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Migration, Livelihoods and Wellbeing across Four Communities in Ethiopia
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Abstract²

The paper argues that migration is a social process, in which many households move between rural and urban livelihood options as appropriate to their members' needs through casual, periodic or permanent migration experiences. It capitalizes on recent perspectives on the migration–development nexus and particularly builds on the discourse of the migration–livelihood framework. It highlights that the Sustainable Livelihood Framework does not take into consideration migrants' spatial complexities and interconnections although it helps to explore the agency of migrants in a particular livelihood context. It either focuses on rural or urban livelihoods. Building on recent studies on urban-rural linkages, the paper highlights the importance of the WeD Framework in understanding 'wellbeing' to provide a perspective on how the 'same' migration experience may have different meanings for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities of migrants in different transactions. It further affirms that the WeD Framework helps to explore how meanings and values are changing with migration experiences and how these, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants.

Key Words: Migration, Urban-Rural Linkages, Livelihood, Wellbeing

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the key issues affecting the dynamics of migration, livelihood, urban-rural linkages in relation to wellbeing in Ethiopia. It argues that the link between migration and development has rarely been recognized as important aspect of people's livelihood strategies and wellbeing in most of the developing countries like Ethiopia. These countries have labeled migration in its negative aspects and portray it as a responsible factor for incidence of urban poverty, HIV-AIDS transmission and expansion of crime. As a result, migration process was restricted and discouraged by the introduction of various policy regimes such as travel permits, check-points and lack of social protections until it has been given a fresh look from the perspective of development studies.

The paper depicts current debates and theoretical perspectives with respect to migration and development studies. It highlights the relevance of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to migration studies in the context of history; vulnerabilities and capabilities of households. But it also recognizes that the Framework does not take into consideration migrants spatial complexities and interconnections as their focuses are either on rural or urban livelihoods. In this respect, the paper attempts to share the insight from the proponents of migration and rural-urban linkages and underlines the fact that households in developing countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources across various spatial areas. The paper constructs its argument further through presentation of the WeD framework, which provides a guide for the understanding of migration in the context of wellbeing. In line with this, the paper has focused its analysis not only on the process of migration but also on the subjective assessment of the migration process and its objective outcomes for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities of migrants in different transactions.

The paper attempts to relate its empirical findings with key policies in Ethiopia. The Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) acknowledges the need for the strengthening of rural-urban linkages and the rebalancing of the growth strategy with emphasis on small towns' development, growth poles and employment creation, particularly in urban areas although it does not explicitly state the role of internal migration in development.

This paper, therefore, examines the key issues affecting the dynamics of migration, livelihood, urban-rural linkages and wellbeing in Ethiopia. It seeks to answer fundamental 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; the types of urban-rural linkages; and the policy implications of migration processes and flows.

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, livelihoods diversification, political instability, ethnic strife, natural disasters, social distress and marriage arrangements. 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.³

The paper refers 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 during their life time are regarded as 'migrants' in the study regardless of the duration of their stay in the research sites at the time of the study.

The paper specifically reviewed the available literature on the dynamics of migration in Ethiopia. Its findings are also informed by the empirical data, which were collected by the researcher and the Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries Project in four Ethiopian research sites: two urban, namely, Kolfe in Addis Ababa and Shashemene in Oromia; and two rural, Imdiber in SNNPR and Turufe Kecheme in Oromia. A migration research module was developed focusing on three (community, households and individual) levels to guide the quantitative (RANQ) and qualitative research process. A total of four site teams, which consisted of pairs of one female and one male field assistants took part in respective research sites. A total of sixteen Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), sixteen key informant interviews and thirty two individual case-studies were conducted for the purpose of this specific study. The case-studies were randomly selected from the list of female and male migrants who have experiences with (seasonal, long-term and distress) migration across the four research sites.

The paper begins in section 2 with an explanation of the theoretical framework used to approach the study, in terms of migration and rural-urban linkages. Section 3 contains the findings of the research in the four research sites, focussing on reasons for migration. Section 4 presents the consequence of migration outcome and briefly highlights preference of spatial locations. Section 5 considers the policy implications along with the conclusions of the study.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this section is to examine the main theoretical perspectives behind the link between migration, livelihood and wellbeing. It is evident that until recent years, this has been a relatively under-researched subject, and the paper draws its argument from the recent theoretical perspectives that give migration a fresh look and explanation in the context of livelihood, rural-urban linkages and well-being studies.

De Haan and Rogaly (2002) argue that migration needs to be seen as both social and economic process in order to understand the perspectives of migration. The specific way in which migration is arranged and what it means to particular people is bound up with social identities. Different groups such as a younger or older person, a woman or a man, a member of a particular ethnic group or a social class have often have different migration

³ For a recent review of these issues see Pankhurst & Piguet (2004).

patterns that vary across both space and time, and are contested. Thus, migration is one way in which boundaries around social identities may be affirmed, broken down or otherwise changed, including, but not always, through the conscious agency of migrants. They further argue that the meaning of migration to different individuals within a household varies according to age as well as sex. Some young men view migration as a means of belonging to their peer group – proving that they can do it. Migration can also be a temporary escape out of the pressure of family responsibilities, a period of roaming around between leaving the parental household and setting up one's own. In other instance, migration can be a way of rebelling and demonstrating independence from parents or it may also be an expression of collective identity.

