Migration and Rural-Urban Linkages in Ethiopia:

Cases studies of five rural and two urban sites

in

Addis Ababa, Amhara, Oromia and SNNP Regions

and

Implications for Policy and Development Practice

Prepared for

Irish Aid–Ethiopia

Final Report

Feleke Tadele, Alula Pankhurst, Philippa Bevan and Tom Lavers

Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries
Ethiopia Programme

ESRC WeD Research Programme
University of Bath,
United Kingdom

June 2006

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

We are greatly indebted to the respondents in Dinki, Imdibir, Kolfe, Korodegaga, Shashemene and Turufe Kecheme who shared their experiences and thoughts about migration and rural-urban linkages. We would like to acknowledge the help of the representatives of civil society organisations, local community leaders and administrators who gave us information without reservation. We are very grateful to Irish-Aid –Ethiopia Office for its financial assistance.

ABSTRACT

The paper examines key issues affecting the dynamics of rural-urban linkages; mobility and migration in Ethiopia on the basis of findings from the ESRC sponsored Research Group on Well-being in Developing Countries (WeD). Issues addressed include: the main forms of rural-urban linkages; reasons behind mobility, and rural and urban migration; patterns and trends of migration in the selected research sites; diversities and characteristics of migrants; and institutional, economic and policy implications of rural-urban linkages, and migration processes and flows.

The paper is informed by empirical data, which were collected by WeD-Ethiopia in five research sites: two urban, Kolfe in Addis Ababa (the capital city of Ethiopia) and Shashemene (a business town in Oromia National Regional State, ONRS) and five rural, Turufe Kecheme (a rural village in ONRS), Yetmen (a village in Amhara National Regional State, ANRS) and Imdibir (a Gurage village in Southern Nations and Nationalities Peoples Region, SNNPR), Korodegaga (a rural village in ORNS) and Dinki (a rural village in ANRS).

The study found that migration is part and parcel of the livelihoods of both rural and urban households. Seasonal migration experiences of male and female as well as poor, middle and rich individuals and households in the studied communities served as safety net mechanisms for lessening the pressure of food insecurity and augmenting income from small farms even in a normal agricultural year. Most of the long-term urban migrants have transferred goods, cash and information to their families living in rural home areas, which help them to fill their financial gaps and pay their debts. Both seasonal and long-term rural-urban migrants served the urban labour needs mainly in the booming urban construction work, service sector and domestic work.

The paper argues that migration on its own does not result in radical improvements in the well being of most of the individual migrants, their households and communities. However, viewed in the broader context of urban-rural linkages, migration can play a positive transformative role through maximising rural livelihood opportunities, offsetting their rural distress and earning additional income to augment their agricultural income. The authors suggest that the Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP; FDRE, 2005) should take into consideration the multi-dimensional links that inherently exist between rural and urban areas, and promote development measures that capitalise on the positive aspects of mobility and migration.

List of Acronyms

CSA	Central Statistical Authority
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DCI	Development Cooperation Ireland
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
KA	Kebele Administration
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
ONRS	Oromia National Regional State
PA	Peasant Association
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Region
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WeD	Research Group on Well-being in Developing Countries

GLOSSARY

Biqil	Fermented grain used to brew local drinks
Boye	a Wolayita word used to describe yams.
Iddir	a funeral society formed by individuals to help each other during the death of their members or the relative of their members.
Kebele	The lowest urban administration unit
Meskel	An Amharic word meaning ‘cross’ used to describe the celebration of the Finding of the True Cross on September 27.
Sefer	An Amharic word used to describe a small community neighbourhood
Shiro	Ground horse beans or check peas used to make stew
Wereda	District level government administration unit.

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS

Executive Summary

This study attempts to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of migration and rural-urban linkages in Ethiopia. The study explored the types of linkages between urban and rural areas, and the processes and consequences of labour migration and their implications for poverty alleviation in the country. The study used the analysis of migration data collected by the Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries in Ethiopia based on two urban and five rural research sites, Addis Ababa (the capital city of Ethiopia), Shashemene (a business town in Oromia National Regional State, ONRS), Korodegaga and Turufe Kecheme (rural villages in Oromia National Regional State, ONRS), Dinki and Yetmen (rural villages in Amhara National Regional State, ANRS) and Imdibir, a Gurage rural village in the Southern Nations and Nationalities People Region, SNNPR).

Most of the studied rural households in Dinki, Imdibir, Korodegaga, Turufe Kecheme and Yetmen are heavily engaged in seasonal rural-urban migration, reflecting rural-urban livelihood interchanges, implying the advantages associated with non-farming opportunities, indicating the pathways to cope with high climatic and market risks and citing hopes for the poor peasants who used to depend on their 'starvation' plots.

A high female long-term rural-rural and rural-urban migration trend has been observed among the case study communities. The main reason for the long-term rural-rural female migration is marriage, while the causes for the long-term rural-urban female migrations are mostly attributed to 'traditional' socio-cultural practices such as early marriage, rape and abduction as well as social reasons like divorce, death of spouse, family displacement, marriage arrangement and family relocation.

The main reasons for the majority of the seasonal, male and adult urban migrations are lack of sufficient food, shortage of rural farmland, landlessness, imposition of heavy land tax and the inability of farmers to pay for agricultural debts.

Seasonal rural-urban migration, although mostly practiced by the poor rural community members, has involved middle income and even 'rich' peasants during agricultural slack seasons. We came across several individual cases, which demonstrated that both young and adult men often practice seasonal migration to maximise their rural livelihood opportunities, offset their rural distress and earn additional income to augment their agricultural income.

Long-term migrants to urban areas of Shashemene and Kolfe mostly include young people from SNNPR, Amhara and Oromia regions. Pull factors in urban areas of Shashemene and Kolfe relate to a variety of work opportunities such as: employment as daily labourers in the housing construction sector; loading and unloading of goods; urban vegetable growing; weaving; blacksmithing; lottery ticketselling; and begging. Unmarried women are reported to engage in domestic work as housemaids, as waitresses and commercial sex workers in bars, as well as in the informal sector as petty traders and some in begging.

There seems to be some specialisation of activities among the migrants of the different ethnic groups living in the urban neighbourhoods of Shashemene and Kolfe. Most of the migration experiences in the rural sites, particularly Gurage and Gamo areas, were chain-migration whereby former migrants attracted relatives or people from the same area, who came to live with them or work for them and then set themselves up independently.

The majority of the poor rural households view wereda towns, sub-wereda towns and other rural villages, and to a lesser extent Addis Ababa, regional state capitals and zonal towns, as important places to maximise the opportunities for their livelihoods. Reasons for the importance of small towns include proximity, the availability of consumer goods, health and education services as well as employment in construction work and the service industry such as small bars and restaurants.

Beyond serving as a safety net, the rural-urban seasonal migration among the interviewed individuals often did not entirely transform the lives of the majority of the poor migrants. Rural-urban migration was also felt to have negative economic and social effects on those who migrated particularly for those engaged in domestic work with extremely low wages. Although these migrants manage to escape their serious economic problems in their rural homes as a result of the improved cash income they earn in the urban areas and the social support they obtained from their migrant associations, their individual wellbeing does not improve; rather it is sometimes reported to have exposed them to exploitation and abuse. This exploitation and abuse has been more serious among child and female migrants.

Successive Ethiopian governments to date have shared negative perceptions of migration, discouraged migration by introducing various measures and formulated policies that focus primarily on supporting rural agriculture and controlling rural-urban migration. Nonetheless, the newly developed Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP; FDRE, 2005) covering the period 2006-2010 acknowledges the need for the strengthening of rural-urban linkages and intends to rebalance a growth strategy with emphasis on the development of small towns and growth poles, particularly in urban areas. Such strategic priorities seem to create a more favourable, enabling environment towards the mobility of people, although the role of internal migration in this poverty alleviation strategy is not directly addressed.

In general, the findings of the case studies reflected in this paper support the argument that seasonal rural-urban migration has added significant value to the diversification of livelihoods and thereby has reduced livelihood risks and vulnerability in rural areas. Therefore, it is important for various stakeholders to recognise the vital importance of internal migration as a means for diversifying livelihood opportunities.

Given the dynamics of migration and the effects of the migration experience, the Government of Ethiopia, donors and the NGO community should consider the strengthening of the decentralisation process and prioritising development activities in small *wereda* towns and developing urban-rural linkages. Such investment in lower levels

of development structure can serve as development conduits between the remote rural areas and the major urban centres.

In order to avoid excessive rural-urban migration the Government of Ethiopia, together with donors and the NGOs community, should increase investment in rural employment creation, reduce extreme levels of rural destitution, improve rural roads and other physical infrastructures, and increase the availability of education and health services at community and wereda levels. It is, therefore, imperative for Irish Aid to strengthen macro and micro-enabling environments that support and encourage policies that improve exchange, mobility, communication, information and infrastructure, and discourage domestic policies that have the reverse of these effects.

Women need to be supported with the enforcement of the new legal instruments (revised family law, penal code, civil code and land policy) of the Government of Ethiopia. They need to be protected from abuses manifested in the form of rape, abduction and early marriage. The empowerment of women through affirmative programmes such as compulsory primary level education for girls, rural credit facilities for women and access to political participation is an essential policy implication.

The implementation of affirmative actions for women and the effective implementation of the revised legal codes of Ethiopia should be implemented in a consistent manner at wereda and community levels. This requires the strengthening of the institutional capacity of wereda administration and development structures with better-equipped human resources, improved physical infrastructure, efficient organisational systems and procedures. The Government should also design formal employment policies and minimum benefit standards to minimise extreme exploitation of labour and abuse particularly experienced by women and children migrants.

Irish-Aid can assist in the creation of a more favourable enabling environment towards the mobility of people by elaborating and developing a concrete implementation programme out of the PASDEP (FDRE, 2005). This includes, *inter alia*, the development of small towns and growth poles, enhanced decentralisation of resources at wereda and zonal levels as well as increased availability of social services and employment opportunities in wereda and zonal capitals.

1. Background

1.1.Introduction

This report is prepared for Irish Aid–Ethiopia with the aim of providing a better understanding of the dynamics of rural-urban linkages and migration in Ethiopia. The study explores the modalities of urban-rural linkages and the processes and consequences of migration, and their implications for poverty alleviation in the country.

The specific purpose of the assessment is to review the available studies and resource materials on the dynamics of migration in Ethiopia and relate existing knowledge to the findings of a recent research project, which has focused on migration issues. The empirical data was collected by the Research Group on Well-being in Developing Countries in seven Ethiopian research sites: two urban, namely, Kolfe in Addis Ababa (the capital city of Ethiopia), Shashemene (a business town in Oromia National Regional State); and five rural, Imdibir Haya Gasha, (a village in the Southern Nations and Nationalities People Region, SNNPR), Korodegaga and Turufe Kecheme (villages in Oromia National Regional State, ONRS), and Dinki and Yetmen (villages in Amhara National Regional State, ANRS).

1.2.Scope and approaches to the study

Migration is understood as a spatial separation of one or more family members from the location of their residence for different reasons over varying periods of time, and in so doing is able to make new and different contributions to their well-being (Ellis, 1998a). In this paper, migration is used to describe all kinds of population movements that include small or large-scale, single or circular (involving mobility back and forth between the place of origin and urban communities), temporary or permanent, voluntary or induced movement of people caused by social, economic and/or political factors including seasonal employment, diversifying livelihoods, political instability, ethnic strife, natural disasters, social distress, marriage arrangements, or by the combination of one or more of these factors. However, the scope of the paper does not directly deal with state organised or 'planned' movement of people such as the resettlement programme in Ethiopia, or various forms of development induced displacement, and resettlement of refugees and returnees.[1]

We refer to migration into the research sites as 'in-migration' and mobility from the research sites as 'out-migration'. All the people in the research sites who had moved at least once are regarded as 'migrants' in the study regardless of the duration of their stay in the research sites at the time of the study. We also apply the term 'migration stream' to describe the flow of people from one area to another. Migrants are characterised into four types based on the combination of places of origin and destination: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural.

[1] For a recent review of these issues see Pankhurst & Piguet (2004).

The paper examines key issues affecting the dynamics of migration and the informal sector in Ethiopia. It seeks to answer questions including: the main reasons behind rural and urban migration; the patterns and trends of migration in the selected research sites; the diversities and characteristics of migrants, as well as the institutional, economic and policy implications of migration processes and flows.

A migration research module was developed focusing on three levels to guide the qualitative research process. They are:

(1) Community level – to establish current patterns and types of geographical mobility and related inter-household linkages found in each of the sites and changes since the mid-1990s.

(2) Household level – to identify the roles, which different types of migrant play in household economies.

(3) Individual level – to learn the strategies, risks, costs and benefits of migration as experienced by individuals involved in seasonal, long-term and distress migration.

The qualitative research fieldwork involved a total of five site teams, four of which consisted of pairs of one female and one male graduate of Addis Ababa University who attended training on research methods and took part in prior research in the respective sites. A total of twenty-three focus group discussions (FGDs), twenty key informant interviews and forty-eight individual cases studies were conducted for the purpose of this specific study.

Accordingly, eight (four each for female and male) FGDs, four key informant interviews and eight individual case studies were conducted in the Shashemene site. Similarly, a total of four male FGDs and one female FGD were involved in the discussion held in the Kolfe site of Addis Ababa. This was supplemented by four key informant interviews and eight individual cases in Kolfe. Thus the urban sites covered a total of thirteen FGDs, eight key informant interviews and sixteen individual case studies.

In the rural sites, the research in Korodegaga and Turufe Kecheme each comprised two male and four female FGDs, four key informant interviews and sixteen individual cases. The Dinki and Yetmen sites each involved two male and two female FGDs, eight key informant interviews and sixteen (eight female and eight male) individual cases. In the same way, the Imdibir, Haya Gasha *Kebele* site, covered two male and female FGDs, eight key informant interviews and sixteen (eight female and eight male) individuals. The individuals were selected through key informants among from the relatively rich, middle and poor community members.

To contextualise the study and relate it to insights from other research, the paper examines secondary data sources such as the 1999 National Labour Force and Migration Survey in Ethiopia and the 1998 Gender and Health Survey in Five Regions of Ethiopia,

as well as other relevant studies and policy documents that are relevant to the dynamics of migration between rural and urban areas in Ethiopia.

1.3. Migration in Ethiopia: an analysis of the context

Migration processes have been crucial to the formation of Ethiopia. However, this section is confined to the recent migration history of Ethiopia focusing on four political periods: 1) from the late nineteenth century (the Menelik period) until the Italian Occupation (1889-1941); 2) the post-liberation imperial Haile Selassie period (1941-1974); 3) the Socialist, *Derg* period (1974-1991); and 4) the current, EPRDF period (1991-to date).

Early migration: From the Menelik period until the Italian Occupation (1887-1941)

Ethiopia witnessed an increasing scale of peasant migration since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries along with the conquest of the south and consolidation of the nation building process by Menelik II from 1889-1913 (Bjeren, 1985; Galperin, 1988;). Menelik's expansion during this period was achieved through a series of military expeditions, which, in turn, led to the formation of various garrison towns in the south and the establishment of a class of soldier-settlers who became landlords and appropriated tribute and labour from tenants (Bjeren, 1985). This period thus witnessed the migration of soldiers and peasants from the north attracted by the potential of gaining access to land in the south, southwest and east of the country. While Gojjam, Gondar, parts of Wollo and Tigray provinces were the main sources of peasant migrations, the principal destinations were Wellega, South Shewa, Northern Sidamo, Arssi, Northern Bale and Gamu Gofa provinces and some areas of the Sudanese frontier (Galperin, 1988; McCann, 1988). Among the 'push' factors that contributed to the migration of these rural people were shortage of land, low agricultural productivity, high population densities and recurrent drought. The 'pull' factors were the opportunities of gaining control of more fertile land, tribute and labour in the frontiers of the empire. The exploitation of the peasantry of the north by feudal lords and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, as well as the dispossession of lands were mentioned by Galperin as major causes for the emigration of the rural peasants from the north to other urban and rural areas in the south and west (Galperin, 1988).

The involvement of Ethiopia in the global economy and its linkages with the rest of the world through religion, trade, postal and telegraphic systems during the last decade of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries enhanced the exchange of information and ideas within and outside of the country. This process was consolidated by the foundation of Addis Ababa as the permanent capital of the country towards the end of the 1880s. The settlement of the nobility and regional leaders in encampments in the capital attracted followers from their respective regions. The establishment of a city resulted in the influx of labourers for construction of roads and buildings, and encouraged merchants to service the growing population. The settlement in urban areas created demands on the city administration to fulfil political, administrative and military

functions. The improvement of physical infrastructure and development of communications, notably the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway contributed to the emergence of several towns along the route, where fifteen railway stations rapidly emerged into important towns. The mushrooming of towns, along with the establishment of financial and public services such as banks, hospitals and schools also increased urban-rural linkages and the movement of people from one area to another (Akalu, 1973; Bahru, 1991).

The Italian occupation between 1935 and 1941 and the development of infrastructure, roads and buildings had a considerable effect on the towns of Ethiopia and, hence, on population migration. Most of the towns became areas under effective Italian control and the occupying forces made considerable efforts to improve their structures. Bjeren (1985) indicated that the most important contribution made by the Italians to modern Ethiopian urbanisation was the establishment of urban markets with monetary remuneration for services. They confiscated the town land from the landlords and abolished patron-client relationships. As noted by Fekadu (1972), the Italian occupation, therefore, brought urbanism based on division of labour, specialisation and cash economy.

Bjeren (1985) also believed that the Italian occupation brought a tremendous increase in road construction, and boosted both the numbers and functions of towns. Although most of the towns remained garrison towns, they brought groups of soldiers who were in dire need of houses, food and entertainment. This, in turn, broadened the economic base for the urban areas and encouraged the migration of non-agricultural 'specialists' from rural areas such as artisans, traders, bar and restaurant owners, shop-keepers and construction workers.

The post-liberation, Imperial Period of Haile Selassie (1941-1974)

Although the post-Italian period began with a sharp decline in urban activity, the Imperial regime of Haile Selassie was known for the consolidation and centralisation of government structures, the establishment of the Imperial Highway Authority and road building operation, the establishment of industrial enterprises and commercial centres, the 'modernisation' of municipal services and the expansion of urban handicrafts, which had direct impacts on the growth of urban areas in Ethiopia. Thus a number of small commercial towns with their main trade and transport functions emerged during this period. Industrial zones were also designated across the railroad towns of Akaki-Beseka, Debre Zeit, Mojo, Nazareth and Dire Dawa. All these undertakings were reported to have influenced rural-urban migration.

Some studies indicate that considerable rural-rural migration was observed in the 1950s and 60s due to the development of commercial agriculture. In this respect, a Dutch firm set up a sugar cane plantation and processing factory in the upper Awash Valley in 1954. Haile Selassie's Government was reported to have evicted hundreds of pastoralists for the purpose of this plant and other subsequent large-scale commercial farms (Markakis, 1973). The introduction of improved agricultural techniques through the establishment of

agricultural development units in places like Arssi and Wolayita contributed to the development of urban services and flocking of people to these centres. Towns in the south such as Shashemene became centres for the acquisition and maintenance of machinery, supply of fertilisers and veterinary services as well as for the service of vehicles and recruitment of trained personnel. The urban centres also served as safe corridors for evicted rural households to migrate to other provinces or work in the towns as daily labourers. Among the rapidly growing urban areas, mainly within the Rift Valley due to the combined effect of the simultaneous development of the transport system, trade and the introduction of mechanised farming, were Asella, Nazareth, Mojo, Meki, Shashemene, Awassa, Dilla, Yirgalem, Negelle, Yabello and Moyale.

The emergence of commercial agricultural sites in the Setit-Humera lowlands in north-western Ethiopia and the plains of Jijiga also attracted both labourers and peasant farmers. In 1976, for example, three-quarters of the farm labourers engaged in sixteen irrigation schemes in the Awash valley were temporary or permanent immigrants (Kloos, 1988). Areas of considerable land pressure such as Kembata and Hadiya in Southern Shewa, were considered to be the main suppliers for such rural-to-rural migration (Beyene, 1985).

In the south-west, notably in Kefa and Illubabor provinces, the development of coffee production attracted seasonal and permanent labour and the development of urban areas like Agaro, Jimma, Seka, Metu and Gore (Alula, 1989; Bondestam, 1973; McDowell, 1996). There was considerable circular movement of labour to and from these areas. During the early 1970s, Wood (1981)estimated that more than 50,000 seasonal migrants had migrated to the coffee regions. The majority of these labourers were reported to have migrated from areas of environmental degradation and natural disasters especially Gojjam, Gondar and Wollo in Amhara, and Tigray. The movement also included itinerant traders and sex workers.

In general, the development of these and other Ethiopian towns exhibited the migration of various categories of people who came to resettle as trade migrants, civil servants, soldiers, construction workers and domestic workers. Female migrants working in most of the drinking and eating establishments in urban areas also worked as commercial sex workers (Bethlehem (2005)quoting Lakech, 1978).

The Imperial Government of Ethiopia, like its successors, had attempted to organise the implementation of planned relocation of the population during the mid-1960s with the aim of reducing poverty, increasing access to land and protecting citizens from famine. However, until 1974 the implementation of the population redistribution was limited due to the private land tenure system and high operational costs (Eshetu & Teshome, 1983).

The Socialist *Derg* Period (1974-91)

This regime was known for introducing drastic political and economic reforms including the confiscation of rural and urban private lands, the closure of private mechanised

agriculture, de-prioritisation of urban development, 'encadrement' of peasants through rural co-operatives, villagisation and resettlement (Berhanu & White 1999; Clapham 2003). Reforms also involved the introduction of official registration requirements for both urban and rural inhabitants, eligibility for obtaining allocated rural land being limited to permanent residents of Peasant Associations, and the introduction of a pass system and checkpoints along the main highways.

All these policy measures and procedures had bearings on the dynamics of migration during the socialist regime (Baker, 1995). For instance, as the land policy in Ethiopia demanded permanent residence in a farming community in order to be eligible for a use right over a piece of land, most peasants had to confine themselves to rural areas. Desalegn stated that the land system discouraged peasant mobility and compelled the population to eke out a living from the so-called 'starvation plots'. He further argued that improvements in livelihoods are impossible unless a considerable portion of this population is released from the land and moves out of the rural areas (Desalegn, 1994).

The socialist government attempted to control migration and implemented planned 'resettlement'. In the first decade (1974–84), about 142,000 people were resettled (Pankhurst, 1988). Some researchers estimated that the number of resettled people during the period from 1974 through 1984 was as many as 187,000 individuals (Africa Watch, 1991). Following the famine of 1984, the government resettled a further 700,000 people[2] from the northern provinces of Wollo, Shewa and Tigray to the south-west provinces of Gojjam, Wellega, Illubabor and Kafa over the period of about two years (Desalegn, 1988). Nonetheless, the implementation of such planned resettlement schemes involved negative consequences (numerous deaths and suffering of resettled people and the host populations) and some researchers argued that planned resettlement involved smaller numbers compared to spontaneous rural-rural migration (Wood, 1981).

