

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

The Making of Urban boundaries in Ethiopia: The case in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, 1974-2018

Adane Kassie (Ph.D.)¹, Tegegne Sishaw (Ph.D.)^{2}, Wagaw Bogale (Ph.D.)³ & Tamrat Cheru (Ph.D.)⁴*

Abstract

The making/remaking of administrative boundary is a long practiced tradition of human beings. The making/remaking of the administrative boundaries of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa has been a subject of great controversy in the administrative history of Ethiopia. The objective of this study was to investigate boundary making/remaking in Ethiopia focusing on Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa cities from 1974 to 2018. This is important because there were/are unprecedented interests between different groups following the 1991 ethno linguistic administrative boundary making/remaking. Moreover, there is lack of well documented research output regarding boundary making/remaking in Ethiopian cities. A qualitative research approach was employed to meet the objectives of the study. Primary and secondary data were collected through in-depth interview tools and document analysis. Several administrative policy documents enacted between 1907 and 2018 were consulted and meticulously analyzed for this study. It was observed that administrative boundary making/remaking become more frequent after 1991. This phenomenon also holds true for Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa cities where oromia region has an interest on both cities and Somali region on Dire Dawa city. The process and the procedures followed and individuals involved as committee members are not clear. With regard to Dire Dawa, beginning from 1993 the city was responsible to and was directed by the Federal government. These facts suggest that competition over these two cities and boundary making/remaking are still unclear and lack involvement of the wider residents of these cities. It is therefore suggested that the participation of concerned communities in any decision making pertaining to boundary making/remaking and other similar issues is indispensable.

Keywords: Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Administrative Boundary, Ethno linguistic, Making/remaking

Introduction

The making/remaking of administrative boundary is a long practiced tradition of human beings. Accordingly, archeologists argue that societies have long created demarcation lines between themselves and others (Kirby, 2009). They have studied not only dividing lines (Kowalewski et al., 1982, Aminzadeh and Samani, 2006) but also problematized boundaries as identity markers (Diaz-Andreu et al., 2005), the relations between borders

1 Assistant Professor of History, Federal Policy Research Institute

2 Associate Professor of Geography, Haramaya University, * Corresponding Author, Email: tegegneshaw@gmail.com

3 Assistant Professor of History, Bahir Dar University.

4 Assistant Professor of Peace and Security, Debre Birhan University



This journal is licensed under a creative common Attribution-Noncommercial 4.0. It is accredited to the University of Gondar, College of Social Sciences and Humanities.

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4314/erjssh.v10i2.9>

and landscapes (Anschuetz et al., 2001), sovereignty and territoriality (Asebe and Teshome, 2022; Constantienscu, 2022; Osborne, 2013), and the ideas of social space (Llobera, 1996). Thus, the making/remaking of boundaries has been as old as the age of human beings and will be practiced for the future too. Cities are centers of economic production and consumption, arenas of social networks and cultural activities, and the seat of government and administration (Asebe and Teshome, 2022 ; Constantienscu, 2022; Pacione, 2009).

Urban boundary making/remaking is a commonly practiced activity with different motives. For example in China, such process has been accomplished with the aim to optimize its urban spaces through district boundary recombination: scale recombination and regional recombination which in turn eases the integration of new city districts and urban areas and promotes balanced development within the city (Chao *et al.*, 2023). Moreover, there are many pressing issues that necessitate the making and remaking of urban boundaries in the world including by 2050, the world's urban population is expected to nearly double, making urbanization one of the twenty-first century's most transformative trends. Populations, economic activities, social and cultural interactions, as well as environmental and humanitarian impacts, are increasingly concentrated in cities, and this poses massive sustainability challenges in terms of housing, infrastructure, basic services, food security, health, education, decent jobs, safety and natural resources, among others (UN, 2017).

In Europe too, during the past 45 years Europe has become increasingly urbanized whilst different cities grew and declined at different times, a clear cycle of urban change can be identified — urbanization, suburbanization, deurbanization and reurbanization (Pacione, 2009).

The urban phenomenon is the most characteristic feature of the 20th century. Urbanization in Ethiopia was conditioned by historical factors, that is, the combination of political and military factors (Belew, 2017).

Ethiopia is one of the ancient countries in the Horn of Africa. It has a long history of statehood and uninterrupted administrative history (Bahru, 2002). Leaving aside the ancient and the medieval history, modern Ethiopia has been ruled by the Imperial, *Derg* and Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (here after called EPRDF) regimes. While the first two implemented a unitary form of government, the third one installed Ethnic Federalism. During their rule, they also established and re-established administrative tiers at all levels across the country on the basis of their administrative policies and political motives (Daniel, 1994).

Ethiopia has begun to use modern administrative system since 1907 with the establishment of the Ministry of Interior (MoI) under the leadership of *LiqeMekuwas* Antenyestegn (Mahtem Selassie, 1970). Since then, the administrative regions of the country have again and again undergone significant structural changes. The major landmarks regarding the making, unmaking and remaking of administrative regions in Ethiopia were, the establishment of the Ministry of Interior in 1907, the Italian Interlude (1936-1941), the administrative reorganization made by Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1942 and 1946, the administrative reform carried out by the *Derg* regime following the 1974 revolution and the reorganization of administrative regions by the EPRDF in 1991. The administrative policies and the underlying principles which were used to organize and reorganize administrative regions in Ethiopia during the above turning periods were: history, culture, geography, tax collecting capacity, military capacity, title, loyalty and