de Haan, Brock K. and Coulibaly (2002) argue that a livelihoods approach views migration as one of a set of strategies that households and communities use to diversify and support well-being. Migration, in the livelihoods approach, is understood as a spatial separation between the location of a resident household or family, and one or more livelihood activities engaged in by family members. Thus the immediate connections of migration to the livelihoods framework are to human capital since migration involves mobility of labor and the set of activities that comprise the occupational portfolio of the household. In addition, different types of migration play multiple and complex roles in reducing the vulnerability of households and in potentially enabling spirals of asset accumulation that can provide households to come out of poverty (Ellis, 2003).

de Haan (2002) further identified that the causation and intention of migration include a broad spectrum of factors such as monetary and non-monetary as well as voluntary and forced migration, where decision-making occurs within a broad context of factors at the micro, meso and macro-levels. Scoones (1998) identified, on his part, 'livelihood resources' (human, physical, social and environmental capital) and institutions (formal and informal) as important factors that facilitate or impede access to alternative livelihood strategies.

It is, therefore, evident that the development of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) has diverged a lot from the economic models of migration (Todaro, 2004), which used to emphasize the rational choice of individuals in migration process. The SLF has helped to explore the influence that agencies (gender, ethnicity, etc.), capital and assets have on migration process and patterns (Moser 1998, Carney 1998; Long, 1992). SLF also allowed the understanding of migration in the context of history; vulnerabilities and capabilities (see Ellis, 2000).

Studies influenced by the Livelihood Framework demonstrated that historical contexts, inequalities and policy regimes affect migration process, trends and effects. McDowell and de Haan (1997), using livelihood framework, indicated that history plays significant role in influencing migration. They argue that livelihoods and poverty clearly affect and are affected by migration, but 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. In illustrating this, they cited the cases of the Gurage, the Gamo, the Tigray and some Amhara migrations experiences in Ethiopia, where early migration has led to patterns of

subsequent flows of new migrants. They further remarked that it is not only poverty that causes migration but that inequality also plays a significant role in inducing migration. Their research in Ethiopia also disclosed that distress migration notably related to internal conflict and migration for business reason is reported to have involved relatively non-poor or the better-off people.

Although the migration and livelihoods discourse has given new impetus into the development dimension of migration, recent studies reflected that the livelihood framework is inadequate to understand the experiences of contemporary migrants. Kothari (2002) argues that households in developing countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources across various spatial areas in the context of social, economic, political, environmental and historical circumstances. Proponents of urban-rural linkages (Tacoli, 2006) also underlined the fact that migration is far more complex than just a purely economically motivated demographic shift from rural to urban areas. They disclosed that different groups move to different destinations and for different reasons but the people and their locations are not necessarily rural or urban. One can maintain linkages between the two through adopting different linkage strategies such as exchange of information and technology, remittance, investment in areas of origin or accumulation of assets in different locations.

The supporters of the urban-rural linkage discourse, therefore, pointed out that the classification of development or poverty reduction policies and practices into either 'rural' or 'urban', fails to fully recognize the opportunities and the constraints that rural-urban linkages offer to livelihoods as well as social and cultural transformation (Club du Sahel ,2000; Hoang, et. al, 2005). Ellis and Harris (2004) also pointed out that making an absolute dichotomy between rural and urban areas undermines the interdependent points of production, consumption and market, which directly contribute to the creation of greater gross national output. Therefore, they shared a new perspective on rural-urban linkages and offered useful lens for the understanding of the complexities of people's livelihoods and their strategies.

Proponents of urban-rural linkages argue that the interaction between urban and rural areas include 'spatial' linkages, such as flows of people and goods, money and information. It also includes linkages between different sectors such as the agricultures and the non-agricultures, which includes different types of mobility/ migration. It indicates that there is a need for an alternative paradigm for development policy and practice that recognizes the significance of both rural and urban dimensions, and the variations in the form and nature of rural-urban linkages. (Baker, 1995; Ellis, 1998; Dogulass, 1998; Club du Sahel, 2000, Tacoli, 2002, 2006; Hoang, et. al, 2005).

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. 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.

The exchange of ideas and knowledge, and changes in the skills and capabilities of those who migrate and those who stay behind is another positive contribution of migration (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 in Ethiopia 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 the above 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).

A notable advance in livelihood frameworks and urban-rural linkages studies is the development of the WeD Framework at the University of Bath, U.K. The WeD Framework contributes additional conceptual and methodological tools that can be adopted to study migration. It provides cultural resources, which are symbolic, religious

and identity-forming resources that are developed out of the norms, values and meanings attached to a particular environment or place (McGregor, 2003). This means that migration can be embedded within these socio-cultural structures and resources, which, in turn, they give migration particular forms. As the framework helps to understand 'wellbeing', it provides a perspective on how the 'same' migration experience may have different meanings for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities of migrants in different transactions. It helps to explore how meanings and values are changing with migration experiences and how these, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants. This means that individual migration experiences challenge or influence the construction of material, social and cultural wellbeing of not only the individual migrants but also the sending and hosting households and sending/receiving communities in a given spatial location and time.