The EPRDF Period (1991-to date)

Important surveys such as the *1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Analytical Report at the National Level(* CSA,1998); the 1999 National Labour Force Survey(CSA, 2000) and the Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey(CSA, 2001)) offer a better picture about the dynamics of migration in the last decade in Ethiopia. The migration status of the population based on the 1999 National Labour Force Survey of Ethiopia indicated that migration in Ethiopia was dominated by rural-urban patterns for both long-term and seasonal migrants. This was followed closely by rural-rural migration streams and then by the urban-urban migration streams. The pattern of urban-rural migration during this period was insignificant.

UNDP (2004) reported that about seventeen percent of the total population of Ethiopia live in urban areas and this is expected to reach twenty-nine percent by the year 2020 Although the total urban population size is currently smaller than most African countries,

[2] Figures provided by the government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission were as low as 593,000 people (Pankhurst, 1992:56).

the urban population growth rate in Ethiopia is still considered among the highest (about three percent). Migration, therefore, is the main factor responsible for the fast growth of the urban population.

The National Labour Force Survey (1999) indicated that sixty-three percent of the total migrants in the country were under the age of 30. The largest group (twenty-six percent) of migrants fall in the age category of 15-19, followed by the age category of 20-24 (twenty-one percent) and 25-29 years old (sixteen percent). This confirms that migration is heavily concentrated among younger people aged 15-30 years (Eshetu, 2005, citing Connell *et al*. 1976).

A further survey (CSA, 2000) reveals that seventy percent of migrants are 'illiterate'. The illiteracy rate is fifty-eight percent for the male migrants and eighty-one percent for the female migrants. Only one percent of the migrants are educated beyond grade 12.

The rural-rural permanent stream and the rural-urban temporary stream are disproportionately female, while the urban-urban permanent stream and the rural-rural temporary stream were disproportionately male (CSA, 2000). According to Bjeren (1985), the pattern of female migration from rural to urban areas in Ethiopia is somewhat different from what is observed in other parts of Africa. While male rural-urban migrants are more dominant in other African countries due to the employment opportunities available for men in urban areas, females in Ethiopia dominate the rural-urban migration. Belachew (1983) also state that there is a high female migration rate to urban Ethiopia despite limited employment opportunities. Various factors are attributed to the out-migration of women. Many Ethiopian women living in rural areas, notably in Amhara and Tigrayan societies, consider out-migration from their place of origin as an immediate measure to escape from the distressful situation of marital dissolution or marriage breakdowns. The presence of the male-dominated traditional plough farming system, the lack of law enforcement of property rights of rural women, virilocal residence patterns, and the presence of forced marriage at an early age push women to migrate out of their areas of rural origin (Desalegn, 1988; Eshetu, 2005).

However, there are regional variations in the rate and dynamics of female migration. Eshetu (2005) indicates in his recent publication on female migration to Addis Ababa that the proportion of female migrants from Oromia accounts for only twenty-four percent of female in-migrants, while the SNNPR contribution was eleven percent, those from Amhara region accounted for more than half (fifty-one percent) and Tigray contributed ten percent. In terms of ethnic origin, the majority of the female migrants to Addis Ababa were Amhara (sixty percent), followed by Oromo (eighteen percent), Tigrayan (eleven percent), Gurage (seven percent) and other ethic groups (four percent). Possible explanations for the low proportion of female migration from Oromia region include: the availability of other alternative business towns in the south such as Agaro, Awassa, Dilla, Gimbi, Jimma, Metu, Nazret, Nekemte and Ziway; the significance of the female labour contribution to hoe-cultivation; and the liability that bride wealth may be returnable in case of divorce.

The promulgation of ethnic-based federalism and the formation of organised ethnic-centred regional administrations since 1991 have arguably influenced the dynamics of inter-regional population migration specifically in the first four or five years. For instance, the Migration, Gender and Health Survey conducted jointly by Demographic Training and Research Center / Addis Ababa University and PSTC/Brown University (2000) with a focus on the five most populated regional states, Oromia, Amhara, SNNPR, Tigray and Addis Ababa, indicated that permanent intra-regional migration has become more frequent than permanent inter-regional migration with the exception of seasonal migrants moved to Addis Ababa. The 1999 National Labour Force Survey of Ethiopia (CSA, 2000) also showed that inter-regional migration was very limited, particularly for permanent migrants. However, as there are no similar studies that show the inter- and intra-regional patterns of population movement before the implementation of ethnic based federalism, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions. Factors such as lack of information about other regions and preference to stay in a region where the migrants are confident of speaking the language and sharing the culture could also contribute to the low level of inter-regional migration. The survey further revealed that while ninety and seventy-eight percent of permanent migrants moved within Tigray and Oromia Regional States, respectively, only fifty-eight percent, the lowest of any region moved within SNNPR, a much more heterogeneous region than the others.

Like its predecessors, the EPRDF-led government does not have a positive attitude towards migration. The EPRDF strategy document states the objective of reducing urban-bound migration in order to increase utilisation of labour within the agricultural sector . This is also clear from the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Ethiopia (FDRE, 2002), which focuses on the negative aspects of migration and portrays it as a cause of urban poverty, HIV/AIDS transmission and increasing crime rates. The strategy argues that rural-urban migration increases the influx of people from rural areas, puts pressure on urban services and infrastructure and swells the rate of unemployment (FDRE, 2002).

On the other hand, the government argues that the provision for private ownership of rural lands would force peasants to sell their land out of distress and would result in urban centres facing an influx of landless and poor rural people. It insists that the current EPRDF policy regime protects farmers from a possible loss of their prized and perhaps irretrievable asset, which would occur if and when policies like full land ownership rights, including the right to transfer land through sales, were conferred (Berhanu & White 1999).

The household panel survey that was conducted by the Ethiopian Economics Association (2003), however, challenges the link between rural land sales and migration. The survey disclosed that ninety-three percent of the survey respondents would not sell their land if they were given full ownership rights including the right to transfer through sales. Most of the respondents justified their intentions for not selling by claiming that they have no other means of survival (seventy percent), while others claimed their land is not simply for sale (seventeen percent). Therefore, while it may be fair to have such a precautious government policy position regarding the negative aspects of migration, the presence of

such a development strategy could undermine the opportunities that might have been gained from exploring the positive outcomes of migration.

The recent Participatory Poverty Assessment (MoFED, 2005) indicated that in rural areas, migration for longer than a certain duration results in revocation of the land rights of the person. In some rural sites it was reported that engagement in non-farm activities such as trading in consumer goods could result in the forfeit of a person's rights to land. This has, therefore, limited the mobility of rural people since engagement in non-farm activities for longer durations (often more than a year) has not been permitted, as a mixed livelihood strategy was perceived to be irregular. Thus, rural people must choose in an absolute sense whether to stay entirely in agriculture or to change to non-farm businesses.

Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the draft PASDEP (FDRE, 2005) acknowledges the need for the strengthening of rural-urban linkages and a rebalancing of the growth strategy with an emphasis on the development of small towns and growth poles, and employment creation, particularly in urban areas. Even if the role of internal migration in this poverty alleviation strategy is not directly addressed, such strategic priorities seem to create a more favourable enabling environment towards the mobility of people.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

1.4.1. Perspectives on the migration-development nexus

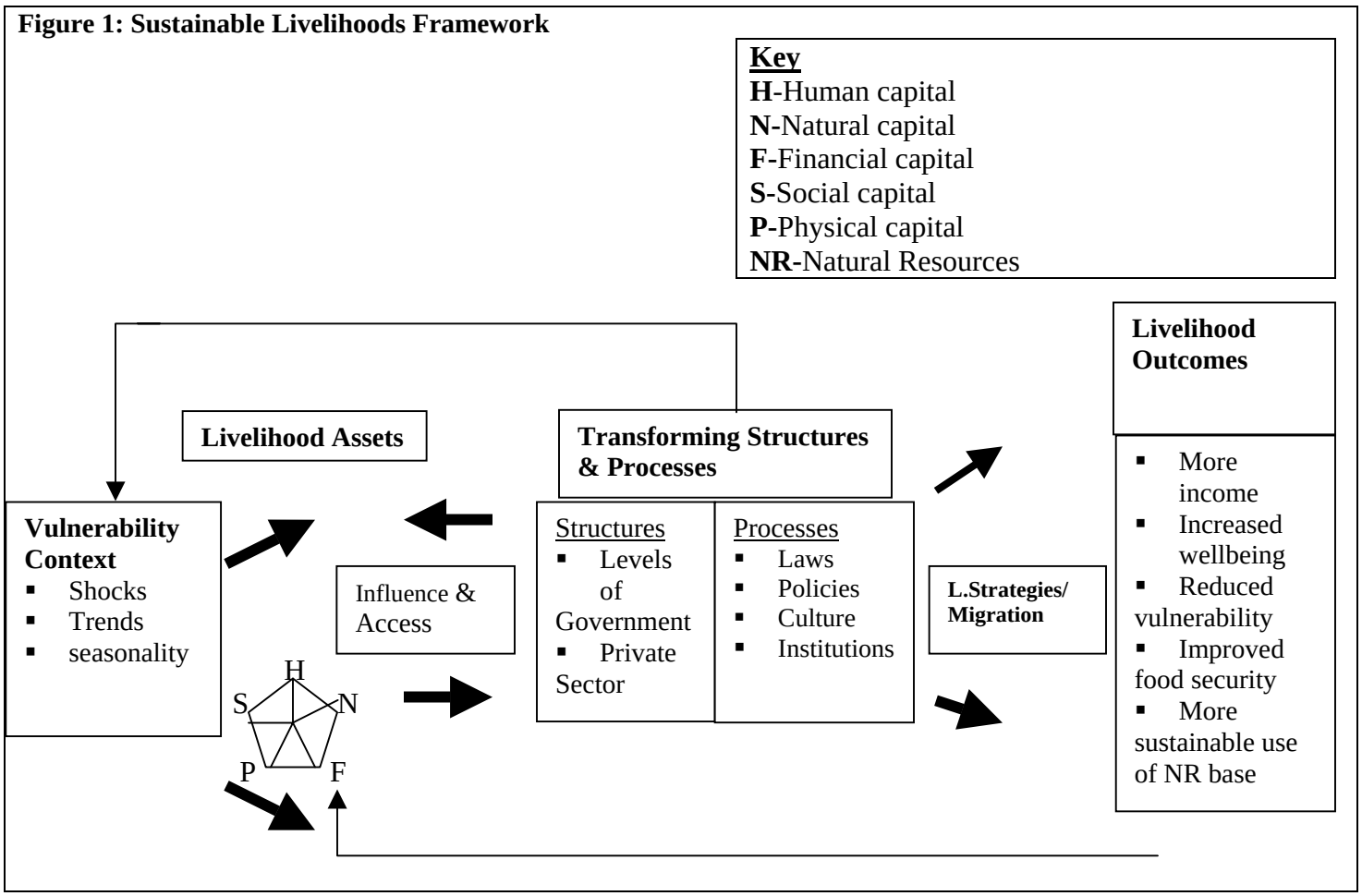
As discussed in the previous section, this study capitalises on recent perspectives on the migration-development nexus and in particular builds on the discourse of the migration–livelihood framework. It subscribes to the argument that migration is an essential element, and one of the most important methods of diversifying rural livelihoods (de Haan, 1999; Ellis, 1998b; Kothari, 2003; Stark, 1991). As Tacoli (1998a) states, migration refers to a social process, in which many poor households move between rural and urban livelihood options as appropriate to their members' needs through casual, periodic or permanent migration experiences.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (see figure 1 below), which focuses on the things people do and the resources they access in pursuit of a living, is very much connected to migration since the mobility of people is about the movement of human capital, which includes the mobility of labour together with a person's experience, skills, education level and health status. The multiple types of migration are also important in offering opportunities to reduce the vulnerability of households or in creating the capability to build a satisfactory living. Moreover, migration is a conduit to offset or cope with risk factors that threaten the level of resources or the conducive institutional and policy contexts that are relevant to an individuals' or households' livelihood (Carney, 1998; Ellis, 2003).

In general, the dynamics of migration can be better explained and studied in light of its relationship with livelihoods diversification. This often depends on various factors

including development policies and priorities, social structures and networks, seasonality and length of movement as well as labour markets.

Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: adapted from DFID (1999), Scoones (1998), Ellis (2003)

In the following section, we present the major arguments and the various views regarding migration and its relationships with livelihood and poverty.

McDowell and de Haan (1997**)** argue that livelihoods and poverty clearly affect and are affected by migration, but that there are no easy generalisations. The study remarks that migration experiences are often context specific. Migrants from some areas migrate not necessarily because they are among the poorest but groups can develop a tradition of migration once certain patterns of migration exist. For instance, early migration has led to patterns of subsequent flows of new migrants for the Gurage, the Gamo, the Tigrayan and some Amhara migrations in Ethiopia. This study advised, therefore, that migration studies should give attention to the complexity of migration processes and analysis of the dynamics of the local contexts.

Connel *et al.* (1977), Lipton (1980) and McDowell and de Haan (1997) argue that it is not only poverty that causes migration but that inequality also plays a significant role in

inducing migration. Research on the Indian Village Studies project in the 1970s revealed that the highest rates of out-migration were experienced not by poor villages but by communities that had problems of not only 'objective' inequality but also 'subjective' inequality caused by people's perceptions. The study disclosed that migrants came from a variety of backgrounds and different groups that concentrate on specific occupations and, hence, the migration streams were strongly segmented. They belonged to both landless and land-owner caste groups. In Ethiopia, distress migration notably related to internal conflict and trade migration is reported to have involved relatively rich people.

Proponents of the migration-development nexus model attempt to gauge government policy priorities in the light of its position on migration (Kothari, 2003; Tacoli, 1998a). There have been growing tendencies of many African countries including successive governments of Ethiopia to consider urban and rural areas as isolated entities, often wanting to achieve national growth by concentrating only on agriculture and rural development. This proposition is supported by the idea that migration depletes the rural economy of its skilled and innovative individuals, while leaving the 'less forward-thinking' behind (Lipton, 1980). However, this position reflects a simplistic view of migration and underestimates the complexity of migration processes that are the result of continuous interchanges of livelihoods that characterise spatially and temporally different labour markets.

It is common to see such biases stated in relation to migration among poverty alleviation strategies in African countries. A survey of PRSPs conducted by the Centre for Migration Research at Sussex University revealed that mobility is especially poorly represented in PRSPs (Black *et al*, 2003). Out of forty-eight PRSPs examined, twenty-one made no mention at all of migration. Nearly all the remaining PRSPs referred to migration in negative or pejorative terms. Nine of them, for example, blamed international migration for causing 'brain drain', seventeen posed internal migration as a problem for development, eight cast migration as a cause of urban poverty, and others pointed to the negative effects of migration in spreading HIV/AIDS and contributing to crime. Eight PRSPs expressed the need for internal migration to be actively controlled by the state; that is for rural-urban migration to be curtailed or reduced.

Supporters of the migration-development nexus model also argue that access to migration is structured and migration options are not open to all. Migration streams are highly segmented, and people's networks and preceding migrations determine to a large extent who migrates, and from which areas. This also means that the gains from migration may be cumulative gains; those in a better position are likely to profit more, rather than migration balancing out regional population flows. For instance, Worku (1995) argues that the Gurage engagement in self-employed occupations such as petty trade, and settlement on a permanent basis in urban areas provided a strong source of attraction for further Gurage urban migration. Since the Gurage have strong traditions of mutual co-operation among members that at the same time promote individual creativity and individual appropriation of the results of such creativity, most Gurage migrants have easily adjusted themselves and have maintained control over trading niches and prosperity in urban settings.

Proponents also argue that forms of migration are strongly determined by social and family structures. For example, a nuclear family is more likely to lead to one-way permanent migration, while extended families sponsor single-male migration leaving the rest of the family behind. Similarly, restriction on female mobility outside the household also makes circular migration a more likely option.

The availability and type of labour markets also influence the patterns of mobility in various settings. In rural areas, a considerable proportion of economic activity is seasonal in character as it is directly related to the cultivation and harvesting peaks of various crops in different locations. This can create circumstances in which truly seasonal movements of labour occur as experienced by the seasonal migration of agricultural and rural-based labour in both the receiving and sending communities. Just as a peak labour demand in coffee-growing areas, big sugar cane plantations or cotton-growing areas can stimulate both rural and urban workers to move to the locations of these peaks, so also does the agricultural slack season create conditions in which rural migrants seek temporary jobs in the urban construction and service sectors of urban destinations in Ethiopia (Beyene, 1985). Circular migration of this type is prevalent and well documented in Ethiopia (Bjeren, 1985; Worku, 1995), as well as in countries of West Africa (David *et al*, 1995) and in India (Gupta, 2003).

The type of labour market also affects the gender dimension and the pattern of migration. For instance, much of the temporary migration experiences in Sub-Saharan Africa are predominantly a male phenomenon with a tendency for female migration to be restricted to particular sectors like domestic service and commercial sex work in urban areas. A number of studies indicate that women, the elderly and children stay in rural homes while men circulate for varying periods. However, in many Asian countries such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, where the manufacturing sectors have grown, migration opportunities for women have become common experiences.

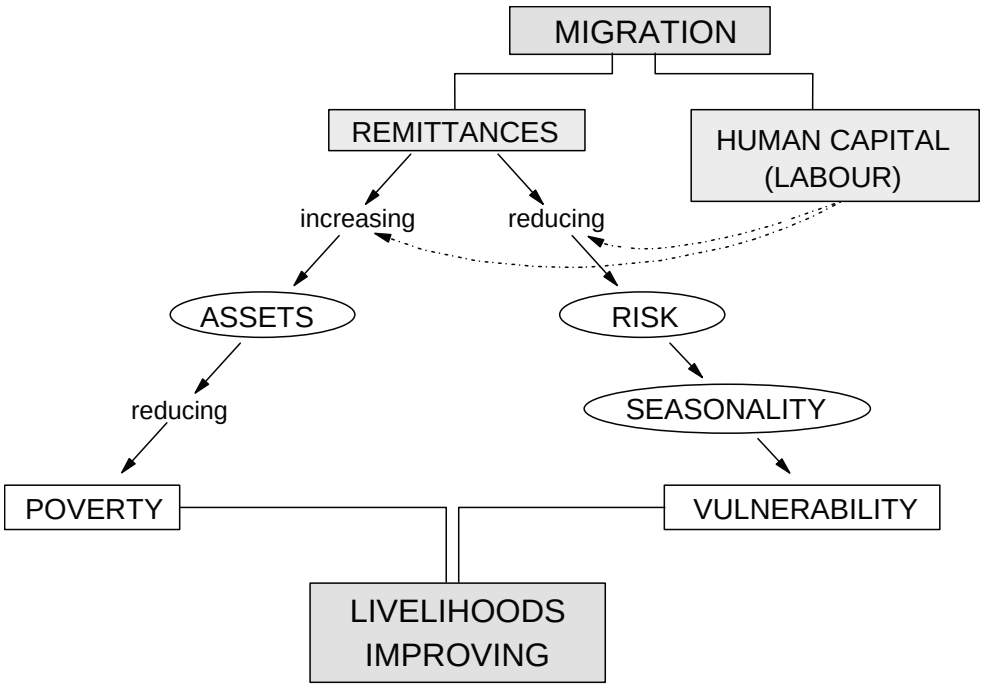
In relation to the application of theoretical models for the study of migration in Ethiopia, Bjeren (1985) contributed a very useful insight into the field through her study of migration dynamics in Shashemene. She argues that migration should be looked at as a product of structural processes that take place in the urban system and its interchange with rural areas. She identified three layers of processes: primary, secondary and tertiary. The 'primary' refers to the generation of mobility that takes place in the 'core-niches' of the urban system. In this respect, she revealed that the main functions of urban system of Ethiopia are transfer of goods between the different parts of the country, administration of the population and preservation of security. This requires traders, civil servants, the police and armed forces. The secondary or the 'ancillary niches' of the Ethiopia urban system include all the work of catering for travellers such as transport, hotels, restaurants, bars and shops. Finally, demographic processes and principles of organisations such as the organisation of kinship, domestic life and work within the different ethnic groups on their part generate the tertiary process. While the characteristics of the organisation of kinship and domestic life in relation to migration depend on gender relations, residence rules and the economic basis of the group, different systems of production generate migration in different ways. The ethnic stratification of Ethiopia also plays its own part in

migration as the successive political systems influenced the division of labour and the level of participation of the different ethnic groups within the urban system. However, Bjeren's model of migration studies was only applied to urban areas and it did not take into account the dynamics of migration in rural areas.

Whatever models we use to study migration, it is evident that migration has both positive and negative outcomes on nations, regions, communities, households and individuals. An important positive outcome, in this regard, is the growing evidence of resource transfers or remittances in supporting the livelihoods of those that stay behind when some family members migrate (see figure 2). The nature and level of remittances varies widely depending on the accessibility of the home village, employment opportunities, the costs of living, the ease of remitting, and the 'orientation' of the migrant. For instance, a comparative review of empirical work on rural household income portfolios in Sub-Saharan Africa by Reardon (1997) found that on average fifteen percent of rural incomes are accounted for by remittances.

Another study indicated that the remittances from migration accounts for as much as twenty-five percent of income in Asian countries such as Sri Lanka (von Braun & Pandya-Lorch, 1991). Income from remittances is reportedly used for investment in land, or land improvements including reclaiming previously degraded land (Tiffen *et al*, 1994), purchase of hired labour and better farm inputs (Carter, 1997; Evans & Ngau, 1991), investment in children's education (Hoddinott, 1994) and in other cases on social ceremonies and cultural rituals. Even if income from remittances is small, the limited amounts of additional cash can make huge differences to the options available to people to get a foothold on ladders out of disaster situations (Sharp *et al*, 2003). Similarly, McDowell (1996) argues that the size of remittances for poor households can be very low but it is vital to improve food security since it helps to diversify risks and ensure support in times of harvest. Remittances can also stimulate agricultural intensification where practices allow the head of household (who may be a woman or a less senior man) to employ labour, and use the remitted earnings for purchase of equipment, seeds, fertilisers or oxen for ploughing.

Figure 2: Positive Links between Migration and Improving Livelihoods (Adapted from Ellis, 2003)



Another positive aspect of migration is its contribution to exchange of ideas and knowledge, and changes in the skills and capabilities of those who travel and those who stay at home through remittances and their potential to broaden the asset base (Ellis, 2003). The transfer or introduction of new technologies and ways of living to rural areas is also often attributed to the influence of migrants. Worku (1995), in his study of Gurage migration, argued that the impacts of migration are not merely economic, but that the interaction brings about cultural change through ideas, skills and attitudes, and that migration makes rural villagers more receptive to change in areas such as technology. He found that Gurage migrants are responsible for a dramatic change in the attitudes, values and beliefs of both migrant and non-migrant households.

