

**Rural-Urban Migration: Causes, Migrants' Town livelihood Activities
and Social Capital in Berehet District, Ethiopia**

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Dedication: *If you were alive, it would have then become my extreme happiness this days in the world. I missed you my departed Mom and Dad. This work is dedicated to you.*

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Abstract

Ranging from the smallest local to the largest international migration is a substance in the process of globalization which drives the present economic, political, social, cultural and technological engines of individuals and groups across various geographic domains in the world. The smallest internal rural to urban migration, which is driven by various factors and ended up with different outcomes in the everyday lives of migrants in towns, is therefore, not isolated from the global process.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the diverse cause to rural- urban migration and migrants' town livelihood activities in Berehet district, Ethiopia which is also thought as the fraction of global process. This study also further focuses on migrants' social capital after migration in the town Metehbila.

With the application of qualitative approach, the study used Lee's push- pull, the new economy of migration theory and the livelihood approach. It is from the ground that theories and approaches are important to visualize the world in every context and hence, they are used in this research to construct and define the research problem itself and to frame the entire process of the researching. Both the migration theories and livelihood approach are used interdependently to understand the various physical and socio-economic causes for rural to urban migration. The Push factors which are mentioned in Lee's migration theory are the vulnerability contexts in livelihood framework and hence, they are used together than independently. The new economy migration theory is used to envisage migration decision, economic causes for migration and the contending issues of internal migration remittance. The livelihood approach is used to frame migrants' urban livelihood activities and strategies that they established to make their living real in the town. It further is used to concretize the social integrations that migrants develop with urban host communities. With the combination of the theories and the livelihood framework components-vulnerability contexts, social capital, strategies and outcome, the analytical framework was developed to entirely shape this study.

With life history mode of analysis and other tabular description approaches of the data which are obtained from primarily and secondary sources, the study found that the causes for rural to urban migration in Berehet district are physical factors such as absence of rainfall, land shortage(also economic) and family death. Socio-economic factors such as forced early marriage, the resulting fistula, conflict with land borders, education and formal marriage. The study in the cloud of socio-cultural factors shows that the district is under increasing human right abuse, abduction, rape and subsequent urban ward migration. It also found that, most of the economic factors are in vision level by migrants. Migrants after their migration are in increasing desire to get better living with better occupations and incomes.

In investigating the urban forms of migrants livelihood strategies, the study shows that most migrants are participating in local drink preparation such as tela and areke selling, retailing onion and potatoes on crowded market. Few migrants are also engaging in wood and welding works, stone cutting and street work/begging. The study generally shows that most migrants in the town established survival livelihood strategies by which they only work to eat and trend the same fashion of living as they were yesterday and decades ago. Contrary to this, few migrants are at the verge to maintain adaptive livelihood strategy by which they relatively could develop better livelihood in the town. Again, the study under investigating the choices of livelihood strategies by migrants, shows that male and female migrants make a stratified working cultural space in the town in which male migrants do not work what women migrants do and the vise versa. It is those male migrants in better off and on the verge to developed sustainable livelihood while women migrants are subjected with indoor activities by which they show no progress in their livelihood in the town.

At the end, the study found that migrants in the town formed various town associations with their town host communities. The associations are Idir, Iqub, Tsiwa and Baltna. The study found that all of these associations are variously important to migrants for securing social capital which serves them to alleviate their everyday town living challenges such death, health shocks and property losses.

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List of Acronyms

ACSI	Amhara Credit and Saving Institution
AMNDF	Amhara Nation Democratic Front
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
CTO	Culture and Tourism Office
DARDOR	District Agricultural and Rural Development Office Report
DEDO	District Education and Development Office
DEPLAUO	District Environmental Protection, Land Administration and Use Office
DFID	Department for International Development
DMS	District Meteorological Station
DPFDO	District Population, Finance and Development Office
EDO	Education and Development Office
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HNHSDP	Holistic National Health Sector Development Program
ICT	Information Communication Technology
MOFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
RSP	Rural Safety net Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Chapter One

1.Introduction

1.1 Background

In the contemporary era of globalization when one looks the local in the perspective of global, migration has become the concern for many scholars. Ranging from the smallest local internal to the largest international, migration is a substance in the process of globalization which drives the present economic, political, social, cultural and technological engines of individuals and groups across various geographic domains. Giving that, the current locals seem in persistent rhythm in producing colossal of internal migration types (Urry, 2007) with in which the individuals and groups are actors for making the movement physically or to be beneficially from the movement.

As per the results of various descriptive researches, the factors that generate internal migration varies from person to person and from area to areas depending on the degree of influence the factors imposed over groups and individuals. The rural-urban migration in developing nations particularly of Africa according to Shimeles et al., (1999), is driven by profound socio-economic crises that hardly treat the everyday lives of rural societies whose livelihood is dependent on subsistence form of agriculture and traditional type of herding livestock. On the basis of this, the authors further argued that African migrants are relatively enormous mostly in Africa itself than in another place else since they have limited ability to cross national borders which requires capital, bureaucratic orders and planning. Most forms of rural to urban migration in Africa are thus driven by motives to overcome challenges at countryside and improve livelihood from gains in target areas usually in mega cities and towns. The regions mostly Sub-Saharan Africa is prone to prolonged and acute poverty to the level that seems unavoidable from the society's living culture and this has made many rural poor hopeless and unable to escape from circle of poverty and internal rural to urban migration has become the shortest means of joining self to urban and city formal and informal labor markets to get better returns (De la Croix & Docquier, 2012).

Despite arguing as there is less relation between internal migration and poverty reduction (A. De Haan & Britain, 2000), pointed out that migrant do mostly hidden works that are available in plenty of black-markets¹ that seek unskilled migrants with a very low wage and with the intention that employers have the rights to fire their workers when and where necessary to do

¹ The markets that take place in the streets and other hidden places outside the recognitions of labor unions who

so. Nevertheless, the livelihood of migrants in destination areas is dependent on shadowed and unregistered works which resulted in an increasing clash with host town's and city's administrations with the question of tax, place to work and security (Lucas, 1994). This study is not to simply appraise researches which have been done on the factors for migration and migrants livelihood in town and cities previously, it similarly intends to look the factors that generate internal rural to urban migrants and their urban livelihood. Thus, it stands to consolidate the existing studies by sharing similar plights and identifying unique factors that are existing with indigenous people and investigating types of migrant's livelihood in the town Metehbila, Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia there are studies which have been done over international migration and in a small degree to internal migration most of which are carried out by European scholars. Most of them argued that the country has passed through continuous provincial leader wars, coup d'état to overthrow central government, regional conflict with neighbor countries like Eritrea, Ogaden Somali, and above all, intense drought, famine and starvation all of which have contributed for fabrications of large number of internal migrants (Baker, 2012; Ezra et al., 2001; Franssen & Kuschminder, 2009; Todaro, 1980). The studies by these scholars more by Ezra et al, indicated that rural poor in Ethiopia who were subjected to rural poverty and ecological vulnerability are with more propensity to move out for economic reason and stamp out poverty. Likewise, Franssen and Kuschminder outlined that the people especially from northern part of the country who once upon a time were in wars were also with high interest to move out and displace to another regions in the nation.

The country has been relatively stable politically since the current government came in to power but the trend of migration has been exacerbated with increasing rate of urbanization and expansions which have opened the opportunity to the establishments of migrant's urban livelihood in the form of daily laborer and formal workers. According to Baker, (2012) study result in north eastern Ethiopia, Kemise zone, even though the level of urbanization seems very low in the country, the rate is increasing significantly and horizontal growth of towns and cities have been observed across the nation. These process have opened various jobs to migrants coming from different rural fringes and to some the towns and cities are serving as the place of begging for orphan children, prostitute and other hidden activities in which surplus migrant people engaged in (Abebe, 2012). In line with this process, (Casacchia, Crisci, & Reynaud, 2001, p. 51) outlined that it has become common to see an increasing counter urbanization and the number of towns in the country's general setting is becoming

thousands and the number of migrant population joining these towns has been increasing with undetermined manner since people come daily and any times longer than this.

Keeping its top down trend, rural to urban migration is also common in the smallest micro level Berehet district where this research is focussing on. However, the only research done on internal migration in neighbor district is (Baker, 2012) in Kemise Zonal town but not in Berehet district. No research has been done in this district but it does not mean that there is no internal migration there. Since childhood to now, I realized that this area has been experiencing an increasing rural-urban migration with diverse socio-cultural and economic factors present both in departing areas and the town. The rationale of doing this research is therefore, to have a research in the area and to investigate those push and pull socio-cultural and physical factors in detail, their impacts to individual migrants every day life and livelihood strategies in Metehbila town.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Rural to urban migration is a movement by individual or group from a very rural part to towns and cities. Top of this statement, the two geographic places are crucial in that the very rural areas are remote farming areas that have experienced very low accessibility to infrastructure and the urban areas, contrary to rural, are congested with populations and have relatively better infrastructure so that they experience improvements in terms of social service delivery, governance and better institutions that preserve citizens rights (Von Braun & Keynote, 2007). Giving that, rural to urban migration is a movement of people between these two geographically isolated places but coexist and linked with multiple kinds of flows by agricultural products and people from the rural part and processed products and services from the towns and cities and hence, the two places are as the two sides of a coin.

The reasons for such migration are dynamic as the mover themselves are and it is not only specific factor that lead a person or a group to migrate, it is rather multitude of factors that operate together and finally make migration real. Scholars argue that the factors for this kind of migration, among others, are classified as exogenous and endogenous. The former are more pressurized and visible to all people and include, an increasing liberalized trade opportunities for unskill migrants to be sold and work in those labour intensive plants in towns, an invading nature of technology which resulted in faster communication flows between the rural and urban communities and existence of decentralized governance which enables individuals and

groups to be self-determinant on behalf of themselves and their larger communities (Banerjee, 1984; Jacka, 2005; Von Braun & Keynote, 2007).

Accompanied with these factors, environmental insecurity and conflict for resources and social chores in departing areas are potential external factors that foster rural to urban migration in micro levels. The indigenous factors by their nature are related with the external ones and encompass fear resulted from instability, health insecurity of migrants, and above all, the psychological fight that occurs between migrant him/her self for making a decision and welcoming the consequences of relocating one self from specific place of birth to another area inside or outside a country (Uwimbabazi & Lawrence, 2011).

Internal migration in Ethiopia is best expressed in terms of push and pull factors based on which researchers classified the nation's current internal migration as conflict induced, disaster induced and development induced (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009; Hunnes, 2012). Conflict has a long tradition among the rural community of the nation and the principal lines that make conflicts across the nation are related with competitions to land colonization and resulting chores for land borders and the so long traditions that make conflict in the country also relate with hidden and uncovered wars between tribes usually with the interest of securing upper hand over the other and occupy resources. The disaster induced urban ward migration is a result of more powerful push factors which still are in effect for producing many migrants in the country. The rural parts in Ethiopia, as indicated above, are more disadvantaged areas which are under increasing risks of environmental changes and drought where majority of the population live. These changes have very deleterious effect to the livelihoods of rural populations who later prefer displacing towards to towns and cities (Ibid). Development induced factors are equally powerful but they most of the time are found in the outskirts of regional cities and city administrations where foreign and domestic investors prefer to establish their plants. The government has been transferring the land by lease system to investors by evicting so many people who are living in shanty houses surrounding cities and in some cases from extreme rural parts where there is favorable land that seeks interest of investors (land grabbing in Oromia and Gambella regions are classic examples), an account made by the government is that it gives only land use right to rural populations and the owner for any land in the country is the state and when it is found important the state can evict anybody from their place of residence and property to which urban ward migration is usually the outcome (Lavers, 2012; Makki & Geisler, 2011).

The pull factors which are found in urban areas where there is high level of inequality and inequitable share of assets (Mc Catty, 2004) between the rich and the migrant and non migrant poor, have the power to create center of attention by people who are in circle of risks and finally make those people to come towards them. These factors for migrants nowaday provide two important livelihood alternatives. The first one is the formal occupations like working in banks and credit unions where there is government registrations and formal tax for those skill but for those unskill whose number outweigh by many fold, informal and non taxable tasks are the rewards. In spite of this, the the government of Ethiopia has tried to unionize migrants and non-migrant unemployed urban population to have works with the help of credits from the state banks. However, the ability of the government to manage and the number of unemployed has become disproportional and hence, the possibility of most migrants livelihood almost through out the nation's urban towns is engaging in the informal sectors which are not transformative by their very nature (Ibid).

In Berehet, different sections of the society from different age structures and sex migrate towards to the town Metehbila forced by various problems located in rural communities and migrants, after migration, do various informal activities in the town. Therefore, there is a need to have concern for the reason and migrants' means of living in the town and hence, the intended goal of this research is investigating causes to migration in the district and forms of migrants' urban livelihoods activities in the town.

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the introduction given above and the upcoming chapters, the general objective of this research is to investigate district level rural to urban migration in Berehet and specifically, the study has the following objectives.

- To identify the causes for rural to urban migration in the district
- To analyze the livelihood strategies of migrants in the town
- To understand migrants' social integrations with the town host communities

1.4 Research Questions

1. Why do people from rural areas in the district migrate towards the town?
2. How do migrants establish and maintain their livelihood in the town?
3. What are the various town associations through which migrants develop social capital?

1.5 Significance of the Study

In Ethiopia rural-urban migration has become a tradition to rural population giving that urban populations has been increasing in way that seems difficult to manage by local and regional governments. More specifically the result of this study will help local populations and administrators to take measures on those rural powerful factors that make migration as increasing trend. To the local government, this study will help to show the living conditions of migrants in the town and perhaps it then enables them to maintain inclusive local policies that assure equal sharing of resources and protections for those deprived migrant communities, and to the students and teachers the study will be taken as a milestone on internal more specifically rural to urban migration in the very micro level Berehet district.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This research has eight chapters. Chapter one is the introduction that gives emphasis about background information to the study; chapter two is description to the study area which slightly help to show what the district looks like in terms of its geography, population and infrastructure; chapter three is literature review which provides synthesis and summary of related readings and theories that help to shape the study; chapter four is the methodology part used to depict the methodological approaches to the research, data type, approaching field session, informants and research ethics; the fifth chapter is designed to understand the causes to rural urban migration in the district. This chapter is intended to achieve objective one. Chapter six is for objective two which is about migrants' livelihood in the town and the seventh chapter is for objective three which is about social capital that is expressed interns of migrant's inclusion in various town association and the last but not the least chapter is concluding marks and recommendation in which the most important findings of this research are placed and some further policy directions are outlined.

Chapter Two

2. Descriptions to Research Area

2.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to address various manifestation that have been observed in Berehet district. It also attempts to outline the readers to understand where the woreda/district is in relative and absolute measurements and what constitutes the district in general. Structurally, the chapter is organized with different parts; the first part is the location and historical perspective of the district, climate conditions in the second part, population in third part, migration in the fourth, economic activities in the fifth and infrastructure in the last part. It may found difficult to understand the local nomenclatures designated to various areas by the community but an attempt is given to make them understandable by readers by giving their equivalent English version. In this research, the rural smallest administrative units are sources of sender community and the town Metehbila is the receiver region.

2.2 Location and Historical perspectives

Berehet is one of the district from 105 Woredas/district in Amhara regional state of Ethiopia. It is constituted with nine kebeles² each having its own administration rural centers. The nine kebeles found in the district include Metehbila (Kebele 1), Gordosolomon (kebele 2), Mafud (kebele 3), Teju / Mekagno (kebele 4), Shegagebeya/Abogordo (kebele 5), Akrmitt (kebele 6), Sede'as (kebele 7), Mintamr /Abako (kebele 8), Wanse (kebele 9) and Wosil (kebele 10). It is found as part of North Shewa Zone with boundaries from south Minjar Shenkora Woreda and Oromia Region, Ankober Woreda from the north, Afar region from the east and Hageremariam Woreda from the west. Astronomically, it is found between 9° 1' 46" - 9° 18' 57" North Latitude and 39° 30' 10" - 39° 54' 53" East Longitude. The total area of the district is about 884.48 square kilometers (CSA, 2007).

Historically, the Woreda is known as the battle of Berehet where Emperor Tewodros II defeated his rival Shewan nobles with the help his general Ras Ingda (name given to province administrator) in the year 1855. Emperor Tewodros during his time of administration (1855-1868) had followed a strategy of fragmenting administration from the upper king to the lower district governor with his trusted local nominee to administer specific areas like Ras Ingda in

² The smallest administrative unit area in Ethiopia. It comprises its own rural centers mostly located on the main road nodes that link it with the existing district centers, rural kebele administrators, security workers, farmers training halls, but has no its own budget allocated for the overall functioning of duties by its community. Rural nominees are supposed to serve their people voluntarily for the betterment of the district and its people. The rural centers serve as the strategic location for district administrators to meet the rural nominees and disseminate duties to every individual. Like the larger district, it has population with divers religion, tribe, culture norms and so on.

Shewa (Adejumobi, 2007). The district has various forms of landscapes including, plateaus, valleys, caves, rivers, spring waters, mountains and plain areas. In rough view, it is generally land locked surrounded by mountains in all most all direction except in the north eastern direction where it has very extended lowland up to its eastern neighbor Afar region which is known by the place where many human skeletons have been excavated. Example, Lucy or Dinknesh a 3.5 million years old structured human skeleton was investigated in this area in 1974 and the newly excavated human skeleton named Ardi, a million years old back from Lucy was also investigated in the same area in 1994 (CSA & ICF, 2011).

The district according to the local culture and tourism office report has various historical and cultural sites. For instance, in its 04 kebele Teju, there is a church St. Michael having an age more than 200 years where about 380 tombs of Italy killed ancient patriot found. It also has spring hot water locally named *Tsebel*³ in 07 kebele specifically in a place called *Sebernha*. This water is traditionally known by curing various patients coming from different areas far from the district and inside the district. An estimated 1290 people are going to this place every year to get relief from their illness.

Generally, the district is known by its various natural, manmade, historical and cultural settings like *washeer washa/ cave* in 07 kebele and *dingay mezzgia/stone door* in 04 kebele. The summary to some of these natural and historical sites is presented with the table below.

Name of Cultural and Natural Sites	Type	Kebeles where Sites Found	
Walelgn Washa/Walelgn Cave	Natural	Sede'as	07
Kuch Den Washa/Seat Jungle cave	natural	Sede'as	07
Enkoye Washa/Enkoye Cave	natural	Akrmit	06
Kendo Dur Terara/Kendo Mountain	natural	Abako	08
Sebernha Yohannes/Sebernha St.Jhone	Historical	Sede'as	07
Yemariam Tsebel/St. marry Holley Water	Natural,cultural	Teju	04
Fil Wuha/Spring Water	natural	Abako	08
Dingay mezzgia/Stone Door	Natural	Sede'as	07
Kurhan/Mosque for quran education	Cultural, Historic	Mafud	03
Kum Dingay/Erected Stone	Natural	Shegagebeya	05

Table 1. Natural and Historical Sites in Berehet woreda
Source, District culture and truism office un published.

³ A water which is believed to cure patients from their illness. The local people usually go to the place where this water is found and insert themselves to get relief from their sickness. The water, as of the people mostly Christians, is spiritual and has the power to make people free from any kinds of stresses and physical fatigue.

The town for the district is called Metehbila which gained its name from the dialogue between husband and wife which I shall present in the next paragraph. Locating in North Showa Zone of Amhara region, this town is found 388 kilometers far away from Debrebirhan/the Zonal city, 260 kilometers from Addis Ababa and 822 km from Bahirdar /the Amhara region headquarter.