Furthermore, the WeD Framework offers a combination of methods such as analysis of policy regimes, community level profiles, a household level survey of resources and needs and a review of quality of life, which helps to analyze migration experiences at various level in a holistic manner (Gough I, McGregor A., Camfield L, 2006). The WeD framework also provides analytical tool to understand the impact of policy regimes, political economy and social institutions on migration process. The framework helps to understand people's responses associated with the opportunities and risks of migration and the ways that individual and collective action affects objective states of the welfare of migrant individuals and the subjective perceptions of quality of life at individual, household and community levels.

This paper, therefore, attempts to apply this new perspective on wellbeing and migration to understand the connection of migration experiences with people's livelihoods and wellbeing strategies across selected sites in Ethiopia. It also makes effort 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.

PART 2- EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND EMERGING ISSUES

3. Reasons for and trends of migration in Urban and Rural Communities

This section examines the reasons behind mobility, rural and urban migration; patterns and trends of migration in Shashemene, Kolfe, Imdiber and Trufe Kecheme research sites. It explores the actual process and the subjective assessment of the migration experiences at individual level.

3.1. - Urban Communities and Migration

3.1.1- Shashemene: In-migration trends

Based on the RANQ data, attempts were made to establish the origin of migrants (birth place) into Shashemene. Accordingly, the origin of the 57 percent of the total sample

household respondents' in Shashemene is rural areas out side of the Oromia region. The data further indicated that 53 percent of male and 60 percent of the female migrants in Shashemene (see annex 1 table 1) originate from rural areas outside the Oromia region while only 22 percent of the respondents came from urban areas within the Oromia region. These migrants include Gurage (37 percent) with approximately equal proportion of, Wolayita (18 percent) and Amhara (17 percent). The remaining include Oromo (18 percent) and the others-Kembata, Hadiya and Silte- (10 percent) (Annex 2, table 2)

The Focus Group discussants from each of the researched neighbourhoods of Shashemene site further pointed out although the official Kebele 08/09 boundaries, where the study was conducted, are not ethnically segregated, the migration of people from the above ethnic groups reflects previous migration histories and the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the four neighbourhoods in the Kebele. They mentioned that individuals from the same ethnic groups often settle in the neighbourhood where most people from their areas of origin have already settled. In this respect, while the majority of the migrants to Bishate Sefer are from the Wolayita and Hadiya ethnic groups, most of the migrants in Kuyisa Sefer are mostly Kembata, Wolayita and some Oromo origins. Similarly, the majority of the migrants in Bole Sefer are from the Gurage ethnic group, while migrants from Wolayita and Gurage predominate in Serategna Sefer. These settlement patterns have helped to consolidate ethnic-based networks and associations, which are instrumental in keeping networks with their rural areas.

According to the key-informants in Shashemene, the long-term migrants who came to the Shashemene research site moved to the town because of economic vulnerability and lack of assets. This is manifested often through heavy land tax, debts from agricultural inputs and extreme shortage of rural land. They also disclosed that the most common reasons for their migration to Shashemene were “pulling” factors particularly its proximity and the perception of relatively better employment opportunities in the construction and service sector.

On the other hand, short-term or seasonal migrants, particularly, seasonal male 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 entirely limited to poor rural community members. There were a few better-off farmers who moved during wheat and maize harvesting season from Bale in Oromia region to engage in retail grain business. This seasonal migration experience provided them better opportunity to accumulate financial capital.

There is a marked difference with gender when we compare the underling causes for the migration of female from the rural areas. The Focus Group Discussion with many of the female, adult and permanent migrants revealed that they moved from the adjacent rural districts of Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayita, Sidama, Gamo and eastern Oromia due to factors related to marriage, notably to join their spouses. It was also found out from the discussion held with the female, young and seasonal migrants that they were mostly

divorced or single, and are engaged in domestic labour work, small businesses, production of local drinks and commercial sex work.

To sum up, long-term migration to Shashemene was mostly dominated by migrants from rural areas outside of the Oromia region. Rural destitutions and vulnerability caused by landlessness, heavy land tax and debts from loans are the main reasons for the majority of the male migrants. In addition to these factors, most of the female long-term migrants moved to Shashemene due to factors related to marriage, notably to join their spouses or to escape from failed marriage experiences.

On the other hand, seasonal or short-term migration for men is not entirely limited to the poor. Some relatively better off farmers migrate to Shashemene during grain harvest period to carry out retail grain trading and do business. There are also young female migrants who came for short period to engage mostly in domestic labour work, small business and commercial sex work.

Ethnic-based networks play important role in facilitating migration from their respective areas of origin and supporting new migrants in their urban settlement.

3.1.2- Shashemene: Out-migration trends

The RANQ survey generated information regarding the mobility of household members out of their residence. Accordingly, the majority of absentees (70 percent) was urban areas at the time of the urban RANS (see table 2). In particular, Addis Ababa (28 percent) was the most popular destination for those away from Shashemene. The other significant areas are rural areas within and outside the Oromia region (29 percent). The results also show that there were a considerably greater number of male than female migrants out of their areas when the survey was conducted. In particular, there were twice as many male migrants (19 percent) as females (9 percent) in Addis Ababa.