Although there seems to be an emerging consensus of recent literature on migration emphasising these positive attributes of mobility (de Haan, 1999; Skeldon, 2002; 2003), there are also negative sides to mobility. Worku (1995) argues that migration in Gurage is responsible for greater rates of divorce, deviant sexual behaviour and mental illness. It involves the introduction of new habits such as consumption of locally made alcohol, cigarettes and transmission of STDs, in particular HIV/AIDS. Migration can also result in a greater workload for women, and inflation of bride wealth caused by income migrants. In some circumstances migration may impoverish, or perpetuate the chronic poverty of those who migrate or stay behind (Kothari, 2003). This argument seems to apply mainly to societies where male out-migration predominates and where there are low levels of remittances (*ibid*, 2003*).*

In sum, migration is coming to be seen as an integral part of the livelihoods of the poor and the not so poor in low-income countries. This migration reflects the spatial and temporal aspects of livelihood systems involving movement between the residential location of individuals and families, and the location and dynamics of labour markets. In predominantly agrarian societies like Ethiopia, seasonality on its own explains a considerable proportion of such spatial mobility, as does risk mitigation.

This study, therefore, attempts to understand the forces, processes and consequences of migration in both the negative and the positive aspects for different actors, ranging from the individual to the household and community levels in both urban and rural settings.

1.4.2. Perspectives on Urban and Rural Settings and Urban-Rural Linkages

The understanding of rural-urban linkages is very much related to two spatial units; the urban centres and rural areas. Early studies of urban-rural linkages perceived urban and rural areas as separate entities on the grounds that they are different in their aspects of occupation, environment, population size, population density, heterogeneity of the inhabitants, mobility of the people and systems of interaction (Worku, 1995). Luis Wirth (1938) assumed mutually exclusive criteria including heterogeneous verses homogenous population, densely verses sparsely settled population and industrial verses agricultural economy to make distinction between urban and rural areas. Mitchell (1956) shares Forde's analysis of the early stages of the urbanisation process in Africa and his labelling of an African urban migrant as a detached person from his childhood experience, his areas of origin, neighbourhood and tribe since he viewed that the nature of urban and rural milieus were highly discrepant. Mitchell (1956) also shares similar notions and argued that urban migrants experience different lifestyles as the set of relationships among groups of tribesmen in their rural home is very different from the set of relationships even among the same group.

Since the 1960s, the above classic view of the urban-rural divide has been challenged on the grounds that the early urban-rural study models were focusing on the static and one-sided feature of the two spatial settings. They failed to incorporate the dynamic changes in the rural communities of origin, in the urban communities of destination and in the migrants themselves. Subsequent regional development studies revealed that urban and rural areas are two ends of one and the same continuum of social life joined through migration, and that there is a process of linkage and change brought about by the urbanisation of the rural setting and the ruralisation of urban life.

The study by Abu-Lughod (1961) was a turning point in challenging previous assumptions and justifying that there are no complete dichotomies between urban and rural areas, as large number of people in both spatial settings combine different income sources and environments in their livelihood. This leads to an increased level of integration and interaction, which can blur the traditional urban–rural divide. Abu-Lughod's contribution in the discourse is, therefore, the introduction of the importance of urban social networks

and voluntary associations as a mechanism for providing socio-economic support to individual migrants, and bridging the institutional gaps that can be created between urban and rural settings.

The concept of urban-rural linkages has gained more momentum when it began to be incorporated in regional development planning and implementation strategy. Hinderink and Titus (1988) introduced the application of the urban-rural linkage through the growth centre and the rural services centre strategies. While the growth centre strategy advocates an urban industrial expansion in few selected growth centres with snowballing effects of 'modernising' rural areas, the rural service centre strategy focuses on development of small urban centres for their own development and that of their hinterlands. Both the market and service centres approaches are considered to be engines of growth since they serve as local market points for the produce of local farms, as collection centres for exported produces and as strategic junctions for connecting to global consumers. Furthermore, service centres can serve as a conduit for the injection of new agricultural supplies and technologies to rural areas and as medium points for accessing social services such as health, education, extension, administration and legal support between centres and hinterlands. However, the experiences of several developing countries indicated that the spread effects of growth centres appeared to have little impact on smaller centres and rural areas growth. This situation becomes quite visible when the growth centres maximise opportunities by maintaining strong economic linkages with extra-regional and global clients and suppliers (Funnel, 1976; Hinderink & Titus, 1988).

Another aspect of linkage in the rural-urban interaction is envisaged through the impact that rural areas create on the dynamics of urban centres and non-agricultural activities. This is justified on the grounds that, under stable macro conditions, an increase in food grain production would stimulate growth in agricultural related sectors such as trade, transport, services and industry (Dunham, 1991). This is particularly achieved through forward consumption linkages (resulting from the expenditure of farm incomes on locally produced consumer goods and services), backward production linkages (manifested in the absorption of agriculture inputs such as machinery and fertiliser), forward production linkages (generated from local processing of agricultural outputs) and commercial forward linkages (created through marketing of agricultural outputs, diversifying crop production and maximising technological choices) (Ranis, 1990).

Ellis and Harris (2004) pointed out that making an absolute dichotomy between development planning in rural and urban areas undermines the interdependent points of production, consumption and market, which directly contribute to the creation of greater gross national output. The departure point for this study, therefore, emanates from the above argument and suggests that one cannot make complete distinction between urban and rural areas on the basis of the size and the functions of settlements.

1.4.3. Spatial patterns, urban-rural linkages and labour flows in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, attempts to make a distinction between urban and rural areas have mainly

been made on the basis of population size and type of public infrastructures. There has been growing literature on rural and urban linkages in Ethiopia since the late 1960s.[3] Mesfin (1970) stated that the development of many Ethiopian towns passed through three historical stages. First, towns emerged around rural markets and the push factor was economic. Second, towns mushroomed to make rural administration effective and smooth so that politics played a significant role in their development. Third, towns were the result of the introduction of technology that was characterised by complex and advanced economic systems. We challenge this argument since the development of urban areas and their relationships with rural areas involve multiple dimensions and cannot be explained in a simple linear–evolutionary form. In his previous work, Mesfin (1968) also revealed that all components of the urban hierarchy contribute to the diversion of resources from rural areas. Thus, he suggested that the differences between urban and rural populations continue to increase. However, he concluded that rural life is unchanging and stagnant, and he viewed urban and rural societies as dichotomous entities. Again this shows Mesfin's bias about rural life and how he overlooks the importance of diffusions and exchange of information that contribute to changes in rural life. A more recent work by Mesfin (1995) focused on market linkages in West Shewa zone and reported that there is poor integration between rural and urban areas, and a lack of proper infrastructure for enhancing linkages. This study, however, is limited only to an aspect of market linkages. Fassika (1998) argues that it is very difficult to divide African countries into neat categories of rural-urban. The two milieus must not be considered as 'closed spaces' rather they must be viewed as 'open spaces'.

Akalu (1973) attributed the emergence of Ethiopian towns to the political situation in the nineteenth century. In his view, the emergence of Ethiopian towns was triggered by both the geographical expansion of Ethiopia under Menelik II and the construction of the Ethio-Djibouti railway. He argued that several towns in Ethiopia served as special centres for urban-rural interactions since urban areas are the seats of government officials who have control over the countryside.

Markakis (1973) argues that social stratification in Ethiopia has emanated from the urban-rural dichotomy. Hence, the social classes in Ethiopia are bisected into rural and urban areas, and generate socio-economic and cultural variables that have led to the social stratifications.

In his extensive works on rural-urban linkages/dichotomy, Baker (1968; 1996) studied the cases of two northern Ethiopian towns. He found that small towns in northern Ethiopia served only as markets. In assessing the growth and functions of small urban centres in Ethiopia, he noted that they provide important ranges of economic and social services, although the utilisation of services was found to be problematic due to poor accessibility. He also discussed the significance of rural-urban interactions in economic development and stated that Ethiopian farmers in the north are active with multiple tasks and they straddle rural-urban spheres to take opportunities provided by both.

[3] See Akalu (1973); Baker (1968); Fassika (1998); Feleke (1999); Markakis (1973); Mesfin (1968, 1970).

OSSREA (1995) presents the findings from two small towns and indicated that except for trade linkages, rural-urban linkages are minimal or non-existent. The study is highly aggregate in its approach without considering household patterns of linkages.

Tekalegn (1995) emphasised the role of rural areas in shaping Ethiopia towns, particularly the capital Addis Ababa. He showed that the relationships of Addis Ababa to the surrounding rural area from 1988-1974 clearly depicted the impact of government policy upon peasant agriculture. He further stated that urban dwellers in feudal Ethiopia have greatly influenced the terms of production in rural areas through control over land and labour. He also dealt with the impact of the evolution of rural land tenure and taxation system on the dynamics of the urbanisation process.

Feleke (1999) explored the situations under which urban development planning and land management in Addis Ababa led to displacement and impoverished the rural livelihoods in the vicinity of the capital city of Ethiopia.

As the foregoing review shows, the available studies on rural-urban linkages in Ethiopia have been instrumental in providing mainly anecdotal experiences about the trends and patterns of relationships that exist between urban and rural Ethiopia. However, they are not easily comparable and therefore cannot not serve to make generalisations about rural-urban linkages throughout the country.

2. Empirical findings of the WeD research programme and emerging issues

2.1. Reasons for migration

2.1.1. Reasons for in- and out-migration: urban sites

Reasons for migration are often multiple, complex and difficult to comprehend as a chain of events and circumstances can lead someone to make the decision to move from one place to another. Understanding the reasons for migration in the context of community social structure, household livelihood patterns and individual circumstances can provide a knowledge base that could be useful to develop effective migration policies. This section examines the reasons for the migration of people in the WeD urban research sites of Shashemene and Kolfe.

Shashemene: In-migration trends

The WeD research programme examined the context and the reasons behind the migration of people to *Kebele* 08/09 of the Shashemene site. The FGDs held in the four neighbourhood areas (see Annex 1) of the Shashemene site indicated that the urban communities have been hosting both seasonal, short-term and permanent, long-term migrants mainly belonging to ethnic groups from the south that include Wolayita, Kembata, Hadiya, Dawro, Gamo, Gofa, Sidama as well as Gurage and Oromo. Unlike

other parts of Shashemene,[4] the four research *sefer*, or neighbourhoods, hosted few seasonal and permanent migrants from Amhara and Tigray.

Although the official *Kebele* 08/09 boundaries are not ethnically segregated, it is interesting to observe that the migration of people from these ethnic groups reflects previous migration histories and the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the four neighbourhoods. Individuals from the same ethnic groups tend to settle in the neighbourhood where most people from their areas of origin have already settled. In terms of the four neighbourhoods studied, the majority of the migrants to Bishate *Sefer* are from the Wolayita and Hadiya ethnic groups, while most of the migrants in Kuyisa *Sefer* are Kembata, Wolayita and some Oromo. Similarly, the majority of the migrants in Bole *Sefer* tend to be from the Gurage ethnic group, while migrants from Wolayita and Gurage predominate in Serategna *Sefer*.

When asked why they migrate to Shashemene, the most common reasons mentioned by seasonal, male and adult migrants are shortage of land, landlessness, rural destitution, land tax and debts from agricultural inputs. Since 1991, during the post-socialist era of the EPRDF regime, subsidies for agricultural inputs such as fertiliser were gradually reduced and, hence, some peasants had begun to move in search of employment to obtain cash incomes and pay back their debts. The incidence of conflicts notably ethnic clashes such as around Faji in Kembata during the change of government in 1991 is reported to have pushed other migrants to Shashemene.

Most migrants mentioned that they decided to move to Shashemene due to its proximity and the perception of relatively better employment opportunities. They mentioned that they were attracted by the information they obtained from their informal sources about employment opportunities in construction work, loading and unloading, and other informal sector employment. In particular, seasonal rural migrants often come to Bole *Sefer*, a relatively rich neighbourhood within the town, during agricultural harvesting periods to work for grain traders as porters and store attendants. However, the seasonal rural-urban migration is not only limited to poor rural community members. Some better-off farmers also moved as short-term migrants from Bale in Oromia to engage in grain trading.

The long-term migrants who came to the Shashemene research site began to settle in the *sefer* since the early 1970s during the Haile Selassie Regime and included mostly people from Wolayita, Kembata, Hadiya and Gofa in the SNNPR. The longer-term migrants often moved to the town because of extreme shortage of rural land in their areas of origin where densities can reach as high as 500 people per square kilometre and where population increase is rapid, as well as due to relatively better life-styles in this business town, and the perceived success of former migrants.

Many of the female, adult and permanent migrants moved from the adjacent rural districts of Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayita, Sidama, Gamo and eastern Oromia due to factors

[4] The predominant ethnic groups in Shashemene are Amhara, Oromo, Gurage, Wolayita, Kembata and Tigrayan.

related to marriage, notably moving to join their spouses. There are also young female migrants who came from these districts as well as from other business towns such as Agaro, Awassa, Debre Zeit, Dilla, Nazret, Hagere Selam, Jimma, Yirgalem and Addis Ababa for short seasons. Most of these categories of female, young and seasonal migrants tend to be divorced or single, and are engaged in domestic labour work, small businesses, production of local drinks and commercial sex work. As the informants elucidate, the migration of commercial sex workers to Bishate *Sefer* increased since the Socialist *Derg* period due to the establishment of a military base.

Shashemene: Out-migration trends

Different categories of migrants from the various ethnic groups have experienced migration out of their respective *sefer*. Most of the female migrants who engaged in commercial sex work in Bishate *Sefer* often migrate out of the neighbourhood to look for better opportunities in other urban destinations.

Most of the long-term male migrants engaged in daily labour in Kuyisa *Sefer* and the seasonal migrants who briefly stay in the neighbourhood tend to go to the south-western regions such as Jimma, Agaro and Illu Aba Bor during the coffee-picking season. They also travel to the Awash Valley for sowing, around Arba Minch for cotton harvesting, Shekiso for gold mining, and Woito for mango harvesting. In addition to such long-distance destinations, seasonal migrants travel to the surrounding rural areas of Shashemene to be hired in potato planting and harvesting as well as in *tef* harvesting.

Most of the long-term migrants, who are engaged in small business activities, also go out of Serategna *Sefer* to adjacent towns such as Awassa, Negele, and Kofele for short periods to carry out trading activities. For instance, the small traders buy second-hand clothes from Awassa, food grains and *Areke* from Negele, butter and cheese from Kofele, and maize, charcoal and wood from Aje to sell in Shashemene market. In return, trade migrants buy *shiro*, pepper, and *biqil* from Shashemene to sell in these destinations. Some long-term male migrants who left their spouses behind often return to their homelands twice a year to cultivate their farms and harvest their produce.

Short visits and seasonal migration out of the area happen during the celebration of *Meskel* and on wedding occasions. Crisis times such as the death of people from the same areas of origin, family disputes or ethnic clashes are also reasons for temporary out-migration.

Data from the Resources and Needs Survey (RANS) provides some more evidence about migration on the basis of three questions: 1) the number of members not present; 2) visits away from the site for more than a month; and 3) interest in working away from the community.

Table 1: Household members away from the community in July 2005

	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**

Addis Ababa	22	19	11	9	33	28
Urban area of other region	12	10	9	8	21	18
Urban area of this region	10	9	5	4	15	13
Rural area of this ward	12	10	2	2	14	12
Rural area other region	4	3	5	4	9	8
Rural area of region	5	4	3	3	8	7
Major city of this region	2	2	4	3	6	5
Urban area of this *wereda*	4	3	1	1	5	4
Zonal capital	1	1	1	1	2	2
Rural area of this sub-district	0	0	1	1	1	1
Rural area of this *wereda*	1	1	0	0	1	1
Non-neighbouring country	0	0	1	1	1	1
Neighbouring country	0	0	1	1	1	1
Total	**73**	**62**	**44**	**38**	**117**	**100**

Table 1 shows that the majority of absentees (seventy percent) were in urban destinations at the time of the urban RANS. In particular, Addis Ababa (twenty-eight percent) was the most popular destination for those away from Shashemene.

The results also show that there were a considerably greater number of male than female absentees when the survey was conducted. In particular, there were twice as many male absentees as females in Addis Ababa.

Table 2: Reason for absence

	Frequency	Percentage
Ordinary social visit	27	23
Education	21	18
Other	13	11
Trading	8	7
Looking for work	7	6
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	6	5
Seeking work	6	5
Funeral	4	3
Studying	4	3
Domestic work	3	3
Marriage	3	3
Religious festival or pilgrimage	3	3
Skilled work	3	3
Farm work (crops/livestock)	2	2
Manual work	2	2
Own Business	2	2
Armed forces	1	1
Craft work	1	1
Seeing other places and people	1	1

Table 2 shows that the main reasons for absence from Shashemene are: various work-related reasons (thirty-one percent), social visits (twenty-three percent) and education/studying (twenty-one percent).

Table 3: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	Percentage
This community	200	45
Rural area of this ward	80	18
Addis Ababa	45	10
Other rural area	27	6
Urban area of this region	25	6
Urban area of this *wereda*	23	5
Rural area other region	12	3
Major city of this region	11	2
Other urban area of this town (not this *wereda*)	11	2
Other urban area	3	1
Rural area of region	2	0
Neighbouring country	2	0
Non-neighbouring country	1	0

Table 3 shows that the most common location for people to look for work in is Shashemene itself (forty-five percent), the other significant areas are rural areas (twenty-six percent) where the majority of available employment will be in agriculture, and the capital, Addis Ababa.

Kolfe, Addis Ababa: In-migration trends

The recent qualitative interviews carried out by the WeD-Ethiopia team through FGDs in the four Kolfe urban neighbourhoods have revealed fairly strong economic reasons for the migration of male urban migrants notably from the SNNPR, Amhara, Oromia and, to some extent, from Tigray Region.

The male FGD respondents mentioned that non-conducive rural environments induced their migration. The main push factors include diminishing farmland sizes in all their rural localities and fragmentation of small landholdings, lack of rain, recurrent drought, absence of an effective extension system, limited investment in irrigation-based agriculture, high population pressure on 'starvation' plots of land, lack of off-farm employment opportunities and imposition of heavy taxes. In addition to this, pull factors mentioned by the urban male migrants included increasing construction activities, demand for urban domestic workers, better pay for service work and social support from the long-term migrants.

As far as the female migrants are concerned, our exploratory survey of Kolfe area indicates that female migrants from the south, notably from Gamo area in the SNNPR, moved to Addis Ababa to join their spouses who had already migrated on a permanent basis to work in the capital. However, female migrants from the Gurage area also in the south, moved to carry out small trading and find employment in the service sector such as in small restaurants, and tea and pastry shops.

There are also female migrants from Amhara and Oromia regions who are engaged: in domestic work as housemaids, cleaners and nannies; in the service sector as waitresses in small bars, restaurants and local taverns; in the small business sector in *injera* baking, and road-side food sale; in the construction sector, loading and unloading construction materials; and in commercial sex work. Among the latter, step-wise movement to the capital is common. Many had moved to small towns and provincial capitals before heading to their final destination in Addis Ababa.

Except for the small proportion of women who migrated to Kolfe on a long-term basis with spouses or families since the Socialist Period in 1974, most female migrants, notably those from the north, are divorced and widowed women who are in their active reproductive age. One reason why these categories of female migrants consider migration outside of their place of origin to be an alternative livelihood strategy is that until recently women were not directly entitled to have access to farmland (Askale, 2004). Even if they manage to get land, the plough-based agriculture in the highlands of Ethiopia requires male labour and sharecropping often involves losing a large proportion of the harvest.

In addition, divorced women are socially stigmatised, being suspected of having multiple sexual partners and are blamed for increasing prostitution. This seems true for the female migration trend in Addis Ababa (Bethlehem, 2005). According to Eshetu (2005), among the major reasons for female migration from North and South Wollo, and North Shewa,

as well as Tigray, the following aspects are important: early marriage (nine percent); subsequent marriage breakdown (nine percent); drought and famine situation (ten percent); and severe female poverty (thirteen percent).

Kolfe: Out-migration trends

Long-term male Orthodox Christian migrants from Gurage in Sor Amba *Sefer* often return to their birthplace during the *Meskel* holiday in September. While the single male and landless migrants return in October, those long-term migrants who own land often stay until January to celebrate the holiday with their kin and work on their farms. The *Meskel* holiday provides an occasion for unmarried men to find wives, get married and bring them from their birthplace. Others also bring their female relatives to seek better job opportunities in their respective *sefer*. A few spouses or single female migrants who have moved to Sor Amba leave their neighbourhood to go to their rural villages to buy goods during the agricultural harvesting season. New female and single migrants who moved along with their relatives initially tend to get involved in domestic work and get married to other migrants from their place of origin.

Similarly, long-term and seasonal or short-term migrants from *Mender* 3, Dorze *Sefer*, travel to their place of origin mainly in the Gamo highlands of SNNPR including Chencha, Doko, Ezo, Birbera, Ze'ada, Dita, Woyza, Andiro, Elo, Dera, Jila, Atolo, Bele, Shema and Dokomasha. They often go back to their original places when there is a holiday, family problem and/or the need to carry out farm activities. However, the frequency and level of out-migration to areas of origin seem to have been reduced over the past five years because of higher costs of transport, limited savings from urban employment and shortage of rural farmland. This became more common among married and long-term migrants who found it difficult to save enough money for their transportation and other expenses in rural areas.

In April 2005, an interesting migration experience happened when about 100 migrants from Ezo travelled in big trucks to their home areas following the local government's move to reallocate their farmland for urban development purposes. They presented their cases collectively to the local government and requested the administration to preserve their landholdings. The government later agreed not to redistribute their land, and encouraged their continuous contact and investment in their home communities.

There is also short-term migration out of the *sefer* by both women and men of Gamo origins to other urban areas such as Shashemene, Awassa, Wolkite and Holeta to seek better job opportunities and look for cheaper costs of living. The migrants are mostly single and young who have been engaged in craftwork and daily labour jobs.

Table 4: Household members away from the community in July 2005

	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Rural area other region	15	16	13	14	28	30
Non-neighbouring country	2	2	22	24	24	26
Urban area of other region	15	16	6	7	21	23
Addis Ababa	2	2	7	8	9	10
Rural area of this ward	1	1	2	2	3	3
Major city of this region	3	3	0	0	3	3
Zonal capital	1	1	0	0	1	1
Urban area this town (not this *wereda*)	0	0	1	1	1	1
Neighbouring country	0	0	1	1	1	1
Major city in other region	0	0	1	1	1	1
Total	**39**	**42**	**53**	**58**	**92**	**100**

Table 4 highlights the importance of international migration in Addis Ababa, with twenty-five individuals in another country at the time of the RANS. However, the most common destinations are rural areas, with relatively few people travelling to other urban centres in Ethiopia.

