bzw. Hoflandbetrieb ist von dem in der Sowjetliteratur und Sowjetstatistik geführten Ausdruck priusadebnoe chozjajstvo abgeleitet.