administrative capacity of governors, settlement pattern, consent and socio-economic interactions of the people and ethnic identity (Assefa, 2019, Asmelash, 1974). The making and re-making process has undoubtedly brought considerable changes in the boundaries of some regions as well as their subdivisions up to the lowest administrative tiers (*Qebeles*). Most of these changes were never officially published but communicated to the people and other stakeholders through reports in the government-owned media, sometimes only by the appearance of new districts in other reports (Schröder, 2017). Most of the time, the regimes which took power in Ethiopia used a top-down approach to establish administrative tiers. The people of each administrative unit were not well communicated when they were made to be administered by different regions, provinces, districts or urban centers at different times. Consequently, boundary problem has continued to be a challenge to the country, especially, in recent periods (Schröder, 2017). A look at the two cities, they are characterized by harboring different values which make up the people, yet these people of widely different backgrounds and beliefs lives harmoniously together. Thus, it is the common practice of humanity prior to 1991. Situations start to change after the introduction of the ethno linguistic form of administration. Since then political appointments were made based on ethnic background and political affiliation as opposed to merit.

In modern governance system, the underlying principles to organize the internal administrative boundaries of states are historical (cultural), physical and cartographic principal typologies (Assefa, 2019). The administrative division which was used by the imperial regime was a combination of natural/physical or geographic and cultural parameters (Bahru, 2002). Besides geography, culture and history, the imperial regime used the title of governors, their efficiency to collect taxes, their capacity to effectively control regions and recruit Territorial Army and loyalty to establish administrative regions (Assefa, 2019; Asmelash, 1974). Ethiopia was divided under 32 major administrative regions (*Gizats*) which were administered by *Rases*, *Dejazmaches*, *Fitawraris*, *Qegnazmazches*, *Girazmaches* and *Balambaras* from 1907-1935 (Mahtem Selassie, 1962 EC; Asemelash, 1974). Since the downfall of the military regime and introduction of ethno linguistic based boundary making/remaking, there was unprecedented interest and claims and counter claims over the two cities from Oromia and Somali regional states, respectively. The objectives of this study are therefore to uncover the process of boundary making/remaking pertaining to: a) Addis Ababa city administration b) Dire Dawa city administration. These objectives are important because of little self-standing studies in Ethiopia pertaining to boundary making/remaking. Documenting and mapping such urban focused studies may serve as spring board for future similar studies in Ethiopia as well elsewhere in the world.

2. Research Methods

2.1. Location and Population Size of the Study Area

Addis Ababa is found between $8^{\circ} 51' 0''$ to $9^{\circ} 7' 0''$ North latitude to $38^{\circ} 39' 00''$ to $38^{\circ} 55' 0''$ East longitude. The capital of the country has currently a total population of 3,752,857 of which 1,787,919 were males and the remaining 1,964,938 were females (CSA, 2007)⁵.

⁵ Population size was projected based on the 2007 housing and population census using the exponential growth formula: $P_t = P_0 e^{rt}$, where P_t = the population in question (at time t), P_0 = initial population (2007), $e = 2.72$, r = rate of population increase, t = time (2022-2007=15).

Dire Dawa on the other hand is found between 09° 28'1"to 09° 49"North Latitude and 41° 38'1" to 42° 19'1" East Longitudes. It has nine urban and 38 rural *kebeles* (the lowest administrative unit). The current population of Dire Dawa city administration was projected to 500,527 of whom 250771 were men and 249,756 were females (CSA, 2007).