Table 5: Reason for absence

	Frequency	Percentage
Other	18	19
Seeking work	18	19
Ordinary social visit	13	14
Education	11	12
Domestic work	5	5
Looking for work	5	5
Seeing other places and people	5	5
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	3	3
Manual work	3	3
Professional work	3	3
Religious Work	2	2
Skilled work	2	2
Farm work (crops/livestock)	1	1
Funeral	1	1
New baby	1	1
Own Business	1	1
Studying	1	1
Trading	1	1

Table 5 indicates that, as was the case in Shashemene, the most common cause of migration in Kolfe is employment (accounting for forty-two percent), however, social visits (fourteen percent) and education (twelve percent) appear to be a less common cause than in Shashemene. Clearly in the case of education this is likely to be as a result of the comparatively good educational facilities available in the capital.

Table 6: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	Percentage
This community	198	43
Addis Ababa	135	29
Rural area of this ward	79	17
Urban area this town (not this *wereda*)	28	6
Urban area of this region	7	2
Urban area of this *wereda*	6	1
Non-neighbouring country	4	1
Major city of this region	3	1
Rural area other region	1	0

However, Table 6 demonstrates most people prefer to seek employment within the capital (seventy-eight percent). Outside of Addis Ababa, the most likely destination for those leaving for employment is likely to be rural areas (seventeen percent).

2.1.2. Reasons for in- and out-migration: rural sites

Turufe Kecheme, Oromia: In-migration trends

The area of Turufe Kecheme has had a history of in-migration from different regions, and the village is ethnically mixed. The dominant group are Oromo, but there are significant minorities of migrants from the north, mainly Tigrayans and Amhara from Gondar, Gojjam, Wollo and Menz and from the south, from Kembata and Wolayita, as well as Oromo from other parts of Arssi, Bale and Shewa. The migrants started to come in the late imperial period from the 1960s. There were also lepers who were resettled from Addis Ababa close to the hospital in Shashemene and a number of these now live in Turufe. Much of the migration was a chain-migration whereby former migrants attracted relatives or people from the same area, who came to live with them or work for them and then set themselves up independently.

Some migrants obtained land while others remained labourers until the land reform in 1975 when they were all given some land, and many became relatively wealthy. The presence of migrants attracted others, and relatives often joined established migrants. Those who came after the land reform did not get land and were working as labourers or sharecroppers, although some obtained land after the change of government in 1991 when the Kembata were expelled[5] and their land was redistributed.

Some of the migrants in 1985 were famine victims, notably from Tigray but also from the nearby Adami Tullu area of the Rift Valley. They would look for relatives and beg from house to house. In recent years some additional migrants have come either to join

[5] The incident happened immediately after the downfall of the *Derg* regime in 1991. A clash took place between the native Oromo and the Kembata migrants, as the latter group was dominant due its close access to the local administration, and possession of relatively large and fertile land. The former group also accused the Kembata migrants of being the main sources of information for tracing their children who were suspected of having political involvement against the socialist regime.

relatives or looking for employment. When villagisation took place in 1987 migrants from the area around Turufe were resettled in the village.

Women have mainly migrated into the area with their families and especially through marriage. These include Oromo, Amhara, Tigrayan, Kembata, and Wolayita women. In many cases the women came to visit relatives with whom they stayed and who arranged marriages for them. Several came after failed first marriages, leaving their husbands to come to live with relatives in the area.

Turufe Kecheme: Out-migration trends

The area of Turufe has been mainly one of in-migration. However, our FGDs revealed that there have been migrants who went away from the area, and some seasonal labour migration. Out-migration was rare in the past except for a few men who worked on forest lumber works in Bale. However, migration from Turufe is now mainly to urban areas. Unemployed youths look for work especially in the closest towns such as Kuyera, Arssi Negele and Shashemene, particularly in loading trucks and chopping wood. A few boys from poor households, from the age of five upwards, go to work as brokers or *weyala* taxi assistants in Kuyera. Many youths act as brokers between farmers and local traders during the potato harvest season. More than thirty such brokers are said to live in Turufe and work in nearby towns of Kuyera, Negele and Shashemene. A few look for work further away in Bale, Jimma and Addis Ababa. Some men are ex-soldiers and most seem to have gone back to farming. One man worked in an Italian lumber company earning a good salary and has continued in the trade.

A few men with skills in carpentry, plumbing and masonry earn better incomes and travel further for several months at a time to other towns in Oromia or the Southern Region. More than twenty young men are working as traders in Awassa, Shashemene and Addis Ababa, and as government employees in various parts of Oromia (Jimma, Bako, Bokoji and as far as Kemise), a trend which respondents mentioned as a relatively new development.

Out-migration by women is considered shameful and only the poorest do so. A few women work in Hamus Gebeya and Kuyera as labourers baking *injera*, washing clothes, in the alcohol making business and cooking at the hospital. A few others find jobs as shop assistants or in bars. Some work as servants either during the day, living in Turufe, or are provided accommodation in the houses of their employers. Some have been able to earn a decent income preparing food in peoples' houses, bars or hospitals, and a few have been able to assist their families from the income and have gained respect for earning their own livelihood. However, FGD respondents stressed that working as a servant entails health risks from hard labour, as well as risks of rape and pregnancy, which can affect their life chances; success cases beyond earning a decent living seem rare.

The following table shows that out of 250 households with 1613 members, a total of 75 household members or 5 percent of members were outside the village at the time of the

survey in May 2004. Most of these, fifty-one people or two-thirds had gone to urban areas. Of these the largest number, eighteen or a quarter of the total, were in an urban area in the *wereda*, and sixteen people were in Addis Ababa. Among those in rural areas, the largest number, nine cases, were in rural areas that were not in the *wereda* or region. Only one person was in a neighbouring country.

Table 7: Household members away from the village in May 2004

	Male		**Female**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Urban area of this *wereda*	10	13	8	11	18	24
Addis Ababa	10	13	6	8	16	21
Major city of this region	6	8	3	4	9	12
Other rural area	4	5	3	4	7	9
Rural area of this ward	5	7	1	1	6	8
Urban area of this region	2	3	1	1	3	4
Urban area of other region	2	3	1	1	3	4
Rural area other region	1	1	2	3	3	4
Rural area of this *wereda*	1	1	2	3	3	4
Rural area of region	1	1	1	1	2	3
Neighbouring country	1	1	1	1	2	3
Zonal capital	0	0	1	1	1	1
Other urban area	1	1	0	0	1	1
In this village	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total	**45**	**60**	**30**	**40**	**75**	**100**

The data suggest that most migrants to urban areas go to nearby towns, whereas most rural migrants go further away. The above table also reveals a higher proportion of male absentees, representing sixty percent. The women are more prone to go to urban areas within the *wereda*, presumably since there are opportunities in towns such as Shashemene, Kuyera and Arssi Negele, as well as in Addis Ababa. However, two of them also migrated to other rural areas beyond the region.

Table 8 presents the reasons why household members were away at the time of the survey.

Table 8: Reason for absence

	Frequency	Percentage
Education	13	17
Ordinary social visit	11	15
Studying	7	9
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	6	8
Seeing other places and people	6	8
Seeking work	5	7
Looking for work	3	4
Manual work	3	4
Marriage	3	4
Other	3	4
Domestic work	2	3
Farm work (crops/livestock)	2	3
Funeral	2	3
Armed forces	1	1
Craft work	1	1
New baby	1	1
Political party work	1	1
Religious festival or pilgrimage	1	1
Seeking assistance	1	1
Trading	1	1
Training (workshop or training programme)	1	1
Own Business	1	1

The table reveals a variety of reasons, the most important of which are: education and training representing thirteen cases or seventeen percent; social visits, or seeing people and places representing seventeen cases or just under a quarter (twenty-three percent); and work related reasons involving nineteen cases, of which eight were looking for work, two each in domestic and farm work, and one each in manual work, political work and trading.

Respondents were also asked if they or other adult household members were seeking work outside the household how and where they would do this. Those who mentioned work outside the community provided the following data:

Table 9: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	Percentage
This village	236	31
Urban area of this *wereda*	218	29
Rural area of this ward	191	25
Addis Ababa	30	4
Urban area of this region	27	4
Major city of this region	14	2
Other rural area	13	2
Rural area of this *wereda*	10	1
Non-neighbouring country	9	1
Rural area of region	6	1
Rural area other region	4	1
Other urban area	2	0
Other urban area of this town (not this *wereda*)	2	0
Neighbouring country	1	0

Table 9 shows that half of the locations for seeking employment mentioned were in an urban area in the *wereda*, and just over a third were in a village bordering Turufe. Of the total thirty-nine percent mentioned working in urban areas, including four percent in Addis Ababa. Nine household members mentioned non-neighbouring countries. The data would suggest that there is a great interest in looking for work outside the community with the hope of maximising opportunities for their future livelihoods.

Yetmen, Amhara: In-migration trends

Given land shortage in the area, out-migration is more common than in-migration for which there is very limited potential. The people of Yetmen are Amhara Christians and most of the in-migrants are of the same ethnicity and religion, with the exception of a few Muslims in town. Most of the in-migrants are women marrying into the area, some men looking for work in the town, or wealthier traders establishing themselves in the town. Relations between the in-migrants and people living there have until recently generally been good and migrants have become integrated in religious and burial associations.

In 1985-1988 many people were resettled by the government in Yetmen from Wollo, Gondar and other areas of Gojjam. They were all Amhara and Orthodox Christians. Most were men or men with families and their relations with local people were good. Recently most migrants are poor people who have arrived from the surrounding rural areas. Some of the youths have been accused of theft and relations with locals have not always been harmonious.

Yetmen: Out-migration trends

Our FGDs informed us that men migrate out due to shortage of land, indebtedness (mainly fertiliser debts), bad harvests and occasionally disputes. They are attracted

mainly by stories of successful former migrants and promises of help or employment by relatives who had already migration. From poorer households they tend to go on a seasonal basis looking for work, which in rural areas includes agricultural labour and working as domestic labourers, and in urban areas working as guards, construction labourers and lottery ticket vendors. All informants agree that out migration has become more common and some suggest that migrants tend to be less successful these days.

Women migrate out of Yetmen to close areas upon marriage. Owing to the virilocal pattern of post-marital residence, women tend to migrate to join husbands into as well as out of Yetmen as result of marriages. However, owing to land shortage a few poor men may move to areas where they can marry women with land, a type of arrangement called *tekerchem.* Some women prefer to marry men in the towns as they view urban life as better. A few women go to nearby towns such as Dejen and Bichena to look for work mainly as servants and working in bars. One reason for young women going to towns further away such as the regional capital Debre Markos or even Addis Ababa is that they do not want to be seen working in bars where people might recognise them.

The data from the RANS provides the following evidence about members away from the household outside the community.

Table 10: Household members away from the village in May 2004

	Male		**Female**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Urban area of this *wereda*	1	8	2	15	3	23
Rural area of region	1	8	2	15	3	23
Rural area of this ward	0	0	2	15	2	15
Addis Ababa	2	15	0	0	2	15
Rural area of this *wereda*	1	8	0	0	1	8
Non-neighbouring country	1	8	0	0	1	8
In this village	0	0	1	8	1	8
Total	**6**	**46**	**7**	**54**	**13**	**100**

Table 10 suggests that there are much fewer members absent from the household outside the community in Yetmen than in Turufe. Only thirteen people were away from Yetmen at the time of the survey. Seven of the thirteen absent household members were women. Two of the men had migrated to Addis, and four of the women to rural areas and two to urban areas of the *wereda*.

The limited out-migration reported for Yetmen as compared to Turufe may be related to the fact that the former is far from large urban areas, whereas Turufe is very close to the towns of Shashemene and Arssi Negele.

Table 11: Reason for absence

	Frequency	Percentage
Ordinary social visit	6	46
Education	2	15
Armed forces	1	8
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	1	8
Manual work	1	8
Studying	1	8
Other	1	8

Table 11 shows that social visits were the most common cause of absence amongst the small number of absentees. It is also notable that absence employment is very rare in Yetmen.

Table 12: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	Percentage
This village	710	85
Urban area of this *wereda*	30	4
Urban area of this region	29	3
Rural area of this ward	17	2
Addis Ababa	16	2
Rural area of region	13	2
Rural area of this *wereda*	6	1
Major city of this region	6	1
Non-neighbouring country	3	0
Other rural area	1	0

Respondents were asked if they were seeking work where they would go. Table 12 suggests that the wish to work outside is much more common in Turufe than in Yetmen, where eighty-five percent of responses indicated looking for employment within Yetmen. Of those who indicated that they would look for work outside the village, the most common locations were local towns, with only two percent considering Addis Ababa.

Imdibir: In-migration trends

Most Gurage migrants return to their rural home at least once a year during *Meskel*, and they often come with cash and in-kind gifts. They also respond to any crisis faced by their parents or close family members. Those who are members of the family and living in the region will also help with whatever they can afford. In times of crisis, friendship, neighbourhood, kinship and lineage are all important.

Migrants to the village over the last five years mostly include migrants who were engaged in the informal sector, and evicted due to urban land and trade regulations in Addis Ababa and other secondary cities. The return migrants reported that they used to earn income by selling second-hand clothes, newspapers and magazines of the free press. The return of demobilised soldiers and evicted Gurage merchants was also observed due

to the change of government in 1991 and the introduction of ethnic-based regionalisation in 1992/93.

Imdibir, SNNPR: Out-migration trends

Long distance trade migration has been an important aspect of livelihood for people in Imdibir. Some old people recall that trade migration was first practiced after the Land Act of 1929, which promulgated the payment of land tax in cash. Long-term trade migration has been common and most migrants from the area have reportedly engaged in a variety of domestic urban activities that range from owning big hotels and factories to jobs like shoe-shining, and selling lottery tickets and magazines. Most migrants were selling traditional clothes, livestock, saddles, tobacco and gun belts as far as Addis Ababa and other Ethiopian towns in the south and east. It is also reported that at least one person from each household in Haya Gasha *Kebele* was away in Addis Ababa, Nazret, Jimma, Wolkite and other towns during the agricultural off-peak season. The migrants are mostly younger men and women. However, children as young as ten-years-old were reported to have migrated to urban centres following household members to look for work.

Distress and seasonal migrations have also become important means of risk management for many of the respondents in Imdibir and Haya Gasha *Kebele*. When most farmers encounter failure of agricultural productivity, shortage of land, infertility of the land, death of cattle, and debt payment due to taxation and need to pay loans for fertilisers purchase, they go out to maximise opportunities available elsewhere. It is worth noting the views of the respondents that no one moves out of the locality just for begging unless the person has a mental and/or physical disability.

The trend of out-migration was threatened some ten years ago when the implementation of the ethnic-based regionalisation programme was introduced in the country, which led to ethnic conflicts encountered by migrants from Imdibir in some places.

The out-migration of Gurage has been very common to several urban areas, and this is alluded to in the saying, ‘there is no place where you cannot see the Land Rover and the Gurage migrants in Ethiopia’ (Worku, 1995)

Dinki, Amhara: In-migration trends

Dinki has hosted little number of migrants in recent years. They were mostly divorced women due to the breakdown of their marriages elsewhere or they are newly married women with the men of Dinki. The demobilisation of the *Derg* army also brought some returnees. During the Emperor era, Dinki, being lowland and a sparsely populated area, was an attraction area for tenants and land short peasants from the nearby highland areas. With the land reform in 1974, they gained access to the land, and their numbers have increased as their relatives and ancestors joined them.

Dinki, Amhara: Out–migration trends

It is reported that there are increasing trends of out-migration and links to other destinations over the past five years. The reasons for the high level of migration include push factors such as debt from micro-financial institutions and land taxation, restrictions on the sale of farmland and the worsening of rural destitution.

FGD participants mentioned the importance of urban areas such as Nazareth, Awash, Aliyu Amba, Gena Memicha, Dulecha, Gachene and Debre Birhan. They all agreed that Aliyu Amba was the most important town in all aspects of linkage, especially market and health services. It was indicated that people in Dinki sell their grains, fruit, onions, *chat*, coffee, cattle, sheep and goats, and buy all consumption goods in Aliyu Amba on Mondays and Thursdays.

It was revealed that the Aliyu Amba health post has been the only institution they used to get primary health care services, while Debre Birhan Hospital was often visited for treatment against serious illness, and accidents such as bullet wounds and, birth problems.

Poor Muslims were said to have been travelling to Nazareth every year during Ramadan to receive alms from rich business people who are successful migrants.

Gena Memicha (Haramba) was also revealed as an important town for its Saturday and Tuesday markets. Dinki people go there to buy oxen and cows, and weavers obtain cotton thread at fair prices. They also sell their fruits and vegetables there.

Gachene, which is the main town of the special *wereda* for the Argoba people in Afar, was said to be of little importance in terms of market services. However, they agreed that it has been most important market place for the single cash crop: *chat*.

It was indicated that many Argoba in Dinki have kin in Gachene with whom they interact. They also revealed that the town was an important place for obtaining employment as daily labourers during the huge construction project for the *wereda* government offices since 1993.

Dulecha was also mentioned as another important town in Afar for buying cattle, camels, sheep and goats. However, they revealed that their access to this market opportunity has been frustrated by periodic inter-ethnic conflicts and due to repeated attacks and killings committed by the Afar against Amhara and Argoba individuals as they travelled to or from Dulecha market.

During the FGD, it was revealed that Ankober was far less important for adult people in terms of market services. They indicated that people from Dinki do not take their produce or animals to sell in Ankober. However, they agreed that it has been an important market for both sub-groups for buying black sheep that are slaughtered for cult rituals in January, June and September.

Ankober was discussed rather as the centre of their political and administrative burdens. They indicated that they go to attend meetings called by *wereda* officials and to attend court when necessary.

All the FGD participants agreed that the most important rural migration destinations for adults from Dinki are Addis Alem, Lalo, Zego, Gendawuha, Haramba, Ayigebir Rassa and Koka. The participants revealed that Addis Alem has been a very important centre especially for the Muslims in terms of marriage, kinship relations and religious or ritual activities. Addis Alem was revealed to be the centre of different worship rituals and higher-level religious education. There are three famous worshipping places in Addis Alem that Muslim pilgrims from urban areas such as Addis Ababa, Awash, Debre Birhan and Nazareth used to celebrate. Another important destination for Quranic education is Koka. It was revealed that since the Imperial Period Muslims from Dinki have been sending their children to attend a prestigious religious school in Koka from which they graduate with the title of *Deressa*.

Participants agreed that Addis Alem has also been an important place for Christians in terms of accessing formal education and acquiring jobs as daily labourers. There is a public owned primary school (grades 1-3). Genda Nahal Chibite was also mentioned as an important destination due to the availability of a primary school (grades 1-6), local government administration office and attractive *chat* trade. In the FGD, the respondents have also indicated that Chibite will be an even more important destination in the near future as the construction of a health post was completed at the beginning of this year.

Genda Wuha, Zego, Lalo and Ayigebir were especially important for the Amhara Christian inhabitants living in Dinki as they were linked through regular marriage and kinship ties, attending wedding and funeral ceremonies, and important religious activities. Almost all of the Amhara in Dinki were said to have marriage relations with some of the above areas as the majority of their kin group had remained there since they moved to Dinki.

Rassa, although far away from Dinki, was considered to be an important centre of migration for weavers. It was revealed that during bad times Muslims used to carry their weaving implements and settle in Rassa where weavers are warmly welcomed.

Based on the above FGD, we can say that people in Dinki are very much connected to rural and urban destinations for various reasons. While the linkages with rural areas are dominated by social and religious reasons, the linkages with urban areas are explained mostly by market opportunities, and the availability of health and administrative services.

Table 13: Household members away from the village in May 2004

	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Rural area of this ward	2	8	5	20	7	28
Other rural area	0	0	4	16	4	16
Non-neighboring country	2	8	2	8	4	16
Urban area of this *wereda*	2	8	1	4	3	12
Rural area of this *wereda*	1	4	1	4	2	8
In this village	1	4	1	4	2	8
Addis Ababa	0	0	2	8	2	8
Rural area of region	1	4	0	0	1	4
Total	**9**	**36**	**16**	**64**	**25**	**100**

Table 13 shows that there were relatively few absences from the community at the time of the RANS compared to Turufe Kecheme. Those that were away form Dinki were mostly visiting rural areas (fifty-two percent), with a very small number of people travelling to urban locations. It is also notable that there were four absentees in non-neighbouring countries which is a greater number than any other site except for Kolfe in Addis Ababa. Of the relatively small number of absentees the majority (sixty-four percent) were women, and it is primarily women who were visiting rural areas at the time of the survey.

Table 14: Reason for absence

	Frequency	**Percentage**
Education	8	32
Ordinary social visit	4	16
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	3	12
Marriage	3	12
Funeral	3	12
Domestic work	2	8
Seeking work	1	4
Other	1	4

Table 14 shows that social occasions (forty percent), and obtaining services such as education (thirty-two percent) and health treatment (twelve percent) were the main causes of absence from Dinki. In comparison work-related motivations appear to be relatively unimportant. Indeed this is also reflected by Table 15, below, which shows that the vast majority of those seeking employment are likely to do so within Dinki itself (eighty-eight percent) with nobody looking for work outside Amhara.

Table 15: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	**Percentage**
This village	51	88
Rural area of this ward	4	7
Urban area of this *wereda*	2	3
Rural area of region	1	2

Korodegaga, Oromia: In-migration trend

It is reported that rural people from various parts of the country have been migrating to Korodegaga for many years ago. Most of the people of Korodegaga have migrated to the present site from Sire, Itaya and others parts of Dodota *Wereda*. As a result, most people have relatives and good social networks in these areas.

Marriage is another social institution that connects the people of the area with other rural sites such as Itaya, Asella, Sire and Amignal. Most of the adult female migrants moved to Korodegaga due to marriage. Intra-community marriage is not common because most of the people in Korodegaga belong to the Sabro clan and intra-clan marriage is culturally forbidden. However, some young people have recently begun to marry within the same clan or lineage. Young males usually marry at 18-20 years old, whilst females often marry when at the age of 14 or 15.

During the last five years, in-migration has increased due to the construction of the irrigation schemes in Korodegaga. A number of daily labourers reportedly came to the area from Wollo and Gondar in Amhara, Eastern Shewa in Oromia and Wolayita in the SNNPR. Small-scale investors were also reported to have come from Dera, Awash Melkasa, Nazareth and Addis Ababa. The investors often lease lands from poor farmers and they produce various types of vegetables and fruits. The recent migrants reportedly have good social relations with the local people although they cannot marry into the local community as most of the newcomers are Orthodox Christians and the local people are Muslim. Some local people complain about the behaviour of some of the migrants, in particular drinking and smoking.

Korodegaga: Out-migration trend

The important rural and urban places where most of the rural people of Korodegaga migrate at the time of drought and in search of employment are Asella, Dissise, Itaya and Sire *Wereda*. Some young people were also reported to have migrated to Dera, Nazareth and Dire Dawa (regional economic capital) to seek temporary jobs in construction activities and obtain social support from their relatives. However, all the respondents mentioned that more than any other town, Sodere Resort is the most important place for the people of the community. It is mainly significant for the poor and destitute people as most of these sections of the population visit Sodere on a daily basis to sell firewood, vegetables and fruit. They in turn buy consumer goods from the shops in the resort area.