The respondents disclosed that their household members (30 percent) were out of Shashemene at the time of the study for social visit(visiting families, relatives and friends for various social events) , followed by education/studying (26 percent) and work related reasons (24 percent) (See table 4). It is noted that the number of male migrants who are away for work related reasons are three fold of the female migrants who went for the same reason. Similarly, the proportion of male out migrants for business /trading activities is much higher (9 percent) than female migrants (1 percent). Whereas the proportion of male and female out migrants for education/studying purposes are almost equal, which is 14 and 13 percent respectively. These young adults are absent from their households to attend higher education mostly in Addis Ababa.

Therefore, Shashemene has a strong vertical link with the federal capital, Addis Ababa mostly for education and work purposes. The link with rural areas of outside of the Oromiya region indicates a strong link with the rural areas of the southern region, mostly manifested by chain migration with Gurage and Gamu people.

3.1.3- Kolfe, Addis Ababa: In-migration trends

The study has attempted to ask question regarding the birth place of the household members to construct partly the in-migration trends. The vast majority (67 percent) of respondents in Kolfe who were born outside the community (see table 5) moved from other urban areas, with the next most common origin being rural areas of the country (31 percent). Within these figures, there is some gender difference, more proportion of women (34 four percent) likely to come direct from rural areas than men (27 percent), and more proportion of men (72 percent) moved from other urban areas than women (65 percent).

It was pointed out that the most common ethnic group amongst surveyed people to Kolfe is Amhara (37 percent), followed by Gurage (24 percent), Oromo (22 percent) and, to a lesser extent, Gamo (11 percent). (see table 6). This might be not only due to proximity but also historically early migration of Amhara to Addis Ababa has led to patterns of subsequent flows of new migrants.

The FGDs in the four Kolfe urban neighbourhoods have revealed rural poverty as their initial and main reasons for the migration of male 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. Like the case of Shashemene, the main push factors is rural vulnerability and lack of assets expressed in the form of diminishing farmland sizes in all their rural localities and shortage of landholdings, lack of rain, recurrent drought, absence of an effective extension system, limited investment in irrigation-based agriculture, high population pressure, lack of off-farm employment opportunities and imposition of heavy taxes. In addition to this, pull factors for their step migration mentioned by the urban male migrants included increasing construction activities, demand for urban domestic workers, better pay for service work and the presence of social support from the long-term migrants in Kolfe.

The female FGD respondents indicated that some 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. Whereas, female migrants from the Gurage area in the south, moved to Kolfe 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 of construction materials; and in commercial sex work. Among the latter, step-wise movement to Kolfe is common. Many had moved from urban areas and , as noted by the FGD, from small towns and provincial capitals before heading to their final destination in Kolfe, Addis Ababa (See table 4).

Except for the small proportion of women who migrated to Kolfe on a long-term basis with spouses or families, most female migrants, notably those from the north, have reported to have been divorced and widowed women. One reason why these categories of female migrants consider migration outside of their place of origin was the poor social status of women in the society.

To sum up, unlike Shashemene, Kolfe has hosted a larger proportion of step migrants who moved from other urban areas within the same region. Like Shashemene chain migration is dominated by migrants from Gurage and Gamu origin. The main “push” factors for male migrants is similar to Shashemene and includes rural vulnerability and limited livelihood opportunities. Where as, the “pull” factors by the urban male migrants included increasing opportunities for labour market and the presence of social support from earlier migrants. This, according of the key informants, is a new trend with female migrants notably from the Gurage area, who are unmarried/ single moved to carry out small trading and find employment in the service sector.

3.1.4- Kolfe: Out-migration trends

The study explored the migration experience of household members outside of Kolfe by enquiring into questions related to the absence of the household members outside of their location of residence and learning the locations of their destinations as well as the reason for their mobility at the time of the survey. The RANQ survey (Annex 7, table 7) indicated that, as was the case in Shashemene, there are migration experiences out of Kolfe and it is attributed to employment (40 percent), social visits (20 percent) and education/study (13 percent). It is interesting to note that the work-related reasons particularly for female migrants shows high proportion (27 percent) and it was verified during the FGD that this is mainly due to the high level of mobility of most women in the service sector and in commercial sex work and the growing trend of international employment opportunity for young women in domestic sector in Arab countries.

The FGD with the long-term migrants confirms the above survey findings but offered in depth insight that long-term male Orthodox Christian migrants from Kolfe return to their rural areas of origin. It is disclosed that most Gurage in Sor Amba Sefer often return to their birthplace during the Meskel holiday in September. While the single male and landless migrants stay for a month, those long-term migrants who own land often stay up to six months with their spouses to help in farm management. It was noted that the Meskel holiday provides an occasion for unmarried men to find wives, get married and bring new spouses from their birthplace.

According to key informants, the frequency and level of out-migration to areas of origin 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.

To sum up, migrants notably from Gurage and Gamo origins return to their birthplace during the Meskel holiday in September. Some of the Gurage migrants who own land or second wife often stay as long as six months to look after their farms. There is often short-term migration by single and young men of Gamo origins to other urban areas to seek better job opportunities for their weaving work. International migration notably for few female to Arab countries is a new trend, which is becoming important sources of remittance. There are now some signs of renovated premises, fashionable household furniture, TV sets and roofers with satellite dishes in few of the urban households in Kolfe that benefited from the remittances of their migrant members who live out side of the country.