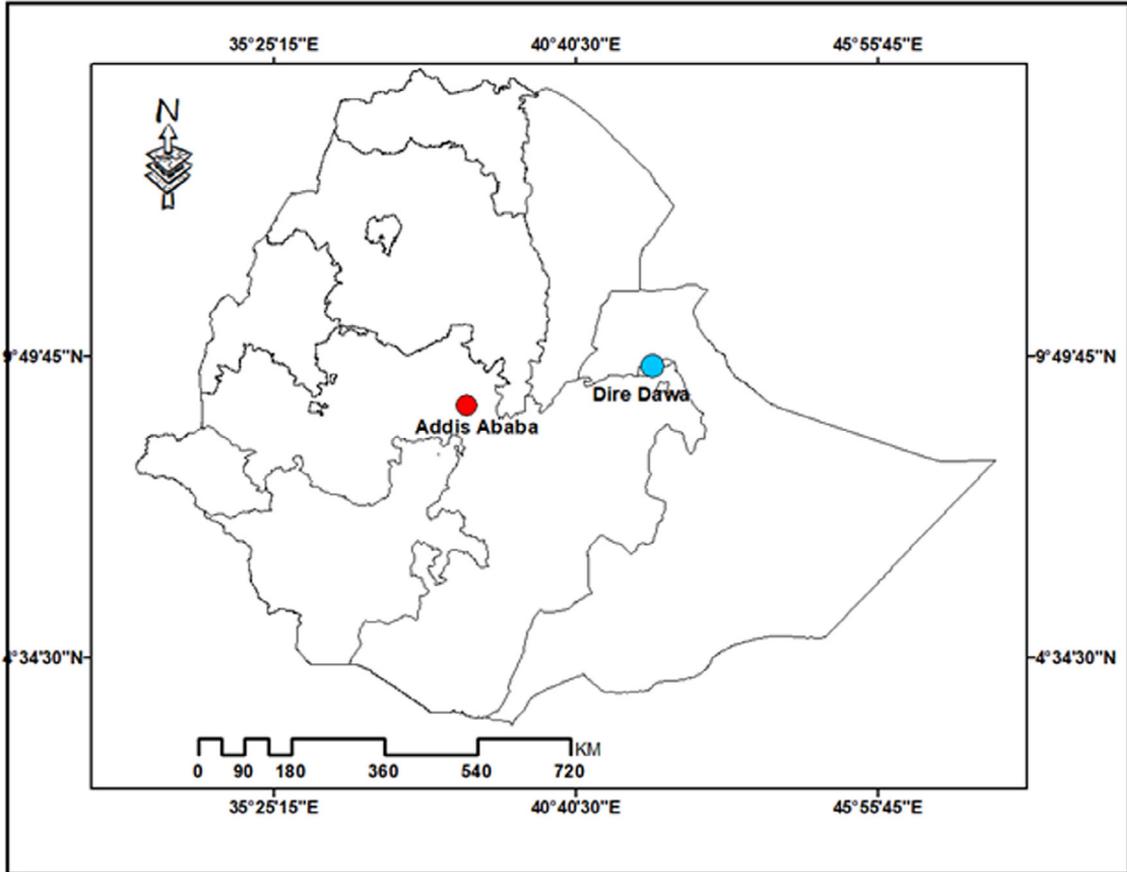


Figure 1: Map of the study Cities
 Source: EthioGIS

2.2. Research Approach, Sampling Technique and Analysis

A qualitative research approach, specifically case study research design was employed to meet the objectives of the study. This design was preferred over others due to the study focuses in detail on boundary making/remaking processes under different regimes in historical perspectives which is complex in nature. Primary and secondary data were collected through interview and document analysis. A total of thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted. In-depth interview participants were purposively selected from different groups of the society including: Administrators/Governors, Security Officials, Opposition Party Members, Religious Fathers, Intellectuals, Judges, Women and Youth. Information collected include the following: major changes and continuities that these urban centers has

passed through in terms of organization, nomenclature and geographical extent, number of times the urban centers have reorganized, major policies adopted for the reorganization of the urban centers, the boundaries of the urban centers, and existing administration with their strength and weakness. Then information were collected until the data get saturated. Several administrative policy documents enacted between 1974 and 2018 were consulted and meticulously analyzed for this study. Among others, administrative related constitutional provisions, administrative proclamations, administrative decrees, administrative regulations and administrative directives were painstakingly consulted. The data collected through document analysis from archival centres, personal collection and government offices were also checked for their authenticity and validity through internal and external criticisms. The data collected through document analysis were finally interpreted and analysed thematically.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Boundary Making/Remaking of Addis Ababa City Administration

Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia and the diplomatic centre of Africa, embodies a 130 years of development history that contributes to its current socio-spatial features. Its status as a primate city located at the heart of the nation has made Addis Ababa a melting pot of people with diverse background and geographic origins (Abnet et al., 2017).

The process of delimitation of the boundary of Addis Ababa and its immediate *Awrajjas* of the province of Shewa dates back to the latter parts of the *Derg* period. The task of studying it and providing report for final decision was entrusted to the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (Wondwossen, 2010).

The Coordinating Committee for Successive Tasks of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) held meetings on *Miazia* 28 and *Ginbot* 12, 1988. In the meetings, the committee made rigorous discussions on the delimitations of the administration of Addis Ababa, Central and East Shewa, and West Hararge and reached on the following opinions for decision: delimiting Addis Ababa in the “big” and in the “small.” The first option included the entire Menagesha *Awrajjja* and Ginbichu, Ad’a, and Liben-Ziqwuala *Woredas* of Yerer and Kereyu *Awrajjjas* of the province of Shewa.

The committee rejected this option for the following reasons; 1) cognizant of the fact that the delimitation comprises of two different areas, urban and rural, that would prevent from giving appropriate focus for each owing to inconvenience to discharge activities; 2) cognizant of the fact that it further complicates the different unsolved problems that the city has sustained; and 3) cognizant of the fact that the city has served for more than 30 years (NA, 1988) as the capital of the country with a measure of international taste would abase its value and status and the fact that the said limitations outweigh the strong sides of the option.

According to the second option, which the committee accepted for endorsement, the important boundary markers, most of them are natural features like rivers and mountains, in all directions are identified.



In the north Entoto Mountain, in the north-east Tafo River, which originates from the Entoto Mountain, and when it merges with Aqaqi River, the two forms the eastern boundary.



Its south-eastern boundary includes places that Aqaqi and its tributary,

Abey (አበይ) Rivers including its source and another river (its name is not mentioned) until the courses of Runta River.



In the west, it includes the foots of Wochacha Mountain following the Korke River, linking Deblok and Bole rivers.



In the north-west, the tributaries of Jamo and Little Aqaqi rivers were made to bind the boundary successively.



In the south-west, Qersa Bella and Qersa Rivers successively including the tributaries of Aqaqi River and Aqaqi River. In the south, the Dangura River until it joins the Aqaqi River.

In terms of area coverage Addis Ababa in the small covers 240 square kilometer in the city proper and the lands of 25 Peasant Associations that makes the total area 530 square kilometers which supports a total of 1.6 million peoples. The city was made to have 7 sub-cities namely Arada, Teklehaymanot, Addis Ketema, Kolfie, Gullelie, Qechenie, Entoto, and Yeka (all the above information was obtained from Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (ISEN), Documentation Service, 1988).

On the other hand, Proclamation No. 26, 1989, a Proclamation to Provide for the Determination of Boundaries of Autonomous, Administrative Regions and Provinces of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia established 19 Sub-Cities within the Addis Ababa Administrative Region. Table 1 indicates the names of the Sub-Cities and the Highers and Peasant Associations under each Sub-City. The inclusion of many rural *kebeles* from the nearby Oromia region increases the total areal size of Addis Ababa.