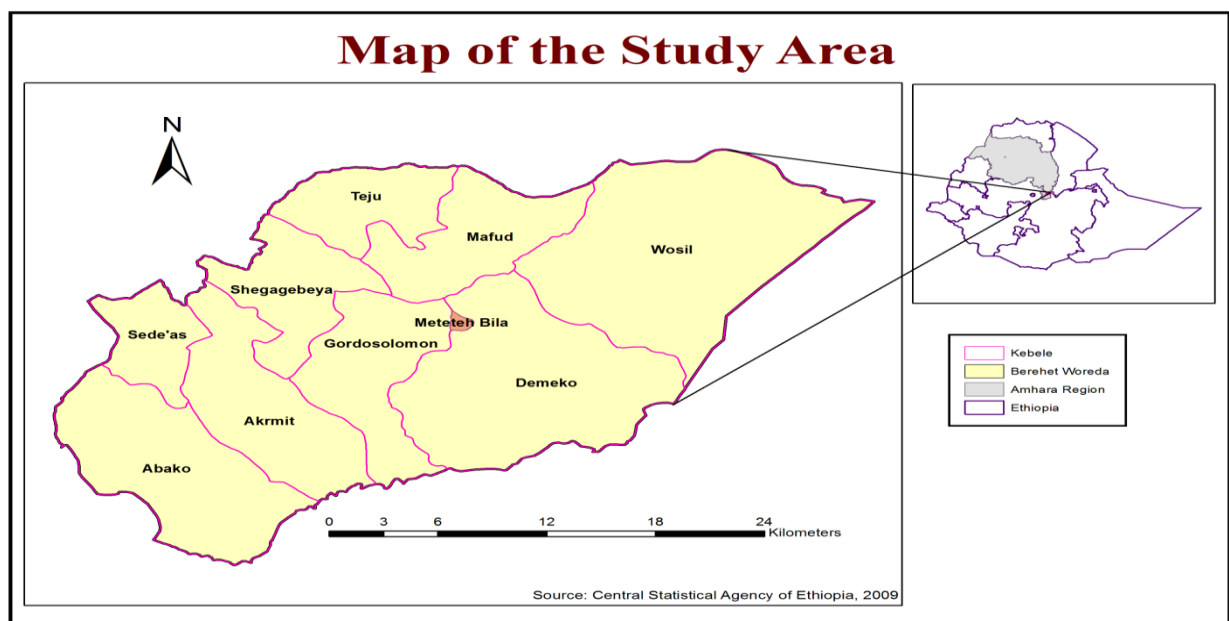
The reason for naming the town as , "Metehbila" has long tradition. Once up on a time in the past, there were a husband and a wife who had been living around. The husband was a returnee from military service during when the country Ethiopian was under monarchical governance, specifically during Hailessilasie regime. Since he was a returnee, he couldn't get agricultural land near to the area where the present town is located. The time administrator then gave him a plots of agricultural land far from the area called simntoch which is presently located in Wanse/09 kebele. In his courses of living, he was traveling and plows the land obtained on every working days a bit far from his house. In every working day, he expected a lunch to be delivered by his wife. However, the situation later had been changed when his wife took a measure to not to take a lunch to her husband. Resulted from fear on her way to her husband, misbehaved boys needed her to abduct force fully. She tried to tell her husband what she had faced on her way but he couldn't understand and finally she remained silent and did not take a lunch to her husband instead she appeased her neighbor old men to tell him to not expect a lunch in every working days. At the end of the day, the old men decided her to not to go to her husband with lunch and warned her husband to come and eat lunch when he gets hungry. This is what Metehbila means- '*come and eat*'.

Metehbila initially was established by Aleka Abtemariam Zeme, Ato Demisew Gizaw, Gelegiworgis Beneberu, Dubale Abe, Sisay Gelegiorgis and others who formed a village and live in Metehbila first. In addition to forming their first village, they also contributed their own to the establishment of the town. It was in December on Tuesday 1958 that Metehbila was first established as a town to Berehet Woreda. The landscape is still up and down with a fragmented, unplanned and congested slum houses.(CTO, 2013, Un published).

When the town first started as a village it had a very small area which was not correctly measured in meters care and other means. As one of my informal key interviewee stated, it was first established with not more than 5-10 households living in the area. However, it gradually has been expanded to four direction as it is obvious and common in the process of urbanization. The presence of migrants from different rural areas has increased the demand to

house and as a result merchants and business men have triggered construction of house and land trading. However, it started fast growing since 2000 when the town administrators officially launched land sale and division for those who were interested to live in the town. The land was first delivered mainly in the west direction where it has a plain landscape and easy to construct house. As a result of this land occupation with different people, the town is now under gradual development with market areas for conducting various business.

Before a year and so, the market place was at the center of the town so that there was not enough space to especially retailers to sell their products. As the situation got much sensitive, the town kebele administrator allowed an open space to be a market place since last year. The market place is now located in the southern edge of the town. Currently, the town kebele administrator and municipality which is established in 2008, jointly indicated that the surrounding agricultural land areas have been registered in their land bank and later these land will be transmitted to those plenty of applicants by lease system. As a matter of priority, females and those adults who plan to work in group will get the land first and the rest then (it is just on the paper). Millions of Ethiopian Birr has been paid to farmers as a compensation for the land. Generally, the town is currently expanding its land occupation and has approximately 381 hectares (CSA, 2007). However, the correct demarcated land under the town territory is not correctly georeferenced so that the area of the town seems small but currently it is growing to different directions.



Map 1. Study Area. Source, CSA, 2009.

2.3 Climate Conditions in Berehet

The district is generally warm in its temperature throughout the year. However, the temperature slightly varies from season to season. Like the other areas in the country, there are also different seasons in Berehet Woreda. These include, Bega, Kiremt, and Belg seasons. In another areas there is additional season called Tsedey/spring but for Berehet the society divides the season as mentioned above. Bega /the dry and cold season includes months October, November and December. During this season, the area gets moderate temperature and low rain fall and it is in this season that most agrarian community collect their harvests especially in end of October and November. The average temperature and rain fall during this season is 27 degree centigrade and 70 mm respectively. In Kiremt which is mostly similar with summer season, the Woreda gets maximum average rainfall and moderately low temperature, 141mm and 25 degree centigrade respectively. This season encompass June, July August and September. In this season, the community extensively work agriculture to get yields in the dry season. The Belg season partly similar with spring season includes months January, February, March, April and May. It is during season that the district becomes hot and gets maximum average temperature and moderately low rain fall, 32 ° C and 105mm. Annually the area gets temperature ranging from 25-36 ° C and rain fall 750-850mm (DMS).

Seasons	Kiremt	Bega	Belg
	maximum rain fall	very low rainfall	relatively medium rain fall but some times
	intense agricultural activity	agricultural activities tends to cease	not enough even to germinate seed on farms
	conversion of the area to green	irrigation practice become common	multidirectional movement
Characteristics	employment opportunity increases	relatively low employment opportunity	preparation of lands to summer practice
	return seasonal migration is high	urban ward migration is common	out break of agricultural practices
	land sliding is common	lands get very dry, fracturing and folding become common	moderate temptarure
	rivers get full water	harvesting yields	
	water comes to drain from springs	mostly a leisure time to agrarian community	
		water scarcity become very common	
		trees leave their leafs	
		land become clean with no cover	
		very high tempreture	

Figure 1.Characterstics of Seasons in Berehet District.

Source, ARDO and DMS-unpublished.

2.4 Population

Even though Ethiopia has had a population with diverse ethnicity, religion, culture, language, nations nationalities and peoples, there was no population and housing census before early 1980s.The first, second and third population and housing census were conducted in 1984,

1994 and 2007 respectively (CSA & ICF, 2011). The diverse socio-economic and cultural aspects of the population have been thus differently assessed since the outbreak of these population and housing census. The population in Berehet woreda also consists diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. The predominant population in the district are Christians and Muslims in their religion. The Christian population accounts 82.05 percent, Muslim 17.85 percent and others 0.12 percent. From the district's entire population, the Amhara tribe which is similar with nation nationalities in Ethiopian case, accounts 82 percent and the rest 18 percent is Argoba which is predominantly Quran oriented in faith (CTO,2013 unpublished). The population has various socio-cultural contacts with the Oromifa⁴ speaking population from Oromo region and the Afar speaking population in north east. These contacts enable the population of Berehet to be bilingual which subsequently helped them to conduct trade with the nearby neighboring district population (the kereyyu population from Oromia, minjar population from Amhara, and the Afar population from Quafar region). Camel trading is a vital and most common type of trading which plays a pivotal role to the people to informally learn language and share experiences in the district.

Demographically, the woreda has a current total population of 39,346 of which 19,909 are males and the remaining 19,437 are females. From this total figure, the town population is 5,157 on a total area of 381 hectares.

Population Number in Each kebeles-Berehet Woreda, 2013				
Geographic Areas/Kebeles		Male	Female	Both Sexs
Metehibila/Town	01	2489	2668	5157
Gordsolomon	02	2273	2208	4481
Mafud	03	1827	1673	3500
Teju	04	2081	2031	4112
Shegagebeya	05	2117	2173	4290
Akrmit	06	1499	1408	2907
Sede'as	07	1797	1779	3576
Abako/Mintamr	08	2559	2526	5085
Wanse	09	2096	1936	4032
Wosil	10	1171	1035	2206
Total		19909	19437	39346

Table 2. Population of Berehet in 2013.
Source, District EDO unpublished.

2.4.1 Trends in Berehet Population Growth

As the remaining all areas in the country (Ezra et al., 2001), Berehet has also experienced an increasing population in the last decades. The population is increasing with annual growth

⁴ A language which has most speakers in Ethiopia. It is Omotic in its origin and has been spoken for many years in the country.

rate of 2.01 percent and regardless of disparities in low lands and high lands, about 44.48 persons live on one kilometer square. The density increase in high land areas where the peoples are able to conduct agricultural activities and where there is relatively enough water, fertile farm and grazing lands. The pattern is generally concentrated in highland areas and dispersed in low land areas. As the diagram below depicts in every year about 695 new born children are added. The trend was almost linear before 2009. However after this year, the population has been growing steadily.

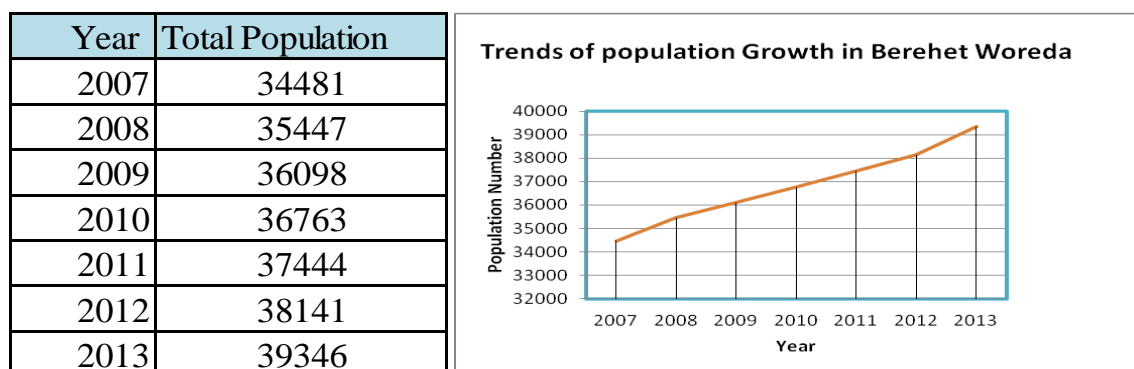


Table 3. Population Growth Trend in Berehet, 2007-2013

Source, *DED office and CSA, 2007.*

2.4.2 Age Group Structure

Very clearly the population in the district is characterized by an increasing young domination while it is decreasing when the age group tends to close old ages. It is in other word, a clear manifestation of population pyramid in developing nations. Fertility is high when compared to the existing mass population and it is to the extent that seems majority productive age group give birth annually. From the existing total figure 21,332 or about 54.21 percent is occupied by a population having age ranging from 10 to 39 years. Children below 10 years alone covered 29.27 percent of the total population. In aggregate 83.48 percent of the population is below 39 years. Women having age from 10-49 independently account 30.1 percent or 11,848 from the existing total population. Unlike the young population, the old age population number is manifested by decreasing when their ages go up. The female population above 60 years accounts 2.7 percent and that of the male population above 60 covers about 2.93 percent. What is visible from table below is that the difference between male population number and female population number in each loosely constructed age group structure is not significant. It is all most the same but to the total number the male population holds more weight. In the current population data, the female population exceeds the male population in the age group between 20-29 and above 90 years while in the rest age groups the male population number is high.

Age Group	Male	Female	Both
0 - 9	5776	5743	11519
10--19	5417	5301	10718
20- 29	3324	3423	6747
30- 39	1987	1880	3867
40- 49	1273	1238	2511
50- 59	977	826	1803
60- 69	544	498	1042
70- 79	394	344	738
80- 89	186	147	333
above 90	31	37	68
Total	19909	19437	39346

Table 4. Berehet Population by Age Group in 2013
Source, EDO.

2.5 Migration

Migration in the district is a common s process to the population. According to the district's municipal report the town -Metehbila- is experiencing increasing number of rural migrants in every week, month and years. However, there is no clear registration of migrants who join the town population and who depart from the rural population. This is because of the fact that their movement is dynamic and most of them have no clearly identified residence during registration. Some come to work for few days and return back to families; others stay more and look further migration. Their movement is also related with seasonal changes. Most people move during dry season to search urban employment. In addition, students move towards the town to attend their secondary and preparatory educations. Despite their complicated nature of migration, the aspects of urban housing aggravates the difficulty to identify and register migrants in consecutive manner. Most migrants live in rental slum house which they usually make it close when they are wondering to search livelihood.

Migration in the rural part is also common. In tradition, people in Berehet, move to another rural areas where relatives, guardian and grandparents live. Like the rural urban migrants, migrants in rural parts also move seasonally, temporarily and for permanent living. All in all, according to the district's municipal leader view, the town population is constituted with majority rural-urban migrants to whom the town administrators and municipality itself have blurred up-to-date information on where they specifically live(their house), when they come, with whom they come and what they do.

2.6 Economic Activity

The population in Berehet district conduct different kinds of economic activities as a means for survival and household living consolidations. According to the district's agriculture and rural development office report the most widely practiced economic activities include agriculture, livestock ranching, beekeeping, traditional irrigation, trading which in turn encompasses provision of processed goods by most Muslim and Christian merchants in the town and cereal crops and animals, like camel, by rural inhabitants. There are also casual daily and seasonal labor intensive works for poor and migrant peoples mostly in the town. Trading activities in the district plays a role not only to buy and sale goods but also it strengthen the link that exist between urban and rural communities.

2.6.1 Agriculture

Ethiopia is predominantly known by agricultural activities that comprises subsistence agriculture mostly by its ordinary rural inhabitants, relative commercial agricultures being practiced and owned by white investors from Asia and Europe, state farms, irrigation and livestock ranching (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009). More than 43 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) is obtained from agriculture (CSA, 2007). Likewise, the livelihood in Berehet is built on a variety of agricultural and non agricultural activities. The farming activity is mainly production of cereal crops like maize, teff⁵, sorghum and wheat. Since most of the agricultural activities are subsistence in nature, yields are used extensively for family consumptions. However, assisting families even with this kind of agricultural practice has become very challenging for many rural inhabitants. The reason for this according to the district's agriculture and rural development office is that about 75 percent of the landscape in the woreda is not favorable to conduct agriculture easily; it is only 10.42 percent land area suitable to conduct farming in the woreda. The area is prone to erosion since it is steep in slope. It also lacks plant coverage as a result of extensive and unplanned deforestation to get fire wood and to easily hunt wild animals on a clear bare land.

The tragic factor that limit agriculture mainly to be subsistence for long time is the fact that it is rain fall oriented. Most of the agricultural practices are dependent on summer rain water and hence, yield from agriculture is available not more than once a year. This largely challenges the town population to purchase limited farm outputs with increasing price and the majority of the rural agrarian communities to sustainably feed family members. Accompanied

⁵ A cereal crop which is used to prepare injera (local thin pancake) in Ethiopia. It is currently the most preferable cereal in the country so that its value increases time to time.

with subsistence agriculture, small community members in the district also practice irrigation on 1.17 percent land area where they have the access to get river water (District agriculture and rural development office report 2013, unpublished). They produce, cabbage, potato, onion, chat, mango, sugarcane, banana and orange particularly in Belg season. Generally, even though agriculture is the main economic activity and carried out by many agrarian societies, its sustainability and mass supporting potential is highly threaten by physical factor human made factors such as land degradation caused by steep slope, deforestation by the community, poor strategy of farming. It is also being challenged by the exiting agricultural land shortage, the motive people have for migration, the value of migration, employment desires of rural labors and so on (DARDO reoprt,2011, 2012 and 2013, unpublished).

In line with seasonal crop production, the people in Berehet also conduct livestock ranching. This practice help the people mainly to get milk, meat butter from cows, camel and goats. Nevertheless, the contribution of ranching for family living is considered as a minor and sometimes people ignored its potential role to assist their everyday lives. The number of cattle and other tame animals in the district is insignificant despite having ox for plowing on the field. People instead of getting direct advantage, preferred to send the products to other local consumers to get money in return and finally to be able to buy sugar, salt, soap and others what they don't have at home. Despite its low productivity, agriculture is also practiced in the town on an open spaces in house compounds. This is common during summer season when the people including migrants get rain water to grow cereals like maize, vegetable like potato and tomato for daily use and rarely for sale. In a very small extent population sells teff mostly for urban dwellers in the district and they also provide it to the market available in neighboring districts. Example, to Minjar people in Arerti and Metehara in Oromo region.

2.6.2 Trade

The livelihood of Berehet Population is dependent not only agriculture but it also slightly relies on trade in different scales and time. The rural population in addition to providing cereals and cattle, provide Chat (a plant most people in the town prefer to chew its leaf) to domestic urban markets. Camel trading is also very common and the number of people who engage in this trading consist from both rural inhabitants and urban dwellers. Trading activity in the town Metehbila in turn can be viewed from different perspectives. It consists informal trading like arekie⁶ sale, tela⁷ drink sale, fast food and coffee sale mostly by poor inhabitants

⁶ A locally prepared alcoholic whisky like drink mostly prepared by urban poor women to sale on market days.

⁷ A Homemade liquor(Abebe, 2012) which people collectively drink on holidays and market days in Ethiopia.

including migrants and non migrants and formal trading which includes glossaries, medium hotels, shops and whole sale activity houses. According to the district's trade and investment office, the woreda has 295 formally registered urban merchants and 72 rural merchants all of which are willing to pay tax. However, number of unregistered urban and rural merchants is more than the registered one. As a means of living, some people in the district generally conduct trading by involving both in formal and informal trading sectors.

2.7 Infrastructure

Infrastructure is a vessel that foster economic, social and political progress to nations and their peoples at large. likewise Berehet as one of the district in the country, has different infrastructure facilities. However, the degree of accessibility varies from sector to sector over time and on specific places. As a platform, the district has education, health, water provision, electrifications, transport and communication facilities.

2.7.1 Education

Education is a key to the process of human centered development and is strongly associated with better health, nutrition hygiene, higher survival rate and low fertility rate (Browne & Barrett, 1991). Adversely, lack of education means retarded economic and personal development, high fertility, human right abuse, inequality, servitude and the like. Carrying the same mission and underlying on the advantages of education, the local government in Berehet established education institutions both in rural areas and in the town. The first full cycle elementary school was established in Metehbila in the year 1970 (CSA, 1994).The district education department office report 2013 reveals that the Woreda has no collage but has 1secondary and preparatory school (grade 9,10, 11 and 12) and 22 elementary schools from which 6 are from grade 1-8 and the remaining 16 are only from grade one to grade four. The single secondary and preparatory and one elementary (1-8) school are located in the town Metehbila and the rest elementary schools are in rural kebeles. The same report indicated that there are 8399 students in elementary schools. The total number of female student from this gross is 4349 and the remaining 4050 are males. The number radically decreases when they join to secondary and preparatory school. There are 1009 students in grade 9 and 10 and from which 436 males and 573 are females in 2103. With same fashion, number of students radically decreases when their grades go up. In the preparatory classes, i.e.in grade11and12,the number of female and male students is 219 and 191respectively in the same year.

2.7.2 Health

Since 1996 the country started holistic national health sector development program (HNHSDP) that targeted to improve maternal, paternal and children health conditions (CSA & ICF, 2011). This program has been thus disseminated from national level to the lowest administrative unit-Weredas and kebeles- through the help of trained and deployed health extension workers in the country. Accordingly, Berehet woreda as one of the administrative units in the country has established various but not sufficient health institutions that range from health protection office to rural fragmented and insufficiently equipped health clinics.

The district health office report 2013 indicated that there is no hospital in the woreda but there are 3 health center and 9 rural health clinics. There are only 2 health officers in the district- less than one in each health center- 32 assisting clinical nurses and 18 female one year trained health extension workers. The ratio of health centers to people it serve is 1:13115 and one health officer to 19673 people.

The rural health clinics are established mainly for giving first aid assistance and check up for pregnant women and girls. They have no laboratory equipments and technician; in cases when first aid seekers need further diagnosis, they are supposed to be sent to one of the existing health centers where there is relatively better equipments and technicians. Besides to clinical nurses and health officers, there are midwifery nurses and pharmacists in the health centers; the former specifically treat mothers during their birth giving time and the later are responsible for giving prescription and drug delivery.

Except one of the three health centers the remaining two are located in rural areas where there is no water to discharge wastes coming from patients, equipments and workers. Even there is no electric power in these two health centers and this critically led their quality and performance in questions. They are constructed just to increase the number. It is only one of the single town health center which fully gives services to patients in the district so in reality, its service giving ratio is more than what is written above.