3.2- Rural Communities and Migration

3.2.1- Turufe Kecheme, Oromia: In-migration trends

The community level profile and the RANQ survey indicated that the area of Turufe Kecheme has had a history of in-migration (30 percent of the total households) from different regions, and the village is ethnically and religiously diverse (WeD Community Profile, 2005). Turufe Kecheme contains many ethnic groups Oromos, Tigrayan, Amharans, southern people (Wolayitta, Kembata, Gurage, Hadiya, Sidama, Silte) and four religions (Muslim, Orthodox Christian, Protestants and Catholics

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. The presence of migrants attracted others, and relatives often joined established migrants.

Women have mainly migrated into the area with their families and especially through marriage. These include Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, Kambata, and Wolayta 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.

3.2.2- Turufe Kecheme : Oromia, Out-migration trends

The RANQ data (Table 9) provided some more evidence about out-migration for those who went for visits of more than a month in the past year. Only 22 percent of the total 250 households were outside of the village at the time of the survey. Most of these (66 percent) had gone to urban areas. Of these, the largest numbers (34 percent) were in an urban area in the Wereda, followed by Addis Ababa (18 percent). Among those in rural areas, the largest number, 16 percent, were in rural areas that were not in the Wereda or region. Only one person was in a neighboring country. Thus, migration out of Trufe Kecheme is relatively limited but it is to urban town of the Woreda.

A higher proportion of male out migration, representing 60 percent, was observed as compared to the total proportion of women (40 percent) (see table 10). The women are more prone to go to urban areas within the Wereda (54 percent), presumably since there are opportunities in towns such as Shashemene, Kuyera and Arsi Negele, as well as in Addis Ababa. However, five (23 percent) of them also migrated out to other rural areas beyond the region.

A variety of reasons why household members were away at the time of the survey was revealed. The most important of which are education and training (28 percent), social visits, or seeing people and places (26 percent) and work related reasons (28 percent). (see table 11) Other reasons for absence of the respondents included health treatment, marriage, having a baby, festivals, seeking assistance and religious festivals. Those who moved for education and training are young boys and girls in their high-school and vocational school age.

According to the female focus group discussion, out-migration by women is considered shameful and only the poorest do so. Alima Dia, one of the respondents, mentioned:

“Oromo women are often supposed to be active in managing their households’ chorus. They must be engaged with activities within the household such as cooking, carrying, and washing. Women, who have no resource to do this and who leave their children and husbands unattended considered less human, unlucky, weak and less responsible.”

A few women work in Hamous 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 Kecheme, or 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, focus group respondents

underlined that working as a servant entails health risks from hard labor, as well as risks of rape and pregnancy, which can affect their life chances; success cases beyond earning a decent living seem rare.

3.2.3- Imdiber- In-Migration Trends, SNNPRS

The study has examined the migration of people to Imdiber sites. It indicates that only 13.3 percent of the total household members (50 out of 377) were born outside of Imdiber, Gurage site (Table 12). Of these migrants, 72 percent were people from the rural part of the region, followed by migrants from the urban area in the region (26 percent) and migrants from Addis Ababa region (2 percent).

Based on the focus group discussion, return migrants to the village mostly include migrants who used to be engaged in the informal sector and evicted due to holding of unofficial urban land plots and restrictions on street vending in Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Diredawa and other secondary cities. This displacement or eviction from their business was observed during the past five years. The return migrants reported that they used to earn income by selling second-hand clothes, newspapers and magazines of the free press. The return home of demobilized soldiers and evicted Gurage merchants were also observed due to the change of government in 1991 and the introduction of ethnic-based regionalization in 1992/3 respectively.

There are also returnees who came back to their rural homes at least once a year during Meskel. 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 also help with each other with whatever they can afford. In times of crisis, social capitals such as friendship, neighborhood, kinship, and lineage are all important.

3.2.4-Imdiber - Out-Migration Trends – Gurage people, in SNNRS

The survey assessed information with respect to the mobility of household members outside of Imdiber through inferring to their absences from their residences and learning their location of destinations. Indeed, long distance migration for business / trade purpose had begun long ago after the Land Act of 1929, which promulgated the payment of land tax in cash. Worku (1998) stated that the out migration of Gurages from Imdibir and other sites has been much pronounced in several urban areas and this was alluded to by others in the saying “ there is no place where you cannot see the Land Rover and the Gurage migrants in Ethiopia “.

During the survey, the majority (52 percent) of the household members absent from Imdiber have moved to other urban destinations and in Addis Ababa (See table 13). Where as, 46 percent of the household members who have moved out of Imdiber have gone to rural areas, entirely within the region. In addition to this, two percent of the households’ members in Imdiber were migrated outside of the country.

The main reasons for migration out of Imdibir is significantly work-related reasons (57 percent), followed by social visits (14 percent) and education/training (8 percent). (See table 14). The same table further indicated that work-related reasons to be the most common causes of migration for both male and female in Imdibir with 60 and 53 percent respectively. As confirmed in the FGD, the work related migration out of the rural areas is induced by shortage of land, landlessness, rural destitution, land tax and debts from agricultural inputs.