Table 1. Sub-Cities and Highers/Peasant Associations within Addis Ababa Administrative Region

S/N	Name of Sub-City	Highers/Peasant Associations Included in the Sub-Cities
1	Arada	Highers 2, 3 (45, 52, 53 Qebeles), 14, 15 (23, 27, 30 Qebeles), 21 (1, 12, Qebeles)
2	Tekle Haymanot	Highers 3, 4, 6 (Qebeles 24 &25)
3	Addis Ketema	Highers 5, 6 (excluding Qebeles 24 &25)
4	Kolfie	Highers 7, 24 (Qebeles 9, 10, 11), 25
5	Gullelie	Highers 8 &10
6	Qechenie	Highers 1 &9
7	Entoto	Highers 11, 12,13 (excluding Qebeles 15 &17)
8	Yeka	Highers 13 (Qebeles 15 &16), 15 (excluding Qebeles 34, 35, &36), and 16
9	Bole	Highers 15 (Qebeles 34, 35, &36), 17, 18 (Qebele 27), Bole Were Genu, Bole Lemie, Bole Arebisa, Bole Bulbulla, and Adero Peasant Associations
10	Nifas Silk	Highers 18 (excluding Qebele 27), 19, Lebu, Ertu, Mojo, Furie, and Hana Maryam
11	Qirqos	Highers 20 &21
12	Lideta	Highers 22, 23, 24 (excluding 9, 10, & 11 Qebeles), Gullelie Repie, Ertu Repie
13	Kotebie	Kotebie Special Higher, Anqorcha, Yeka Abado, Yeka Tafo, Bole Kotebie, Yeka, and Kotebie Peasant Associations
14	Beseqa	Aqaqai town, Sertie, Keyu, Gelan Gora, Gora, Qilinto, Feche, Yeka, Qersa, and Tulo Micha Peasant Associations
15	Bereh	Bereh Peasant Association and the part that would bring from Aeja when decided from government council
16	Alem Gena	Parts from Alem Gena when decided from government council
17	Wolmera	Parts from Wolmera when decided by government council
18	Sululta	Sululta and Mulo Peasant Associations and parts from Meta Robe when decided by government council
19	Aqaqi	Parts from Aqaqi countryside when decided by government council

The following two maps illustrate the delimitations of Addis Ababa in the “Big” and in the “Small” and the surrounding administrative boundaries respectively.

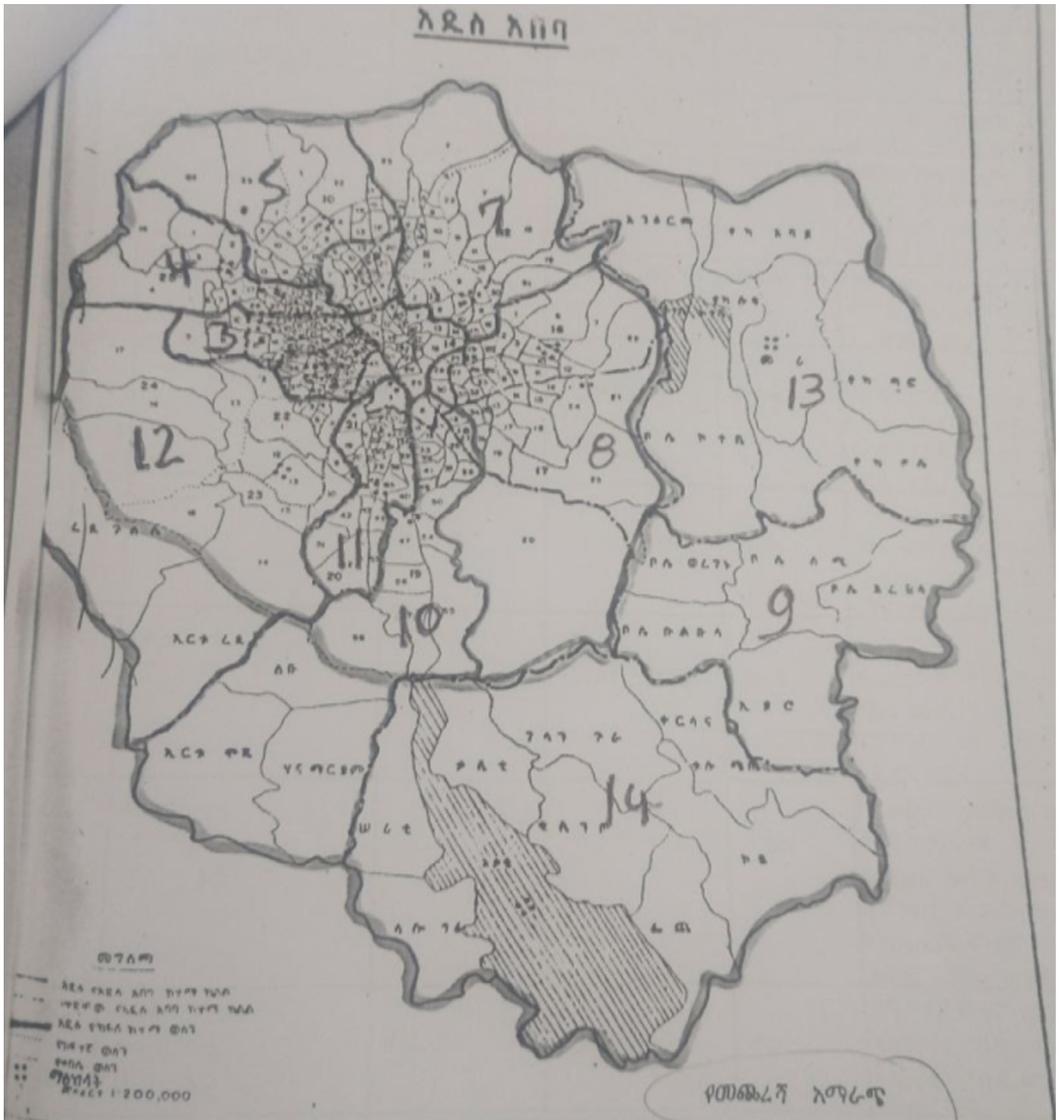


Figure 2: Map of Addis Ababa, 1988
Source: ISEN Documentation Service, 1980 E.C.