There is one individual in Korodegaga who gives some medical services, mainly regarding malaria. However, most people visit Awash Melkasa and Dera for medical treatment or for serious illnesses they go to Nazareth or Asella hospitals. Most of them use government health centres because the cost of treatment is lower than the private clinics.

There are still considerable numbers of children from poor families who move to rural areas like Itaya to pursue their education, living with their relatives. In addition, some children from relatively wealthy families move to towns like Nazareth where the quality of schools is better. The majority of those who move for education are male, as most females do not continue beyond grade 4 in the *kebele* primary school and are forced to marry at a young age. In addition, some male children move to attend religious education in places like Harar, Bale, Shashemene, Dilla, Jimma and Dire Dawa. There are also boys as young as ten years old who migrate to herd cattle and tend crops in rural areas.

During the Imperial Period, most of the adult male migrants visited Bale Administrative Region to visit a religious leader called Shekina Hussein. Many people, men and women, used to visit the Sheikh at his house, believing that he could give them spiritual support. During the time of the *Derg* Regime this pattern of migration weakened. It is to be recalled that the Socialist Regime wan to allowing religious rights and the Cultural Revolution was meant to change such believes.

Our respondents agree that the rate of all types of migration, including seasonal, long-term and distress, to adjacent *wereda* have declined during the past five years. The prevalence of drought and poverty in most of the adjacent *wereda* and the weakening of kinship support mechanisms are reported to have discouraged migration to neighbouring *wereda*, which used to be attractive sites for migrants in the past. On the other hand, the expansion of irrigation-based agricultural activities both community and privately owned, have created good working opportunities for the poor people who earn their living as daily labourers. This group of people have are less likely to move to distant areas.

Table 16: Household members away from the village in May 2004

	Male		**Female**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Urban area of this *wereda*	11	24	3	7	14	30
Rural area of this *wereda*	8	17	5	11	13	28
Rural area of region	5	11	7	15	12	26
Urban area of this region	1	2	3	7	4	9
Rural area of this ward	2	4	0	0	2	4
In this village	1	2	0	0	1	2
Total	**28**	**61**	**18**	**39**	**46**	**100**

Table 16 indicates that local areas dominate the destinations of absentees from Korodegaga. At the time of the survey, nobody was outside the Oromia region, and the majority (sixty-four percent) were within the same *wereda*. Urban areas were common destinations, accounting for thirty-nine percent of absentees. Additionally absentees were predominantly male (sixty-one percent) with a particularly high proportion of men visiting nearby urban locations.

Table 17: Reason for absence

	Frequency	Percentage
Education	9	19
Ordinary social visit	7	15
Other	7	15
Health treatment/seeking health treatment	4	9
Studying	4	9
Farm work (crops/livestock)	3	6
Manual work	2	4
Funeral	2	4
Seeing other places and people	2	4
Domestic work	1	2
New baby	1	2
Marriage	1	2
Religious festival or pilgrimage	1	2
Seeking assistance	1	2
Seeking work	1	2
Training (workshop or training programme)	1	2

As with Dinki, table 17 shows that in Korodegaga the main reasons for absence were social visits (twenty-seven percent) and obtaining services like education or studying (twenty-eight percent) and healthcare (nine percent). Employment was a more common reason than in Dinki but still relatively low. Equally this is supported by table 18 which shows the large proportion of people who suggest that they would look for work within the village (fifty-eight percent), with the remainder primarily focusing on local urban nd rural destination rather than more distant locations.

Table 18: Location where household members would seek work

	Frequency	Percentage
This village	333	58
Rural area of this ward	127	22
Urban area of this *wereda*	38	7
Rural area of this *wereda*	25	4
Urban area of this region	24	4
Major city of this region	16	3
Rural area of region	10	2
Addis Ababa	2	0
Other rural area	2	0
Non-neighboring country	1	0

2.2.Type of work and livelihoods of migrants

2.2.1. Urban sites

Kolfe

The types of work that the short-term male migrants come to do in Kolfe mostly include unskilled daily labour in the housing construction sector, loading and unloading of goods, urban vegetable growing, weaving, blacksmithing, lottery ticket selling and begging. On the other hand, unmarried female migrants are reported to engage in domestic work as housemaids, working in bars as commercial sex workers, undertaking petty trading and begging.

There seems to be some specialisation of activities among the short-term migrants of the different ethnic groups living in the neighbourhoods studied. For instance, many of the Oromo migrants to Kolfe are engaged in loading and unloading, firewood selling and daily labour. The Amhara migrants tend to work as daily labourers, as housemaids, as guards, in local bars, as lottery ticket sellers and beggars. The migrants from Gamo are mostly engaged in daily labour, weaving and other craft-related work. The Gurage migrants, often the younger ones, tend to work as shoeshine boys, lottery ticket sellers, daily labourers, porters, second-hand clothes sellers, vegetable growers, food peddlers and petty traders.

Shashemene

Shashemene offers a variety of livelihood and work opportunities for long-term as well as seasonal migrants. It has markets where one can buy and sell all kinds of goods ranging from agricultural products and livestock to textiles and manufactured goods. There are also a range of bars, restaurants, hotels and stores. The town is also a commercial centre with various companies and commercial offices. Shashemene is a crossroads and a popular transit place for truck drivers, thousands of passengers and long-distance travellers. All these urban functions and amenities tend to provide opportunities for its inhabitants and migrants from various ethnic groups.

As explained earlier, the seasonal or short-term migrants, who came to Kuyisa *Sefer* are mostly male from the rural parts of Wolayita, Dawro, Gamo, Dorze, Gofa, Kembata and Hadiya and to a lesser extent from Sidamo, East Oromia (Arssi) and Gurage. The migrants from Wolayita and Hadiya are often engaged as farm labourers in the outskirts of the town notably at Awash, Abaro and Kuyera. Their farm work includes the production of potatoes, planting *teff* and harvesting maize. Wolayita migrants are also engaged in daily labour such as attending horse-carts, pushing water-barrels and plastering mud houses. Longer-term migrants from Kembata and Gurage often work as manual construction workers; horse-cart attendants and petty traders, while the migrants from Gamo are predominately engaged in traditional cloth weaving.

Bishate *Sefer* mostly hosts female, single or divorced, seasonal migrants from towns such as Awassa, Wolayita, Debre Zeit, Nazareth, and Addis Ababa and most are engaged in commercial sex work. Other migrants to Bishate and Bole *Sefer* include male and female migrants from the rural areas of Gurage and Oromia. The permanent migrants are often engaged in selling second-hand clothes, daily labour and petty trading of vegetables, grains and small merchandise on street markets. The seasonal male migrants in Bole *Sefer* are often hired by the rich and long-term migrants to work as porters in the grain stores. Most of the Gurage single or divorced female migrants also engage in petty trading, or sale of local food and drinks.

2.2.2. **Rural sites**

Turufe Kecheme, Oromia

Many of the migrants in Turufe are from Wolayita in the south, or Gojjam, Wollo, Gondar or Tigray in the north and are employed on a contract basis for six months or a year. Some migrants who came as labourers fared fairly well, especially if they had relatives and were able to sharecrop. Some successful cases from Tigray or Gojjam, were said to have been employed for 600 *birr* per year with their food provided. They were able to make modest savings of several hundred *birr* per year and some returned home with their savings after a several years. In one case a labourer from Gojjam was said to have made 8,000 *birr*[6] in ten years as a labourer and sharecropper, and returned home four years ago. Some of the successful labourers married in Turufe, built a house and obtained land. However, there were also several cases of disputes with employers refusing to pay their labourers what had been promised, and several have remained dependent labourers.

Whereas longer-term migrants who stay for a least a year tend to be from further away, seasonal migrants are from nearby areas. Two categories may be contrasted: firstly, Oromo from the Kofele area to the east, who are involved in threshing from October for a month or two generally living in the houses of their employers; and secondly Wolayita, from somewhat further to the south, involved in hoeing potato fields for a month or two during the rainy season (June-August), and often living in Shashemene.

Yetmen, Amhara

From poorer households migrants tend to go on a seasonal basis looking for work, which, in rural areas, includes agricultural labour and working as domestic labourers, and in towns working as guards, construction labourers and lottery ticket vendors. Informants agree that out-migration has become more common and some suggested that migrants tend to be less successful these days.

[6] Almost US$1,000

Migrants work on different terms that can include a daily rate, a monthly payment or piece rate, for work on a particular plot. The daily rate is usually less than 10 *birr* a day, although in some cases they can earn up to 20 *birr* per day on agricultural plantations. Contracts for piecework vary a lot depending on the type of work and the size of the plot. Monthly salaries are a minimum of 50 *birr* and a maximum of 200 *birr* as labourers in agricultural areas and as guards or waiters in towns. Sometimes, despite the wage being calculated on a monthly basis, the contract may stipulate that the migrant must work for six months or a year before getting his/her salary.

Obtaining work often depends on contacts and relatives who can act as guarantors, for instance when looking for work as guards or servants. The migrants who go for a short period usually have limited social relations with other migrants except their sponsors and even less with people living locally, and do not join burial, credit or religious associations, or form new families. Even migrants who have been away for several years often do not form strong social relationships in the places to which they migrate.

Some women go to towns to look for work mainly as servants and in bars. They can earn modest wages, which allow them to save to purchase clothes, and some assist their families. One reason for young women going to towns further away is that they do not want to be seen working in bars where they may be recognised, as the work is poorly regarded.

Imdibir, SNNPR

According to the FGD respondents from the *Kebele*, the closest destination for the poor during distress times is Imdibir town. The immediate work opportunities for the poor and the middle income category migrants during stress times is washing clothes, cleaning houses and small housing construction work. There are also migrants who cope by migrating to other neighbouring rural areas to get employed in *Enset* processing.

The long-term work opportunities for the temporary migrants to Imdibir town are to get employed as servants in private houses or restaurants.

Long-term migrants to big cities such as Addis Ababa, Wolkite, Woliso, Jimma, Nazareth and Shashemene move to work in various sectors. A few rich migrants move to Addis Ababa to open restaurants and shops while the work opportunities for the majority of the poor in Addis Ababa include getting involved in different contraband trades particularly selling second-hand clothes and goods. There are also migrants who find employment in the service sector as waiters.

.

Seasonal migration and links to Haya Gasha *Kebele* include the rural surrounding of Agena, Bole (Gumer) and Kose. While Agena is important for carrying out retail trading of various household items, they maintain the link to Bole for buying cattle and cereals as well as for selling *chat.*

It is reported that there are increasing trends of out-migration and links to other destinations over the past five years. The reasons for the high level of migration include the push factors such as debt from micro-financial institutions and land taxation, restrictions on the sale of farmland and the worsening of rural destitution.

Korodegaga, Oromia

Most of the recent poor migrants to Korodegaga are engaged as daily labourers in the construction of the irrigation scheme. The few migrants who are working as small-scale investors tend to lease lands from poor farmers to produce various types of vegetables. The nearby tourist town, Sodere, is critical for the poor people, who earn their living by selling firewood, and vegetables and fruits grown through the irrigation scheme.

Dinki, Amhara

The major type of activity for the people of Dinki is subsistence farming supported by raising livestock. In order to overcome seasonal food shortages, a large number of households living in Dinki migrate to some towns in Oromia and Afar regions to look for work as daily labourers in construction and farming work. Some poor Muslims also reportedly travel to Nazareth every year during Ramadan to receive alms from rich business people who are successful migrants.

2.3. Spatial patterns, urban-rural linkages and labour flows

2.3.1. The current context of Kolfe and Shashemene urban sites

In studying the linkages and networks linking Kolfe and Shashemene to other urban and rural places in Ethiopia, our qualitative study revealed that permanent movement or long-term migration, seasonal or short-term migration, and circular migration have created different levels and intensities of relationships between urban and rural areas. According to the key informants for our Shashemene site, the rural areas from which the migrants came to the urban communities were mainly from the south, notably Wolayita, Omo, Dawro, Kembata and Hadiya. In contrast, Kolfe has hosted both seasonal and long-term migrants from the south including Gurage (Cheat, Imdibir, Indoor and Sor), Gamo (Chencha, Doko, Ezo, Birbera, Ze'ada, Data, Bone, Woyza, Andiro, Elo, Dera, Jila, Atolo, Bele, Shema, Dokomasha), Kembata, Hadiya, the centre (Shewa Oromo and Amhara as well as Arssi Oromo) and Northern Ethiopia (Eastern Gojjam and Wollo - Yeju, Raya and Kobo areas).

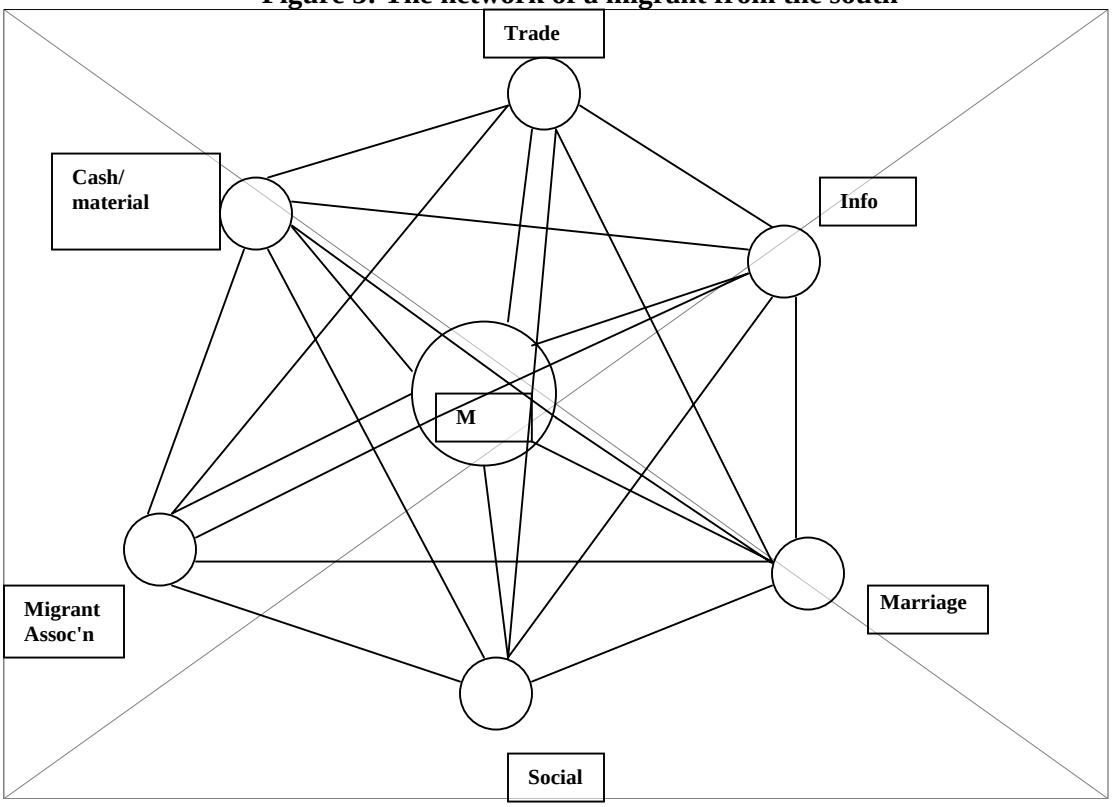
Most of the migrants from Gurage, Gamo, Kembata, Hadiya and Wolayita in both Kolfe and Shashemene have had the experience of circular migration. The respondents think that this kind of migration is most important in terms of household diversification strategies stimulating a constant flow of information about jobs, market situation, new

technology and lifestyles. Furthermore, it indicates that whilst migrants' livelihoods are spatially within an urban context, their social and cultural identity still remains rooted within the rural village context facilitated by the strong ties and networks with family and village relations as well as religious and social festivals.

Types of urban-rural linkages

Based on our qualitative study, individual migrants living in urban areas maintain multiple types of networks with their rural homes to serve their social and economic interests as well as maintain their cultural identities and ethnic ties. The case study below (Figure 3) presents an account of an individual migrant from the south and illustrates that whilst his livelihood is spatially within Kolfe, his networks still remain rooted within his rural village in Gamo facilitated by the strong ties and networks with family and villages through various forms such as trade, marriage and cash remittances.

Figure 3: The network of a migrant from the south



Transfers of information and cash/material resources

Long and short-term migrants are instrumental in providing information about jobs, education and business opportunities to their children, and young unmarried women and men. The earlier migrants often attract relatives to join them and work with them for sometime.

In both Kolfe and Shashemene sites, most of the male migrants from the south (Gamo, Gurage, Dorze, Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayita) revealed that they often transfer information and sometimes resources as gifts once a year during *Meskel* or *Arefa* holidays. They often send cash, clothes, shoes, household utensils, farm implements, kerosene, shoes, soap, salt and other consumer goods to their close relatives in rural areas in order to assist them, and help them cope with financial difficulties and crises. However, many of the female married respondents stated that they are financial constrained and sometimes find it hard to fulfil these expectations since they do not have control over the family income. Thus it seems easier for male migrants and unmarried female migrants to meet such holiday obligations.

.

The transfer of material resources is sometimes reciprocal. For instance, Wolayita migrants in Shashemene take clothes, salt, sugar, spices and onions when they go back to their home areas. The migrants return with butter, cheese, potato, *bula* (a flour made from

false banana) and maize. Similarly, Kembata migrants take millet, pepper, oil and barley when they visit their families and relatives in Kembata. In return, they bring banana, baskets, *bula*, butter and bamboo mats from their rural homes.

Marriage

Marriage is one of the mechanisms that link urban and rural areas. This is especially true in the case of long-term inhabitants who came to Kolfe and Shashemene on a permanent basis in search of a better life in town. Most of the migrants from Kembata, Hadiya, Gamo and Gurage prefer to marry within their ethnic groups. Hence, long-term male migrants from these groups bring their spouses from their home areas. There are times where a long-term migrant, notably from Gurage (both Muslim and Orthodox Christians), can have two wives and maintain two households, one in the rural and the other in urban areas. According to some respondents, a migrant from Gurage culture usually marries a wife at home to keep his land and look after his property.

Iddir and self-help groups

Most of the long-term migrants have established strong social networks. Ethnic-based *iddir* (burial associations) are very strong and bring migrants together in times of need and mutual assistance. For instance, in Serategna *Sefer* in Shashemene, the long-term residents of the *sefer* have formed *Sodo Iddir* and *Sebat-bet Iddir* for migrants specifically from the Gurage areas, and they help each other in both good and bad times. The cash contributions they make differ from one group to another. Similarly, long-term female and male migrants from Wolayita and Kembata living in Bishate *Sefer*, Shashemene, have also formed self-help associations to organise joint trips to celebrate *Meskel* with their relatives in rural areas. If a relative living in a rural area faces difficulties a migrant living in Shashemene or Kolfe is supposed to visit or send cash to solve the problem back at home. In case such family support is beyond the capacity of a migrant, the association members might contribute cash and assist the migrant to help his/her kin in the rural areas.

The Gamo and Gurage migrants in Kolfe also have similar sub-ethnic-based self-help associations and *iddir* and they help each other during crises and happy times like weddings. The *iddir* contributions can range from 5-10 *birr* per month. If a migrant dies, friends and associates from the same place of origin take the body of the deceased to be buried in their homeland. We also learnt that some migrants from Gamo and Gurage continue to maintain their membership and make contributions to their rural *iddir*, even if they have left their home areas for a long period of time. They make arrangements with the leadership of rural *iddir* or delegate their family members to contribute cash and non-cash contributions on their behalf. Similarly, the long-term migrants from Kembata and Wolayita, have formed ethnic-based associations. For instance, the Kembata association, which is called 'Kembata family association', was established to support Kembata in times of crisis such as death and also other social happenings such as weddings. Wolayita

migrants have also formed an association called 'Wolayita Giorgis'. This association assists its members in times of crisis such as death, and settling disputes with other ethnic groups in the area.

The FGD participants in Imdibir area disclosed that the migrants from Haya Gasha *Kebele* often form *iddir* and *equb* with other fellow migrants in the respective urban areas where they live. The purpose of the *iddir* is reportedly to extend support for members: financially in times of death, provide mutual assistance and maintain links between migrants and the rural community in their home areas.

Trade networks

In Shashemene, the major relation between Bishate *Sefer* and the rural areas from which the seasonal migrants come is trade. For instance from Wolayita traders predominantly bring sweet potatoes, *boye* (yam) and maize, while the Kembata traders bring bananas, baskets and other food items. The traders from both these areas come for only a day or two and then return home. Similarly in Bole *Sefer*, the linkage between the long-term inhabitants and the place from which the seasonal migrants come from is through trade. Trade migrants bring bamboo mats, cultural artefacts, cheese and other dairy products from Kembata area, while they take clothes, kerosene, soap and salt from Shashemene. In addition to this, long-term migrants from Kembata and Sodo Gurage living in Serategna *Sefer* attract their relatives to come with them, primarily to assist them or work for them in trading businesses.

In Kolfe, the inhabitants in the different *sefer* do not have strong trade links with the nearby rural communities adjacent to Addis Ababa. However, long-term migrants from Gamo and Sor Amba *Sefer* attract their relatives to come with them primarily to assist them or work for them in weaving and vegetable growing respectively.

2.3.2. Rural-urban linkages in the rural sites

Turufe Kecheme, Oromia

The 1995 study map and the 2005 migration studies reveal links of livestock exchange, farming and marriage with neighbouring rural areas such as Shasha, Wetter, Gigessa, Kenche, Abiye Elemo, Negele and Gonde. There are also labour exchanges with households in neighbouring villages, notably with in-laws (see map).

Links with several urban areas are important, especially for markets, administrative purposes, for health care, education, religious practice and employment, mainly in the informal sector. Local traders buy products from towns, notably from Kuyera, for resale. The towns of Kuyera and Hamus Gebeya are major markets for crops, and lamps and furniture are also bought in Hamus Gebeya. Some individuals beg at Kenche market. In Arssi Negele farmers buy seed and fertiliser, and sell livestock and grain. Some women

sell the alcoholic drink, *areke*, which they produce, and a few men work as carpenters. Farmers go to Kofele market to buy and sell livestock and their products, and to sell wood, cereals and vegetables.

The closest and for many the most important town is Kuyera were some students go to school, where there is also a hospital, a mill, as well as telephone and administrative services. Some youths find work, notably loading and unloading trucks, and chopping firewood. A few work as carpenters. Some women find work preparing alcoholic drinks.