According to the key informants, long-term migration for trade purposes 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 the East. It is also reported that at least one person from each household in Haya Gasha Kebele Administration was away in Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Jimma, Wolkite and other towns during the agricultural off-peak season. The migrants are mostly younger men and women. However, young and children as young as 10 years old reported to have migrated to urban centers following household members to look for work.

Distress migration has also become important reason for most of the respondents in Imdibir, Haya Gasha Kebele Administration. When most poor –middle level peasants face failure of agricultural productivity, death of cattle or whenever they are required to settle debt from credit associations, they migrate to other destinations to maximize income opportunities.

According to the key informants the trend of out-migration from Imdibir was reduced in the early 1990s when the implementation of the ethnic-based regionalization programme was introduced in the country. Some migrants from Imdibir have encountered ethnic clashes in places like Jimma, Agaro and Diredawa.

To sum up, unlike Trufe Kecheme, migration outside of Imdibir has been common since long-time ago. The presence of Gurage ethnic network mechanism in most of the urban areas of Ethiopia, coupled with rural land tax and debt, attracted the migration of people from Imdibir. Large proportion of the migrants from Imdibir move directly to Addis Ababa than other groups. In-migration to Imdibir was dominated by returnees who have settled in urban areas.

4.- Migration experiences and their outcomes

This section attempts to present the outcome of the migration experience based on the review of individual case-studies, which were randomly selected from the list of female and male migrants who have experiences with seasonal, long-term and distress migration across the four research sites. Efforts were exerted to present individual migrants' own assessment of their migration experiences. In addition, both the negative and the positive consequences of migration experiences at household and community levels are presented.

4.1- Migration Outcome at Individual level –

The first category of case-studies is about the experience of male and female long-term migrants who have been very successful with their migration experiences.

TE, Male, long-term migration experience, Shashemene

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 for them as a mill attendant. 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-year 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 within his peers 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.

As we learn from the case of TE, the decision for migration was taken with intention both by the individual migrant and his parents. TE's migration experience was not resulted from extreme poverty but he migrated because of better opportunities aroused. TE has enjoyed social capital, where by the support from his family played a key role at early stage of his migration. TE was able to accumulate assets - a house and a car- and send cash remittance to his parents back home.

AD, female, long-term 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 in Kolfe. AD feels that her migration to Kolfe allowed her to escape from forced marriage involving rape and abduction. AD is also happy that she attends a night school in Kolfe.

In case of AD, migration has increasingly offered her human capital- education and career opportunities that is not available, or be denied to her, at home. Migration is also an escape way for her from being indulged into forced or early marriage. The opportunity includes domestic work in other households for an income rather than to be an unpaid domestic in her own household as well.

Overall the successful case-studies indicate that members of households who started with better social and material resources and that have had cultural support from their parents at the early stage of their settlements have the chance of becoming more successful with their migration experience. In addition to this, TE has enjoyed his social status in his new destination due to his strong social capital (participation in various social institutions such as Iddir and Iqub). He is also pleased for being able to remit cash to his parents back home.

AD's case is a bit different from TE and she feels positive about her migration experience since she managed to escape from forced marriage. She does not make enough money to improve her material wellbeing but she enjoys her migration due to the opportunity it

created her to have access to human capital - education. Therefore, the two case-studies reveal that access to material and social resources are very instrumental to make both female and male migration experiences very successful and get satisfaction with their material and cultural wellbeing.

The second category of case-studies are individuals, who used their temporary / short –term migration experiences as safety net strategy and demonstrated positive experiences to cope with shocks, seasonal food shortages and/or financial deficits.

TB, Male, seasonal migration, Shashemene

TB was born in Soddo, Gurage in 1962 from a middle-level peasants who have small land and a plough ox. His father was also engaged in black smith. 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 material wellbeing. He has strong social links with long-term migrants from Soddo and he is a member of other social organisations like Iddir.

The case of TB is similar to TE in light of starting the migration experience with better material resources. TB’s seasonal migration experience has given him to come out of the trap of social segregation he was facing back at home due to his occupation- blacksmith. He got better opportunity by moving out of his home area and establishing a new social identity among members of urban communities that value his social status, skills and products positively.

BZ, female, seasonal migrant, 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 sell on retail markets in her locality 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 case of BZ shows that women are migrating seasonally for work related reasons. Due to her new employment opportunities, BZ has gained the ability to improve her material wellbeing at home, mostly through engaging in small retail business in richer areas on seasonal basis with out permanently leaving her home, a husband and children behind.

These categories of seasonal migrants do not want to trade off their cultural and social resources so that they want to be in tact with their families and relatives. They also move often with intention to pre-determined destinations in small or peer groups. This process of migration involves various social relations that have given them the route to develop social bondage, shared motivation and common identities. During the process of their migration, therefore, they share costs, exchange information and protect the safety of each others. Up on their return, the migrants come up with some cash, consumer goods, household utensils’, clothes and new life skills and experiences. However, the individual migrants of this category disclosed that they did not entirely make a break through in changing their

material wellbeing. Yet the entire migration outcome has made them to perceive positive about their relative state of material and cultural wellbeing fairly well in comparison to other members of communities.

The following category of individual case-studies indicates the life of individuals that have had negative experiences and migration outcomes.

SK, female, distress migrant, Kolfe

SK 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, 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. She feels no job security or even better hope of life for the future, too.