Like the 5 autonomous and 25 administrative regions that the ISBN finally came about as final decisions of the long laborious task, the actual delimitation task remained on paper.

After the overthrow of the *Derg* in 1991, the charter of the transition period established Addis Ababa as the 14th regional state (*Negarit Gazeta*, 51st year, 1992, the Charter of the Transition Period, 1992). However, its status as one regional state was short lived as the 1995 constitution reduced the number of regional states from 14 to 9 by subsuming 12 regional states established by the charter of the transitional period into the State of the Southern Nation, Nationalities, and Peoples, the State of the Gambella People, and the State of Benishangul/Gumuz (The 1995 Constitution). At this time, the constitution granted the city a self-governing status, which is clearly stated in article 49 of the constitution. Accordingly, it is stated that “The residents of Addis Ababa shall have a full measure of self-government. Particulars shall be determined by law” (The 1995 Constitution).

Its unique qualities as the capital of the Federal Government as well as continental, and international organizations, which has hosted people of diverse ethnic and language groups formed the rationales for granting the city a self-governing status. Put it differently, its conduciveness to exercise direct democracy and providing social services in the best possible ways as well as the shared common values that the residents of the city have developed over the years were the justifications for granting the city a self-governing status (Wondwossen, 2010).

While providing the city a self-governing status is worth appreciating, the fact that the constitution concomitantly granted the city administration a self-governing status and makes it responsible to the Federal government without providing a clear explanation on the kind of relationship that must exist between the two and with that of Oromia regional state makes its self-governing status superficial. To the continuous disgruntlements of the residents of the city, this has been manifested under different circumstances (Wondwossen, 2010).

According to the Revised Charter of the Addis Ababa City Administration, delimitation of its boundary involves two entities, the Federal Government and the regional state of Oromia. The section that pertains to its boundary states; “Without prejudice to the existing one, the boundary of the City shall be delimited by an agreement to be made between the City Government and Oromia Regional State, or pursuant to the decision of the Federal Government” (The Revised Charter of the City Government of Addis Ababa, 2003). This situation has rolled down over the years being a paper value until it was delimited in August 16, 2022. The alleged deal governing the delimitation of administrative boundaries was publicized in a rather unique gathering held on August 16, 2022, at the Addis Ababa City Council Hall in the presence of senior federal and regional government officials, religious forefathers, *Aba Gedas*, and selected community residents from across the city and around Oromia Special Zone, among others. The process and the procedures followed and individuals involved as committee member are not clear. It seems “a contract with oneself”. It means it was just like a sort of unilateral agreement entered into by a party with himself for the sole purpose of creating a right for those individuals whom he chooses to inherit his assets and liabilities following his death.”

According to the Addis Ababa City Government Charter Proclamation No. 87/1997, Addis Ababa includes the existing urban areas and 23 rural localities falling under the jurisdiction of the City Government. Article 33, which speaks about the special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa says the following; “The boundaries of Addis Ababa to be delimited pursuant to Article 2 (1) of this Charter shall jointly be marked by the City

Government and the Government of the State of Oromia.” The Charter also granted the state of Oromia the right to make Addis Ababa the seat of its Government. Besides, the surrounding residents of the State of Oromia were granted to obtain services in the same manner that the residents of the city of Addis Ababa would gain services. In addition to this, the Addis Ababa City Government shall consult with and obtain the consent of the government of the state of Oromia prior to undertaking any development activity within the territory of the State of Oromia with a view to providing services to the residents of Addis Ababa (Federal *Negarit Gazeta*, 3rd Year, No. 52, ADDIS ABABA- 7th July, 1997). Furthermore, the Ethiopian constitution Article 49 No. 5 states that the special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa, regarding the provision of social services or the utilization of natural resources and other similar matters, as well as joint administrative matters arising from the location of Addis Ababa within the State of Oromia, shall be respected. Particulars shall be determined by law (Proclamation No. 1/1995). Sadly, until this time there is no any detail action plan put in place by the federal government to materialize the provision.

The Addis Ababa Revised Charters, Proclamation Nos. 311/2003 and 361/2003 are similar with the Addis Ababa City Government Charter Proclamation No. 87/1997 in terms of the special interest of the state of Oromia, service delivery, the different bodies that would involve in the delimitation of the city’s boundaries, and the agreement that the two need to make in the event that the city administration would make development activity (Federal *Negarit Gazeta*, 9th Year, No. 24, ADDIS ABABA- 16th January, 2003; Federal *Negarit Gazeta*, 9th Year, No. 86, ADDIS ABABA- 24th July, 2003). Another similarity worthy of note is that the three charters fail to indicate particulars or specific details regarding the delimitation of its boundaries, relationship between the city administration and the state of Oromia, and the special interest of the state of Oromia. As a policy document, this is a major gap. Two major difference that we see is that unlike the revised charters, the 1997 charter specified the territories that were included within the jurisdiction of the city government and the right of the state of Oromia to make Addis Ababa the seat of its government.