2.7.3 Water

Everybody agree with statement that " water is life". It is also one part of life for both human and animal population in Berehet Woreda. Fortunately, the district has many but very small and seasonally intermittent rivers that naturally drained from high land to low land areas. These rivers have supported the rural and urban populations for decades. However, their volume due to increasing temperature has been exhausted and currently they are unable to support the population especially during bega season. Recognizing this increasing water

shortage and demand, the district water resource development office has constructed a pipeline that links the town Metehbila with the relatively potential Menso river since 2008. Population in the town are relatively accessible to water in less than 1 kilometer travel. The office, further constructed a pipeline that link the tanker in the town with the nearby rural kebeles (Wanse and Gordosolomon). However, the report from water resource development office and some urban inhabitants indicated that the river could not fully support even the existing urban population; to make it addressable the two rural kebeles' and the town population are getting water based on terns determined for them. The question of quality and the remaining kebeles' population water demand is still unanswered. All in all, the district water resource development office report 2013 roughly stated that the total water access coverage in the woreda reaches 47 percent while there are many who still couldn't get water even for sustainable drinking.

2.7.4 Transport and Communications

The district initially has no route that connect it with the neighboring regions even with Minjar shenkora Woreda. But later the first road used to connect the district With Metehara-Oromia region-was built during the Dergue regime (during when Ethiopia was under the governance of dictator ship Mengistu Hialemaria) in 1970s. This road was built by the population with their manual efforts without having any kinds of machine and girder. This 64 kilometer road crossed the pastoralist Kereyyu population who later became the causes for its closing. These population have wrong attitude to Amhara origin Berehet societies. Their grievance and hate in fact emanated from the previous Amhara origin monarchial governors who in various ways oppressed the Oromo descendants in their system of governance. These kereyyu population as a result killed many people from Berehet on their way to Metehara.

The regional and local government jointly built an alternative road that link Berehet with Minjar, Mojo and Addis Ababa from 2008 to 2012. From the total length, 80percent of the road is asphalt and the remaining 20 percent is gravel.

The district's road and investment office report 2012/13 indicated that out of the total desired 109 kilometers internal road which helps to connect Metehbila with surrounding rural kebeles, 79.3 kilometers are built. This amount indicated that 77.99 percent of the gravel road is constructed and the remaining 22.1percent is not finished yet. In every market day there are cars that travel people from Berehet to Minjar and the remaining cities like to Nazareth. However, the existing transport vehicles are not enough to bring a sound changes for the district. The district got its 24 hours electrification service in 2007. It has however, no

consistency and the poles that carry the cable are all from wood and usually they fall down when weather become windy and summer. Besides intermittent electric power, the woereda has got limited access to telecommunication and internet services since 2008. There is one public telecom services center and the network for mobile phone is very limited. In few government offices, there is relatively better broad band internet access mostly during mid night time (district ICT office report,2013 unpublished).

The general implication of the discussion in this chapter is that the rural kebel in the district Berehet are by far disadvantaged areas where people live without electrification, equipped health clinics, high schools, markets access and employment. The outcome is usually migration where there is better access to all the factors mentioned above and hence, rural to urban migration in the district has become common not only for the factors indicated above but also other pool of factors which are mentioned in the upcoming chapter three(context and theory part) and chapter five (analysis part).

Chapter Three

3.Literature Review and Theories to Rural-urban Migration

3.1 Introduction

Drawing on the relevancies of literatures as a summary and synthesis (Randolph, 2009; Torraco, 2005) to research, this chapter is about reviewing relevant researches to rural-urban migration and theories that used to materialise and shape studying internal migration. Therefore, the chapter is organized with different sub-topics started with basic concepts of key words in use in the first part, factors that contribute for rural to urban migration in the second part, theories and approaches to rural-urban migration in the third and analytical frame in the last part.

3.2 Basic Concepts of key Words

It is important to define words that are used in the research in different phases to draw a clear understanding to the public readers on how the research is revolve around. Hence, I also tried to define the basic terms that are being used in this research as follows. The key terms for this research are *Rural-urban Migration* and *Livelihood*.

3.2.1 Rural to Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration, as indicated in chapter one, is a heterogeneous movement of individuals, groups and family collectives from rural areas to urban towns and cities inside a given country (Lipton, 1980) as a result of periodic labor demands in towns, annual yield reductions in households and for educations. The movement in internal rural-urban migration is dynamic that embraces complex case to migrants, diverse costs for the movement and impacts to different agents and places. The rural in this spectrum is an area usually in conjuncture with sparse population settlement, farming, ranching and generally an area that relatively seeks less concern by institutions and organizations that could serve society, government that provide better social services to urban and cities in terms electrifications, health facility, road and schools (Cromartie & Bucholtz, 2008). A rural area is relatively excluded part where majority of developing countries lead their everyday lives. Cronartie and Bucholts further argued that defining rural in the context of rural to urban migration is subjective and a state of mind that may suggest as an area which is outside the urban limit which means an area having no limit from the upper part. Giving that in developing nations where most of the existing urban areas are shanty in nature, the rural areas are a bit similar with urban and the task of visualizing and separating the rural from the urban is not easy task and hence, understanding rural is prone to subjectivity (Ibid). Sometimes the rural could also

have small towns which is considered as part of the rural area itself; in this case, critical understanding of the boundary might be important.

The urban areas on the other hand are areas to which different countries give their definition depending on the population number and density they have over places (Example, Ethiopia, over 2000 inhabitants, Senegal over 10,000 inhabitants, Malawi all district centers, Canada with a population of 1000 and density of 400 per kilometer square, Turkey a population over 20,001 over a place, Norway localities of over 200 inhabitants (Lithuania, 2006)). The other criteria placed for urban areas include social services being rendered, economic activities being running in the town, number of people who are engaging in service sectors, industries and trade, accessibility of infrastructures, land use and the like. Despite differences among the criteria for different countries, urban areas are densely populated areas with better or relatively better access to what the rural areas may not have. Rural-urban migration is thus, the movement of people in between these two dichotomous geographic areas with colossal of responsible factors as mentioned below under sub-topic 3.3. Rural to urban migration in this research is the movement of rural kebele's population to the nearby urban area where the kebeles are the very rural part and Metehbila is the urban area having a population number over 5000.

3.2.2 Livelihood

When one is asked what livelihood is, it is not strange to hear different answer as happened to migration but many at least touch means of livings, work, supporting self and family (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Livelihood according to (DFID, 1999) working definition is anything that comprises *assets*, *access* and *activities* or capability for making a living. The assets are the tangible (land, water, house, money, food) and intangible (skill, politics, social integrity) resources that play a detrimental role to make livings. Accesses on the other hand are the means of entitlement of the assets which require the rights of using the resources by the people. The entitlements may be granted by states, elders and others who have the power to grant or deny the resources from and to users usually poor people in the rural fringes. The activities are the multiphase strives to obtain strategies and bring the desired outcomes (Ellis, 2000) and they may include, working in collaborations, designing shortcut systems that could facilitate productivity in the outcome and the like.

The concepts given to livelihood above and in other readings are exclusively rural in focus and in the attempt to operationalize and make it urban, livelihood is anything that put people

(rural-urban migrants in this case) at the center and comprises the three a_s (asset, access and activities) in urban areas and cities with slight differences in the process of livings. For example, the strategy in rural areas might be intensifications and diversifications of agriculture but in the cities and towns these may not occur. The livelihood concept is important to realize migrants' asset entitlements, process they endure to get the assets like house and other social services and the capability they could developed in the town.

3.3 Causes to Rural-urban Migration

Despite it seems ignored by many contemporary scholars, internal migration accounts the most significant number in the global mobile population (King, Skeldon, & Vullnetari, 1992) so that it with no doubt or with relative doubt deserves critical studies and theories which complementarily works with other kinds of cross border migration theories most of which are developed based on economic causes (Favell, 2008). Studying the causes for internal migration specifically rural to urban migration may not be far from touching causes to other kinds of short and long distance migration since the one who migrated and stay in nearby town may look further migration when situations allow to do so. As stated in chapter one sub topic 1.2 the cause of rural to urban migration are dynamic as the movements are but majority of them are clustered under economic and non-economic factors as presented below.

3.3.1 Economic Cause to Rural-urban Migration

Most studies have shown that the profound reason for many rural people to migrate towards to towns and cities in developing countries from past to present is economic oriented (Isaac & Raqib, 2013; Kainth, 2009). People from rural fringes migrate to get cash and maximize their incomes form different jobs available in the towns and cities. Migrant from rural west Ghana where the dominant economic activity remains traditional agricultures, for example, migrate towards to towns to participate in various casual and permanent works like stone cutting which absorb unskilled people manual efforts and for this they receive money in return (Anarif & Kwankye, 2009). Likewise, rural to urban migration has become obvious partly by economic reasons in Ethiopia after the downfall of Dergu regime and since the establishments of new federal governments in the country; as indicated in chapter one again, these rural economic induced migrants are getting enormous in major regional state cities and city administration like in Addis Ababa and Diredawa (Kiros & White, 2004). It may not possible to see economic reason as independent factor for migration this is because of the fact that other factors like reductions in annual agricultural yields, land scarcity, increasing un employments are some of the deriving reasons which later make rural people to be economic

migrants. Therefore, the nomenclature 'economic reason' is the result of other contributing factors in the livelihoods of rural populations. Looking each independently, the present agricultural return in developing countries is getting minimized mainly due to lack of consistent rainfall, increasing tendency of wide spread rural non-agricultural income diversifications and the resultant deagrarization (Bryceson, 2002, p. 725) in one hand and the number of people who are relying on limited resources has been increasing dramatically. These conditions set prerequisite to make rural-urban migration in Ethiopia for instance (Ibid). The same would be applied to the rest of the countries in the continent. Unemployment is both the reason and outcome of economic rural to urban migration. In rural parts, agricultural plots have been scrambled by many family members and this in turn has produced migration to look alternative jobs and satisfy themselves and the deprived families in rural part both in the form of remittance and giving a relief to land by crowded families. The economic reason for some rural- urban migrants is short term just to get money until their problems solved then they will turn back to home (Voy, 2012), and to some, it is to diversify the means of livelihood income. For this research diversification is viewed as a new way that could generate income for individual migrants and their sending families which usually include participating in urban wage oriented jobs, participating in informal economic activities in house and on the street by migrants. Livelihood diversification in general is a process of making diverse portfolio means of income by migrants and sending communities (Ellis, 1998). The other economic related factor is Poverty. Rural poverty has long been a big a manifestation to developing countries especially in sub-Saharan Africa. The intensity of this naturally and human made devastative problem is to the extent that kills thousands and millions of criticizes in these nations (Hendrix, 2012, p. 10). Rural poverty in the history of Ethiopia for instance, has been the result of subsistence form agriculture by its rural nomads (A. De Haan, 1999) which entirely dependent on water from the sky. In cases when there appear shortage in rainfall, so many died for example in 1985 and the rest migrated towards to towns and cities at least to get food to eat and water to drink. Coming to the present incident, even though the current government in position has denied rural populations to not to migrate (the detail is give just below), they still are migrating towards to towns and sometimes to extent crossing international boundaries via sea and land (Collyer, Düvell, & Haas, 2012). The persistent pressure occurring behind this continues migrations is poverty which knocks tens of thousands of doors in the countryside inhabitant's houses. Striking with the current trend (I shall put it under the development intervention), the government has first adopted the denial to reduce urban burden with rural population like in the case china did in 1980s (Rigg, 2007)

to strength regular settlement among the nomads who are party herders and agrarian (A. De Haan, 1999, p. 6). In sum, the rural poverty in countries like Ethiopia is deep rooted which still forces uncouneted rural population move to nearest urban areas; this intern has been producing urban poverty and hence, poverty is a vicious problem that needs an organized and planned efforts to alleviate it from rural destitute populations in developing nations.

3.3.2 Non-Economic Causes to Rural-urban Migration

The none-economic factors for rural-urban migration in poor countries especially like in Ethiopia have played a substantial role in producing colossal of internal migrants. Among others, these factors inculcate: generational cultural practices, provincial and tribal conflicts, politically induced rural development intervention programs and environmental catastrophes (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009). Drawing on these classifications, a short highlights on how these factors contribute to have rural-urban migration is presented as follows.

Generational cultural practices are non-economic contributing factors to rural-urban migration in Ethiopia. They are not uniform across the country, in some regions like in Ethiopian Somali region and Oromo region the practice of female genital mutilations (FGM), early marriage and prevalence of rape and abductions are more common. The number of victim women is also significant in these regions especially among Islam religions followers like in Somali and Afar. A report by (UNICEF, 2013) reveals that the percent of women and children who are victims from such practice reaches up to 82 percent in these regions. Circumcising body and early marriages are not an end by themselves instead they further generate misery life for women during child birth ages. Once they face fistula for instance, they are forced to separate from their husbands and the attitude towards fistula infected and separated women is very anguish by the community which in turn produces rural to urban migrations by these women (Kiros & White, 2004). It is not only the victims but some female children also migrate to escape from rape and other related rural society's un law full practices. In general, social and cultural practices like said above accentuate rural to urban migrations mostly by females.

A recent study on rural to urban migration in Ethiopia has shown that politically induced rural development intervention programs also play their part to generate rural-urban migration in the country. The government has set Rural Safety Net Programs(RSP) in one hand and rural resettlement programs in on other. In former case, the government's ambition is to overcome rural poverty by improving water provisions, health facilities and credits to farmers to buy

fertilizers and to increase agricultural productivity. However, this program is not holistic and addressable to all poor. In addition it is not sustainable since it commenced serving with few rural population and still could not pass to the larger destitute. Even those who could get the chance first are under risk since they are unable to repay debt from the government bank and micro savings (Gibson & Gurmu, 2012). The government also set rural resettlement programs partly in Gambella, and Benshangul regions (Western Ethiopia) and Afar and Somali regions (Eastern Ethiopia, neighbor to my thematic area) to sell the land (land grabbing) to domestic and foreign investors who are profiting on the expense of poor inhabitants. For this, the government has launched forced resettlement program and this process has produced an estimated 500,000 evicted populations part of which were migrated towards to towns and cities (Makki & Geisler, 2011). In sum, the political, environmental and socio-cultural factors are responsible cause to rural to urban migrations in Ethiopia. The environmental factors are also related with drought which potentially limit output from agriculture and leads to starvations.

3.4 Theories and Approaches to Rural-urban Migration

There is a growing debate between scholars about the importance of theories to qualitative research. Some argued that knowledge in qualitative research is theory laden and hence, methods are theory driven while some others strongly fight that qualitative research is an inductive process that stands from individual components or experiences and the purpose of preconceived theory is invisible (Mitchell & Cody, 1993). Notwithstanding, theories are important for qualitative research in a sense that researchers first sought the knowledge which helps to see and understand deconstructed components and hence, for these research I as a researcher used migration theories and approaches to shape the study. The other contending issue related to theory and research is that choosing the appropriate theory is a nightmare task for many of us since there is no a clear criteria to select a theory for research problem being selected. It is therefore, based on common senses that theories for research have been selected mainly on the basis of the relation that exist between their central concern and research problems. Drawing on this assumption, I also have used the following migration theories for this research.

3.3.1 The Push-Pull Approach to Rural-urban Migration

This approach was introduced by (Lee, 1966) focusing on the stimulating roles of two hegemonic and holistic factors situating in two different geographic areas. The sense is that for migrations to occur, there are factors what Lee called them the push and pull factors that

stimulate different types of migration by human population including rural to urban migration. In their nature, these two factors are operating interdependently in that the push factors even to be a push there must be a pull factors in other extreme point. In a simple skeptic thinking one might consider that there is homogeneity of geography and hence, all push factors are available out there. In this case, there is no pull factors; thus, the functionality of this theoretical approach fails. In rational thinking geography is not homogeneous in all aspects or it is relatively different in terms of factors for migration. For example, the asymmetry of politically turmoil geography is relatively stable geography where in the former case the push factors are perpetuated and in the later case pull factors are established. To secure their peace, to be economical and leading better life people then tend to move from unstable to stable areas in macro, meso and micro levels (Caplan, 2012). The two geographic areas as Lee outlined are place of origin and destination. The places of origin are the powerhouse for push factors which are negative forcing factors that propel people to migrate. In their nature, these factors are more power full and include, acute poverty, population pressure, political repressions, resource scarcity, retarded development and increasing rate of unemployment. The rural areas are areas where these factors expanded and where there is no urban way of life, enough schools for study and lack of these all means producing push factors that bring urban ward migration (Lipton, 1980, p. 1). The pull factors on the other hand are positive in their nature and attract people to migrate towards them and it is because of this that they determine decisions to be held among migrants in relations with what is available and not available in places of origin. Geographically, pull factors in the case of internal rural-urban migration are located in urban areas which relatively are better in all aspects in developing nations like in Ethiopia (Baker, 2012). Considering the push factors is perhaps enough to know what the pull factors include, to mention some: better employment, relative peace, political freedom, human right protections, better institutions, right of land acquisitions and access to town infrastructures are some of the pull factors. However, it does not necessarily mean that these positive factors fully afford what migrants need in destinations towns and cities. For example, in urban areas the cost of living is very high when compared to rural areas but migrants tolerate it in the long term as they get more income from the available better paid employments (Caplan, 2012, p. 60). This theoretical approach is not a simple calculation of the negative and positive factors, it also focused on the intervening factors which are potential barriers to the movers and these include distance which is omnipresent, cost of traveling, immigration laws which mostly have been reflected to long distance migration and there are also personal factors which are not so much factors located at place of origin and destination

rather they are related to the mover's intelligence, personal sensitivities and degree of awareness to perceive situations in both places (Lee, 1966, p. 51). In sum, this theoretical approach indicated that migration occurs when the negative forces become more powerful in departing areas and when push factors become more powerful in destination areas and hence, there is time when one exceeds the other during when migration become the outcome.

It is from the conviction that the theoretical explanations of Lee's push-pull factors of migration provide a very clear and comprehensive justifications to understand causes to rural-urban migration occurring in any geographic regions in general and in Ethiopia in particular. Since this study is partly focused on the cause to rural-urban migration, the significance of using this theoretical approach is solid and perhaps the most fitter in studying the causes for migrants' movements across various level mostly in micro scale level like in Berehet (My research area). However, this approach has some limitations. For instance, this approach gave little account to the gendered and power related migration and return migration which now a day attracts scholars attentions across various geographic domain and it generally seems simplistic in studying complex human migration which also seeks structural intermediaries like organizations and agents (Moon, 1995).

3.3.2 The New Economic Theory to Rural-urban Migration

Many migration theories are elusive on rural to urban migration and clear to international migration. But it does not necessarily mean that these international migration theories do not have similar relevance to internal migration and hence, researchers who are focusing on internal migration have been trying to understand how these migration theories are applicable to internal migration. For example, the neoclassical economic theory of migration assumed that there is a disequilibrium of labor and demand across geography usually between countryside and cities or developed and underdeveloped regions (Todaro, 1969). This also happens to rural-urban migration, the push-pull theory assumes that the push factors available in place of origin force international migrants to leave their specific place of birth. The same is true that in rural urban migration, the diverse push factors force rural segment of people to migrate toward nearest towns and cities. It is from this ground that I wrote as saying 'rural-urban migration theories' in the headlines above.

Returning to the issue of the new economic theory of migration, it is important first at least to understand the limitations of the neoclassical economy of migration theories since the new economy of migration theory is developed to give answer for the critical limitations of the

former neoclassical approach which stands with the premises that individual migrants are rational economic men who migrate to only maximize their financial capital and the process migration later keeps labor equilibrium exist between sending and receiving areas (De Haas, 2010). This process eventually bring improvements of citizens in both areas since there is balanced employment opportunities among them (Palloni et al., 2001). Unlike the neoclassical approach, the new economic migration theory assumes that migrants *in addition to making rational choice to maximize their socio-economic status*, they also share risks faced by their larger communities, villages and families. The decision to make migration real is held by not only with individual migrants but also their guardians, community members, households and others who are directly or indirectly beneficiary from outcomes of the migration (Jones, 2009) which is usually perceived as remittances.

This approach also applies to understand sharing expenses and other socially related risks among partners who are migrating together or separately. For example, in the context of international migration, migrants live in shared house first to minimize the consequences of unfamiliarity to peoples and locations in destination areas and second they share the house rent and other living expenses to accumulate capital and send it back to families and friends. In similar vein, this approach is applicable to rural-urban migration despite it is less exposed to bureaucratic matters and unfamiliarity. In fact it does not necessarily mean that there is no unfamiliarity and sense of foreigners in the context of internal migrations. Migrants who belonged under Apartheid *in side* south Africa had been changed to the status of foreigners (Jones, 2009, p. 7) in a time so far. The new economy approach coincides with the livelihood approach in that both focused on the role of families and households to hold migration decision and taking migrations as a strategy to share risks related with resource scarcities, decreasing annual yields, market failure and above all, they strongly focused on remittances from internal and international migration (De Haas, 2010).