Links with Shashemene are very strong involving the purchase of agricultural inputs (fertiliser, seeds, pesticides, farm equipment), tools, crops (potato and maize seed, red peppers), food (notably ground peas), other basic necessities such as kerosene, salt, sugar, and coffee, kitchen equipment, clothing, consumer goods (radios, watches, tape recorders) and sale and purchase of livestock and cereal crops. There are also schooling and marriage linkages as well as visits for recreation, medical treatment and administration. Some youngsters who have finished school live in Shashemene working, looking for jobs or continuing with their education. A few girls work as servants in the houses of rich people, and some boys buy sugar cane to resell in Turufe.

Links with Addis Ababa also involve visits and purchase of consumer goods, furniture and gifts, and sale of food, in particular potatoes. A few rich people send their children to school in Addis Ababa where they stay with relatives, and the families send them food. Some of the wealthy go for private medical care to Awassa, Yirgalem or Addis Ababa.

In general, male migrants seem to find lowly paid jobs in urban areas, as labourers, notably loading trucks, chopping wood and working in shops. Some women find jobs in shops and in bars, or as domestic servants. A few men have better paid jobs as carpenters and plumbers, often going further away for several months. Among the rich a few send their children to private schools in Shashemene or even Addis Ababa where they stay with relatives.

Table 19: Type of support received in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral support during social events	117	47
Hospitality in urban area	114	46
Security/protection in difficult times	83	33
Just visits/presents	49	20
Cash loan	45	18
Remittances	43	17
Inkind gifts	30	12

Table 19 shows that the most common forms of support received in Turufe were moral support and hospitality in urban areas, the latter of which is no doubt substantially influenced by the relative proximity of Turufe to the urban centres of Kuyera, Shashemene and Negele. Actual transfers of cash, either as loans or gifts though much less common are still received by thirty-five percent of the households in Turufe and this represents a significant transfer of resources.

Table 20: Type of support provided to people in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral support during social events	104	42
Hospitality in rural area	103	41
Provision of free labour	90	36
Security/protection in difficult times	68	27
Sent in kind gifts	65	26
Sent cash	34	14

As shown in table 20, the reciprocal provision of moral support and hospitality to those in urban areas is common, although the provision of financial assistance is considerably more rare. However, there are also a substantial number of households that report having provided free labour to those in urban areas.

Yetmen, Amhara

The main urban links are with the closest towns, Dejen and Bichena, and with Debre Markos, the regional capital. There are also links with Addis Ababa, and some migrants go to towns in the south, such as Shashemene, Nazareth and Ziway. In the nearby towns, people from Yetmen buy and sell crops (grain, pulses, vegetables, spices), livestock and their products, and *areke* liquor. Butter, honey and *areke* are sold in Addis Ababa. The nearby urban centres are more important for the wealthy involved in trade than the farmers, and a number of the former have become prosperous as grain traders (see map).

People often go to the nearby towns to visit relatives for holidays and social, life-cycle and/or religious events, as well as for healthcare especially since the health centres have better medicines and contraceptives, and Debre Markos has a hospital. People also go to Bichena and then Debre Markos for administrative services notably over land and marital disputes (Dejen is under another administrative division). Women often buy clothes and better food in these towns and richer women seek spouses there.

A few women go to Bichena or Dejen to work. The richer ones sell *tella*, local beer and tea in rented roadside houses or open shops or bars together with their husbands, whereas the poorer ones sell *kollo* (roasted grain), fruits (bananas and oranges), and/or sugarcane in the market. A few poor women or girls work as servants or are employed in bars. Some boys and a few girls are sent for education to Bichena or Dejen, since the school in Yetmen is only up to the eighth grade, often living with relatives or renting rooms. A few boys go on to Debre Markos or Addis Ababa. However, the poor cannot attend tertiary education unless they are enrolled in public institutions since they cannot afford the fees and living expenses.

Addis Ababa is an important destination for people from Yetmen who go to visit relatives and get better medical treatment. A few men obtain jobs as guards but this requires having a guarantor, who is usually a relative already established in the area. Others seek work in construction sites. A few men also go to other towns, notably Shashemene, Nazareth and Dire Dawa, or rural areas where seasonal work can be found in Wanji

where there is a sugar plantation, to Jimma and Tepi where there are coffee and tea plantations and commercial farms, and in various rural areas in harvesting times. A few of the more educated may find work in factories.

Migration to the south was more common in the past, but nowadays it is said to be decreasing in part since farmers are receiving credit, since increasing numbers of migrants do not seem to be successful, and possibly also because ethnically-based discrimination that some migrants faced may have discouraged others.

The data from the RANS provides some evidence concerning support from and to rural areas, as the following tables from Turufe show.

Table 21: Type of support received in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral support during social events	161	64
Hospitality in urban area	123	49
Just visits/presents	93	37
Inkind gifts	42	17
Cash loan	28	11
Security/protection in difficult times	28	11
Remittances	16	6

As was the case in Turufe, table 21 demonstrates that moral support and hospitality are the most common forms of support provided by people in urban areas to households in Yetmen. Actual cash remittances or loans remain uncommon though.

Table 22: Type of support provided to people in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral support during social events	143	57
Hospitality in rural area	104	42
Provision of free labour	100	40
Security/protection in difficult times	42	17
Sent inkind gifts	39	16
Sent cash	3	1

Table 22 presents a very similar pattern of reciprocal moral support and hospitality being provided by those in rural areas to urban dwellers. In addition the provision of labour from rural to urban is very common, and cash transfers are very rare.

Imdibir, SNNPR

People in Haya Gasha *Kebele*, Imdibir, have maintained important links with the surrounding rural areas such as Agena, Bole, Gubire and Aftir. Most women and men visit Agena to sell their clay products, coffee and salt, and in return buy potatoes and cereals. Gubire is important for the sale of products such as baskets and handicrafts, and to buy sugar cane, sorghum and butter. Links with Aftir is important for selling clay and

basket products, and buying dairy products. The Bole locality is preferred for selling coffee, *chat* and clay products, and buying potatoes, cereals and cattle.

Most poor people tend to undertake frequent visits to Agena, while the rich frequently visit Bole due to the availability of goods that can meet the needs of the people. Thus, economic linkages in the area seem to be related to the type and availability of goods as well as proximity and distance.

Social links to other areas are influenced by the presence of popular religious sites and social services. For religious purposes, most of the Orthodox Christians travel to Dibrete Gura, Ezha and Dakuna, while the Muslims often go to a place called Abret that is situated in the border between Cheha and Enemor districts.

The availability of modern health services at Atat town attracts villagers to maintain important links. Others, who want to obtain traditional medication, prefer to visit a place called Luke in the lowland or *Kola*, as well as Eba and Yedoro Gebeya.

Korodegaga, Oromia

The most important urban centres for the people of Korodegaga are: Dera, a market centre with education and administration facilities; Bofa in Eastern Shewa, a market place; Awash Melkasa, which is important for health, market and education; Nazareth, which is important for health, market, education and is the site of the Zonal Administration; Sire, which is important for its market; Sodere, which is nearest to the site and is important for petty trade, recreation and primary education; and Addis Ababa, which is an important location mainly for rich people. Sodere is a critical town for poor people, who earn their living by selling firewood and products from irrigated farms, in particular vegetables like tomatoes, onions and peppers.

The most important rural areas for local people of Korodegaga include Sire (Kechile), Itaya, Dikisisa, Dera, Asella , Kobo, Boset (Shewa) and Bale. For instance, Sire, which is located to the east of Korodegaga, has economic importance due to the trade of livestock that occurs there. Itaya, which is located to the southwest of Korodegaga, has both economic and social value, as there have been a number of marriages between the two areas, and there are places for grazing and agricultural lands. Dodota-Koro has strong cultural, economic, social, cultural and environment ties with the other communities of Dodota.

Table 23: Type of support received in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Hospitality in urban area	93	36
Moral support during social events	82	32
In-kind gifts	55	22
Just visits/presents	55	22
Remittances	38	15
Security/protection in difficult times	28	11
Cash loan	21	8

The levels of support from urban to rural areas are shown by table 23 to be substantially less than those in Turufe or Yetmen. This may well be due to the relative remoteness of the communities of Korodegaga in comparison with the other two sites, both of which are very close to urban centres. As a result hospitality and moral support received are substantially lower, though cash remittances and loans are an important transfer of resources and considerable more common than was the case in Yetmen, with twenty-three percent of households benefiting in some way.

Table 24: Type of support provided to people in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Hospitality in rural area	91	36
Moral support during social events	69	27
Security/protection in difficult times	31	12
Sent in kind gifts	30	12
Provision of free labor	27	11
Sent cash	10	4

The types of support provided by households in Korodegaga to urban centres show a similar pattern to that received by Korodegaga, with the exception that cash sent from rural households to urban ones is very low. Additionally, the provision of free labour, which is relatively common in the rural sites closely connected to urban centres, is relatively rare in Korodegaga, with only eleven percent of households providing such services.

Dinki, Amhara

Female and Male respondents identified rural areas such as Erasme, Merrere, Wocheger and Haramba as the most important centres for different purposes. Inhabitants from these rural areas often visit Dinki and vice versa for daily work, marriage, orthodox pilgrimage, funerals, weddings and the like.

Among the urban centres that are important for young adults are Aliyu Amba, Ankober, Zego and Gorgo. While Aliyu Amba and Ankober are the most important centres for marketing, accessing health services and schools, the other two urban areas are important for carrying out business and finding temporary work.

Table 25: Type of support received in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral support during social events	15	9
Cash loan	14	8
In kind gifts	12	7
Just visits/presents	9	5
Remittances	6	4
Hospitality in urban area	3	2
Security/protection in difficult times	3	2

Moral support and hospitality in urban areas received by households in Dinki are far less common than in any other site considered here. This reflects the remote nature of the site, which is even less accessible than Korodegaga.

Table 26: Type of support provided to people in or from urban areas

	Frequency	Percentage
Provision of free labor	22	13
Moral support during social events	17	10
Sent in kind gifts	10	6
Hospitality in rural area	8	5
Sent cash	6	4
Security/protection in difficult times	5	3

Equally, table 26 shows that support provided by households in Dinki to urban dwellers is very low in comparison with the other sites, reflecting the remote nature of the community.

2.4. Preferences regarding urban centres and geographic locations

The following table provides evidence about the centres considered important by urban households in Kolfe and Shashemene from the RANS.

Table 27: The three most important centres for sample households

	Kolfe		Shashemene	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Addis Ababa	77	36	63	14
Regional capital	1	0	50	11
Zonal town	12	6	23	5
Wereda town	6	3	187	41
Sub-wereda township	2	1	61	13
Rural area	110	52	60	13
Neighboring country	0	0	5	1
Other African country	1	0	3	1
USA	0	0	1	0
Middle East/Arabic country	0	0	1	0
Other country	2	1	0	0

Source: WeD-Ethiopia, Urban RANS, 2005

The table indicates a substantial difference between the Kolfe and Shashemene sites. In particular, respondents in Shashemene place far greater importance on urban centres within the same region than do those in Kolfe. In contrast the answers from Kolfe show the great importance of rural areas, which contribute over half of the important locations mentioned.

As indicated in table 28, the respondents report that these small urban centres provide not only market functions but also social support (thirty-four percent in Kolfe and twenty-one percent in Shashemene), health facilities (five percent in Kolfe and eight percent in Shashemene), information / technology (three percent in Kolfe and five percent in Shashemene) and entertainment (one percent in Kolfe and five percent in Shashemene). Based on these responses, it is possible to suggest that the growth of small towns might be viewed as an important development strategy. The development of such small growth centres at district and sub-district level could provide multi-purpose functions for the rural people and a path for the maximisation of market opportunities even for the urban poor who reside in the capital city or other secondary cities in the country.

Table 28: Reasons for the importance of small towns

	Kolfe		Shashemene	
	Frequency	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Market for buying things	64	25	214	22
Market for selling things	36	14	167	17
Employment	2	1	29	3
Health service	12	5	76	8
Schools	2	1	44	5
Source of information	8	3	50	5
Entertainment	2	1	47	5
Social support	86	34	204	21
Administrative/political matters	0	0	5	1
Source of remittances	2	1	53	5
Other	40	16	75	8

Source: WeD-Ethiopia, Urban RANQ, 2005.

2.5 Diversity of migrants

2.5.1. Age of migrants

Table 29: National Urban and Rural Migrants (Resident Less than Five years) Population by Age – 1999

Age of migrants in urban areas	% of population
10-14	15
15-19	26
20-24	21
25-29	16
30-34	8
35-39	6
40-44	2
45-49	2
50-54	2
55-59	1
Total	**99**

Source: The National Work Force Survey (CSA, 1999),

Table 29 indicates that seventy-eight percent of the total migrants are under the age of thirty. The greatest number of migrants (twenty-six percent) falls in the 15-19-age category, followed by the 20-24-age category (twenty-one percent) and then 25-29 years old (sixteen percent). This supports the claim that migration is heavily concentrated amongst people aged 15-30 years (Eshetu, 2005, citing Connell *et al*, 1976).

However, our qualitative interviews revealed that a considerable number of children as young as seven-years-old were sent from their rural homes by poor parents from Gamo and Gurage areas to their relatives or migrants in Kolfe and Shashemene to enable their children to acquire part-time education, minimise their economic burden and gain some financial support. Due to the presence of circular migrations between Gamo and the two

urban sites, Kolfe and Shashemene, adult and long-term migrants also attract young boys from their respective areas of origin to join the highly exploitative and potentially abusive employment situation in the weaving work in Kolfe, Addis Ababa and Serategna *Sefer*, Shashemene. The children often receive little or no payment; they have no access to education, freedom of movement and lack decent working conditions.

There is also evidence that the 'lottery boys' coming from Gojjam are fairly young (teenage to the age of twenty-one). These young migrants, who are also called Gojjam *Azene* (meaning 'Gojjam became sad'), are mostly young peasants who had no access to land or who were dispossessed from their plots of land by local administrators due to political differences.

Our key informants perceive that single and young females and male migrants have mostly practiced migration from Gurage over the past three years. However, new male migrants seem to have shifted their migration stream from Addis Ababa, particularly Kolfe area, due to the relocation of the 'Chereta' second-hand clothes market,[7] imposition of heavy business taxes introduced by the city Revenue Authority and the banning of vending on streets. Other alternative migration destinations were reported to be Jimma, Nazareth and Ziway. On the other hand, migration from Gamo has been practiced more by men than women. Both Addis Ababa and Shashemene were found to be attractive locations for the migration of unskilled and poor rural men from remote rural areas. The majority of the male migrants over the past three years seem to be young adults in the transitional age between adolescence and adulthood. They are either single or have married once.

According to our informants, married male migrants leave their wives and children behind in their rural areas of origin. They often lack land and economic stakes in the rural areas compared with their elders. These male migrants are involved in both rural and urban economies. The wives manage their farm holdings, in a male-dominated environment, with the support of male relatives who assist them with agricultural activities and social protection.

2.5.2. Education of migrants

Table 30 shows the distribution of respondents by educational level computed from the national survey and reveals that seventy percent of the migrants are illiterate. There is a clear gender disparity since the illiteracy rate is fifty-eight percent for the male migrants and eighty-one percent for the female migrants. Only one percent of the migrants have achieved education beyond grade 12. This is very similar to the perception of our FGD respondents in both Addis Ababa and Shashemene, where both the female and male urban migrants were found to be unskilled and with limited training.

[7] The market was moved by the Addis Ababa City Administration in early 2005 on the grounds that the open market space was leased out to investors for other big development projects.

Table 30: National Migrants (Resident Less than Five years) Population by Sex and Educational Attainment – 1999

Level of Education	%Age of males	%Age of females	Total
Read and Write	7	1	4
Grade 1-6	24	12	18
Grade 7-8	5	3	4
Grade 9-11	3	2	2
Grade 12	2	1	2
Beyond Grade 12	1	1	1
Illiterate	58	81	70
Not stated	1	0	0
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

2.5.3. Gender and Migration

Gender is one of the organising principles that underlie migration and related processes, such as the adaptation to the new areas of destination, continued contact with the area of origin and possible return. Gender as a 'social construction' raises a fundamental question that is relevant for the analysis of women and migration information. This relates to how the fact those men obtain preferential access to the resources available in the study area, affects women's ability to migrate, the timing of that migration, and the final destination.

The results of the WeD qualitative information gathered during the fieldwork in Shashemene suggest that there are more female migrants from the SNNPR and Oromia. There seemed to be a greater number of female migrants found from the adjacent rural areas of Shashemene town including Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayita, Sidama, Gamo and Eastern Oromia.

In contrast, in the Kolfe site it seems that there are less female migrants from the SNNPR and much of Oromia compared with Amhara and women from North and West Shewa in Oromia. The FGD informants perceive that female migrants often move from Gamo to join their spouses who had already moved on a permanent basis to work in Addis Ababa, while the female migrants from the Gurage areas come to carry out small businesses. Many of the female migrants in both Kolfe and Shashemene are divorced and widowed women in their active reproductive age.

The higher rate of female migration in the case studies is different from other Sub-Saharan Africa migration experiences, where migration is a predominantly male phenomenon, much of it temporary in character, with a tendency for female migration to be restricted to particular labour markets like domestic service in urban centres.

2.6. Labour force and employment opportunities

According to the qualitative interviews in both Kolfe and Shashemene, the majority of the migrants to urban areas tend to have low educational status and limited skills. They have previously worked on small plots of their own land and rent their labour on a temporary basis on others' farms. Likewise, the most common types of employment that are available in the two urban centres are unskilled jobs in the public construction sector, the service sector, low-skilled domestic work, petty trade, craft work and urban agriculture. Hence it is evident that, except for a limited number of jobs, most migrants can more easily find employment in labour intensive low skilled jobs. The following box shows the list of the occupations that the temporary and permanent urban migrants often engaged in.

Box 1: Work undertaken by migrants in Kolfe and Shashemene by categories and type

Job Category	Job Type
Construction Sector	Loading and unloading, plastering, wood chopping, guarding
Domestic work	Childcare, cook, cleaner, washerwomen, *injera* baker
Service Sector	Small restaurants, bar waitress, waiter, bar attendant, cook, guard, dish washer, cleaner Transport- cart-driver, porter, lottery ticket seller Store-attendant
Small business	Second-hand clothes sales, sale of drinks and food, sale of vegetable and fruits, grain retailer, kiosk, shoe-shiner,
Craft work	Weaver, blacksmith
Urban Agriculture	Vegetable growing, gardening, digging and ploughing
Other	Begging, prostitution

2.7. The role of brokers and the management of labour migration

Relative success in getting employment for the majority of the migrants lies in the support that they receive from their networks of *iddir*, families, kin, relatives and ethnic members already established in the urban areas. Most of the migrants mentioned that their first job was obtained through the informal networks that they had.

There are a number of registered brokers in both Kolfe and Shashemene. These brokers work in a union with five to ten members who serve as job dealers. Long-term migrants or non-migrants in most of the neighbourhood commonly know the brokers and their locations. The brokers often provide eight hours' service during workdays and they meet any jobseekers when they visit them. A few of the brokers have space to provide accommodation services for those jobseekers that do not have shelter.

The brokers obtain a service fee from both the employee and the employer upon the conclusion of an agreement. The charge ranges from 5 to 20 *birr* for a job from each party depending upon the wage. The minimum daily labourers' wage in Kolfe is 6 *birr* per day, while in Shashemene it is 5 *birr* per day. The lowest average monthly salary is

75 *birr* for jobs like guards and cleaners and the wage reaches an average of 250 *birr* per month for a cook. The wages are often determined informally through mutual negotiation and agreement between the employee and the employer. The variations of the wages depend upon the paying capacity of the employers in the neighbourhoods. Hence, there can be big variations of wages from one neighbourhood to another depending upon the status and income of the employers.

Urban migrants who have strong links with long-term inhabitants and those that can produce guarantors, often a long-term resident who can be traced in case of theft, damage to the employers' property or serious dispute with the employee, have better employment opportunities than those who do not.

2.8. Barriers and facilitating factors for labour migration

As with the reasons for moving, it is equally important to enquire about the barriers to labour migration. Eshetu (2005) disclosed that family ties appear to be the main reason for barriers to migration notably for female migrants, while schooling is cited as an impediment to migration for the youth in schools. He further indicated that retention of land; assets and jobs as well as uncertainties about coping with difficulties of life are impediments for some migrants. Most elderly people and vulnerable groups within communities also have health problems, which can prevent them from moving easily. The situations in Kolfe and Shashemene are similar to Eshetu's finding where urban migrants consider factors like management of houses and other assets, children's education and insecurity as perceived barrier to their free movement. Some migrants mentioned that local government authorities in other small towns discriminated against them in finding jobs and business licenses on the grounds that they do not speak the language of the local people and they are not from the majority ethnic group.

There are contrasting views on the relationships between the existing political system – ethnic-based federalism – and the dynamics of migration. As mentioned earlier in a separate section of this report, the Migration, Gender and Health Survey conducted jointly by Addis Ababa and Brown Universities (2000) with a focus on the five most populated regional states, namely, Oromia, Amhara, SNNPR, Tigray and Addis Ababa indicated that intra-regional migration is more common than inter-regional migration for both seasonal and permanent migrants in Ethiopia. The presence of limited inter-regional permanent migration might be attributed to a lack of information about other regions and the existence of 'insecurity' in moving into a different region with different language, culture and religion. Some also speculated that the limited inter-regional migration pattern could be a reflection of ethnic-based federalism as it can discourage people from moving other than within their home regions where they face difficulties finding permanent employment and land. However, Addis Ababa has registered the highest rate of migration from different regional states compared to other regions. This can partially explain the absence of these ethnic and language tensions in big cities, and its implication for the attraction of new migrants from different regions. On the other hand, the same survey showed that intra-regional migration in Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR and Tigray

region was high and was not impeded by ethnic and language-based administration as the movement involved predominately people of the same ethnic background moving across administrative zones and *wereda*. However, it is difficult to draw a conclusion on this trend since there were no identical and comparable surveys in pre-EPRDF periods.

2.9. The consequences of labour migration

Migration can have both negative and positive consequences at community, household and individual levels. Based on our qualitative studies, we present here the experiences reported by migrants in our research sites.

(a) Community level – The effect of migration at community level can be seen from both the sending and host communities perspectives. Most of the case studies showed that the presence of long-term migrants in Kolfe and Shashemene areas has helped the flow of information, transfer of material resources and support to their respective areas of origin.

Long term migrants from Gurage, Gamo and Kembata areas, who currently live in Kolfe and Shashemene research sites, indicated that they contributed cash for local fundraising committees entrusted with the responsibility of mobilising community resources for the construction of schools and rural roads in their respective areas of origin. Although they are few in number, some migrants, notably from Gurage areas, returned with resources to install grain mills, open kiosks and butcher shops. The purchase and supply of plough oxen and farm implements by some Gurage migrants, although directly provided to sending households, may ease the shortage of plough oxen and benefit the resources of local communities. A few Gojjam migrants who live in Kolfe also mentioned that they contributed cash towards church construction in Gojjam. However, the amount of their cash contribution is not large in relation to the cost required for the church construction work.