Another material that could be taken as a draft of policy document is the Integrated Development Plan of Addis Ababa and the Surrounding Special Zone of Oromia. The project plan, which would last from 2006–2030 E.C, included 17 *Woredas* and 36 towns including the city of Addis Ababa. The total landmass that is taken into account in the plan covers 1.1 million hectares. Of this, only 15 percent is within the city administration. The remaining 85 percent is within the surrounding special Oromia Zone. Starting in the city of Addis Ababa, this landmass is grouped into 5 levels. In the first level we find Addis Ababa and Oromia edge towns like Burayu, Sululta, Legetafo, Gelan-Dukem and Sebeta. Adama and Bishoftu come in the second level. In the third level we find the towns of Modjo, Holeta, Chancho, Sendafa, and Teji. Koka, Chefe Donsa, and Teji and other small towns whose names are not mentioned take the fourth and fifth levels respectively (Integrated Development Plan of Addis Ababa and the Surrounding Special Zone of Oromia, Project Plan, 2006-2030 E.C).

According to the above plan, the future possibility of the expansion of the city of Addis Ababa falls under the mandate of the surrounding Oromia special Zone. However, as this is a project plan that would be implemented in the space of 25 years, we cannot speak with certainty regarding the status of the city at this point. Recently the city has gone boundary remaking based on the discussion made between the Oromia regional state and the city administration. Details are not presented except it was a big breakthrough by government officials including the prime minister. However, it lacks clarity and not

welcomed by its people as the deal was made between two individuals (the mayor of Addis Ababa and the president of Oromia region) who are in the same party. Thus, the size of the city is not known after the boundary making was made in August 2022 (See Table 2).

Table 2: Size of Addis Ababa at Different Periods (Since 1886)

Period	No. of Settlement Patches	Area (Ha)	Area (%)
Early Settlement (1886-1935)	17	6222	14.2
Italian Period (1936-1941)	59	5829	13.3
Post Italian Period (1941-1974)	98	5152	11.8
The Derg Era (1974 - 1991)	166	6102	14.0
Post Derg Era (1991 - 2013)	124	20388	46.7
AA Limit (Since 2013 -2021)	40	35884	82.1
Total (Area and Space till 2021)	464	43694	100.0
Total Area After 2021 (Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfine)		53920	100.0
Total Area since 2022 (Demarcation Oromia Special Zone - Sheger)		Not known	Not Known

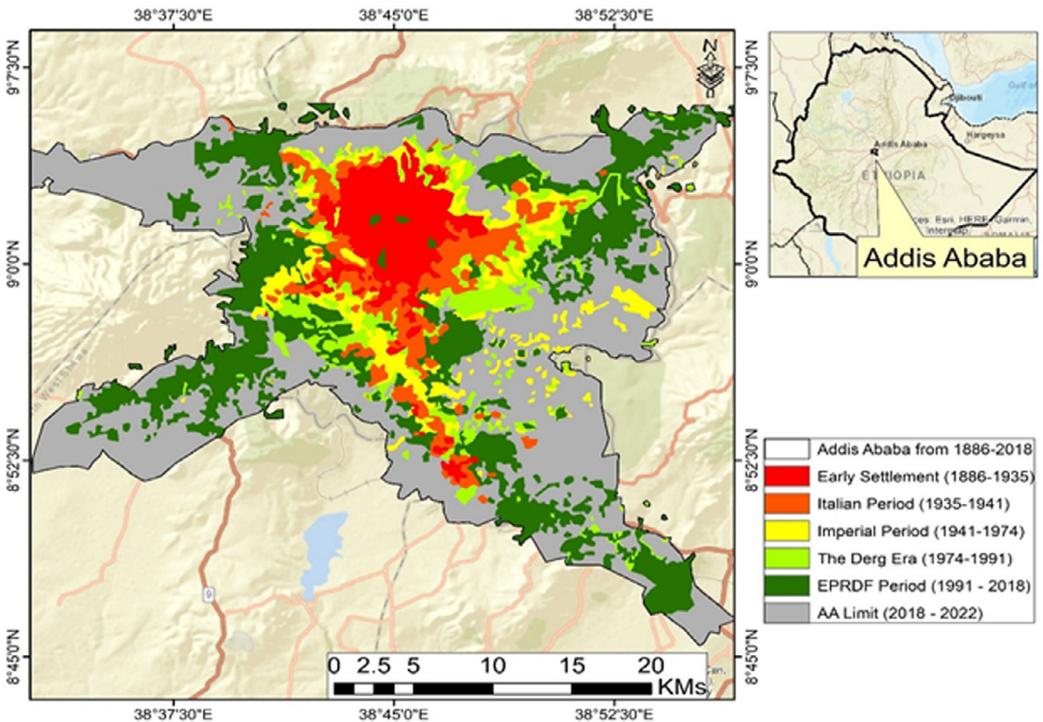


Figure 4: Map of Addis Ababa at Different Eras since 1886
 Source: Background Image Int. Boundary from ESRI Base Map, 2017; City Boundary & Settlement- Abnet et al. 2015

As can be observed from Table 2 the areal size of the city has undergone changes during different periods. Unprecedented land gain was made after the downfall of the military regime. The process of boundary making/remaking is still an ongoing process because there are still claims from Oromiya region. This needs further scrutiny as it is beyond the scope of this study.

4.2.1. Boundary Making/Remaking of Dire Dawa City Administration

Dire Dawa is claimed by two regional states, i.e. Oromia and Somali. According to Belew (2017) the contention between the Oromos and the Somalis over Dire Dawa can be traced back to early periods, long before the establishment of Oromia and Somali regional states. These peoples were in contest over Dire Dawa starting from the etymology of the name itself. The same source further reiterates that the Oromia regional state justified its claim by taking the long lasting relationship between the Nolle Oromos and the Gurguras: the language. On the other hand, the Somalis claim that the first to settle in Dire Dawa were the Gurgura Somali who named the city “Dire Dhabe” or Dire Dawa which means in Somali language “the place where Dir conquered or hit with his spear”. For the Gurguras the meaning of the word has been “the plain of fight” which has an Oromo meaning. The dispute over the meaning of the word “Dire Dawa” has continued and will continue to be point of debate (Belew, 2017). The claim has resulted in fear of potential violence and ethnic conflict that caused the city to be designated a federally administered city. Dire Dawa had no representatives in the House of Federation, because it is not a regular federal unit, but a multi-ethnic administrative region where the administration was directly responsible to the federal government. Hence, Dire Dawa began to be run by a council formed directly by the central government (Belew, 2017).