Despite making migration as a social process and a strategy to share uncertainties and diversify families income, the new economy approach also has some limitations. The first drawback of this approach is that it places communities and families under prolonged risks and at same time put them as a monolithic and altruistic unit for making decisions to migration (Carling, 2005 in De Haas, 2010) giving that the concept of household strategy misinterpreted intra-household behaviors, hide intra-household stratifications by gender and finally obscure the voice of un empowered women and children who are under the yoke of their male descendants (Wolf, 1990), second, it over simplifies the assumptions of

neoclassical migration theories which are still in effect while considering the increasing self-decided economic migrants (De Haas, 2010, p. 243), third, the assumption to get remittance is elusive in some ways that conditions are not always pleased for migrants in places of destination and in the cases of delay to get job and instability in host urban communities, those who migrate for sending remittance would not be able to send remittance for families who are in the waiting truck to get their rural insurance⁸. In this case migrants may begin to change their interests for engaging in migration or wage labor (Lindley, 2009).

Nevertheless, the new economy theory of migration comes not to totally reject what the former neoclassical migration theories conceived. It favors the issue of remittance and rejects individualism. In light of this, this migration theory helps to assess the issue of remittance in local level of urban ward migration. For example, (Lall & Selod, 2006) pointed out that rural people in developing nations send their energetic and young adults to urban areas to sell their human capital and to get remittance in return. Not only to get the remittance but also to increase the amount as per their children's human capital (the most energetic rewarded better). The remittance being sent could be used as giving protections for the property of migrants in the origin rural areas, to mount family financial capital or diversify means of getting cash to family and for the migrants it could be saved in rural areas since there is very limited standard financial saving institutions in poor nations. Like wise, this theory would also help to understand decisions to rural-urban migration since the decision even for individual migrant could be determined by the family collectives out in the rural areas there.

Generally, this migration theory is important to show up remittance in this study too, even though scholars seem skeptic the relevance of it to rural-urban migration in general and the issue of remittance in internal migration in particular. It is to the extent that migration to contemporary scholars 'has somehow come to mean only international migration' (King & Skeldon, 2010, p. 1620).

3.3.3 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach

As indicated above in 3.3.2 the livelihood approaches have conceptual parallel with the new economy theory of migrations. The driving force that contributed for emergence of livelihood to the academia was the researchers' 1970s micro level studies in developing nations where a bundle of poor available with chronic poverty and instability. Their contradicting research

⁸ The writer used the phrase 'rural insurance' to refer remittances which families and communities intend to use for alleviating their current problems like for instance, food insufficiency, sibling and guardian sickness, and for some to increase their capital.

results with previous rigid theoretical ideologies like dependencia and neo-Marxist, forced them to find a holistic approach which would help the poor to overcome poverty with more organized and productive approach (De Haas, 2010, p. 244). This was the livelihood approach which they soundly formulated having different substances as said in conceptual part 3.2.2 above. Sustainable livelihood is a way of living, working and accessing resources by the poor with manner that cope up from shocks, vulnerability and stress and maintain capabilities among the poor without jeopardizing the future use of resources (DFID, 1999) and in a way that assist other forms of livelihood in short and long term in both local and global levels (Chambers and Conway, 1992 in Rigg, 2007, p. 30). A sustainable livelihood is making a living with full accessibility of capitals and resources entitlements, freedom, capacity, equity, coordination among individuals, household, state and legal protections and sustainable efforts by poor others. It is in general a productive oriented approach emerged to avoid the culture of poverty from those deprived people and a bench mark that puts possibility to bring progress among the poor with a collective efforts by the community, house hold, individual, government and with all process and strategies to occupy resources and finally to bring a positive change for people's everyday lives (Hahn, Riederer, & Foster, 2009). The sustainable livelihood approach is thus used to understand strategies that people tend to use to alleviate uncertainties, kinds of capitals that should be applied, contexts and the ultimate outcome that follows all of which are substances in sustainable livelihood frame.

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Sustainable livelihoods framework is a tool or structure that used to improve understanding about livelihood concept and its various substances (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005). Putting people at the center, it is organized with five components: the vulnerability contexts, livelihood assets, structure and process, livelihood strategy and livelihood outcome (DFID, 1999).

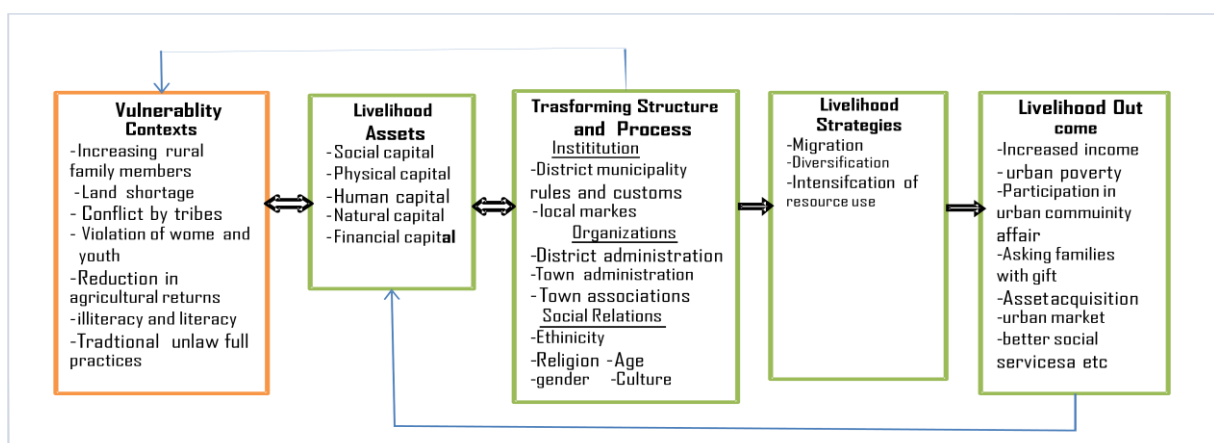


Figure 2. Sustainable Livelihood Framework. Source, Modified from DFID, 2000.

The vulnerability contexts in this spectrum and *the push factors from Lee theory* are the most drivers to began to think about this holistic approaches in the first place but might not to all livelihood approaches since some are affected by multitude of factors operating and shifting together which later determine the outcome. Nevertheless, the livelihood vulnerability contexts are controllable and uncontrollable incidents that mostly comes from the external environment to people's livelihood and conventionally include trend, shock and seasonality. Trends in turn might include, population growth, resource use trends, economic trends and the like. The shocks in turn embrace health conditions shocks, wellbeing shocks of individuals and household, resource shocks, yields shocks and seasonality are temporal incidents that challenge livings by people and include seasonality of price, productions and employment and the like (DFID, 1999).

The livelihood assets are building blocks on which every human livings depend. The assets help individuals and groups to maintain a livelihood and to be able to live. The assets are defined broadly to include human capital, natural capita, physical capital and social capital and economic capital which collectively construct the asset pentagon. Since much emphasis is given to social capital in this study I shall focus on it first and slightly describe the rest then. Social capitals are:

"the glue or fabric of society including trust, behavioral norms, network, contact and connections" (Rigg, 2007, p. 33).

In this research perspective social capital is also seen as a network that integrate migrant with migrant, migrant with host community, migrant with sending community and helps to uphold spirit of coexistence and cohesion among these parties and helps to lower risks to migrants in the destination town; it further provides informal insurance for those vulnerable movers. In general, social capital serves as tool of mediation to achieve other forms of capitals say for example, physical and financial capitals (Nath, Inoue, & Pretty, 2010; Williams & Durrance, 2008).

Finical capitals in livelihood are those resources found in terms of cashes, credits, savings and other means that would generate money. Perhaps the outcome in livelihood is to increase these resource or to get them. To do so, financial capital works with the social capital, natural and the rests since one could determine the wellbeing of the other. Natural capitals are capitals found in the form of land, water, forest, livestock etc. Physical capital may include resources like house, road, transport, energy and the human capital embraces, skill, knowledge ability and health to pursue sound livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999).

Process and structures in livelihood include institutions, organizations and policies that used to shape and filtrate livelihood strategies (Rigg, 2007). They are very crucial actors in making resource use equitable and fair and their contribution extends from the very single local individual to international arenas including governments, international welfare and economic organizations and institutions. In livelihood they could potentially determine access to capitals and strategies which require complex political and bureaucratic regulation approvals or denial(Ibid). In this study, gender which used to filtrate the kinds of livelihood strategy by both sex migrants, social associations which facilitate migrants asset gain from members are crucial structural relations widely used in the analysis chapters more specifically in chapter six and in the last chapter 8.

The livelihood strategy according to Ellis, (1998) is a combinations of actions, choices and activities uphold to make livelihood. Most studies argue that strategies in livelihoods are divers since the livelihood itself is different from one person or group to the other. However, the over repeatedly strategies mentioned by many scholars are intensifications and extensification in agricultures for rural context, green revolution, environmental preservation, migration, diversifications and technical gain and increasing use of inputs like fertilizer to increase out puts and reach on livelihood goals. In type livelihood strategies can be classified as survival strategies, adaptive strategies and coping strategies. The first one focuses on household's and individual's activities for making adjustment to survive and when they variously show or reflect their inability to lift out from livelihood challenges they live with. It might be conflict, lack of promising outcome from activities chosen for leading life. The second type is when individuals and households choose diverse and new activities to lift out from risks. It might be by intensification or diversification of activities and the third type is strategy when households and individuals use their collective assets to immediately move out from uncertainties like environmental hazard, war, loss in properties and following the footsteps of others to escape self and family members form troubles that alter life and livelihoods (Rozario, 2011, pp. 270-296).

The livelihood outcomes are generally changes in wellbeing of individual and groups that holds better standard of living, increased income, elimination of vulnerabilities and sustainable resource uses that could determine the opportunity of tomorrow livings by siblings and other generations (DFID, 1999).

3.4. Analytical approach

Placing rural-urban migrants at the center, the push-pull approach used to frame the cause to their urban ward migration. The push-pull and personal factors outlined in the theory of Lee make contributions for migration to take place. The livelihood approach helps to understand migrant general ways of living including the trucks migrants passed through to possess the resources they need to obtain in the town. Migrants as any human beings need resources like house which is the physical capital, electrifications , market, water and other social services. To satisfy their needs, there are multitude of attempts they make with various bodies including town administrators who could ratify their increasing formal and informal quest to get various resources. This process determines their rights of entitlements of scare resources. The livelihood strategy is the divers portfolio of actions and measures taken by migrants to establish livings and bring desired outcome. The first one is getting work to do no matter what ever kind it is; in this regard migrants could maintain different formal and informal jobs from which they differently get income and make living real. Since majority of migrants are assumed to be in needs of job, getting and making it by itself is the outcome since it determines perhaps their survival or staying in the town, it is after they acquire it that they begin to think how far it is promising and sustainable or not. In this broad and complex process, there are strategies they still follow first to get the job itself and second to make it meaningful for their living afterwards. The livelihood approach also used to frame the type of assets migrants could maintain. However, this research specifically focuses on the social capital which for this research is viewed as rural-urban migrants ways of integrations with host urban community since they share happiness and sorrow in their life incidents, their inclusion in town community associations, their roles to the associations as an individual unit, the importance of their embeddings in the associations to their risk reductions both now and in the future, above all, the concept of social capital placed in sustainable livelihood frame work, used as a frame to see how migrants share information in their urban everyday lives with maintaining friendship and look for common benefit by involving in different urban available jobs. It is also important to assess individual migrants relation with their sending families .

The livelihood vulnerability contexts are the push factors for making migration. In this vein, the rural living conditions that worsen migrants to leave are push factors presented in theory of Lee and hence, both the push- pull theory and livelihood approach used to assess the cause especially the push factors of migrants for this research. Lee indicated that the push factors

include, population pressure, instability, war and conflicts, the livelihood approach similarly indicted that the vulnerability contexts include increasing trends in population which result in unemployment; Lee indicated that personal and intervening factors that fasten or retain migration, the livelihood approach states the shocks which include, health shocks and economic shocks that make people to use the assets they have to find alternatives and make a living elsewhere. In the case of rural- urban migrants, the shock probably would be lacking the resources itself and finally using migration as a strategy to get resources and make a living in the destination town. In sum, the livelihood approach and the push- pull theory of migration work *interdependently* and used to frame the study for migrants causes to move out and urban ways of livings. The new economic migration theory in turn helps to assist the two since it touches the decision for each migrant's movement and it partly used to visualize the financial asset migrants would make in the form of remittances that could be sent to families. No matter how much it is the point is rather their ability to send, the ways they use to send, how many times they send it in a specific period of time, for what purpose they send, what they get in return and in what ways they get the money itself.

Migrant's life history is rolled in the sphere of livelihood approach and the push-pull theory of migration. It in fact, it started in the rural part and go to the end even though the focus of this research is up to the time when the interview was conducted. The rural livelihood vulnerability contexts or the push factors put the start for determining life history of the migrants; they passed and fail several trucks in their life journey and continued in the town too as part of their unavoidable life history, the clashes migrants make to be entitled the urban resources, the success they would make with the resources (which is related directly with livelihood outcome) are some parts of their life history since they increase or decrease their degree of happiness after migration; but before migration it includes, rural family interventions for education that could divert their lives, marriage and its associated outcomes, resources clashes with the community they live with giving that the push factors and contexts in livelihood are the external and internal substances that operate for reshuffling migrants life history conditions. Generally, based on this broad spectrum the upcoming analysis of chapters and sub-topics were done with special references of the theories outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Four

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to address issues related with methodology in general and different methods that are used in this research. The first part is a general highlight about methodology and methods. The second part is my research approach choice-qualitative approach- a bit about what it mean and why I preferred to use it and how relevant it is for this research questions. The third point is about research design, what it is and how it differ from methods. The fourth point is issues related with sampling respondents and area selection, the fifth point is methods used for collecting research materials and types of data collected from the field, the sixth point is data analysis which shows how the collected data are sorted out and used for this research, the last but not the least point is issues related with reflexivity, ethics and positionality which differently depict how the researcher act, feel, position himself and how ethical standards are variously used in data collection process.

4.2 Methodology and Methods

Methodology is a more encompassing terminology in research and is a collection of methods that researchers use based on their theoretical assumptions usually derived from their ontological and epistemological back ground. Thus, it consists knowledge about what the research consists, what it is generally about and the way how researchers know about the research itself (Hoggart, 2002, p. 2). In narrow sense methodology is seen as the study of description of methods or its coherent sets of procedures which can be used in activities like general investigation of aims, concepts, purposes and principles of a research (Clock et al., 2004, p. 5).

In research, methodology is a systematic evaluations and analysis of resources inputs/time and various data needed/ that researchers extract in different ways and a back and forth evaluation of each phase tasks .Giving that methodology in geographic research is a holistic approach that in various ways integrate theory with research objective, practice, hypothesis and selected research problem (Timalsina, 2007) and helps researchers to know and choose valuable research method and to weigh up the efficiency of chosen method.

Method in research is a collection of strategies and techniques in research and embraces the way how research data are collected, how they are sorted in and transcribed and how they are analyzed (Hoggart, 2002, p. 310). Specifically method in research is also about identifying

samples from research population and collecting desired data from different geographic areas with various techniques which collectively form a particular research approach.

4.2.1 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative approach is the description given for people's representation and constructions of insights from what is occurring in the world surrounding them (Eyles, 1988 in Robinson, 1998, p. 409). Researchers can give the description based on their determined research objectives in relation with various complementary research works. By its very nature, qualitative approach is a multitude of practices (Limb & Dwyer, 2001, p. 27) that concerned with stories, intersubjective understanding, feeling, opinion and beliefs. Qualitative method which is sometimes named as interpretive method generally operates on the basis that the natural order of reality is seen, conceived, and understood in various geographic areas with different people and individuals (Silverman, 1993 in Robinson, 1998, p. 408).

Qualitative approach is generally an approach that geographers used to explore knowledge through undertaking actions and meanings in their social contexts, describing various details of settings from the perspective of participants involved and data generated from them.

"Characteristically, qualitative approach do not start with the assumption that there is pre-existing world that can be known or measured, but instead sees the social world as something that is dynamic and changing and always being constructed through the intersection of cultural, economic, social and political processes. The emphasis when using qualitative methodology is to understand lived experiences and to reflect on and interpret the understandings and shared meanings of people's every day social worlds and realities. It is also featured by a relational construction of knowledge between researcher and research subjects and emphasis is placed upon both developing empathy between researcher and researched as well as focusing upon reflexivity of the research encounters" (Limb & Dwyer, 2001, p. 6).

The rational why I choose qualitative approach is: First, qualitative approach favors my research questions. Some of my research questions which I have formulated generally revolve around migrant's causes to migrate towards the town in which one could specifically ask how these causes differently affect their livings before migration and some of the questions are about their current livelihood and their social integrations by which understanding of their urban livelihood strategies, social capital they maintained with host urban communities and urban livelihood challenges and success they encountered is possible. To these long process oriented questions qualitative approach which allow intersubjective understanding of respondents is pretty much important. The second reason for choosing qualitative approach /arguably some also called it ethnography and descriptive approach/ is that it favors the theoretical frame used in this research. The theories which I have used to this study are the push-pull approach of Lee, the new economic theory of rural to urban migration and the late

1990s and 2000s livelihood approach. The livelihood and the new economic approach for migration are almost same that they state migration as a means to diversify households means of living and sharing risks among family member. It at the same time, migration is also considered to be a strategy to escape from vulnerability contexts appeared for both households and individual migrants (De Haas, 2010). Therefore, migration is a social and individual process that could best expressed with qualitative approach which also assesses the social contexts and sensitivities. Of course, the motive behind increasing use of qualitative approach in academia and particularly by geographers is inspiration to the complex social and cultural issues where migration is one of component (Crang & Cook, 2007). These theoretical approaches with no doubt are explanatory by their nature and hence, they need descriptive counter reaction in the entire researching process. Thus, I generally understood that qualitative approach is most important approach to conduct this research and thus I was able to conduct various interviews with migrants and key informants, observe and form field notes which I later used as input to this research. All these techniques of data collection in one or another favored qualitative approach.

4.3 Research Design

A research design in qualitative research is a specific outline detailing how a chosen particular method could be used to give answer for a specific research query. It is also a blueprint help to clarify what to be done and how it would be accomplished (Flick, 2009). It thus, includes application of methodologies, preparing questions and so on. Research design and methods have relations in that when research design gets flowed, it may find additional method to the application of the research or it may need to dump methods from the previously used one. The purpose of this process is to make the research work effective. Nonetheless, when research design adds or reduces some elements including method, it subsequently leads modifying and finding appropriate methods that harmoniously could go with the change. Research design is not identical with research plan. Research design by analogy is like determining the type of house need to be built before collecting all the necessary equipments for construction of the house (Yin, 2009). Likewise, research design in qualitative research is not about how the data are collected rather it is about the logical structure of the inquiry that is the structure of the questions, how the data are collected is the issue of methods. In research design various data collection methods can be applied to collect the evidences. Research design is generally, a stretched out technical process rather than a short period event (Hoggart, 2002, p. 40).

4.4. Research Materials, Strategy in Sampling Respondents and Area Selection

4.4.1 Area Selection

The study was conducted in Berehet district which is found in the north eastern part of Ethiopia. The district is structurally constituted with ten kebeles having their own demarcated geography, population and kebele administration. From among the ten kebeles the first one is the kebele where the town Metehbila is located. Therefore, the name kebele 01(zero one) is used interchangeably with Metehbila town. For the purpose of this research, I did not use zero one kebele to select participants because it is not a place of departure for migrants rather it is a final destination place for rural to urban migrants. My focus was thus, on those migrants came from the remaining nine rural kebeles of the district and hence, I have selected migrants from outside kebele zero one. Migrants from the nine kebeles have formed this research population from which samples were purposefully recruited for interviewing. Samples were recruited irrespective of total population number in each rural kebeles where migrants lived before. In fact, the kebeles are not equal with their geographic area coverage and their total population. For example, according to the district's population, finance and development office report kebele 08/Abako has the largest population number 5085 and 010/ Wosil kebele has the lowest 2206. I thought that the matter is finding important migrants who potentially could say about the causes to their migration rather than total population in the rural kebeles. But I simply recruited equal number of samples from rural-urban migrants in the town came from each kebeles irrespective of the their total population number. The number of samples, their personal information and departing kebeles were presented below under sampling sub-topic. I have selected the area because of various factors. First, from my long stay there, I have recognized that there is an increasing number of seasonal and permanent migrants in the town. The other contributing factor is that the education which I have got here in NTNU specifically from development theories and migration courses enabled me to know that most current migration studies calls on international migration like, international labor migration, transnational migration, Diaspora and so on. But some few studies asserted that the number taken by internal migrants across the world is very large when compared with international migrants (King & Skeldon, 2010). It is therefore, to contribute a little that I decided to select the area for doing this research on rural to urban migration. In addition to these, I have selected the area to secure my comparative economic and information advantages. As I indicate above, I know the area well so that risks in various dimensions got minimize. As (Glesne, 2011, p. 41) argued that doing research in the back yard is attractive for a number of reasons; it reduces costs and times of researching, the research would be useful for

professional or personal life experience and increases access to get reliable data. But she further recommends that researchers should be fully aware of possible problems generated by involving in familiar territory. Researcher's previous experiences with areas and peoples can set up a mere expectations for certain types of interaction that could constrain effective data collection.