The above individual case reveals that the migrant has permanently migrated to Addis Ababa with the hope of getting better employment opportunity and income. She has lost one of her parents from childhood and has grown in hardships and shock in the household of her distant relative. Thus SK did not start with strong material and social resources unlike the most successful migrants. In her new destination, she continued to lack access to strong social and material wellbeing as well. She was working as domestic at extremely low wage and exposed to labour exploitation and abuse. She is not happy about both her material and cultural wellbeing.

ZG, distress migrant, Male, Shashemene

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.

Like SK, the individual case of ZG reveals that the migrant has first migrated to Addis Ababa and then moved to Shashemene since he is not satisfied about his state of life. He lost his parents from childhood and has grown in hardships and shock in the household of his brother. Like SK, he began migration with no or little material and cultural resources. He was working for his brother with no wage and exposed to labour exploitation and abuse. This means that he was denied to have access to material resources and social capital important for improving his wellbeing in the urban areas. ZG is unhappy about his current state of wellbeing due to job, income and social insecurity.

To sum up, the above case-studies are examples of migrants own experience with different outcome and meanings to wellbeing. It is indicated that individual migrants, who have material and/or social support from their parents and relatives up on their initial

migration experience and settlement have better successes stories and satisfaction with their material and cultural wellbeing. The migrants who started in their very young age, particularly young girls, have experienced labour exploitation and lacked social protection so that they remained isolated from accessing and enjoying social and material resources available for others in their new urban destinations. This makes them unhappy with their current state of wellbeing. The seasonal migration is found less risky even for women migrants in light of retaining their cultural resources, social capital and networks while it has offered them alternative employment opportunity to improve their material wellbeing which was lacking back at home.

4.2- Migration Outcomes at 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 stock 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 particularly in Gurage area has detrimental economic and social consequences especially for spouses who were left behind with children in Inset production setting.

4.3- Migration Outcome at 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 enough to cover 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 communities 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. Yet, 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.

4.4- Preference of Spatial Locations by Migrants with respect to livelihood

There are more similarities than differences across all the research sites with respect to preference of locations with respect to what they are doing and living from. (see table 19). The majority (27 percent) of the respondents in both the rural and the urban research sites seem to favor and have more social and economic attachments and greater considerations for Wereda towns, followed by Addis Ababa (19 percent), rural villages/ Kebele Administration centre (18 percent). This means that about 45 percent of the total households view Wereda towns and other rural villages as important places to their lives and potential areas for maximizing the opportunities for their livelihoods. While the majority (42 percent) of respondents in Shashemene place far greater importance on Woreda towns, the majority of the responses from Kolfe (52 percent) showed the great importance given to rural areas.

Rural households in Trufe Kecheme seem to have greater link with Wereda towns (23 percent), followed by zonal capital (20 percent), regional capital (18 percent) and Addis Ababa (16 percent) (See table 19). The case of Imdiber is much different from Trufe Kecheme, where the majority of rural households have greater connections with Woreda town (33 percent) but significantly followed by Addis Ababa (22 percent), zonal towns (14 percent), sub-Woreda towns (13 percent) and rural areas (8 percent).

The small Woreda towns provide not only market functions but also social support (34 percent in Kolfe , 21 percent in Shashemene), health facilities (5 percent in Kolfe, 8 percent in Shashemene, 9 percent in Trufe Kecheme and 12 percent in Imdiber), information / technology (3 percent in Kolfe, 5 percent in Shashemene, 10 percent in Trufe Kecheme, and 6 percent in Imdiber) and entertainment (1 percent in Kolfe, 5 percent in Shashemene) (See table 20).

Based on these responses, it is possible to suggest that the growth of small towns is the most important preferred location for growth and development. 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 people who reside in Kolfe , the capital city or in Shashemene ,one of the secondary cities in the country.

Based on the Focus Group Discussion with female and male young groups in Trufe Kecheme and Imdiber, their respective Woreda towns are serving as conduit for the

injection of new agricultural supplies and technologies to rural areas and medium points for accessing social services such as health, education, telecommunications facility, extension, shops, administration and legal support. Young people in both Trufe Kecheme and Imdiber reported that they moved from their rural villages where quality high school education services are limited to the respective Woreda towns where such services are available. The numbers of individuals moving in search of better health services in Woreda towns are not also negligible. The rural people from Trufe Kecheme and Imdiber were also observed going to Woreda towns seeking for administrative services, including making claims and resolving disputes at local administrative centres

5- CONCLUSION

The study used analysis of migration data collected by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries - Ethiopia Programme and the author based on two urban and two rural research sites: Addis Ababa (the capital city), Shashemene (a business town in Oromia Regional State, ONRS), Turufe Kecheme (a rural village in Oromia National Regional State, ONRS), and Imdibir, (a Gurage village in the Southern Nations and Nationalities People Region, SNNPR).

The paper has so far established important issues regarding the effects of rural-urban interchanges and labour migration. It disclosed that seasonal migration is an ongoing livelihood strategy in Ethiopia, though it is not easily visible and its importance is often not acknowledged by policy makers. The focus group discussions and individual interviews also highlighted that seasonal migration is a well-established coping system in the rural research sites. The migration experiences of individuals also took several types involving differences in terms of duration (short-term or long-term; seasonal or permanent) and directions (mainly rural to urban; rural to rural).