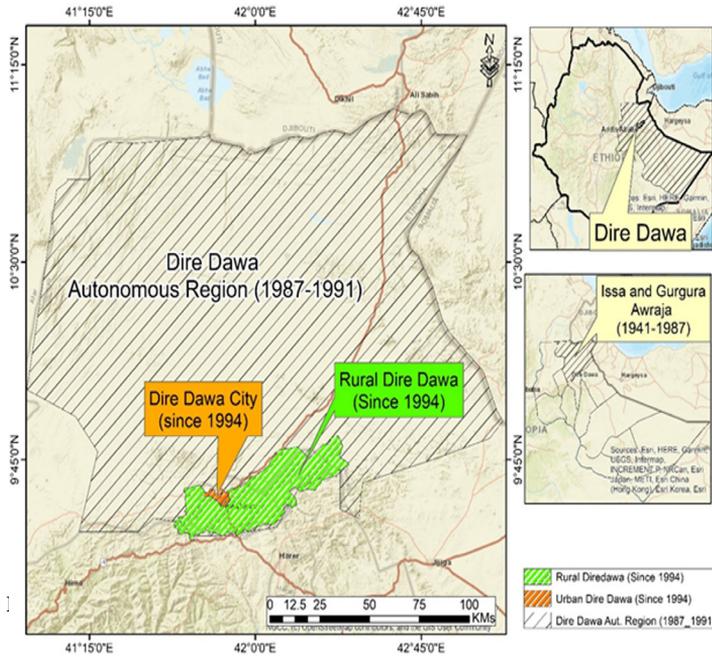
Since the time of the period of transition and more boldly after the establishment of 9 Regional States, both the Somali and Oromo Regional States laid claims on the city. Beginning from 1993, Dire Dawa was responsible to and was directed by the Federal government. In 2004, the Dire Dawa City Administration was established with boundaries, which include the existing urban and rural Qebeles. Part one number 4 in the general provisions, which speaks about the city’s boundary says; “The City shall have a boundary, which includes the existing urban and rural Qebeles. In the event of a need of making a change in its boundary in the future, the City Administration may delimit it as per agreements to be made with neighboring Regions.” (Negarit Gazeta, 10th Year No. 60, Addis Ababa, 30th July, 2004, the Dire Dawa Administration Charter Proclamation).

The policy rationales for granting self-government for the residents of the city are the following, 1) to legislate conditions that enabled the city to be governed as a modern competitive work and residential city in which the entire well-being of its residents is ensured and efficient and cost-effective municipal service is equitably delivered, 2) to create conducive conditions to capacitate the city to render trade, industry and other services for the eastern part of the country, 3) to ensure good governance and to expedite development, and 4) to solve problems arising from the claims of the Somali and Oromo regional governments on the city (Negarit Gazeta, 10th Year No. 60, Addis Ababa, 30th July, 2004, the Dire Dawa Administration Charter Proclamation).

Against the above rationales, informants maintain that it is the claims and counter claims of the Somali and Oromo regional states on Dire Dawa, and the concomitant security problems the major justification for making Dire Dawa a chartered self-governing city (Informants: Tamrat Negera; Yohannis Amare; Tajudin Abdullahi; Habtamu Assefa). The Federal Government on its part failed to settle the question of claim and counter claim on the basis of clearly stated criteria. As a result, the city was delimited under the claimants at different times that significantly damaged the security of the people. Other informants further argued that the Charter (Proclamation No. 416/2004) was adopted as a temporary solutions to Somali-Oromo claim. This affected the status of Dire Dawa in that the city was not member of the House of Federation. This status has affected the economic position of the city. The Federal government has been collecting revenues from the city but it does not subsidize budget for the city as it does for other regional states. This affected the livelihood of the dwellers. Dire Dawa has huge unemployment problem (Informant: Ato Yohannis Amare Sisay; Ato Masafint Seiyfu; Habtamu Assefa Wakjira; Shumburo Café; Ato Yared Alemayehu). It has also boundary problems with Oromia at Jeledessa and with the Somalia at Mermerssa. They are not yet settled.

In 2018, the 2004 charter underwent certain amendments. However, apart from making a few changes on office term of the council, appointment of deputy mayor, and government organs of the Dire Dawa Administration, no statement was inserted that deals with administrative boundary changes of the city administration (Proclamation No. 416/2004; Proclamation No. 1095/2018).

The Figure below indicates that the aerial size change of Dire Dawa 1987 to 1994 though the 1987 to 1991 was not put into practice.



Source: Background Image Int. Boundary from ESRI Base Map, 2017; City Boundary & Settlement-CSA-1994, ISEN-1987

5. Conclusion

The following concluding remarks may be drawn from the major findings presented above. The process of boundary making/remaking pertaining to cities like Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa was at its most unstable condition because of unprecedented competitions between the two regional states, i.e. Oromiya and Somali regional states. This happened so since the 1991 ethno linguistic boundary making/remaking. While doing this though residents' participation is compulsory, in both cities it is/was totally absent. Even if we take the very recent case of Addis Ababa (delimited in August 16, 2022) boundary making/remaking was not clear. The residents' involvement was completely absent. Moreover, committee members who have been involved in the process are not well known. Such a process has created dissatisfaction among other nations, nationalities and people for being the processes were not transparent (interview participants). Urban centers like Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa are naturally cosmopolitan. But there is a tendency on the part of politicians to associate these cities to a particular ethnic group(s).