Generally, I could say that, the research area specifically rural kebeles are selected based my decision and I have also used purposive sampling to identify the migrant themselves. The town is one kebele; it has no sub-kebeles inside so that it is considered as one part in the district. But what makes it different from the other kebeles is that migrants come towards it as it is at the same time the town to the district.

4.4.2 Techniques used for Sampling Participants

On the ground of cost, time and credibility questions, selecting the entire population may not be possible and sometimes not desirable (Robinson, 1998, p. 29). Therefore, researchers need to be either selective based predetermined purpose so that contacting the most important subjects, individuals, groups, households, community segments or determine subsets from the population and put them as a representative to the entire population under investigation. In fact in the first case, there is no representation to the population rather the purposely selected or contacted individuals and groups are considered as a symbol for him or herself and the same is true for the larger community. In the second case, The subsets or samples are the representative figures stand to envoy the population. The process of selection figures or cases is called sampling. For the purpose of selecting samples and taking individuals as their sole signifier, there are various techniques. These include, non-probability sampling (purposive and snow ball sampling) and probability sampling. As I intensively used the former in this research, the emphasis was given to non-probability sampling specifically on purposive and snow ball sampling procedures.

"Purposive sampling which is a non probability based samples basically associated with in-depth studies with research design that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focused on the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perception. People or cases in this sampling approach can be chosen with purpose to enable the researcher to explore the research questions or develop a theory. The cases are selected on the basis of characteristics or experience that are directly related researcher's area of interest, research questions and allows researchers to study the research topic in depth"(Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 167).

Purposive sampling in qualitative research is used as a means that the inquirer selects individual and sites for the study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the research project (Creswell, 2012). Using Purposive sampling has its own strength and drawbacks. It enables researchers to sample at

the site level, at the event or process level, and at the participant level; it is thus economical as it helps researchers to study the subject and using the subject to study the population. However, it has drawbacks as it depends on very few samples that could not entirely and fairly represent the population from which the individuals are taken.

Like I said under site selection subtopic 4.4.1, samples for this study were taken from rural-urban migrant population living in Metehbila town. Representing each of the nine departing kebeles eighteen (18) migrants were simply taken from the migrant population living in the town. This means two rural-urban migrants were taken from each rural kebeles in the town. However, the proportion given for each kebele was irrespective of the total population and geographic area they have. It was also irrespective of the total migrant population each kebeles have in the town. Like said above, the concern was finding most important and relevant migrants to get answer for interview questions but still an attempt was taken to address each of the rural kebeles.

Migrants were also selected and talked based on their sex, varying age group, marital status and above all their potential to say what they have had in their life-their ability to share factors for their migration, livelihood and their life experiences at large. The table below is organized based on migrants characteristics and from where they came from-the kebeles. The reason to include kebeles is the fact that the district Berehet is assumed to be "woreda" when it includes all its smallest administrative units. Since kebeles are used to constituent the district, they are viewed as inseparable and hence, migrants were also slightly viewed as representative of these kebeles' migrant population in the town even though they have been selected purposefully and own their unique characteristics.

Migrant's Departing Kebeles and their Codes	Number of Migrants	Selected Migrant's Personal Information/Characteristics								
		Marital Status				Sex		Age		
		Married	Single	Divorced	Wedowed	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Gordosolomon 02	2	1		1			2		35	45
Mafud 03	2			1	1		2		39	45
Teju 04	2		1	1		1	1	27		38
Shegagebeya 05	2			2			2		30	45
Akrmit 06	2		1		1	1	1	26		28
Sede'as 07	2			2		1	1	83		38
Abako 08	2		2			2		22	25	
Wanse 09	2	1		1		1	1	33		35
Wosil 010	2	1		1			2		22	38

Table 5.Characterstics of Purposefully Selected Migrants

Source, Own construction based on information gained from informant migrants.

One thing important outlined in the table (5) above is that most of the migrants being selected and talked are divorced and all most all of them are below 45 years. This might be biased to the outcome of the research since old age groups and more male migrants are ignored. This might be a critical fault to not able to consider all age groups, marital status, male and female in equal proportion but what is important to consider is that in using purposive sampling one ignores not only representativeness but also the variations between the selected individuals in terms of their age, sex and other characteristics outlined in table above. But still an attempt was given to address all them the problem is making all the characteristics proportional since my focus was on those migrants thought only important.

Turning to the issue of selection, migrants were selected after discussion held between me and my research assistant in the field. My research assistant is originally from one of neighboring district called Asagrt which is located as a northern boundary to Berehet Woreda. However, due to his personal case, he fled and started living in Berehet 09 kebele since 1992. He now is living in the town and has various social responsibilities. He is working as a security guard to the town population during night time and he is also working on farms. These various social and personal responsibilities enabled him to know the town community well and in this research, he had various roles including finding different peoples he knows well, setting appointment with informants based on time they have and he largely helped me to reduce efforts and time in searching and persuading migrants This finally helped to facilitate the process of data collection in the field. As qualitative research is more social in its aspect, it needs collaboration so that working with the research assistant made sound, comprehensive and facilitated data collection. Therefore, the research assistant helped not only to facilitate data collection but also to develop a mutual trust between the researcher and researched. He helped to strength the social glue as he was a mediator between me and informant migrants.

In line with purposive sampling, I also have used snow ball sampling techniques particularly for getting those rural-urban migrants who me and my research assistant do not know. My research assistant for example, first found one 38 years old woman migrant came from Teju kebele /04 and during the interview with her, she also promised to convince migrants she knows. She found one migrant came from 05 kebele and helped me to add the number of interviewees for interviewing. I have to give credit to her just by writing her contribution here and to the larger method in research process, this is what we call it snow ball method to recruit samples. It is simply using initially identified research participant's social contact as a

means to get more equally important participants or forming a layer of contacts (Matthews & Ross, 2010).

4.5 Methods used for Collecting Research Materials

Research materials are back bones used to structure, constituent, feed and erect the research work for the purpose designed to achieve by the researchers. Therefore, research data have a paramount role in any researches intend to be conducted in various geographic domain. Data are ubiquitous in their nature and have their own places (Lindsay, 2002, p. 21). For this research therefore, I have collected and used both primary and secondary data from different sources. Primary data as the name depicts are data obtained from first hand subjects and they are data gathered by researchers themselves and are more authentic since they are directly related to the event or the person under question. The process of collecting primary data needs consideration of time available and the questions prepared should be relevant to the original research questions (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p. 73). Primary data collection may take various forms. But for this research, data were collected through the use of interviews with migrant informants and with key informants. Observations were also widely used.

4.5.1 Interviews with Migrants

To obtain those valuable first hand data, interviews were conducted with eighteen rural to urban migrants. The interviews were conducted at different times and structurally interview guide questions were prepared to seek data about responsible cause factors for their migration to take place and with this regard their life history related with the cause, their current livelihood in the town, town associations in which migrants belong, and generally problems and opportunities that migrants faces in their everyday urban livings were addressed. The questions were formulated before the beginning of the interview, thus the process of collecting data through the use of interview guides was controlled since it relies on the questions prepared before. During the interview process, there was repetition of the same question for migrants but only as point to start interviewing, once it started, interventions were taken and migrants themselves were asked an open questions to say. After finishing issues related with the first question there was a moving to the next question with the same fashion did in the first one. Therefore, the questions were serving as a point of departure for querying issues related with causes for migration, urban livelihood and social capital which migrants develop with town host communities. Every migrants were answering the questions differently with their own words based on their own expressing capacity. Some interviewees were active and orator while some others felt frustration and sense of dependency to say. For the latter case the reason was because of the rural culture they belonged before but through

time they became active, as their predecessor migrants, not because of me and my research assistant are males.

The interview was conducted on different places in the town. In the very beginning, there was an attempt to do the interview constantly. However, informants were not ready for that because most of them didn't have fixed working and break time. Based on appointments made, few interviews were done on working days but most of the interviews were conducted on saint days mostly on Sunday after church program and most of them were carried out in respondents' house. This was because of the fact that the researcher wanted to marry up with situations available to respondents in their usual place of living -the town- where they feel confident and safe for answering questions. This is what we call it arrangement of time and place that is conducive for both investigator and interviewees. Besides to these, I used the local language spoken by the interviewee. It was Amharic language that I used to ask interviewees to give their responses. This was from the assumption that most of the interviewees may not speak English as a medium of interaction in their day today tasks. In fact, some of them were illiterate so that using English language in this community would not have value at all. Therefore, using Amharic language which is spoken by them played an important role to express their feeling and emotion, as they like, since they speak it well.

During the course of conducting the interviews, the issue of respecting ethics, power relations and how to develop confidence were clearly considered. The details of these issues are presented under the last subtopic of this chapter. Procedurally, attention was given to approach respondents in various ways that a clear introduction about the interview and the subsequent research was given for each of them. Then each interview with each individual were conducted based on the invaluable consent gained from them. In line with causes, livelihood and social capital, life history interviews which are very open were also asked. They were generally how the factors for migration affect their life patterns and how they react with the factors and to the general settings in rural kebeles and after migration in the town.

As the name implies, life history research is a description of important events and experiences of each person in his or her own words. It is also the sequences of social positions people occupy through their lives and the changing definitions of theme selves and their world that people hold at various stages of the sequences. Life history sometimes equate with narrative data analysis, oral history or biography. In studying life history researchers need to ask a series of interviews to create a narrative of life or lives (Glesne, 2011; Miles & Huberman,

1994) and the study should illustrate the uniqueness, dilemmas, and complexities of a person in such a way that it insists readers to reflect upon themselves and to bring their own situation (Terán, 2002).

The definition given above shows that people's identity of themselves follows a systematic pattern in harmony with the situation of everyday life. Life history studying may not only be the study of a single person's life biography. It also focuses on historical events that have been exhibited among a specific social community where the events are common to the members in the society. For instance, cultural events, shows, spiritual and other communal holidays. In these cases, individuals and collective groups have common life history through which they become distinct or relatively similar from other groups. Life history studying in another dimension can also focus on a single individual's unique life experiences and researchers during this case rely on the individual's life journey in which his or her key life incidents, certainties and uncertainties could be assessed and researchers carry out many interviews with the person (Linden, 1993 in Glesne, 2011, p. 20). In this research, the questions asked for their individual life histories were almost similar with the cause, and livelihood since their life incidents and experiences are differently related with these factors.

4.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

In addition to the interviews with migrants, key informant interviews were also conducted in the field. I had this interview with key informants selected from different positions in the town community's hierarchical order. The first one was with a man who has been working in the districts' small and micro enterprise office. The objective of their office is to organize those unemployed urban people and ultimately creating jobs with capital gained from government. For this, the local government takes the responsibility to provide land for constructing houses for both production and selling their products. In many cases, rural-urban migrants were also included in this organized work of the town community. It was therefore, from this assumption that the interview was conducted with a man working in this office. The second key informant was from the district's municipal office. This office has the responsibility to manage the town's multipurpose land by registering it in their land bank system. In addition, it is also working with house construction, town infrastructure, waste management and disposal and market places. It has thus a direct link with the town community including with rural to urban migrant's every day activities formally and informally. The third key informant was a man from the population, finance and development office. This office is working on the district population demographic aspect including migration,

fertility and mortality registration. As their office responsibility shows they have many contacts with rural to urban migrant population and hence they were potential sources of data for this research.

These interviews were conducted in the form of conversation between me and the selected key informants. The researcher informally asked questions not only about migrants and their everyday town activities but also their thought towards the causes for rural urban migration in the district, consequences it brings in the town and also about the research area including its historical aspects. In this conducted key informants interview, the key informants were also allowed more scope for elaborating and to give general discussion about migrant's live they recognized to say, the local government's intervention in improving livelihoods of town communities in general and migrants in particular and the administrative challenges and opportunities that followed occurrence of rural to urban migration if any. In addition with these key informants, I also had an informal talking with different individuals in the town. This was because of the assumption that in descriptive research approach researchers ask questions to scale up recognition about the entire situations in thematic areas (Glesne, 2011, p. 102) and hence, I also informally talked with different elders and friends to know more about the problem identified. In Based on their willingness tape recorder was extensively used in both migrant's and key informants interviewing cases.

4.5.3 Observation

During the course of data collection I did observation in different times. Like I said above, I did most of the interview in respondent's house where I at the same time was able to observe situations in different informant's house. In another time, I purposely went out to observe migrant's entire situation at home and outside their home. Researchers referred these kinds of observation as passive/none participant and participant observations respectively. The former is simply watching and recording activities of community and their impression to the activities they are doing and the latter is researchers deliberately immerse themselves to everyday routines and practices of communities intend to be researched (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p. 127). However, understanding community's routine life with short time engagement may not clearly depict the real life situations on the ground. But it does not necessarily mean that short observations do not have value for primary data generation. Rather, it t supplement data that could be gain/gained from other means of first hand data collection.

Regarding this, observation was done in every interviewed migrants house where I was able to see the quality of their house, kitchen utensils (since the house is serving both as a living and kitchen room), their clothing, condition of migrant kids (since there is no separate room for children), and their facial body expression in reaction to their urban life. In addition, observation was done outside home where migrants do their out works. For example, in their market day retailing area when they sell Gesho (a leaf from a tree used for tela drink production), onion, potato and observation of migrant wood and welding workers. Generally, data regarding to migrants in and outside home situations with their members were collected via observation. In line with this, photographs were captured, field notes were formed. Observation was also practically done where male migrants work stone cutting in groups in the eastern edge of the town. There, the town small and micro enterprise office gave a land to migrants to dig out and sell cut stones for building. These migrants in return are supposed to pay tax annually. To understand the nature and difficulty of their labor work, observation with small degree of engagement was done.

Secondary Data

In addition to primary data, secondary data were obtained. Secondary data are data which have already been collected by someone else and which is available for researcher to inspect (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p. 57). They are thus available for various readers, journalists, practitioners and students at every level. Therefore, like primary data sources secondary data sources are relatively ubiquitous and found many places. Secondary data for this research were collected from different sources. Books and academic articles were used even for referring to write this chapter in particular. Brochures, district population census data and district administration policy which are written in Amharic were collected from the research area. In addition, secondary data about town employed and un employed population were taken from micro and small scale office, and also collected from district cultural and tourism office (DCTO), district environmental protection, land administration and use office (DEPLAUO) and district population, finance and development office (DPFDO).

Purposely, secondary data were gathered to develop knowledge on the nature of the research topic selected and the research area. In this regard, secondary data as Clark further noted are important first to get understanding about research area including changes that have been observed on it both now and before, second to get context about economic, historical and social changes that occur on research areas and to compare it with researches on another area. Above all, secondary data use to combine primary data with various texts prepared so far and

they help researchers to develop a clear image about things they need to know before, during and after researching.

4.6 Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed qualitatively. Primary data collected with interviews were first in unstructured and raw forms. All these data were also in audio and text forms with Amharic language which the researcher extensively used to communicate with research participant in the field. All these data are translated in to English language under the transcribing stage.

For both transcribing and analysis purpose, procedurally various themes and sub-themes were developed. Under each themes and sub-themes contents were included according to their closeness to the themes developed. Technically, the analysis chapters were developed with almost the same nomenclature of the basic research objectives and questions. Under these chapters various themes and subthemes were developed. It is not like a diagram or a pie chart structure rather it is themes and sub-themes under which description, explanation and contexts were given to data obtained from primary and secondary sources. Hence, the various economic, social, personal, political and physical causes for rural to urban migration were addressed under the responsible factors for migration. The same fashion also used for the livelihood and social integration chapters. Data obtained with observations were also analyzed qualitatively since they were described and put under the themes that most go well with it.

As far as life history is concerned, a short story were developed for individual migrants but under different chapters and under different sup topics where the story feet the topic. For this, the researcher directly used their sayings under quotations and some related unquoted texts were also included. Secondary data which were mainly gathered from study areas specifically data about demographic factors were analyzed in tabular and texts forms.

The theories are not forgotten while analyzing the data and developing the chapters. For each chapters, they are differently used. For example, Lee's theory is widely used for developing chapter five, the livelihood strategies and other components of livelihood are used for chapter six and seven. However, the livelihood vulnerability contexts are also used in chapter five in analyzing the cause for migration and hence, the theories and their separated parts are used in and under different themes and sub themes in each analysis chapters.

Generally, all the data gathered from the field were qualitatively transcribed and analyzed from the perspective of how they appeared and for what they stands for. In line with this (Hoggart, 2002, p. 300) argued data transcribing and analysis in qualitative research should

be from the perspective of data obtained and people observed; it should not be from the perspective of the researcher social construct world and him/her self.

4.7 Reflexivity, Ethics and Positionality

Reflexivity in literal way is, taken as understanding self and other parties from social, political, cultural, ethical and power perspectives. It is a process by which researchers reflect themselves starting from data collection to the time when they provide the research report (Glesne, 2011). It is also a process of outlining opportunities and challenges from the perspective of researchers encounters and an attempts during the entire work of researching.

When come to this research, the researcher's reflexive, ethical and positional aspects generally look like the points discussed below. Before the actual outset of data collection via interviews and observations, an attempt was made to meet with local government officers to get their recognition for conducting data collection in the town. In due attempt, I got the deputy district administrator Mr. Markew Mengstie and Mr. Demisaw Getachew who is the district's Amhara Nation Democratic Front (ANDF) executive officer. Both of them are at the top in the political hierarchy of the district. I met them in their office twice and with my stay with them clear information about why I need to meet them was given. In addition, I also asked them first to get their willingness to move and collect data from migrant informants in the town. In fact, I was not strange to the people and the place but I don't know the politicians before. Therefore, meeting with politicians was done from the assumption that they can deny me to move and collect data in the town since they have the power to do so. The other reason was that politicians have suspicion to people especially to those new comers. It is from the fear that extremist groups are taking a brutal measure on the people of neighbor districts. I remember they killed one Muslim religious leader while I was there, so there was/is slight trust even the people among themselves. However, their treatment was different from what I expected- they both read my letter of support from NTNU and warmly welcomed me. Mr. Demisew further told me that there are many migrants from Wosil kebele and allowed me to access information from their office too.

When looking the interaction during interviewing, it was conducted exclusively based on informants consent which according to (Dowling, 2000) is defined as a permission or willingness by informants to be involved or not to be involved in giving answer for researchers questions. To get their invaluable recognition and consent, researchers need to give a brief outline about the research, what he or she needs from the informants, and so on.

First, as tried to indicate in the interview sub topic above, me and my research assistant Tadesse were working to give a clear and adequate information for participants and finally to create awareness about purpose of the research, why their respective interview response is needed, what is expected from each of them as a respondents if they want to participate and ways to keep their privacy. This process was done in a way that participants could easily understand and for this Amharic language was used. The ultimate goal for this process was to keep and reflect the research ethics to the participants. In line with this (AcAuley,2003 inMatthews & Ross, 2010, p. 71) defined ethics in qualitative research as a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are pleased to respond openly and honestly. It is also a moral value that researchers give to their study participants and hence, respondents should not be at risk. Likewise, researchers should also take care of themselves from those harmful practices.

Like stated above interviewees in these research were asked mostly in their house where they have been living alone and with their families. The decision for venue selection was mostly done with their preferences and the researcher also found that their decision was correct since there was no safe place around more than their house. Therefore, all the interview were done free from any physical harm over participants and the researcher.

However, it does not mean that there was no uncertainties during field session. Instead, there were some educative problems encountered during data collecting period. For example, there was lack of consistency to contact people in time. Some individuals forgot the appointment made to have the interview and this made data collection a bit lagging but still the researcher solved this by meeting them in another time. Some participants were also not interested to tell even what they clearly know. They simply need to jump and stay on other priority issues. The researcher in this case intervened and systematically drug them to come to the main points.

As power relation is taken in to consideration, I think it is indirectly reflected under the issue of participant's consent and research ethics. To add some, during data collection period, I met different people particularly when interviews and observations were conducted. Except giving positive reinforcement to participate, no decision was done on behalf of them rather the researcher and participants relation was horizontal not vertical so that it was harmonious and no one was more than the others.

I had a position since I was silently observed and recorded what I saw and found important in migrant's house and in their working areas. The notion of positionality as (Hay,2005 inGlesne,

2011, p. 157) defined, is the ideological, social and location placements that researchers occupy relative to their participants.