On the other hand, the migration of young rural, less skilled and less literate people from different destinations to urban areas of Kolfe and Shashemene is viewed by long–term inhabitants as a reason for the increasing shortage of houses, poor condition of toilets and sanitation facilities, exacerbated unemployment situation, increased trends of petty crime, prostitution and begging. Even so, most of the long-term inhabitants believe that the continuous flow of rural unskilled labour serves the domestic labour needs of Kolfe or Shashemene communities. It would have been more expensive to afford housemaids, nannies, guards and craftsmen if there were fewer migrants.

(b) Household level – In all the studied rural sites, seasonal migration has been found to be the key strategy in reducing the vulnerability of poor rural households to seasonal food insecurity and high risk of food shortages. Most of the rural households mentioned that the seasonal migrations of household members has offered them non-farm jobs in the off-seasons and reduced the number of people to be fed. They pointed out that the presence of seasonal and permanent migration from rural to urban areas could be viewed as providing a safety net mechanism for poor individuals and rural households to cope with

distress situations, pay annual taxes, buy small stocks and obtain medication. Sending households have benefited from flow of material supports such as better clothe, shoes, radios and cassette players, household utensils, consumer goods and farm implements. On the other hand, the loss of labour of migrants and the lack of their presence can have detrimental economic and social consequences. For instance, the FGD participants in Imdibir, Gurage Site, mentioned that the long term male migration has threatened the direct male participation in family life and presence of appropriate father figure, which, in turn, contributed to the loosing of family ties and the dissemination of HIV/AIDS to spouses.

(3) Individual level – Beyond serving as a safety net, the rural-urban seasonal migration among the interviewed individuals often did not bring great change to the lives of the majority of the poor migrants. Out-migration also has negative economic and social effects on those who migrated. The supply of domestic labours to urban inhabitants at extremely low wages and benefits exposes a number of urban migrants to exploitation and abuse as are demonstrated in the following cases.

Box 2: List of migration experiences by individuals of different origin

No.	Name	Sex	Ethnic group	Age	Type of migration	Destinations	Current occupation
1	TE	M	Amhara	37	Long-term migrant	Butajira, Ziway, Shashemene	Music Shop
2	LN	M	Amhara	45	Distress migrants	Goba, different military camps, Shashemene	Small bar
3	TB	M	Gurage	43	Seasonal Migrant	Yigalem, Soddo	Blacksmith
4	ZG	M	Gurage	67	Long-term migrant	Shashemene	Small trade
5	ES	M	Wolayita	38	Seasonal Migrant	Wolayita, Shashemene	Daily labourer
6	BB	F	Wolayita	?	Long-term migrant	Wolayita, Shashemene	Charcoal
7	AA	F	Amhara	?	Long-term migrant	Addis Ababa, Arba Minch, Shashemene	Sale of local drinks
8	BBA	F	Wolayita Soddo	?	Long-term migrant	Sodo, Shashemene	Daily labourer
9	ANZ	F	Addis Ababa, Amhara	?	Seasonal migrant	Gimbi, Nekemte, Jimma, Jinka, Arba Minch, Wolayita, Boditi, Robe and now in Shashemene	Bar worker/ prostitution
10	WM	M	Amhara	?	Long-term migrant	Military camps	
11	AD	F	Gamo	?	Long-term migrant	Gamo, Kolfe	
12	SK	F	Gurage	?	Long-term migrant	Sodo Kolfe	
13	LD	M	Gurage	?	Seasonal migrant	Various	
14	BZ	F	Gurage	?	Seasonal migrant	Various	

Case 1: TE, longer–term migration experience

TE, Amhara, was born in Butajira, East Shewa, from a relatively well-to-do family in 1968. His parents had flourmills and he used to work as a weighing scale attendant during his vacation. His father decided for him to move to Ziway in 1991 and helped him to open a music shop. After a couple of years, he moved to Shashemene and he continued to run similar business. He feels that migration has changed his way of life. When he came to Shashemene he came with only little capital to open a music shop. In fourteen-years time, he managed to construct a house and buy a car. He brought three of his siblings to stay and work with him. He sends cash occasionally to support his parents even though they are economically well off
. Migration has also broadened his social relations and networks. He is proud in mentioning that the most successful business people in Shashemene town are almost all migrants. He does not want to return to his home area – Butajira – as he is doing well with his business in Shashemene.

The case of TE illustrates an urban-urban migration experience, whereby migration is not necessarily induced by poverty, rather it is used as a means of maximising opportunities for livelihood as TE is from a relatively well off family. In this case, TE was able to succeed in trade in part since his family, who were themselves wealthy migrants out of their home area, were able to provide him with initial capital.

Case 2: LN, distress migrant – individual experience

LN, Amhara, was born in Goba town, Bale province, from a peasant family in 1960. In 1977, he joined the army and went to the war front in Northern Ethiopia. He served the army for thirteen years and left when the military regime collapsed in 1992. He returned first to his hometown but could not live there long due to the harassment from EPRDF cadres. His sister, who used to live in Shashemene as a bar owner invited him to move to Shashemene. Subsequently, she helped him to open a small bar. He learned from his migration that one has to be a hard worker and diligent enough to survive the hardship of earning money in town. For him, migration is a survival mechanism to escape the harassment he faced at his hometown and a way to earn a basic living in the town.

In this case the individual, who also came from a migrant family, left due to political harassment and was able to succeed because of a prosperous family member in the town to which he migrated.

.

Case 3: TB, seasonal/short-term migration

TB was born in Soddo, Gurage in 1962 from a middle class family. In 1978, he moved with his uncle to live in Yirgalem town. After staying there for five years, he moved to Arba Minch in 1983. He lived there until 1990 and then returned to his birthplace, Soddo, to start blacksmithing work. He comes to Shashemene every year to work as a blacksmith. From his migration experience, he learned that his migration to Shashemene has increased his income. He has strong links with long-term migrants from Soddo and he is a member of other social organisations like *iddir*.

The case of TB also indicates a rural-urban migration experience, whereby migration is used as a means of maximising employment opportunities.

Case 4: ZG, long-term migration

ZG was born in Enemor, Gurage in 1938 from a peasant family. He moved to Addis Ababa in 1951. It was his brother who took him to Addis Ababa when his parents died. Until 1963, he stayed in Addis Ababa with his brother who was engaged in spice trading. ZG used to assist his brother in running the small business. In 1964, ZG moved to Shashemene with the anticipation of a better life. Unfortunately, he is not happy about his current life since he does not have a regular job and income.

The case of ZG indicates the role of a brother in migration decision- making but the migration experience was still unsuccessful.

Case 5: ES, male, poor, seasonal /short-term migration

ES was born in Boditi, Wolayita in 1968. He moved to Shashemene two years ago in search of work. He mentioned that he couldn't find regular work for the first seven months so that he was forced to return to his place of origin. However, he decided to return to Shashemene after six months as the situation in the rural area became worse for him. He is now engaged in a temporary daily labour job.

The case of ES shows us how migration sometimes does not help much in improving the well being of individuals.

Case 6: BB, Female, Wolayita, poor, long-term migration experience

BB was born in Wolayita in a place called Koisha. BB moved to Shashemene during the fall of the *Derg* regime in 1991. She had never been anywhere else before she moved to Shashemene, and her first job was to work as a housemaid. After serving for four years, she started to sell *areke* with her friend. She changed her business of selling local drinks after three days and began to sell wood and charcoal. She is still involved in selling wood. BB recalls that she decided to come to Shashemene when she saw the return of her close friend from Shashemene with nice dresses. BB believes that she has now acquired better skills in cooking and preparation of food. She was converted from worshipping a traditional belief to Protestantism. However, BB is not happy about her social relations. Some residents look down at her and label her with derogatory terms such as '*koshasha Wolamo*' and '*Anasa beher'*, meaning dirty 'Wolamo' and 'minority ethnic group'. Regardless of this, BB has never thought of returning to her place of origin.

The case of BB indicates the experience of a female rural-urban long-term migrant. She is not satisfied with her well being as she is now looked down on by other urban residents.

Case 7: AA, female, poor, long-term migrant

AA was born and married in Addis Ababa. Her husband had a small business and she moved with him to Arba Minch in 1975. She returned to live in Shashemene when her husband died in 1978. She knew some distant relatives who were the residents of Shashemene and this encouraged her to move to the town. AA thinks that migration negatively affected the whole family and especially her children. Whenever the family moved to new places, the children were forced to quit their education or repeat their grades. She wished she could return to Addis Ababa but she could not since life in Addis Ababa is more expensive than Shashemene. She is now selling local drinks and has no savings or improved skills.

AA's case shows that female migrants often move due to family reasons. When migrants become widowed, life in urban areas becomes more expensive and unaffordable for them.

Case 8: BBA, Female, Poor, Kuyisa, Long-term Migration

BBA was born and grew up in Wolayita, Sodo. While living in her place of origin, she was married and with three children. She decided to move to urban areas when she got divorced from her husband. First, she decided to move to Dilla where her cousin is living. On her way, she wanted to visit her relative, who is living in Shashemene. Upon her arrival, her relatives insisted that she stay with her and work in a bar. She re-married after a couple of years but her new husband did not live long. He died three years after their marriage. After BBA came to Shashemene, she first engaged in producing and selling local drinks. Currently BBA is working in an individuals' house where she is called upon to give daily labour service. She is facing so many difficulties that it is even hard for her to earn her daily food. BBA said that she does not advise anyone to migrate into town because of the economic hardship and social isolation. However, she claims that migration has changed her personal character. It made her stronger and more tolerant of different people's behaviour. BBA prefers to live the rest of her live in Shashemene since she is elderly and does not have anybody to help her in farming and other activities.

The case of BBA shows that marriage was the main reason for her migration and she has faced a lot of challenges in getting well-paid jobs. Nonetheless, she feels that her migration experiences have contributed to the change of her personal behaviour.

Case 9: ANZ, poor, Shashemene, seasonal / short- term migration

ANZ was born and grew up in Addis Ababa around the Olympia area. She was 22-years-old when she first moved to Nazareth due to a quarrel with her parents. The decision to move to Nazareth came to her mind when she went to a broker's house to hunt for a job. Women in the brokers' house informed her that Nazareth is a very attractive place to work as a bar lady. After she had worked for only a month in Nazareth, she moved to other urban areas. In less than two years she worked in Gimbi, Nekemte, Jimma, Jinka, Arba Minch, Wolayita, Boditi, Robe and finally now in Shashemene. She is still thinking of moving to another town for a better business. ANZ feels that there are a lot of problems in working as a commercial sex worker. The major problems are harassment, chronic diseases, insecurity of income and social degradation. She has lost hope that she could have any better future after this.

The case of ANZ indicates that commercial sex workers are highly mobile and they move frequently from one urban destination to another.

Case 10: WM, male, migrant in Kolfe

WM was born in Bahir Dar from parents engaged in small business. He joined the army in 1981 and was trained near Debre Birhan town. WM lived in different places including Addis Ababa, Wollo, Eritrea and Bahir Dar during his terms of services in the military. After demobilisation in 1991, he went to Dire Dawa to stay with his sister. But, due to some instability and harassment of demobilised soldiers, he moved to Kolfe, Addis Ababa, in 1998 and engaged in daily labour. MW thinks that he suffered from his migration experience since he is now living in destitution.

The case of MW shows a very disappointing and frustrating migration experience that finally led him to unemployment and destitution.

Case 11: AD, female, Oromia migrant, Kolfe *Sefer*

AD, was born in a place called Becho around Ginchi. She moved to Kolfe in 1995 when she was 18-years-old to live with her aunt. Her aunt decided to bring AD from her home area when she discovered that AD's father agreed to give her to an old man for marriage. AD is working as a housemaid and earns 60 *birr* per month. AD feels that her migration to Kolfe allowed her to escape forced marriage involving rape and abduction. AD is also happy that she attends night schools in Kolfe.

The case of AD illustrates how traditional practices such as parental arranged marriage; rape and abduction push rural young women to move out of their rural home areas.

Case 12: SK, female, poor, longer-term migration, Kolfe

She was born in a place called Wokeda in Imdibir *Wereda*. When she was 5-years-old her mother died. The same year one of her father's relatives who went for the mourning of her mother brought her to Addis Ababa around the bus terminal. This was to ease the burden of her family and raise her well in Addis Ababa. When she was 7-years-old, her relatives gave her to another distant relative to work as a housemaid. She began light work such as cleaning the house, serving as a porter, coffee boiling and washing dishes. She had lived in this second house until she was 21-years-old. Three years ago, she decided to live by her self and rented a house. She began to work in a *kebele* club with a salary of 75 *birr* per month. In due course, she got married informally with a man who is a taxi assistant and gave birth to a baby boy. Unfortunately she got divorced not long after she delivered the boy. She is now working as a street vendor. She feels bad for being raised in a different family since her early childhood. Life in Kolfe is still full of challenges and hardship.

The case of SK indicates how family breakdown at every young age threatens the future life of a girl and necessitates the mobility of young females from rural to urban areas. The well being of SK did not substantially improve as she ended up with divorce and street vending

Case 13: LD, male, poor, seasonal, short-term migration, Imdibir.

He was born in a place called Haya Gasha in Imdibir *Wereda*. He has six children and lives mainly from farming cereal and root crops. He has never migrated on a long-term basis. During hunger seasons, his brother, who lives in Addis Ababa, sends him cash to buy food and get income from sheep fattening. He often travels to Aftir and Agena to buy sheep and fatten them for sale. He often carries through difficult times by diversifying his income, smoothing his consumption by eating *amicho* roots of crops and earning additional income from sheep rearing.

The case of LD demonstrates the importance of seasonal migration for adult men and its importance to smoothing seasonal food insecurity.

Case 14: BZ, female, rich, seasonal, short-term migration, Imdibir.

BZ was born in a place called Haya Gasha in Imdibir *Wereda*. She got married at the age of fourteen through parental arrangement. After her husband died in 2002, she began to travel to urban areas such as Jimma, Welisso, Wolkite and Addis Ababa to buy and sell different items. She often buys coffee from Jimma and Wokite towns and retails it in the local rural markets in Imdibir. She also brings fruits from Wolisso to sell at local markets in and around Imdibir town. BZ feels that long-term migration often erodes family love, leaves children unaccompanied and weakens community ties. Thus, she thinks that short-term migration offers additional income options to solve transitional food problems while keeping families' intact.

The experience of BZ clearly indicates that seasonal migration is used as a means for diversification and it involves rich female individuals.

Based on the above individual migrant cases, we learn that two-thirds of the cases indicate that long-term migration experiences were rather negative, while one third of the cases suggest success stories. All the three relatively successful migrants are males and their success can be associated with their families' good economic background and the cash support that they obtained from their kin upon their early settlement in their new urban communities. On the other hand, most of the short-term migration accounts demonstrated positive experiences to cope with seasonal food and cash deficits.

3. Policy Implications of rural-urban linkages and labour migration

The paper has so far established important issues regarding the effects of rural-urban interchanges and labour migration. In policy terms, it may be considered disastrous to seek to prevent the destitute and the poor from escaping their poor rural areas. On the other hand, it is important to note that rapid and lasting development takes place at junctions and flows and corridors, and, for policy purposes, urban and rural spaces cannot be distinguished or separable into mutually exclusive zones that separate the towns from the surrounding countryside.

Mobility of people in Ethiopia has been discouraged by different regulations, permits as well as cultural and religious prohibitions particularly for women. The country has experienced government-citizen relations that undermine the kind of dynamic rural-urban interactions that could lead to more people finding exit routes from poverty.

The qualitative study suggests that the push factors for most of the rural-urban migrants are extreme rural destitution, the presence of limited rural livelihood opportunities, heavy dependence on rain-fed agriculture, indebtedness in particular to pay for fertiliser credit, and increased population pressure on the rural land. The case studies also suggest that social factors, especially for women, and political factors for men are important reasons for undertaking rural-urban migration. Households that maximised their livelihood opportunities through migration were able to raise cash income and cope with seasonal problems. Some migrants were even able to buy plough oxen, pay their debts and replace their farm implements. However, many of the problems such households faced could be

alleviated by appropriate rural development policies. This implies that the Government of Ethiopia should consider maximising alternative livelihood opportunities including the creation of off-farm employment schemes, the promotion of small-scale agro-industries, investment in small-scale irrigation and improved agricultural extension.

Most of the migration of rural women to urban areas seems to be related to socio-cultural practices that perpetuate their inequalities such as lack of access and control over rural resources, early marriage practices, divorce, and events such as death of parents or husbands. In order to counter these problems, it would be important for the new family law of Ethiopia to be effectively implemented to guarantee rural women's access to and control over land entitlements, protection of minimum age for marriage, promotion of affirmative girls' education and rural technologies for women.

Most of the informants emphasised that district or sub-district urban centres have a more significant contribution than the capital city or the regional capitals in terms of facilitating markets, creating employment opportunities, diffusing information and technology, and using basic social services such as education and health. This would imply that the government and donors should consider investing more in the development of small urban centres than the large cities. The Government of Ethiopia should therefore consider shifting its priority to the development of small towns that can serve as development conduits between the remote rural areas and the major urban centres.

Community development and self-help programmes that generate employment opportunities for the urban poor and primarily target the youth could have significant value in minimising the social problems resulting from large numbers of poor migrants that have become increasingly serious in the capital city and other secondary cities such as Shashemene.

Despite the economic burden that seasonal and long-term urban migrants face in urban settings, there is a continued interest, notably by young and male migrants from Gurage and Gamo areas, to maintain ties with their place of origin. It is desirable to use such networks for mobilisation of development resources and implementation of projects that have benefits for the well being of both rural and urban areas although the use of such networks can have risks since they sometimes can be misused to advance political interests. The construction of roads, the expansion of telecommunication infrastructure, the enhancement of the rural transportation system and the establishment of rural banks can play significant contributions in promoting fair and equitable development between rural and urban areas.

It is worth noting that the new draft PASDEP (FDRE, 2005) acknowledges the need for the strengthening of rural-urban linkages and a rebalancing of the growth strategy with an emphasis on the development of small towns and growth poles, and employment creation, particularly in urban areas. Even if the role of internal migration in this poverty alleviation strategy is not directly addressed, such strategic priorities seem to create a more favourable enabling environment towards the mobility of people.

4. Summary and Conclusion

In the preceding sections, attempts were made to provide a better understanding of rural-urban linkages, the dynamics of migration and the informal sector in Ethiopia. The study explored the types of linkages between urban and rural areas, and the processes and consequences of labour migration and their implications for poverty alleviation in the country.

The report began by reviewing the diverse migration experiences in the recent history of Ethiopia. Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries migration of soldiers and peasants from the north followed the conquest of the south and consolidation of the nation building process by Menelik II from 1889-1913. 'Push' factors included shortage of land, low agricultural productivity, high population densities and recurrent drought. 'Pull' factors comprised opportunities of gaining control of more fertile land, tribute and labour on the frontiers of the empire. During the later part of the twentieth century, labour and trade migrations became features of rural livelihood diversification strategies.

The involvement of Ethiopia in the global economy and its linkages with the rest of the world from the last decade of the nineteenth century until the early part of the twentieth century stimulated the development of towns and consequently urban migration, notably with the establishment and development of Addis Ababa as a permanent capital from the 1880s. The development of physical infrastructure and communications, notably the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway contributed to the emergence of towns. The development of the administration along with the establishment of financial and public services such as banks, hospitals and schools also enhanced urban-rural linkages and stimulated migration.

The Socialist *Derg* Period (1974-91) was known for introducing drastic political and economic reforms including the confiscation of rural and urban private lands, the closure of private mechanised agriculture, de-prioritisation of urban development, 'encadrement' of peasants through rural co-operatives, villagisation and resettlement. These policy measures were reported to have caused pressure on the migration of people from one place to another.

The promulgation of ethnic-based federalism and the formation of organised ethnic-centred regional administrations since 1991 have influenced the dynamics of inter-regional population migration specifically in the first four or five years when pockets of ethic tensions and clashes were observed, leading to some distress migration. During this period, permanent intra-regional migration in Oromia, Amhara, SNNP and Tigray became more frequent than permanent inter-regional migration with the exception of temporary migrants to Addis Ababa. However, this does not mean that there is no temporal or seasonal inter-regional migration.

Successive Ethiopian governments to date have shared negative perceptions of migration, and formulated policies that focus primarily on supporting rural agriculture and controlling rural-urban migration.

Earlier migration studies confirmed that Ethiopian women are more prone to migrate to urban areas than are Ethiopian men. There have been high female migration rates to urban Ethiopia despite limited employment opportunities. Various factors are attributed to the out-migration of women, including poor status of women, early marriage, rape, abduction, and limited access to employment and community decision-making.

The WeD research programme examined the context and the reasons behind the recent migration of people to urban areas; particularly *Kebele* 08/09 in Shashemene and Kolfe, Kebele 10/11 in Addis Ababa. The qualitative study confirmed that although these urban areas tend to include heterogeneous urban migrants, the smaller units, *sefer*, or neighbourhoods, often have a strong settlement pattern of people from the same ethnic origin. Various reasons including the history of settlement, availability of information, circular movement of migrants, better access to social networks and mutual supports were mentioned among the factors that influenced the ethnic patterns of urban migration and settlement.

The most common push factors for rural–urban migration in recent years are similar to those described in the literature, notably food vulnerability and destitution. The majority of the seasonal, male and adult urban migrants both in Shashemene and Kolfe mentioned that the main reasons for their migration are lack of sufficient food, shortage of rural farmland, existence of landlessness, imposition of heavy land tax and the inability of farmers to pay for agricultural debts. The main reasons for rural female migrants are mostly non-economic and they are mostly attributed to 'traditional' socio-cultural practices such as early marriage and abduction as well as social reasons like divorce, death of spouse, family displacement, marriage arrangement and family's relocation.

Seasonal rural-urban migration is not limited to the poor rural community members. Middle income and even 'rich' peasants take part in seasonal migration during agricultural as a means of maximising income opportunities. Both young and adult men practice seasonal migration to offset their rural distress and earn income to augment their agricultural income.

Long-term migrants to the Shashemene research site include mostly young people from Wolayita, Kembata, Hadiya and Gofa in the SNNPR. Similarly, the long-term migrants in Kolfe are mainly young men and women from SNNPR (mostly Gurage and Gamo), but also Amhara and Oromia. The longer-term male and young migrants, notably from these regions, often moved to the two urban areas because of extreme shortage of rural land and lack of off-farm employment opportunities.

Pull factors in Shashemene relate to a variety of livelihood and work opportunities the town provides for long-term and seasonal migrants. For men these include unskilled work as daily labourers in the housing construction sector, loading and unloading of goods,

urban vegetable growing, weaving, blacksmithing, lottery ticket selling and begging. Unmarried women are reported to engage in domestic work as housemaids, in the bars as waitresses and commercial sex workers, as well as carrying out petty trading and begging.