The two cities share common claims from Oromia and Somali regions which is expressed in terms of power holding in different offices though the magnitude is different. Other ethnic groups are complaining about this imbalance. Thus, if there exist boundary making/remaking, there should be active participation of the residents in any decision making process and to refrain from giving to a particular ethno linguistic group which sooner or later will trigger tension and conflict.

Finally, future detail studies are still required since the country has no official administrative boundary map since the downfall of the military regime.

Acknowledgments

The Ethiopian Policy Studies Institute (PSI) is thanked for funding of the research.

References

- Abnet G., Dawit B., Imam M., Tsion L., Yonas A. (2017). City profile: Addis Ababa. Report prepared in the SES (Social Inclusion and Energy Management for Informal Urban Settlements) project, funded by the Erasmus + Program of the European Union. <http://moodle.donau-uni.ac.at/ses/>. Accessed on May 23, 2023.
- Aminzadeh, B. & Samani, F. (2006). "Identifying the Boundaries of the Historical Site of Persepolis using remote sensing." *Remote Sensing of Environment* 102.
- Anschuetz, K.F., Wilshusen, R.H and Scheick, C.L. (2001). An archeology of landscapes; perspectives and directions. *Journal of Archeological Research* 9:157-211.
- Asebe Regassa and Teshome Emanu. (2022). Urban development and the making of frontiers in/from Addis Ababa/Finfinne, Ethiopia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*: DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096211069647>.
- Assefa Mihretu. (2019). *KifleHagers vs. Killils*, Citizen vs. Subject: The Case for Restoring the 1974 Non-Tribal Provincial Administrative Areas in Ethiopia. A Paper Presented in Ethiopia Forum. East Lansing, Michigan, March 22-24.
- Asmelash Beyene. (1987). "Some Notes on the Evolution of Regional Administration in Ethiopia." *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 9 (1).
- Bahru Zewde. (2002). *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*. Oxford: James Curry.
- Belew Worku. (2017). Historical-Sociology of Interaction in the city of Dire Dawa: The case of Oromo-Somali ethnic groups. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, (7)3. Available at www.ijsrp.org, Accessed on April 1, 2023.
- Central Statistics Authority. (CSA). 2007. Household income, consumption and expenditure survey. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Chao, F., You, C. & Jin, W. (2023). Optimizing Urban Stock Space through District Boundary Reorganization: Hangzhou's Administrative Adjustment. *Land*, 12, 959. <https://www.mdpi.com/journal/land>. Accessed on May 23/2023.
- Constantienscu, S. (2022). The New Urban Tribalism: American Indians Making and Remaking Space and Race in US Cities After the 1956 Indian Relocation Act. University of Helsinki, Faculty of Arts, Department of History, Master's Thesis.
- Daniel Gemechu. (1994). "A Nation in Perpetual Transition: The Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions and Sub Divisions in Ethiopia." in Harold Marcus (Ed.) *Proceedings of 12th International*, Michigan: Red Sea Inc.
- Díaz-Andreu, M, Lucy, S, Babic, S and Edwards, D.N. (2005). *The Archeology of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Kirby, P.W. 2009). *Boundless Worlds*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Kowalewski, S.A., Blanton, R.E., Feinman, G., and L. Finsten, L. (1982). "Boundaries, Scale, and Internal Organization." *Journal of Anthropological Archeology*.

- Llobera, M. (1996). "Exploring the Topography of Mind: GIS, Social Space and Archeology." *Antiquity* (70)
- Mahteme Selassie Wolde Mesqel. (1970). *Zikre Neger*. Artistic Printing Press.(Amharic).
- Osborne, J.F. (2013). "Sovereignty and Territoriality in the City-State: a Case Study from the AmuqValley, Turkey." *Journal of Anthropological Archeology*.
- Pacione M. (2009). *Urban Geography: a Global perspective*. 3rd Edition. UK. Routledge, eBooks available at www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk. Accessed on February 6, 2023.
- Sbacchi, A. (1975). "Italian Colonialism in Ethiopia, 1936-1940." Ph.D Dissertation, University of Illinois.
- Schröder, G. (2017). *Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Administrative Divisions Regions (kilil), Zones, Districts (wereda)*. Frankfurt
- UN (2017). *The New Urban Agenda: the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in Quito, Ecuador, October 17-20, 2016*. <https://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/>. Accessed on May 23, 2023.
- Wondwossen Wakene (2010). "Self-Governing Addis Ababa, the Federal Government & Oromia: Bottom Lines and Limits in Self-Governance." M.A Thesis in Law, Addis Ababa University.

Legal Documents

- The Charter of the Transitional Period, 1992.
- Proclamation No. 7/1992 A Proclamation to Provide National/Regional Self-Governments
The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995).
Establishment Proclamation
- Proclamation No. 87/1997 Addis Ababa City Administration charter
- Proclamation No. 311/2003 Addis Ababa City Administration Revised charter
- Proclamation No. 361/2003 Addis Ababa City Administration Revised charter.
- Proclamation No. 416/2004 the Dire Dawa Administration Charter Proclamation
- Proclamation No. 1095/2018. Dire Dawa Administration Charter (Amendment)
Proclamation
- _____ (1988) Addis Ababa: Mehal Shoa ena Ogaden Akababewoch Akelalel lewusane yekerebe