I have learnt a lot from my field work. The most important thing which I have incurred from field work is the need to be flexible. This is because of the fact that what is imagined and even acquired from readings are different from what is available on the field. Researchers could first thought they could manage uncertainties during interviewing. Likewise, I thought I could manage interview uncertainties. In the course of my interview with a woman migrant, she unconditionally became nervous and started shouting and cried with tears. Let me tell you why she cried, the question was about why people in the town called her and her fellows as setgna adari /a name given for those tela and areke sellers and sometimes name given to commercial sex workers/, she directly linked it with her husband death and said if her husband had not died, she would not have got this name and before his death her name was not setgna adari, it was housewife, she perceived the question only from what she has encountered and I subsequently stabilized her to not to cry and to think from her livelihood perspective which is about selling tela and areke. So have you imagined how sensitive and how critical care questions in qualitative research need, I realized it after the incident not during the time of reading. Experience matters quality of research and its data collection. Those who have experience could definitely collect data by preparing insensitive questions which I lacked because of prior experience and approaches in the field. Generally, my field work educated me various things in various ways in that I have got experiences to work with others in a cohesive, transparent and ethical ways.

Chapter Five

5. Causes for Rural-urban Migration in Berehet District

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is about causes for internal rural to urban migration. Lee's theory of push pull, the livelihood vulnerability contexts which share similar plights with the push factors and the new economy of migration theory which partly share the idea of economic rationalization of migrants are the guiding frameworks of analysis for this chapter. They are used variously under the subtopics developed here in the chapter. Other components placed in the livelihood model are also used variously. Turning to the issues of cause for migration, the diverse causes to urban ward migration in Berehet district are partly similar with what people simply put forward as causes to internal migration taking place in different geographic areas in the world. Nevertheless, the intensity and impacts of the factors to migrants and to some extent the variability and inimitable factors which sometimes found in indigenous societies⁹ and areas like Berehet are assessed in a very low degree. That is district level of studying migration is absent from many scholars enrichments (Mitara & Murayama, 2008). This analysis chapter is about the causes to rural-urban migration in the district level 'Berehet' and encompasses several parts. The first part is the physical factors for rural to urban migration, the second socio-cultural factors and the third economic factors. As indicated in the methodology and literature chapter migrant's life history is used in this and the next chapters as means of analysis and hence, for keeping anonymity to interviewee migrants pseudonyms are widely used.

5.2 Physical Factors

The push-pull theory of migration tells that the physical push factors have paramount role in accentuating rural to urban migration in different geographic domain. The over repeatedly but still effect full physical factors that different studies in the cloud of this theory indicated the existence of desertification and subsequent insufficiency in supporting livelihood, lack of agricultural land and its fragmentation nature, rainfall dependent nature of agriculture and the like (Ezra et al., 2001). The ramification of each factor is not similar to all people in different areas. This is because of the fact that there is differentiation between people in areas in terms of prior resources possessions and capability to cop up from living challenges. It is those who could not get enough resources and who are more vulnerable intend to migrate to realize

⁹ Societies practicing unique social, cultural and economic activities (UNDRIP,2008).For the purpose of this research, the writer used the term to say those societies who are far from the enrichment of researchers to investigate their urban livelihood and cause for their migration in this case.

livings by seeking different resource available in destination areas. These resources may include what migrants lost in rural areas including land and the resulting low productivity. In this study the most physical factors mentioned by migrants are presented below.

5.2.1 Lack of Enough Agricultural Land

Interviewees' responses in this research reveals that shortage of agricultural land is the major contributing factor for their town ward migration. It is only those two out of eighteen interviewees that they still have agricultural land in their rural origin kebeles. The remaining sixteen interviewed migrants have no agricultural land. They also have no any parcel of land in the town. In line with this, majority of the interviewee migrants, indicated that even the existing crowded agricultural land is not plain, it is steep slope and not safe for plowing and productivity is very limited. The district agricultural office report 2013, as noted in study area chapter, supplement the migrant interviewees' ideas in that it indicates that out of the existing land area it is only about twenty five percent which is suitable for agriculture where the remaining seventy percent is not favorable for such practices. One of my interviewee migrant Misa (a 22 years old woman) discussed a physical a factor that contributed to her family migration to Metehbila as follows.

"There were many physical factors that made us to migrate to the town. But the main reason was that we had no agricultural land to plow. I married my husband in Wosil kebele (010) where his family number is more than ten. They have no enough agricultural land to divide for their children including my husband. All their children live in the same compound and there was no even separate land given for my husband for building his house. We for one and half years plowed a rented plot of land but it was not productive enough to assist even me and my husband. We finally looked for another alternative to come to Metehbila and to do nonfarm activities. Here, my husband still rent and plow agricultural land to produce cereal crops for our yearly demands. He now rented from those land owners nearest to the town where the value of the land is very expensive. This increasing value challenges us to fully afford the cost. Nevertheless, we will never go back to his facilities to live, instead we are establishing our livings here in the town and started non agricultural activities".

Lack of enough agricultural land as Misa clearly indicated challenged not only the migrants before their migration but also the lives of their family members at places of origin. The associated outcome from fragmented and less enough agricultural land exhibits the existence of hunger which at the end of the day forced family members to displace to nearby urban

towns as like Misa did in to Metehbila. For Misa and her husband, it is the push factors that chased them to leave their rural origin. However, deciding to migrate to the town by itself reflects that they have had the information or knowhow that it is possible to bring change in their daily living as a result of coming to Metehbila. This means, the pull factors in the town also played their credits to influence this family to move. The situation this woman reflected also depicts the conditions how deagrarization and its subsequent outcome-lack of enough food crops- has been developed. In cases when rural productive unit departs from its origin, the outcome is diminished agricultural outputs which peoples from both rural areas and town depend to live. In line with this (Bryceson, 1999, p.171) argued that, leaving from countryside to conduct nonfarm activities in towns and cities of developing nations has played considerable and significant role in reducing agricultural yields, depeasantization at large and increasing urban and rural poverty. The other important physical reason that Misa indirectly indicated that family's increasing number of children triggered the existing misery life in rural areas. Families plan to have children in accordance with resources they have seems low effective that they consciously folded the existing land shortage problem by increasing their children. The effect is broad and have negative consequences for children who didn't contribute to come into being by themselves. Land shortage problems created by families could determine the current and future opportunities of their children to the extent that no possibility of giving land for family members as happened to Misa's husband; it means land shortage occurs as members in family increase and does not mean that land was created in the crowded families.

Land is the most important natural capital (Rozario, 2011, p. 127) which could help to generate means of living. These include, land for agriculture, land for house construction, land for grazing and generally land for everything. Misa and her husband missed these all and forced to migrate to the town. In areas where the rural economic activity is dependent on subsistence agriculture which seeks extensive land, like in Berehet, inaccessibility of land means rushing down to none existence unless other solution like migration is taken.

5.2.2 Shortage of Rainfall

By analogy shortage of rainfall is one of the vulnerability contexts especially with seasonal changes as placed in the livelihood frame work in the literature and theory chapter. And as stated variously in the literature chapter again, historically Ethiopia is known as a drought prone area in east Africa. The country has experienced famine and starvation as a result of environmental changes. The ecological degradation was mostly due to lack of sufficient

rainfall for producing agricultural outputs which potentially expect to support the lives of many people in the nation (UNDP, 2009). This natural incident happened mostly in the northern rural parts of the country has been in effects till present time with different degrees and forced so many rural population to migrate towards nearest town and cities and look further migration outside their country. For example, (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009) noted that lack of rainfall and subsequent ecological destruction forced many Ethiopian population to migrate in to different areas. Rural to urban migration is also an increasing and common phenomenon in the country resulted in environmental degradation and rural poverty both of which have strong linkage with lack of rainfall (Regassa & Yusufe, 2009). In this regard, a male migrant Argaw said:

"Initially I came to Metehbila to attend my grade nine and ten education in 2005 and 2006 but after completing my two year stay I did not look further education since I couldn't pass to the next grades-11 and 12. I then decided to go back to Teju kebele (04) where my family permanently live with conducting agriculture. I then talked with my father to do agriculture and give me irrigated land found in the bank of nearest river in the kebele. Since he understood my feeling, he accepted the question. On this irrigated land, I tried to produce vegetables to provide to local markets. In my first year of production in 2007, the volume of the river was not sufficient to water all my vegetables. The reason for this was that there was not enough rainfall that could add water to the rivers and to the larger agricultural land. As a result, profit in that year was low. Hoping the next year to be productive and profitable, I continued my work however, the ability of the river was better in the first year than in the second; it totally vanished as a result of very low rainfall throughout the year and my work then became without hope to continue. My family also faced the same problem in their agricultural activities that they could not produce the amount needed to support family members. I finally talked with my father to search another job outside the kebele and migrate towards Metehbila for the second time. I am able to get my permanent wood work occupation after obtaining training from the town micro and small scale enterprise".

A response by Argaw collectively demonstrates that absence of rainfall reduces agricultural returns in the district. The outcomes that follow this incident are diverse to the larger picture of the community who are living in the district and the country as a whole. More than 85 percent of the country's population live in rural areas with conducting agriculture which is entirely dependent on rainfall (Dercon, 2004). Hence, absence of this water means destruction in the wellbeing of the rural community first and the urban people who are relying the products coming from the rural areas. For Argaw migration is taken as a means to lift out

from lack of adequate returns and profit but for his families as he indicated, they were unable even to produce sufficient products for family consumption and households in rural areas live with challenges resulted from lack of rainfall.

As Argaw indicated there is also internal migration for education. As indicated in the research area chapter, the district has only one high school in the town. Students after finishing their primary education in rural kebeles tend to migrate to the town for continuing their high school education. Of course it is seasonal and year round, after completing one grade they turn back to families and again going to the town during the start of school opening always in September. However, there is growing trend that students after completing high school, they remain in the town. For example, my interviewee Wogayehu who is an adult migrant from 08/Abako kebele and Mekonen from Akramit/06 kebele remained in the town after completing their education. They both used education as a direct reason to move out from their rural families. Not only school attending people but an illiterate people also migrate. An illiterate woman migrant Birhane from 02 indicated that lack of education also cause people to migrate. She stated that if she was educated, she would not have been migrated for the purpose she conceived now and would not have been exposed for her current migration reason at the start, all the causes that made her in trouble during her rural stay resulted from lack of education not only for her but also to her families. She surprisingly outlined that in the cases when her signature is needed, she used her figure print; just shading her figure and past on the paper. Supporting Birhane's response on illiterate internal migration, scholars in the big arena argued that an illiterate people migrate in the contemporary era to fill low skill positions found in the urban areas. A classic example, Courtiers in East Asia like Thailand receives an increasing number of unskilled and illiterate migrants from not only its territorial limit but also from other courtiers in developing nations (Goldin & Reinert, 2006,p.162). Turning to Argaw, in addition to answering the cause for his migration, he indirectly indicated nothing that he talked with his mother or person in the family to get the irrigated land and even when he planned to migrate for the second time, he talked with his father. This means that in the family, the decision maker and property granter seems paternal that the father in the family takes the upper hand right to say. This idea supports the feminists who strongly argued that household strategies in the decision of migration obscures the right of women and youths (Wolf, 1990) and also slightly shows the limitation of new economy migration theory and livelihood approach while migration is considered. Example, the household in Javanese people-Indonesia- is the father or a widowed mother who allow or inhibit their daughters to

migrate and work in factories and households in Taiwan have similar role in determining their members' migration to work in urban settings (Wolf, 1990, p. 49).

5.3 Socio-cultural Factors for Rural-urban Migration in Berehet

As (Lee, 1966) indicated in his theory, all forms of migration occur as a result of factors operating together and that differently fasten or reduce the risks available for migrants, their sending and host communities. However, the importance of these factors varies from one local area to in another depending on the entire situation in that geographic domain (Khan, Hassan, & Shamshad, 2011). Giving that countless socio-cultural actions and traditions available in communities in different areas produce migrants as they differently treat the various sections of the community, man, woman, girls, boys, children and the like (Adewale, 2005). In Berehet people live with generational hereditary community cultures that harm or improve their well being and body growth. The harmful practices inculcates the tradition of cutting very sensitive reproductive body like female genital mutilation, making scar on skins of different body especially on faces, hands and the like. There is also a tradition in community that abduction, rape and explosive use of female and children is very common. Following an open question asked, my research interview Worknesh, a woman migrant from Teju kebele (04) with this regard said:

"My case was special to come to Metehbila. Like any other girls in the kebele, my family forced and circumcised me while I was very young. This practice of cutting our skin has been a long tradition in the community I belonged. Any new born female kid until the near past and sometime currently too passed through such kind of tradition. It has been considered as one part of action that must be taken over female children around my village. The effects of such practice lead so many women in prolonged health and psychological problems. Following my formative childhood period with family, they again forced me to marry at the age of 14 in 1989 in sede'as kebele (07) where my first husband lived. I did not see him even for one day before our marriage; my family gave me to him with their mere decision. I spent one year with him and became pregnant soon which totally changed my life afterwards. I couldn't easily gave birth, I had faced a very sorrowful fistula during labor pain. After infected with fistula, the community around totally marginalized me from any kind of social contact. Once, a woman faced such problem, it is considered as a disloyalty done secretly over husbands, his families also considered me as the one who made a strong injustice over him. He himself was unable to assist me and was not with interest to see me at all. After certain years stay with my family back home, I came to Metehbila to escape from the society who considered me as sordid. Here, the community is new to me and I'm also new to the community so they don't

know my personal but socially evil problem. This enables me to live relatively free from stress from external community pressure".

These responses by Worknesh indicated how chained cultural practices in rural part of the district forced women and children to be out of social role. For the larger community, this kind of woman has no recognition and that they are forced to stay at a separate house far from any kind of public contacts. Drawing from this, it is possible to understand to the larger female exposed population that the social and cultural practices in the district have made a very elusive and complex role first to harm their healthy and natural body, second it subsequently keep them to hide themselves from public eyes and finally to evacuate from the community they belong in. It in another dimension is abusing the rights that women possess as any other human beings entitled in the constitution of the country (Article 18 of FDRE¹⁰ Constitution,1995). Migration for Worknesh is the last alternative to live free from such a kind of malicious practice and attitude from the community. Like Woknesh, it is possible to speculate that there are women who are staying in home as a result of being victims of fistula but due to various factors unable to migrate to the town.

In addition to presence of such generational cultural practices among the community, the district is also a home to hostilities that later produce enemies that go-up-to killing each other with agricultural border conflict and conflicts between rural males to catch a single woman as a wife and insurgents who trend living in caves as a result of conflict among tribes on the issue of stealing camel and cattle. In this regard, two women's open life history interview result seems the following. One from Mafud kebele (03) and one from Sede'as kebele (07).

Shewamebrat is a migrant from 03 kebele Mafud. Her life before coming to Metehbila was full of ups and downs. Her child hood period was very exploitive that the families used her to bring water from a river that needs 3 hours for one journey and about 6-7 hours for double journey. She bitterly indicated that there was no time to her to simply stay at home and take a break instead she spent most of her childhood time in grinding cereals in home and fetching water from outside. Her families at the end determined her to marry a husband come from 03 Mafud kebele as any other families did at the time. She married her husband when she was 15 years old but the most diverging incident to her came after marriage that her husband besides agriculture occupation had a recognition in his kebele and the community nominated him to be kebele security worker which contacted him with misbehaved and uneducated bandits living in the jungle and who were getting government police warning for their unlawful practice over the people. She said once up on a time her husband ato /Mr. Zenebe pointed to

¹⁰ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

police the place where these bandits lived as insurgents. Those bandits settled in caves heard the secret operating behind and killed her husband since they perceived his action as spying and who exposed them to the legal police forces. Shewamebrat's life has then totally changed to threat, instability and suspicion. To escape herself and her 4 children from these bandits, she was forced to migrate to Metehbila. She said that frustration to be killed by those who killed her husband was mainly her reason to come to Metehbila. Just after her exile they burnt her grass roof house constructed by her husband. She further indicated that enemies in the kebele sometimes still now killed not only the person in question or the father it is rather common to kill the whole members and relatives to avoid later risks and occupy all the properties and to live without fear.

Mebrate is another woman migrant from 07 kebele and whose remarkable life started when she reached age 13 and when a *Diakon*¹¹ husband asked her families to marry her. In the mean time, she in her word called *gulbetegna*¹², also asked her families to make their daughter his wife. She surprisingly indicated that her families were in continuous fear and contentions of ideas that if they preferred the second husband it would be banning her from a disciplined and church educated man and if they gave her to the church man, first applicant, it would be risky to their children in particular and the family themselves. Mebrate during this time didn't know what were happening to her; all the dialogue and tension were among her families and applicants but she today knows it since she passed through these all. Even though she didn't have information at that time, she was serving as a bone of contention between two applicants, one a disciplined church man and the other who believed he had more power and recognition in his kebele Abako.

She said the priority of her families later was the church man and ignored the second applicant. The diverging life specifically started at this time that on their preparation to make a ceremony locally called *gabcha*/marriage, the second applicant easily abducted her from the area where she kept cattle just before one day for the wedding with the church man. The powerful man raped her and hid her and her in jungles for about 14 days and together exiled to the neighbor's woreda Minjar. Mebrate later pushed this man who kidnapped her to send her back to her families; instead he first tried to send go-betweens to her families to hold negotiation and finally to obey him as her formal husband and to come back to his kebele

¹¹ A name given to a man in Ethiopian Orthodox dogma system and in the system's hierarchy his position is below priest.

¹² The one who believes in his forces not with reasoning and common understanding.

from the neighbor district. They were okay with the ideas of the missionaries but it was until when her families saw their daughter's eye. The families later changed their idea after when her current husband voluntarily send her to ask families and to turn back by herself. The families in their turn warned her to not even to think about her husband and remain in their home. Very devastative clash had been opened then and the man was able to burn her family's house, killed their cattle and sheep and put them in extreme problems. Mebrate was tearing while telling this part to me and said these all happened because of her. Her older brothers later made an equally devastative measures over her unlawful abducted man and his families and the tension became the issue of kebeles not individuals and families. However, later she herself and her mother decided to migrate to Metehbila to get relief and protection coverage since the town was a bit better in security than the rural areas at the time. It perhaps seems teasing and a puzzle for readers, it is actual fact in the district as indicated by the migrants. Therefore, it is to this extent that community in the rural kebeles reproduce socio-cultural factors that chase segments of the society to displace towards to the town.

The livelihood vulnerability contexts placed in the livelihood model connected with the stories in that fear or to the wider context persecution is the cause for leaving original place of residence. What happened to these women to depart from their rural kebels and migrate to the town is stability shock that ended up with migration, instability and retaliation of family members one over the other especially for Mebrate.

With regard to socio-cultural factor (Fan & Huang, 1998) argued that marriage for uneducated and poor rural Chinese women increase opportunity of migration and maintenance of social capital. Likewise, three migrants from the interviewee indicated that they came to Metehbila as a result getting husband in the town.

5.4 Economic Reason for Rural-urban Migration in Berehet District

The new economic theory of labor of migration advocates the idea that internal rural to urban migration is to diversify means of income since it shares something from the former neoclassical theories, that is migrants economic rationalization. In other way round, it means there is an increasing economic motives among migrants. Contemporary migration studies also proclaimed that most migration taking place in different geographic domain are derived by economic desires by the migrant themselves and their sending families (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Koc & Onan, 2004; Rapoport & Docquier, 2006; Taylor, 1999).

Some migrants in this study indicated that there is an increasing economic desire among them and their sending families and that is why they migrated towards the town Metehbila. Of the total migrants five migrants came due to economic reason. As per of each factor, this figure is the maximum indicating that the majority of the migrants came due to economic reason. Migrants pushed by economic desire can be seen as a tool to assess the general living conditions of their sending community and themselves before migration. An adult migrant - Ayele- from 08kebele (Akrmit) indicated that the rural areas are experiencing unemployment, increasing family members, shortage of resources to divide and lack of means to have income and lead lives. The economic induced migrants have the desire to improve their livings by increasing their income and hence they considered the town as better in terms of employment opportunity, diversifications of permanent and casual job, security for their working stay in the town and better social services all of which are the pull factors that migrants considered. As understood from observation, migrants are engaging in different informal works in and outside their home. These include on the street, open market area and around civil services offices the details of which are forwarded in the next chapter six.

The economic reasons for migration are not separable from other factors. Rural poverty is usually expressed with lack of capital assets, technology to facilitate production, lack of infrastructure and social services deliveries. The combination of these all and other related incident put rural population in tension and finally forced them to look other alternatives in an other areas where possibilities and choices exist. Migration by individual and group is viewed in this lexicon. Some migrants in this research are dissatisfied with rural livings in general. My migrant interview Belyu said that living in the rural kebeles means experiencing the same and sometimes worsen conditions where there is no new way of living-today agriculture, yesterday agriculture, and tomorrow agriculture by which even feeding self is unsecured.