The focus group discussions, the case-studies and the key informant interviews suggest that the push factors for most of the rural-urban migrants are absence of material resources caused by extreme rural destitution, the presence of limited rural off-farm employment opportunities, heavy dependence on rain-fed agriculture, indebtedness in particular to pay for fertiliser credit, and increased population pressure on the rural land.

In addition to this, most of the reasons for the migration of rural women to urban areas are social and cultural inequalities that have been perpetuated by the presence of social institutions that deny the rights of women to have access and control over rural material resources, that practice early marriages and that subordinate divorcees. Young girls and boys who lost their parents also lack social capital and suffer similar exploitations. On the other hand, the motivation behind the rural-urban female migrants was influenced by the attractions and opportunities available to access material and cultural resources in places of urban destination.

In spite of the challenges that migrants experience in urban settings, there is a continued interest, notably by young and male migrants from Gurage and Gamo areas, to maintain linkages with their place of origin. Resources from seasonal migration brought home remittances to their rural households. These households have maximised their livelihood

opportunities through raising cash income and coping with seasonal problems. There are also cross-community social networks established through marriage notably in and from rural areas.

The benefits to sending communities members and households are various. It is disclosed that migration reduces the members of households to be fed. Migrants' remittances or cash on return were also used for taxes, debts settlement, education, medication and purchase of oxen and other farm implements as well as some household assets. Whereas, the main benefit mentioned for receiving communities was the presence of migrants resulted in a lower cost of labour, particularly domestic labour. Whereas, the problems for receiving communities include pressure on housing, services and sanitation, increased unemployment problem, increased petty trade, begging and prostitution.

The benefits for long-term individual migrants include resource mobilization for self, supporting their households with additional income, creation of the opportunity of seeing new places and broadening of opportunities for social networks.

The problems facing long-term migrants include difficulty to find work in a competitive environment without guarantors, low-payment, poor housing, limited access to services, social isolation and lack of social networks of support. It is critical that domestic servants are often over-worked and at risk of rape and pregnancy. Particularly, young boys and girls sent to be domestic servants, young boys sent to do weaving work in towns, and children sent to work as herders in rural areas are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. In addition to this, women involved in sex work are vulnerable to harassment, at risk of disease, face insecurity of income, and social ostracism and degradation.

International migration to neighboring countries, the Gulf and Arab countries, and the US is becoming a new migration stream and source of remittance for Kolfe Site. Even though the scales are proportionally small, remittances and stories of success are affecting the views and aspirations of the youth.

Rural-urban linkages were found to be very important, for commuting, short-term and long-term migration. Rural communities were found to have links with urban areas particularly small towns for purposes of marketing, social services, work, pilgrimage, recreation and other social activities.

In light of the above findings, one can draw several implication areas for policy formulation and development practice. In this respect, one of the policy implications that are relevant for seasonal migration is the need to improve enabling environment and material wellbeing in rural migrants' areas of origin. This includes the improvement of micro-credit provision and access to communal resources for poor peasants, particularly the youth. The promotion of opportunities for multiple and non-farming livelihoods, including trade and business is important as well.

The promotion of rural town development is another key area of policy priority since rural towns have demonstrated to serve as centers of services and economic opportunities for

surrounding rural population so that they can avoid adverse effects of excessive migration to larger cities.

Another key area of policy implication is the creation of an enabling environment for free movement of people to fully use their human capital- talent, skills and motivation. This also requires the recognition of the challenges faced by migrants and the establishment of a strategy to protect the rights of migrants. This can include the facilitation of free movement and mobility through protection of property rights and entitlements of seasonal and short-term migrants while away, the creation of access to identity cards for migrants, the improvement of access to housing, the facilitation of migrants rights' to obtain credit, the prevention of the expulsions of migrants, the promotion of migrants rights' to work and the provision of relevant information through the media.

Furthermore, policy responses are required to promote the wellbeing of migrants through ensuring rights to health and other social services, promoting the formation of migrants' associations, supporting collective action by migrants, promoting /protecting the right to become members of local community associations, promoting the establishment of minimum wages norms, regulating employment agencies and establishing minimum standards and regulating brokers particularly to avoid trafficking.

The establishment of affirmative action measures and the presence of special protection for the most vulnerable categories of migrants, particularly, women, youth and children are key in policy arena. In this regard, the protection of women from violence and rape and the promotion of youth employment policies are critical path ways to improve the wellbeing of migrants. The protection of children and domestic workers from abuse by brokers and employers is essential. Migrant sex workers need also protection from abuse by customers, pimps and owners of work premises. 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.

Unlike previous policy regimes of Ethiopia that focused on reducing urban-bound migration, the Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), which was introduced for the period that covers 2006-10, has the potential to address some of the above policy implications (FDRE, 2006). Even if the role of internal migration in this poverty alleviation strategy is not directly addressed, PASDEP acknowledges the need for the strengthening of rural-urban linkages and a rebalancing of the growth strategy with emphasis on the development of small towns and growth poles, and employment creation, particularly in urban areas. Such strategic priorities can create a more favourable enabling environment towards the mobility of people. To this end, the implementation of PADSEP needs to demonstrate its intention through allocation of the required material and technical resources primarily at Woreda level.

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