There seems to be some specialisation of activities among the short-term migrants of the different ethnic groups living in the neighbourhoods studied. For instance, many of the Oromo male migrants to Kolfe are engaged in loading and unloading, firewood selling and daily labour work. The Amhara male migrants tend to carry out activities that include daily labour, guarding, lottery ticket selling and begging; female migrants from the same ethnic group are mostly working as housemaids, local bar workers, lottery ticket sellers and beggars. The male migrants from Gamo are mostly engaged in daily labour, weaving and other craft-related work, while the females tend to be housewives and assist their spouses and other family members in weaving work. Female seasonal migrants from Gurage areas were engaged in small business and street vending, the majority of the Amhara migrants were engaged in production of local drinks, witnessing in small bars, sex work, and employed as housemaids and *injera* bakers. The Gamo female migrants were found to have moved due to marriage to join their spouses. Often they engaged in household activities and assisting weaving activities performed by their families. Young migrant boys from Gurage often work as shoeshine boys and the girls as 'chulo' house servants. Similarly, young migrants boys from Gamo work as assistants in the traditional weaving sector. Young boys from Gojjam are engaged in lottery ticket selling.

Migration dynamics in the rural sites were described. In Turufe Kecheme, Oromia Region, migration is reported to have started in the village during the late Imperial Period. Much of the migration was chain-migration whereby former migrants attracted relatives or people from the same area, who came to live with them or work for them and then set themselves up independently. Seasonal out-migration in Turufe Kecheme is often to the nearby towns, whereas most long-term rural migrants who stay for a least a year tend to go further away. The women in Turufe Kecheme are more prone to go to urban areas within the *wereda*, presumably since there are more opportunities in towns such as Shashemene, Kuyera and Arssi Negele than in Addis Ababa. Most of the migrants moved due to work related reasons. Similarly, migrants from poorer households in Yetmen, Amhara tend to go on a seasonal basis looking for work, which includes agricultural labour and working as domestic labourers in rural areas, and working as guards, construction labourers and lottery ticket vendors in urban areas. Some women go to towns to look for work mainly as servants and working in bars. Rural women from Imdibir reported to have the experiences of seasonal migration to Wolisso, Wolkite, Jimma and Addis Ababa to buy coffee, fruits and vegetables for sale in and around Imdibir Town. Some of the women also mentioned that they go as far as Addis Ababa, where they were mostly engaged in petty trade and peddling during their food-deficit months.

The presences of permanent movement or long-term migration, seasonal or short-term migration, and circular migration have created different levels and intensities of linkages between urban and rural areas. Long-term and short-term migrants are also instrumental

in providing information about jobs, education and business opportunities to their kin. Marriage is also found to be among the mechanisms that link the urban and the rural areas as most of the migrants from Kembata, Hadiya, Gamo and Gurage prefer to marry within their ethnic groups. There are also times when long-term migrants, notably from Gurage have two wives and maintain two households, one in the rural and the other in urban areas. Long-term male migrants from SNNPR, particularly Gurage, who are now living in Kolfe and Shashemene often return to their birthplaces during the *Meskel* holiday in September. Migrants from the SNNPR also have strong social networks through which they meet and help one another. For instance, the self-help associations formed by the long-term female and male migrants from Wolayita and Kembata living in Bishate *Sefer*, Shashemene, are exemplary in organising joint trips to celebrate *Meskel* with their relatives in rural areas, contributing cash in times of emergencies and accompanying bereaved migrants for funerals. Kembata and Wolayita long-term migrants have associations, the Wolayita one called 'Wolayita Giorgis'. Migrants in Bishate *Sefer*, Shashemene, were found to have business linkages with their home areas, where by they bring and send goods for sale.

Rural-rural linkages are found to be very important for residents of the Haya Gasha rural community in Imdibir. Most of the male and female adult inhabitants have strong linkages with rural areas such as Agena, Arkena, Bole and Kosse to buy plough oxen, cows and cereal crops as well as to sell *chat.* Marriage between Haya Gasha rural community and these rural areas is also very common.

Links of livestock exchange, farming and marriage between migrants in Turufe Kecheme and Yetmen, and neighbouring rural areas are common. Local traders often buy products for resale from nearby towns. A few rural migrants work as carpenters or daily labourers in nearby small towns. Some women find work in urban areas preparing alcoholic drinks and assisting construction labour work. There are also links between some rural migrants of Turufe Kecheme and Yetmen with the capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, and other secondary cities such as Shashemene, Nazareth, Ziway, Bichena and Dejen. Some of the women migrants from Yetmen often move or travel to their nearby zonal or *wereda* capitals to buy goods, particularly 'fashionable' dresses and seek spouses.

The majority of the urban poor households view *wereda* towns, sub-*wereda* towns and other rural villages as important places to maximise the opportunities for their livelihoods. Addis Ababa, the regional state capital and zonal towns follow this. Reasons for the importance of small towns include the availability of consumer goods, health and education services as well as employment in construction work, and services such as small bars and restaurants. On the other hand, most of the rural poor households in the case study areas consider their immediate *wereda* towns as important centres for accessing educational and health services as well as for buying and selling goods and supplies.

The majority of the migrants are under the age of thirty. Due to the presence of circular migrations between Gamo and the two urban sites (Kolfe and Shashemene), adult and long-term migrants also attract young boys from their respective areas of origin to join

the highly exploitative and potentially abusive employment situation in the weaving work in Kolfe, Addis Ababa and Serategna *Sefer*, Shashemene. Most of the migrants from Imdibir are also young male and female in the age category of 15-30. The most important urban destinations for their migrations are reported to be Addis Ababa, Jimma and Nazareth. They are mostly involved in self-employment such as contraband marketing (selling second-hand clothes) and petty trading as well as employment in local restaurants, bars, tea rooms, *tej bet* and the like.

Single and young female and male migrants have mostly practiced the migration from Gurage over the past three years. Both Addis Ababa and Shashemene were attractive for the migration of unskilled, lowly trained and poor rural males from remote rural areas.

The illiteracy rate of female migrants is found out to be more than that of male migrants. Few migrants are educated beyond grade 12, in both Addis Ababa and Shashemene, where both the female and male urban migrants were also found to be unskilled and with limited training.

Migration is attributed to have both negative and positive consequences at community, household and individual levels. The presence of seasonal and permanent migration from rural to urban areas mostly served as a safety net mechanism for poor individuals and rural households to earn cash income and transfer remittances used for coping with distress situations, paying annual land taxes, buying small stocks and obtaining better medications. Beyond serving as a safety net, the rural-urban seasonal migration among the interviewed individuals often did not bring significant change to the lives of the majority of the poor migrants. Out-migration also has negative economic and social effects on those who migrated, particularly for those engaged in domestic work with extremely low wages. Although these migrants manage to escape their serious economic problems in their rural homes due to the relatively better cash income they earn in the urban areas and the social support they obtained from their migrant associations, their individual well being does not improve, rather it is sometimes reported to have exposed them to exploitation and abuse. The exploitation and abuse has been more serious among children and female migrants.

Given the dynamics of migration and effects of the migration experience, the Government of Ethiopia, donors and the NGO community should consider the strengthening of the decentralisation process and the shifting of concentration of holistic and integrated development activities in small *wereda* towns and surrounding rural areas. Such investment in lower levels of development structure can serve as development conduits between the remote rural areas and the major urban centres.

To avoid excessive migration the Government of Ethiopia together with donors and the NGO community should increase investment in rural employment creation, reduce extreme levels of rural destitution, improve rural roads and other physical infrastructures, increase the availability of education and health services at community and *wereda* levels. The Ethiopian Government Sustainable Poverty Reduction Strategy is line with

this recommendation but its implementation process should be enhanced and backed up with increased budgetary resources and better coordination with NGOs.

Women need special support and this includes the enforcement of new legal instruments (revised family law, penal code, civil code and land policy) that protect them from abuses manifested in the form of rape, abduction and early marriage and empowerment through affirmative programmes such as compulsory primary level education for girls, rural credit facilities for women and access to political participation. The implementation of these affirmative actions and revised codes should be implemented in a consistent manner at *wereda* and community levels. This requires the strengthening of the institutional capacity of *wereda* administration and development structures with better-equipped human resources, improved physical infrastructure, efficient organisational systems and procedures. The Government should also design formal employment policies and minimum benefit standards to minimise extreme exploitation of labour and abuse particularly experienced by women and children migrants. It is observed that women migrants and children are often engaged in domestic, service and craftwork over extended hours with limited pay and non-decent working environments.

The study found that migration is part and parcel of the livelihood strategies of both rural and urban households. The migration experiences of poor, middle and rich individuals, and households in the studied communities proved to have served as a mechanism of safety net during crisis, a strategy for lessening the pressure on rural 'starvation' plots, a means for maximising rural livelihood opportunities and augmenting income from small farms even in a normal agricultural year. Some urban migrants have also transferred goods, cash and information to their families living in rural home areas. Rural migrants served the urban labour needs for construction of workers, social services and domestic work Therefore, the poverty alleviation strategy of the country should take into consideration the multi-dimensional links that inherently exist between rural and urban areas and promote development measures that capitalise on the positive aspects of migration such as incentive for urban migrants to invest in their rural areas, enhanced decentralisation of resources at *wereda* and zonal levels, increased availability of social services and employment opportunities at *wereda* and zonal capitals, and facilitation and protection for labour migrants in urban areas. The gender dimensions of exploitation of sex workers and servants should also be given due attention.

References

Askale Teklu (2004), Securing Land Right in Africa – Can Land Registration Serve The Poor? A Study of Land Registration and Related Issues in Amhara Region. (SOS-Sahel/Ethiopia, Unpublished Report)

_____ (1973). "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925)." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2 (1): Addis Ababa University.

Alula Abate (1989) "Internal migration and Urbanization in Ethiopia", Paper presented at the conference on Population Issues in Ethiopia's National Development, Addis Ababa, 20 – 22 July.

Abu-Lughod, J. (1961). "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case." American Journal of Sociology

Baker, Jonathan (1968). *The Rural-Urban Dichotomy in Developing World: A Case Study from Northern Ethiopia Towns*. (Oslo: Norwegian University Press)

_____ (1995), "Survival and accumulation strategies at the rural-urban interface in north-west Tanzania", *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 7, No 1

_____(1996). Small Urban Centres and their Roles in Rural Structuring in Zegeye, Abebe and Pausewang. *Ethiopia in Change*: London: British Academic Press.

Bahru Zewde (1991). *A Modern History of Ethiopia 1855-1974*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press.

Belachew Hailu (1983). "Patterns of Migration to Major Towns in Ethiopia." *Studies in Africa and Asian Demography. Research Monograph Series No. 12: 327-349.* Cairo: Cairo Demographic Centre.

Berhanu, Betemariam and White M. (1999), "War, Famine and Female migration in Ethiopia: 1960 – 1989", Brown University, Population Studies and Training Center, *Working Paper* No 28.

Bethlehem Tecola (2005). Poverty and the Social Context of Sex Work in Ethiopia (FSS, Addis Ababa)

Beyene Dolocho (1985). "The Patterns, Causes and Consequences of Labour Migrations to Metehara Estate and Neighbouring State Farms." MA Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University.

Bjeren Gunilla (1985) *Migration to Shashamene : Ethnicity, Gender and Occupation in Urban Ethiopia,* SIAS, Uppsala.

Black, R., et al, (2003). Mapping Study of Migration Issues, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, March.

Carter, M.R. (1997).'Environment, Technology, and the Social Articulation of Risk in West African Agriculture', Economic Development and Cultural Chang, Vol.45, No.3.

Carney, D., 1998, *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contribution Can We Make?* DFID, London.

Central Statistical Authority (1998) *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Analytical Report at the National Level*, vol 1, Addis Ababa, CSA.

_____ (1999) *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Analytical Report at the National Level*, vol 1, Addis Ababa, CSA.

_____ (1999b) Statistical Report on the 1999 National Labour Force Survey, Addis Ababa, CSA.

_____(2000). Statistical Report on the 1999 National Labour Force Survey, Addis Ababa, CSA.

_____(2001). Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey, Addis Ababa.

Connell, J. *et al.* 1976. *Migration from Rural Areas: the Evidence from Village Studies.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

David, et al (1995) Changing Places: Women, Resource Management and Migration in the Sahel, London: SOS Sahel.

de Haan, A. (1999). 'Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration – A Critical Review of the Migration Literature', Journal of Development Studies, Vol.36, No.2.

DFID. (1999). Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.www.livelihoods.org

Demographic Training and Research Center / Addis Ababa University and PSTC/Brown University (2000). Migration, Gender and Health Survey in Five Regions of Ethiopia: 1998, Addis Ababa, Demographic Training and Research Center.

Dessalegn Rahmato (1988), "Some Notes on Resettlement and Resettlement in Metekel Awraja(Gojjam Province) " in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, USSR. Academy of Sciences -Africa Institute, Moscow.

_____(ed.) (1994).Land Tenure and Land Policy in Ethiopia after the Derg. Trondheim: University of Trondheim and Addis Ababa : Institute of Development Research.

Dunham, D. 1991. Agricultural growth and rural industry: Some reflections on the rural growth linkage debate. Institute of Social Studies, Working Paper Series no. 114

Ellis, F. (1998a). Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification: Journal of Development Studies (35(1).

Ellis, F. (1998b). "Livelihood Diversification and Sustainable Rural Livelihoods" in Carney Diana (ed). (1998). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contributions Can We Make ? DfID, London.

Ellis, F. (2003). A Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction, paper commissioned by DFID London, November.

Ellis, F. and H.A. Freeman. (2004), 'Rural Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction Strategies in Four African Countries', Journal of Development Studies, Vol.40, No.4, April.

Evans, H.E. and P. Ngau, 1991, 'Rural-Urban Relations, Household Income Diversification and Agricultural Productivity' *Development and Change*, Vol.22.

Ellis, F. and Harris, N. (2004). Keynote Paper, New Thinking About Urban and Rural Development, DFID Sustainable Development Retreat, University of Surrey, Guildford.

Eshetu Gurmu (2005). Fertility Transition Driven by Poverty: the Case of Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). A PhD Thesis submitted for the Degree of Philosophy to University College London, University of London.

Eshetu Chole and Teshome Mulat (1983). Patterns of Industrialization and Impact on Employment and Income in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa

Fassika Melese (1998). Urban-Rural Socio-economic Interaction: A Case Study of Debrezeit Town and the Adjacent Rural Areas. (M.A Thesis, Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University).

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). (2002). Sustainable Poverty Reduction Paper, Addis Ababa, Government of Ethiopia.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). (2005). PASDEP (Draft Report), Addis Ababa, Government of Ethiopia.

Fekadu Gadamu. (1972). "Ethnic Associations in Ethiopia and the Maintenance of Urban/Rural Relationships: With Special Reference to the Alemgana-Wollamo Road Construction Association." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.

Feleke Tadele (1999) 'The impacts of urban 'development' on a peasant community in Ethiopia: the case of Yeka Tafo Peasant Association, a community in the vicinity of the Ethiopian Capital, Addis Ababa, dispossessed by the Ayat Real Estate Development Project'. MA thesis in Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University.

Funnel, D. C. (1976). The role of small service centres in regional and rural development with special reference to Eastern Africa. In Development planning and spatial structure, edited by A. Gilbert, 77-111. Chichester: Willey

Galperin G. L. (1988) « Some notes on population migrations in Ethiopia before and in the course of the revolution » Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of the Ethiopian Studies, Moscow 26 –29 August 1986, Tome 2, Department of Oriental Literature, Nauka Publisher, Moscow, pp. 176 – 185.

Gupta, Jayoti (2003): Informal labour in brick kilns, Economic and Political Weekly (Mumbai) xxxviii/31

Hinderink, J. and M. J. Titus (1988). Paradigms of regional development and the role of small centres. *Development and Change* 19: 401-423

Hoddinott, J. (1994). 'A Model of Migration and Remittances Applied to Western Kenya', Oxford Economic Papers, Vol.46.

Kloos, H. (1988). "Ethiopia's Economic Prospects for the 1990's", Paper prepared for the Tenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Paris, August 22-26, 1988

Kothari, U., 2003 (ed). Policy Arena: Migration, Staying Put and Livelihoods, Journal of International Development, Vol.15, No.5

Lipton, M. (1980). "Migration from Rural Areas of Poor Countries: the Impact on Rural Productivity and Income Distribution." *World Development*. 8:1-24.

Markakis, J. 1973. "Social Formation and Political Adaptation in Ethiopia." *Journal of African Studies* 2(3): 361-81.

McDowell C. (ed.) (1996). Understanding Impoverishment: the Consequence of Development-Induced Development. Providence: Berghahn Books.

McDowell, C. and A. de Haan, (1997), *Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods*, IDS Working Paper, 65, Brighton: IDS.

Mesfin Woldemariam. (1968). "The Rural-Urban Split in Ethiopia." In: *Dialogue*. 2(1): 7-16.A Publication of the Ethiopian University Teachers' Association.

Mesfin Woldemariam. (1970). "Problems of Urbanization" in *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 2, 21-28.

Mesfin Wolde-Selassie. (1995). The role of small market towns in integrating the rural urban economy: A case study of ten market towns in the sub-district of Cheliya in Gibat and Mecha `awraja'. MA thesis, Addis Ababa University.

Mitchell, J. (1956). The Kalala Dance. The Rhodes Livingston Papers. 27, Manchester, University Press, Manchester.

Mitchell J.G. (1963). Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies. Paper presented at the seminar on the Anthropology of Complex Societies, Association of Social Anthropologists, Cambridge

Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) (2005). Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (Draft Report), Addis Ababa, Government of Ethiopia.

_____(2005). Participatory Poverty Assessment Report, Addis Ababa.

OSSREA (1995) Rural-Urban Linkages Under Different Farming Systems: The Cases Of Coffee And Non-Coffee Growing Regions In Ethiopia. OSSREA Working Paper-SSRR No. 21.

Pankhurst, Alula (1992) *Resettlement and Famine: The Villagers' Experience*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Pankhurst, Alula and François Piguet (eds) (2004) *People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia*; Proceedings of the Workshop held by the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists and the United Nations Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia 28-29 January 2003 including reviews of the 2003 Resettlement Experience. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists.

Ranis, Gustav. (1990). Rural linkages and choice of technology. In *The other policy*, edited by Frances Stewart, Henk Thomas and Ton de Wilde. London: Intermediate Technology Publications

Reardon, T., (1997), 'Using Evidence of Household Income Diversification to Inform Study of the Rural No farm Labor Market in Africa', *World Development*, Vol.25, No.5,

Scoones, I, (1998), *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis*, IDS Working Paper, Sussex.

Sharp K and *et al*. (2003). Destitution in the North Eastern Highlands (Amhara Region). Draft Final Report. IDS and Save the Children

Skeldon, R., 2002, 'Migration and Poverty', Asia-Pacific Population Journal, December

Skeldon, R., 2003, Inter-linkages Between Internal and International Migration and Development in the Asian Region, report prepared for ESCAP, processed

Stark, O. (1991). The Migration of Labour. Cambridge, Mass.:Basil Blackwell.

Tacoli, C. (1998a). 'Rural-Urban Interactions: A Guide to the literature' *Environment and Urbanization* 10(1): 147-166.

Tacoli, C. (1998b). 'Rural-Urban Linkages and Sustainable Rural Livelihood' in Carney Diana (ed). (1998). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contributions Can We Make?. DfID, London.

Tekaligne Woldemariam (1995). A City and its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agricultural and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (1887-1994). PhD Dissertation. Boston University. UMI: A Bell and Howell Company.

Tiffen, *et al*. (1994), More People, Less Erosion*:* Environmental Recovery in Kenya, Chichester: John Wiley.

UNDP/Donors Assistance Group (2004). Secondary Cities: Urban Poverty Participatory Action Research Initiative (ARI). Draft National Report, Addis Anteneh and Associates, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

von Braun, J. and R. Pandya-Lorch (eds), (1991). Income Sources of Malnourished People in Rural Areas: Micro level Information and Policy Implications, Working Papers on Commercialisation of Agriculture and Nutrition No.5, Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute

Wood, C.H., (1981), 'Structural Changes and Household Strategies: A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Rural Migration',

Wirth, L. (1938). "Urbanism as a Way of Life." *American Journal of Sociology* 44

Worku Nida (1995), "The Impact of Urban Migration in Village Life: the Gurage case", MA thesis in Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University.

Annex 1: The WeD-Research Sites

Map 1: The WeD-Research Sites

Map 2: Sketch map of Turufe Kecheme

Map 3: Sketch map of Yetmen

Map 4: Sketch map of Imdibir

Map 5: Sketch map of Kolfe

Map 6: Sketch map of Shashemene

Map 7: Sketch map of Dinki

Map 8: Sketch map of Korodegaga

Annex 2: Addis Ababa and National migration statistics

Table 31: Addis Ababa Migrants (Resident Less than Five years) Population by Place of Previous Destination – 1999

	(Percent Distribution)		
Regions	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Total**
Tigray	8	1	5
Afar	1	0	0
Amhara	31	30	31
Oromia	34	28	30
Somalia	2	0	1
Benshangul Gumuz	0	0	0
SNNP	9	38	23
Gambella	0	0	0
Harari	4	0	3
Addis Ababa (around)	0	0	0
Diredawa	2	0	1
Outside of Ethiopia	9	0	5
Not stated	0	1	1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Table 32: National Rural Migrants Population by Sex and Main Reasons for Migration- 1999 (Resident Less than Five years)

	(Percent Distribution)		
Reasons	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Education	3	1	2
Marriage Arrangement	2	37	21
Marriage Dissolution	1	7	4
Search for Work	22	5	13
Job Transfer	4	1	2
Displacement	3	3	3
Moved with Family	24	25	25
Returned back home	21	8	14
Shortage of Land	4	2	3
To live with relatives	10	9	9
Health Problem	1	1	1
Lost family/ care taker	1	1	1
Other	3	1	2
Not stated	2	1	2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Table 33: National Rural Migrants Population by Sex and Main Reasons for Migration- 1999 (Resident Less than Five years)

	(Percent Distribution)		
Reasons	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Education	3	1	2
Marriage Arrangement	2	37	21
Marriage Dissolution	1	7	4
Search for Work	22	5	13
Job Transfer	4	1	2
Displacement	3	3	3
Moved with Family	24	25	25
Returned back home	21	8	14
Shortage of Land	4	2	3
To live with relatives	10	9	9
Health Problem	1	1	1
Lost family/ care taker	1	1	1
Other	3	1	2
Not stated	2	1	2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Table 34: Addis Ababa Migrants (Resident Less than Five years) Population by Place of Previous Destination – 1999

	(Percent Distribution)		
Regions	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Total**
Tigray	8	1	5
Afar	1	0	0
Amhara	31	30	31
Oromiya	34	28	30
Somalia	2	0	1
Benshangul Gumuz	0	0	0
SNNP	9	38	23
Gambella	0	0	0
Harari	4	0	3
Addis Ababa (around)	0	0	0
Diredawa	2	0	1
Outside of Ethiopia	9	0	5
Not stated	0	1	1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**