Linking the reasons for migration in the district with Lee's push pull theory of migration, the rural kebeles fabricated factors such as land shortage due to increasing family members, physical factors such as absences of rainfall and the resulting reduction in agricultural returns, socio-cultural factors such as early marriage and the subsequent fistula by women, presences of enemies caused by conflicts for agricultural borders, conflict for having a wife with force are some of the potential push factors as the interviewee migrants outlined. The pull factors as Lee indicated that they are mostly located in destination areas. Migrants indicated that these factors include, employment opportunity, presences of formal and informal occupations, security, infrastructure which includes, electrifications and market

access, school for teaching kids, health center and better water provision. Similarly, the livelihood vulnerability contexts placed in the frame work in chapter three are what migrants mentioned as factors for their migration towards to Metehbila. These points are pointes which are mentioned under the push factor here in this chapter. The table below indicated the ratio of factors with migrants. All the migrants indicated that they enjoyed the pull factors even after their migration.

Factors for Migration		Number of Migrant/s per Each factor
Economic		Five
Socio-cultural	Marriage	Three
	Presence of enemies	Four
	Fistula	One
	Education	Two
Physical	Land shortage	One
	Absence of rainfall	One
	Family death	One

Table 6 Rural-urban migration factors in Berehet
Source, Summer Field Interview, 2013.

Some of the pull factors are not mentioned per respondents in the table because it is very mixed response found from interviewee that along side of the push factors they also outlined the town as relatively secure for those conflict laden migrants, better access for school for those education seekers and presence of relatively better employment opportunities for economic migrants. Even though they have been forced by different factors at the origin, all the migrants indicated that they need job, finance and better living, this might placed them as economic and similar. Therefore, even what have been mentioned as physical factors like land shortage is economic in perspective and hence, there is overlapping of factors for their migration. The other thing found a bit blurred in mentioning the pull factors as concrete and visible is the fact that most of the them are in the dream and vision levels. As noted above, they need jobs, money and other recourses that would bring sustainable living change, but for now they don't fully actualize or handle it. All in all, interviewed migrants have their cause at the origin kebels and after coming to the town they differently lead a living with differences among their status the explanation of which is more visible in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

6. Migrants Urban livelihoods

6.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to assess migrants livelihood activities after their arrival in the town. The livelihood approach found in the literature chapter/three/ is a frame of analysis since it is literally expressed as ways of living to which various assets are collectively used and various formal and informal pool of activities are done to realize urban living. Telling you how the approach is used, headlines based on the vocabularies of the approach were not developed instead vocabularies of the approach were differently used under own developed headlines. Turning to the migrants perspective, they in the town Metehbila established living by participating in a number of shanty urban available works. Usually their ways of living are expressed with pool of works they do in the town. Livelihood strategy has been thought as a means to overcome living challenges in rural areas and migration is a measure usually taken; for this study strategy is migrant's different formal and informal works only by which they could get things that make them able to live and their approaches to find and sustain those works. Here, different types of strategies are under concern. As tried to outline in chapter three under the headline 'sustainable livelihood framework' the types of strategies such as survival strategies, adaptive strategies and coping strategies are indicated and here in this chapter, they are the lenses to visualize migrant's urban livelihood activities and they are placed at the end subtopic of this chapter. One might consider further migration or return migration as a strategy but it is not the concern of this study the concern is rather kinds of works that furnish grounds for making their living after migration in the town which are presented below in different parts.

6.2 Urban forms of Livelihood Activities

As rural areas so in urban areas migrants maintain their livelihood by mixing a set of strategies which usually considered as immersing self to different urban available occupations ([Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002](#)). Even though it is contending to believe all migrants are poor, most are characterized by lack of assets and inability to develop sustainable livelihood even when they were at rural fringes. After coming to the town, they are still with hardship of resource entitlements and hence, forced to participate in most accessible town available works which requires less capital, less commitment that could favor and go with their limited ability to maintain sustainable livelihood for the short run but through time, there is possibility to shift and build strong livelihood which principally based on entitling all the desired resources

and strategies. Of course starting urban livelihood is dependent on urban work atmosphere, migrant's skill, level of education, and even gender and money. For the short run, migrants strategy is expressed in participating pool of works as mentioned below. The first two sub-topics are activities done by women migrants and the next three sub-topics are activities done by male migrants. The direct concern given to their livelihood when they were in rural fringes is slim because all the interviewee migrants came from agricultural background communities which have experienced almost the same factors mentioned in the migration reason chapter/5.

6.2.1 Tela and Areke Preparation and Selling

In Ethiopian local food and drink preparations tradition, there are colossal of foods and beverages that the societies use to consume on any ordinary days and holidays. Tela and areke drinks are the most common types of beverages which any one could get anywhere in different colures and ingredients in the country. In Amharic¹³ *Tela* or in Oromipha *Farso* is an alcoholic liquor prepared from cereal crops like wheat, maize, sorghum and teff. In additions, it requires locally called *bikl/malt* (Geleta & Grausgruber, 2014), a very dried gesho powder, water and 3-5 days to make it ready for drink. The process and time needed varies from highland areas to lowland areas. In lowland areas where there is intense heat, it needs not more than 3 days like in Metehbila and in highland areas it needs more days to make it mature and ready to use. Likewise, Areke drink preparation needs almost the same ingredients but the process of production is very different that it is produced on very intense flame heats added on a clay pot and so that using a cannal like tube it accumulates in to bottles attached to the cannal and the pot. The process in chemistry is called distillation. Therefore, preparing areke needs immediate follow up and hence it is labor intensive than tela drink preparations. Coming to this research respondents mainly of woman, out of the total interviewed women population, it is only Mebrate - a woman Migrant from Sede'as, Emyu from Shegagebeya and Worknesh from Teju do not produce and sell these alcoholic local drinks while the remaining women migrants produce and sell it.

¹³ The official language spoken in Ethiopia.

Migrants		
Female	Male	Informal Works Migrants Do in the Town
Birhane		Selling tela and areke
Yimenashu		selling tela and areke
Shewamebrat		Selling tela, areke and soft drink
Aselefech		Selling tela and rarely soup
	Argaw	Wood and welding work
Worknesh		Sometimes spreading mud on walls
Atli		Selling tela and areke and retailing gesho and onion
Emyu		Sometimes casual construction work
	Mekonen	Extracting and cutting building stone
Tanchiwodia		Selling tela and tea
Mebrate		Selling bread and tea
	Wolde	Begging
	Wogayehu	Selling mobile covers and repairing electronics
	Ayele	Wood and welding work
Manahle		Rarely selling tela and needle work
	Tadesse	Town security work
Belyu		Selling tela and areke
Misa		Tela, gesho and onion selling

Table 7. Migrants and their Town Works.

All these women rely their livelihood on these traditional drinks productions and selling. For example, A woman migrant from Gordosolomon (02) said that every woman immediately start these occupations since it require low capital to start and skills but not easy. However, the level of profitability is low and some time it may not bring money during cold seasons especially of tela. Even there is an increasing competition on the price per cup.



This photo shows that a woman migrant who is selling tela to rural farmers who come to sell their cereals and gesho. It also shows the woman sell the drink in a very crowded verandah of her rented house since the area of her house serves only to live with her utensils used to live .

Photo 1. Tela selling by migrant women
Source, Own Filed photo Capture Summer, 2013.

Some women sell it with 1.5 birr¹⁴ while other sell with lower prices. There is no standard cost that migrant women used to sell instead they sell it with minimum price that leads them to incur less profit. Birhane another women migrant also indicated that the strategy she used to reduce the cost per cup is to finish all what she prepared to sell unless it would bring crises; less profit is better than totally losing it so that reducing the cost is to avoid the risks that follows not selling the whole tela. These interviewed women migrants do this task to get immediate consumption foods for themselves and their family members. It is a questions of survival for them, once they stopped doing this, the ultimate outcome is family hunger, inability of paying house rent and debts since they initially took grains from merchants and paying the cost back after selling these liquors.

Another woman migrant Yimenashu outlined participating in this occupation is the last minimum status that migrants substantially would have; there is no respect for them since their customers mostly of rural farmers are delinquent and sometimes try to behave them/act over. Besides to this, the long term outcome from tela and areke selling is nothing more than feeding self. Birhane -a woman migrant demonstrates that she has been doing tela and areke selling for the last one and half decades but she still is as she was before 14 years ago. No remarkable forward shift with doing tela and areke selling. Yimenashu a woman migrant again said the following about the rest challenges related with tela selling work.

"This is a blood, the work is hard to do; getting money after selling tela is like selling a blood. Look at my palm of hand, it is full of scars since I crushed gesho and wash pots with my hand for long. I sell tela five times a week and for that I roast the grains in my crowded rental house and the smoke coming out making me ill in my eye".

It seems dooming people to say what her hand color look like, but still I want to say what I have seen from her hand, it is getting yellowish as a result of grinding gesho with a traditional wood strike exclusively with her manual efforts. Her house is full of plastic jugs to store tela and it is there she roast the grains where there is no channel to release the smoke. Not only Yimenashu, the other interviewed migrant women who prepare tela and areke have no enough spaces to freely prepare it. Tanchiwodia- a migrant from Akmit kebele indicated that she even sell the tela itself in an open space where there is no cover for her customers and the drink itself.

6.2.2 Gesho and Onion Retailing

In Amharic *gesho*, in its scientific or biological name *Rhamnus Prinoides* (Gebre & Chandravanshi, 2012) is plant widely grow up almost all parts of Ethiopia. However, the

¹⁴ With the current exchange rate 1USD\$ is about 19 birr and hence, 1.5 birr is about 0.077\$

northern part of the country in Tigray regional state, North shewa zone in Ahmaha regional state and the southern nation nationalities regional state especially Kaffa and Dawro are the most common areas where gesho is widely cultivated. As Gebre and Chandravanishi further demonstrated that the leaves and stem of this plant is used to prepare local drinks principally tela and teji¹⁵. In addition, it also used to prepare areke. Naturally this plant has a bitter taste and has chemicals used to change the colure and substantially alcoholic contents of these locally prepared beverages which has so many users across the country.

Likewise, gesho is cultivated in Berehet district and being sold in the local markets in rural kebeles and the town Metehbila. Misa a woman migrant from Wosil kebele outlined that she is retailing gesho leafs after she came to Metehbila for about five years. She indicated that the sources for this product or leaf are rural farmers who bring it to markets with their shoulder and donkeys and the mid buyer are Misa and her fellow retailers and the last users are those *setegna adari*¹⁶ or those female migrants and non migrants whose livelihood rely on preparing and selling tela and areke. In her weekly gesho retailing task Misa tried to indicate that there are so many bottlenecks which fight her job on the market. Selling and buying of gesho is conducted an open space where there is an intense temperature and above all the increasing price that farmers impose on this product challenges her urban livelihood since she partly depend on it.



Photo 2. Migrants gesho retailing on an open market
Source, Own Filed photo capture Summer, 2013.

Misa indicated that the profitability of tela sellers determines the profitability of her retailing work. The farmers once distribute it to retailers so they have no risk, the risk is to Misa and

¹⁵ Brownish Ethiopia alcoholic drink (mead).

¹⁶ A local term used widely to refer those women whose income is dependent on selling alcoholic drinks and used also to refer those female society who are participating in commercial sex in the district.

her friends giving that when the buying potentials of those tela producer women increase, the selling pace and profitability of Misa increase and when tela sellers get delay in selling of their drink, they cease buying gesho and the selling opportunity of Misa also forces to delay. She also indicated that sometimes she couldn't finish what she bought to resell and forced to keep it in house for week and some times longer than this and when gesho is kept in house it changes its color and lack its value.

In general as indicated by Misa and other migrant women, working on retailing gesho on the market is not different from selling tela and other locally prepared beverages because all these tasks are the last possibilities that many migrant women can do and has very less transformative ability in the everyday lives. In informal talking with one Muslim old man, he indicated that Muslims totally hate this practice since they believe it as *Haram*¹⁷; Muslims do not drink areke and tela and thus Muslim migrant women do not participate in retailing gesho work since it is very humiliating task and lowest standard work which they always considered it as the task of destitute Christian women migrants. Like retailing gesho, women migrants also engage in retailing onions and potatoes on the same open, dusty, and congested market. A woman migrant named *Atli* from 05 kebele indicated that she on every Saturday and Wednesday *wake up very early* and fight to get these products from producer farmers on the street. It is impossible to get if one stood up late and hence there is a need to compete with other retailers to get the products first and on the market, since they sell on one specific open area. They are also subjected to municipal workers daily tax reveals. My key informant from the district municipal office Kebede Woldu indicated that such all practices are illegal informal trading which lack legal grounds and the local government is planning to ban illegal trading to increase and properly collect tax from every workers in the area.

¹⁷ Totally prohibited task to do by Muslims. They relate it with their faith as it is forbidden by their Quran. The Quran, according to the man's saying, doesn't allow Muslims to drink alcoholic beverages and participating to sell and or buy gesho is thus not allowed.



Photo 3. Retailing onion and potatoes by migrants
Source, *Own Field photo capture, summer, 2013.*

This photo shows migrant women who are retailing onion after they buy it from farmers like what gesho retailers do. They resell it to town inhabitants to get very low profit. It is just on an open space they sell it that the sun light is very intense, care for quality of the product is less since, there is an dust and fly. They have also no specific location to sell.

The collective response obtained from those women migrants who are working on retailing gesho and onion, preparing tela and areke also reveal that they have various problems related with market, competition, lack of demands, administrative segregations which in turn has been reflected in provision of specific places for migrants to so sell and produce their goods, unconditional daily tax on market places with no receipt to the migrant payers so that they don't know to whom the money will be collected-the government or local corrupt officials. Two women migrants who participate in mud work and tea selling Mebrate and Woknesh respectively also indicated that their occupations are not profitable.

It is generally indicated in the sub-topics that women migrants have experienced various issues related with livelihood vulnerability contexts, strategies and its outcomes. As a woman migrant form 02 said (under sub-topic 6.2.1), they started tela and areke selling since it is cheap to begin. Strategy of livelihood in narrow sense begins with choosing what migrants can really do as per of their skill, finance and entire environment in the town. Do they dislike engaging in better works in the town? the answer is really no. In the first place, there is no works possibilities created for them with very low cost and skill so that their choice became participating in these works and welcomed all the ramifications that follows. The vulnerability contexts come not always before starting means of livings. They can also come in the middle and at the end/outcome. What is visible from these women's participation in producing and

selling tela and areke drinks is that they have been facing health shocks like sickness, less profitability, exposed to misbehaved farmers who are yelling over them, competitions, price risks and the like.

6.2.3 Street Work / Begging

Begging has been a long tradition among the people of Ethiopia. Since the country, especially during monarchial period, was under prolonged instability, tribal conflict, acute poverty and ecological disorder (Ezra et al, 2001; Prabhakar & Alemu, 2013) so many people have been under crises to find livelihood strategies and hence to assist their lives in the country. The most easiest, however currently tough, strategy that destitute, old, blind, disable, orphans children and people use at the time and currently has been begging on the street and where peoples collective celebrate and serve themselves (Abebe, 2008). The most important places for this practice include religious sites like church and mosque, market places, hotels and restaurants, bus stations, wedding days, annual holidays, and so on. Keeping its tradition among generations, begging has been also the livelihood strategy of migrants in the district. Among the male migrant interviewed to this research Wolde Mekuria outlined his story as follows.

"I'm living as Lemagn or Yenebite¹⁸ in the town because I cannot see things surrounding me. Being blindness means being extreme poor and this forced me to be a beggar which I extremely hate before. Sometimes people in their life path can encounter what they really fear; the same happened to me. I'm now assisting myself with the money which I have been getting from market days and church begging work. I beg every morning after sitting on streets towards to Lideta¹⁹ church. I also beg on every market days. For this, thanks to God, I have been getting money to pay for my house rent. I don't care to what I eat because I sometimes get leftovers from church festivities and some people who consider the hereafter bring me food to eat. But I'm in trouble to go to begging places and back to my house. I appease my child who now lives with her mother to only show me the roads where I want to beg but she is not interested to do this. However thanks to those blessed people they sometimes help me to show the places. I'm also facing increasing cost of my house rent. In average I'm getting about 40-60 birr per month and some times more and below this amount. My house rent is 90 birr per month, there is no balance between what I'm getting and paying and the price is increasing yet. If the situation continues like this, I would undoubtedly have forced to live and stay on the street where there are so many hyenas available during night time. In fact, I'm old right now

¹⁸ Local terms to mean beggar.

¹⁹ Name of the church in the town.

but I still need to be alive and preferred begging as means of living. Since I'm blind, I have no social role to play with others besides that of my begging".

Wolde is a blind so that he doesn't have the advantages that other non blind beggars and ordinary people have. Strategically to be listen and touch people's heart, he begs systematically by calling the name of angels and constructing poems that directly related with his personal trouble. His response to how tough this task was that some people give him money, some others totally ignore him. The most challenging conditions related with begging according to him is that he begs continuously as it is his means of living but people gets reluctant when they see and hear him for the second and many times so that their willingness to give coins reduce dramatically. The other external factor is that his begging is not on specific and covered areas rather it is on an open edge of streets where immense of dusts, sever sun rays and sometimes rainfall occur. He by himself could not get solutions during rainy days unless those blessed people pick him to his slum house. To the larger district town community Wolde and other beggars do not give meaning or give very less meanings since no body give care for them from the government branch or the larger community. He said that, all the beggars are ignored and considered as the one who are outside public social space and who creates his/her unique social space. The response by Wolde directly related to the findings by [Panter-Brick, \(2002\)](#) on her studies to street children who are considered as the one who build their own space but not recognized by anybody in Brazil and Bangladesh.

6.2.4 Wood and Welding Work

In the sense of grouping works in developing nations, wood work and welding are clustered under informal economic sectors that could potentially absorb colossal of employees rooted from urban and rural fringes. The ultimate outcome from these and other related informal sectors to the larger national and regional economy as [Tshuma & Jari, \(2013\)](#) indicated is paramount in that it creates bundles of job, improves incomes of employed, it assists technological and skill transfer and improves the image of developing nations in the fronts of those forerunners. Likewise, the government of Ethiopia has started and give attention to micro and small scale enterprises that include wood and welding work since 1997 during when the ruling political party was under increasing rival party's' turmoil. Afterwards, the existing party has established the strategy of creating jobs by expanding small scale enterprises throughout the country ([MOFED, 2002](#)). Directed from this national development strategy, the district government in Berehet woreda also has opened an office that aims to give capacity and skill training for both sex adults coming from the town and the rural kebel.

In addition, the office in its big poster wrote a vision indicating that the local government is also ready to provide fair and equitable credits for those applicants who want to work in group basis. It further indicated that those female applicants will be really welcomed and priority will be given to them.

Returning to the issue of migrants participation in the town's micro and small scale enterprise specifically wood and welding work, two rural-urban male migrants engaged in this sector in the town. As a platform, these male migrants first applied their plan to the office and start the works/small business possibly to say, in group with common interest.

"First we started wood and welding work with five member and could continue it for 2 years. However, three of the member departed themselves from us after taking some sewing machines bought by the government. Starting from that time onwards we lost trust by the officials and the officials themselves were in corruption in selection of members and taking some bought stuffs to them". (Ayele, a 22 years old migrant from 08 kebele).

It is a double stealing by the adult workers in one hand and the officials in another. The reasons for departing of organized members as Ayele's speech indirectly entails that existence of selfishness and sometimes dissatisfactions with common profit from common works. As members get much skill and know to operate independently, they immediately separate from the group and start their business which is not free from some secret recourse stealing from the commons. Officials on their side said they are striving with the sense of helping the community and ultimately to reduce level of unemployment in the town.

"We are working our best in giving trainings and credits to migrant and non migrant adults in this town and the larger rural kebeles. In this town, we established a center to give vocational training with some necessary stuffs help to create more awareness and skill, the process of selecting those unemployed is based on their tangible current level of poverty, discipline and their curiosity to be included; it is not closeness and biological relations". Kebere, A Key informant from district micro and small scale enterprise office.

It is very equivocal and paradox game that the officials' concern seems to achieve the objectives set by the national government but at the back side, as the interviewee migrants said officials are working based on proximity they have with relatives and neighbors unemployed and above all, the habit of direct embezzlement is the most solid problem that hinders unemployment not to be reduced and migrants not to be fairly beneficiary from the trainings and the subsequent work opportunities.

Nevertheless, male migrants like Ayele and Argaw, who are the fittest today could sustain and start their broad based wood work business in the town.



Photo 4. Wood Work as livelihood by Male migrants in the Town
Source own filed photo capture, Summer, 2013.

This clearly shows that the training and credits, despite related corruptions and bureaucratic matters, are significant but only when the migrant trainees become committed and with hope to see the better tomorrow. These two migrants are today at the level where they could open extra jobs for other migrants which is really considered as a good start to solve the community problems of poverty by the community member themselves. Especially, Ayele indicated that he has four workers under his small company and be able to pay them 4000 Birr/\$ 210 per month as a salary. He further indicated that the existing external situations have become another bottlenecks for his work. The existing roads that link the town and the existing transportations which he used to bring inputs from far larger cities and to send his product are not in a manner that intensify interests of many workers. To the local market, he indicated that it is promising but it would be saturated since the local population is not high compared to neighbors district town; his attention is now to the larger other markets outside the district where there is good transportation and power delivery.

6.2.5 Stone Cutting

Ethiopia is endowed with various kinds of stone minerals used for preparing jewelries and house utensils served for various purposes. These include, marble lime stone and granite, soap

stone and serpentine²⁰, sand stone, basalt and the like which also used for construction of house and cobble stone for streets including in Addis Ababa (Walle, Zewde, & Heldal, 2000). The district Berehet has also basalt stone which entirely used for building house in the town Metehbila. The district micro and small scale enterprise office which has a responsibility of opening jobs for unemployed in the town and from rural outskirts organized male migrants and non-migrant to extract building stone. The office allowed them an open place located in eastern edge of the town to collectively dig out the stone cut and sell it for customers coming from the town for house construction.



Photo 5. Construction stone extracted by migrants near the town
 Source, Own field photo capture July, 2013.

My migrant interviewee Mekonen who is working in this sector outlined his life story as follow.

"After finishing my education here in the town I started tailor work and did it for two years during market days always on Wednesday and Saturday. I also participate in daily and casual construction work by which I assisted myself for two years. Tailor work which focused on local marketers was good work but it was not promising to bring change in short period of time. However, working on this area/as tailor is somewhat better than working in government offices because it allowed me to have contact with skilled people on the same field and second, the income it generated was not once in a month it was rather mostly on weekly basis. The problems I faced during this work were that people preferred by fashion designs and finished exported dressings from abroad, increasing cost of inputs, and above all, the existing power provision was very poor since it made many time interruptions in a day and weeks. As a

²⁰ Often referred to as green marble and used as decorative stone especially in Europe (Walle, Zewde, & Heldal, 2000).

result, four years from now I joined stonecutters who are working in group basis. It was after applying to the office in charge that I joined them. Stone cutting work is hard but could produce large money in short period of time when compared to working as tailor and servant in government sectors. I perform this work manually without any kind of modern machine. I used hammer and simple metal ax to cut laid stone. My hand sometimes get bleeding and is full of wounds. Stone cutting work is not possible to old peoples even I have a plan to change with other occupation after working it for some period".

Story by Mekonen entails that migrants have shifting desires of works when situations get hard to continue on previous works. Alongside with tailor work, he was doing casual construction daily based work. The purpose for this kind of participation in various areas is to diversify means of income and assist urban livelihood. Like said above in the context chapter, it is not only the sending community who have the desire to diversify income and overcome challenges by house hold but the migrants, besides being a tool to increase income for their sending families, also have a strategy of diversifying income by engaging in different works. We could refer it is as livelihood diversification strategy, which (Ellis, 1998, p. 1) stated as a diverse portfolio of actions, activities and capabilities by people to enhance their standard of livings, after migration in the town. Mekonen's short story also entails that extracting stone, cutting it and getting money is hard in his second working sector and also he thought that working in stone cutting sector may not be support sustainable livelihood in the town. He related it to physical ability; when age increases, the propensity to dig out stone and generating money is very low because ability matters. It is to this extents that migrants think about themselves; he is in a position to transfer himself to another work that can establish sustainable livelihood in the town. The other important thing indicated in his story is that the facilities also matters urban livelihood. As he outlined infrastructure, including electrification which is the physical capitals mentioned in livelihood framework (Ellis, 2000), working rudimentary and advanced machines which potentially could facilitate every sectors performance and livelihood of every one also determine urban sustainable livelihood. Absence or scarcity of these all and others means collapse in livelihood that resulted in either banning the work or shifting to another sector as Mekonen did.

6.3 Migrants Urban Livelihood strategies in Sum and Related Challenges

It is outlined in the stories above that almost all migrants except few have developed survival livelihood strategies by which they are fighting with everyday urban living challenges. For this, majority of them are participating in informal livelihood activities which they have

maintained in the town. From the outset they migrate to survive and after their coming they are continuously fighting to survive. Survival strategy, as defined in chapter three, is a strategy to secure a living with increasing fight in which inabilities and crises are common. For these migrants, it is a question of food to eat, water to drink and shelter to get cover. Even with their diverse strives to live, some obstacles differently challenge their tiny structured strategies.

A woman migrant Sehwebrat in this regard said:

"To get a land here in the town, some town administrators ask two things-money and building special relations with them".

'Special relation' according to her speech is to say that administrators used their power as means to exploit women with sexual relations and granting the resources they need later.

Another woman migrant Manahle said:

"I was sick in 2001 and as a result some neighbor people suspected me as HIV patient, thanks to God it was not that it was rather TB which made me sick for long, some of those who lounged and talked about me are not here today, they died with HIV-AIDS but for me the community including close relatives still have very wrong impression since I was sick before. They have also very little care to Setegna adari (the definition is given above under sub-topic 6.2.2 and in the methodology chapter in the last subtopic) in the town. It is those who don't know me come and drink my tela during market days but who know me don't. No marginalization more than this; it is indirect killing".

For this woman the challenge is discrimination by the community around. Her livelihood is under risk because her income depends on those who drink her tela, what if those who don't know her know the case? it is not equivocal to say that they also will stop drinking.

As outlined above under 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 majority of the women migrants are working on tela and areke preparation and selling. There is no ground to say these activities are illegal in Ethiopian perspective but they are informal activities that produce alcoholic local beverages which push farmers to act over the sellers after drinking. The migrants have no better choice more than this and hence, they relied on these activities as their survival means by which they could get money to purchase good to eat and work further with no intensification even on the same activities. Some studies totally placed these activities as illegal and prohibited. For example, as a study by [Rozario, \(2011, p. 283\)](#) indicated that it is not legally and religiously allowed to prepare and sell such kinds of drinks in Sir Lanka but as means of survival household members still do as strategies to live. Actually Muslims also do not participate in such activities in Berehet. The question underlining is why they selected these activities as

means of survival. The answer, as said by the migrants differently in the above subtopics, they have no sufficient money to start better activities and they couldn't get enough assets to actualize better living.

Despite facing different challenges, very few migrants could maintain relatively better adaptive strategy. Adaptive strategy is expressed in chapter three as diversifying number of activities to increase income or intensifying the chosen activities to build strong livelihood. Quite few of male migrants as in indicated in subtopic in 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 are in better position. For example, An adult migrant interviewee Ayele is in a position to build his house and open work opportunity not only to him but also for others. Other migrants like Argaw and Mekonen are in better off and be able support themselves and sometimes their relatives. The underlining factor to make the difference is use of human capital on better livelihood activities where there are better demands. These male migrants have the skill which enabled them to participate in wood and welding works and to participate in different other activities like what Mekonen did. Therefore, they are leading better life in the town than before in rural areas. I shall come later about the these migrants while presenting remittance in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

7. Social Capital and Migrants Inclusions in Town community Association

7.1 Introduction

Based on responses gained from migrants, this chapter aims to assess social capital that migrants develop and maintain in the town. As stated in the literature chapter, social capital is conceived as reciprocity and trust, embedded in social structures, societies institutional arrangements and membership which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives ([Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002](#)). Social capital for this research is taken as membership of migrants to various town associations, importance of the associations for migrants in getting and accessing resources in the town and their roles and responsibilities to the associations or groups. It is non-material and intangible resource, possible to say, but could generate material capitals when and where the subjects in the community use it to this purpose. Social capital can also strengthen the ties that exist between migrant with migrant, migrant with host community and ultimately helps to solve individual problems within the community and the community's problem by the community collective efforts and participations ([Putnam, 1995](#)). The concern afterwards is to town associations in which social capital is more pertained and migrants are participated. This chapter is designed to embrace town association and migrants involvement in the first part and the issue of remittance in the second part. The reason why putting remittance under this chapter is stated under the subtopic itself (7.3).

7.2 Town Associations and Migrants In Metehbila

The formations of informal and formal community associations in Ethiopia have a long history and traditions. The most driving force for their formation is related with prevalence of prolonged and wide range poverty, lack of decentralized government, and above all, absence of welfare service and payments by the government. Since there had been no body expected to solve community problems, the former societies and communities have started formation of small community associations to solve their problems by their collective effort ([Abiche,2013](#)) but there is no clear information on when they first started it. Likewise, the present urban and rural populations in Berehet have also so many informal associations designated to solve their everyday problems and share experiences. As understood from the interview feedback (see, table 8) rural to urban migrants as any members in the town have so many engagements and membership in town associations formed by town communities. From the total interviewed migrants only three were not members while the remaining fifteen

migrants were registered and contributed to different associations in the town and, among other, some of these associations include, Idir, Equb, Mahber/tsiwa and Batltna and so on. Associations in this context are conceived as group of migrants and non migrants who primarily organized by their individual interest and collectively perform various actions that help members in terms of finance, console members while grieving a death, health shocks, and generally collaborations during their every day livings. The binding rule behind each associations is members commonly ratified regulations, trust and cohesions. The way how migrants get former members are diverse. Neighborhood, relatives and working places are some of the areas where they talk about the membership and the relevance of the associations. There is no a deployed person who works to preach about the importance of the associations rather it is through formal and informal everyday contacts that migrants get the channel to be members.

Migrant by origin kebeles	Female	Male	Associations Migrants Involved in
2	Birhane		Tsiwa, Idir, Bltna, Iqub
	Yimenashu		Iqub, Tsiwa, Idir, Bltna
3	Aselefech		Idir
	Shewamebrat		Iqub, Idir, Tsiwa
4		Argaw	Idir
	Worknesh		Community Policing
5	Atli		Idir, Iqub
	Emyu		Tsiwa
6		Mekonen	-----
	Tanchiwodia		Idir, Iqub
7	Mebrate		Idir, Iqub, Tsiwa
		Wolde	-----
8		Alemu	Idir, Iqub
		Wogayehu	Idir
9	Manahle		-----
		Tadesse	Idir, Iqub
10	Misa		Idir, Iqub, Tsiwa
	Belyu		Idir, Baltna

Table 8. Town Association in Metehbila and migrants involvement
Source, own structure based on respondents feedback.

7.2.1 Idir

From the interview and informal talk with migrants and different individuals it is found that Idir in the context of indigenous Ethiopian rural and small-town populations, is defined as informal urban and rural community association formed to address the socio-economic problems to the members first and the larger community then. Initially it started with small

member but no clear cut lower limit and gradually grows in terms of its members and the financial capital that follows. Once member started it, others would be reinforced to join the group and secure their social and economic wellbeing. Structurally, this informal association has its one chairman, one secretary and one audit and inspections leader. However, the relationship between these selected members and the ordinary members is not vertical rather it is horizontal and the selected 3 peoples have no salary or special advantages allocate to them instead they do it voluntarily and act as any ordinary members. Members on their side are supposed to pay monthly payments in cash, in kind mostly grains and powder to be given for the person who is/are at risk of family death. The contributions in terms of cash and other forms also serve to prepare food stuffs to eat during time of crises. From migrant's response I also identified that there are different Idirs but similar in terms of their mission.

*"I have been registered In **Gabriel Idir**²¹ which has many members and the largest Idir in this town. During registering I told the secretary the my name, my wife's, my children's name and nearest relatives living far from me. The purpose of registering relatives and family members is to get recognition for later help in cases when members from among the registered die. It is possible to get the money and other forms of supports only when members from the registered died. It is not allowed to get any support for the deaths of unregistered and far relatives. The death of grandparents, fathers and mothers, children, wife and husband is accepted. In addition to contributing cash and grains, we the members, especially men are supposed to dig holes for burring the dead body, providing firewood from gentle, fetching water, preparing temporary shelter places for those gusts and women are mostly kept in home to prepare food and drinks. The criteria to be registered under this Idir is a confirmation letter from the town administration office and identification cards. There is also age limit to register, the minimum age is 20 years. There is no religion distinction to be included in this Gebriel Idir, both Muslims and Christians can be registered. Newcomers should stay at least one year and be able to pay the advance payment 200birr"* Tadesse, a 33 years old migrant man.

The response by Tadesse showed that the purpose of this community based urban association 'Idir' is very diverse. In one hand it helps to cover financial expenses during when risks come to family members. The other most important aspect is the fact that members sense of inclusion, socializations and common efforts to cover that most tragic and perhaps worst time. The spirit of social cohesiveness here serve as a blanket that covers individual members hardship during times of death.

²¹ Name of the Idir he belonged giving that there are different Idirs with names.

Idir helps migrant and non migrant members not only in economic and social basis but it also helps to accept and exercise diversity in religion and equality. The chairman of Gebriel Idir is a Muslim man (Ato Ahmed Mekasha). Imagine, the name given to this Idir starts with the name of an angel Gabriel to whom Muslims do not have acceptance as per of their religion and Quran. It is therefore, to this extent that Idir plays role to settle co-existence and waving uncertainties by common collaborations among the members. The other most important thing which is visible from Tadesse's response above, is the fact that even though they don't know when they will exactly die, they clearly know one day it will happen either on themselves or their close relatives so that they start contribution today for the management of tomorrow's hardship. One widowed interviewee woman migrant also said:

"I saw how Idir is important during when my husband died. Until 40th day after his death, members in our Idir all helped me in providing financial support, in kind and cheer me up to forget grief. I got 4000 birr /\$210 which is the fixed amount from the Idir and used it to buy school necessity for my one daughter and started tea selling in every morning". **A 28 years old migrant woman-Tanchiwodia.**

A response by this woman showed that Idir plays not only to solve risks related with death but also helps to establish and support urban livelihood. This reflects that the conversion of one capital to another. The social capital-Idir is an instrument to generate financial capital and later to support livelihood. In line with this (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2002, p. 5) pointed out that social capital in the output produces not only ties and trust among members in certain associations but also other forms of assets necessary for supplement existing livelihood or to start from the scratch.

Idir also has a role in the time happiness and festivity; for example, members are allowed to take and use all the utensils during their weddings and other forms of celebrations. Despite having these and other related advantages, Idir, according to Tadasse's response and as a social capital, has few limitations that its regulations ,even though difficult to be sure how they are standard, ignore membership rights of children and the extent of helping poor outside the members is not as such visible. In fact destitute can be members but only when they fit to pay all forms of contributions; if not they could not be members. To the larger context social capital has limitations at least in time and efforts by members. The establishment of trust, cohesiveness and connectivity with members require elapsing of several times, several meetings, several contributions (Ibid). Likewise, members in Idir to get what they need to have, they must meet with other members in different times, must contribute several times including monthly financial contribution itself. Nevertheless, the collective responses

obtained from migrants indicated that Idir is important to have economic advantages that would be paid in terms of cash, to strength social relations, developing the habit of planning, thinking about self and family members and above all, accepting essence of diversity and equality and that is why majority of the migrants, as indicated in the table 1 above, are members in Idir. A study done by [Abiche, \(2013\)](#) in southern Ethiopia showed that Idir is important to boost only economic benefits to member migrants and non-migrants while this study gets much more contributions that Idir has to members in migrants urban everyday lives.

7.2.2 Iqub

The difference between Iqub and Idir is that the former is an association that members constituted to contribute money and the later is more than money as outlined above. Among others, Iqub in Ethiopia is a tradition of mobilizing financial assets on the base of mutual interest and ability to pay at any level of society and geographic domain ([Emana, 2009](#)). Peoples collectively contribute certain amount of money on weekly, once a or twice a month and give money to the one lucky person based on traditional lottery system of selection. On the second selection process, the first lucky person has no chance to be included rather he or she has debt and suppose to pay until all the remaining members get their turns. Giving that Iqub is a means by which members could save and get money without interest. There is no money that is being kept under Iqub leader rather members meet and collect all the fixed amount and give it to selected one on the same day. The other significant thing related with Iqub is the that the lucky person can transfer the money to the person he/ she likes mostly in cases when the recipient is under urgent problem like sickness, crises and other kinds of uncertainties. Sometimes the selected man or woman can sell the money he or she gets to the other person in immediate need; free transfer is also possible.

Migrants said the following regarding Iqub:

"I started tela selling with the money I borrowed from Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI)²² located in the town. After starting the work, I have been contributing 20 birr per 15 days. I won Iqub two times and started repaying my debt and I'm using the remaining money to buy consumption foods, uniforms and exercise books for my children. I'm also using it to ask my parents in 05 kebele". Atli, a woman Migrant from 05 kebele.

²² An institution established in 1997 with an aim to provide credit, to accept from its customers savings in the form of demand and deposit, to administer micro financing funds and sometimes to give advice for customers on the importance of savings and to encourage setting up or establishment of small project that can generate income in towns and rural areas ([Aemiro & Mekonen, 2012](#)).

"I'm paying 5 birr per week for Iqub and when I get the money back I use it to pay house rent, grains and gesho to continuing tela and arke selling. Sometimes I lost my principal and unable to continue tela and areke but Iqub helps me to restart it". Emyu a woman migrant from 010 kebele

"I'm not a member in any association in the town. As you see, I'm working on the street where sometimes I could not get money; being a member in Iqub for example needs continuous payment so I could not pay that at all". Wolde a man migrant from 07kebele.

As it is outlined from migrants' response, they use Iqub for various purposes; educating kids, buying consumption materials, providing support as remittance to families in rural kebeles, paying house rent are the some of the areas on which migrants invest their money gained form of Iqub. For example, for Emyu it sometimes enable her to re open her slim livelihood tela and areke selling therefore, Iqub is take as an insurance when migrants face crises to continue their work. Nevertheless, a man migrant's response entails that Iqub also favors only to those who could continuously pay the required amount. For those who are not sure of getting money to pay, it doesn't work as Wolde indicated. Similarly, a woman migrant Manahle from 09 respond the same answer to Wolde. However, there are some migrants who do not have interests to Iqub. An adult migrant from 08 Wogayehu has ability to pay but he indicated that he preferred to save in bank. Despite the differences in amount they save, some male and female migrants in the town contribute what all they can to save and to change their lives. As indicated by some migrants it is possible to realize that they are fighting to uphold their living in the town. Opening their livelihood, educating children and feeding self are great deals to them that they make real as result of participating in Iqub. Therefore, the role of Iqub is collecting money and rehabilitate the everyday lives of migrants and non migrants. It facilitates financial asset acquisition by migrants and reserve time relief to repay the debt.

7.2.3 Tsiwa

Unlike Idir and Iqub, Tsiwa is a religious association by migrants and non migrants living in the town. A migrant from 05 named Emyu said that she is a leader for Tsiwa religious association who has a responsibility to adjust programs in every meetings to celebrate and to prepare a schedule for members to bring drinks and food to eat in the celebration, the left over as she said is given to beggars who are living surrounding the church Lideta in the town. The group according to her has a mission to heir heaven by doing right things for those ill and

helpless in the town like they do to beggars and blinds. Also members discuss about their living challenges and in cases when members from the group face trouble, they collaborate to the extent of taking the person to tsebel (the meaning is given in the research area chapter) and sometimes collecting money to wave troubles like severe illness and sudden house fire.

7.2.4 Baltna

It is new association by only female migrants and their host women in the town. The mission is to improve members income by opening employment opportunity. A woman migrant from 02 said that in every month they meet and collect money from every members like Idir mentioned above but the difference is that here members are only women and with the money collected they prepare and sell spices, bean powder, dry Injera, grinded lentil all for local consumption and they share the profit in each 6 months. Members are welcomed every time and exit every time. The benefit is that it creates job for every member since each week every member sell the products and generate income that contribute for their living in the town. Diversification of livelihood is visible from migrants involvement in various associations. Three women migrants are members Baltna and they are also tela sellers. This showed that they are assisting their urban livelihood by diversifying their areas of participation in different associations. There is also one woman migrant who is a member in community policing (see Table,3) which in the urban context is a collective of volunteer migrants and non migrants who mediate hostilities among neighbors and sometimes help poor and sick individuals by washing clothes, providing food and giving care. Woknesh indicated that sometimes they get training from police on how to resolve differences and clash among inhabitants in the town and in return they get payment only when they participate in the training. She became a member to get the money as she has no more source of income and social role as indicated in the cause chapter sub-topic 5.3.

7.3 Remittance

At the heart of new economic labor migration theory and livelihood approach, there is the idea that migration extends access to resources and share risks; risk share is not just take care of trouble it is rather finding mechanism where migration is one channel by which solution could be gain. As outlined in the livelihood as well as new economic labor migration theory in the theory chapter, risk for migrants' sending families is deterioration in livelihood which could partly medicated by remittances. Remittance is material and non material gift given to sending families in the rural outskirts and the non material gift embraces social remittance (Skeldon, 2010, p. 24) by which sense of embeddedness, moral support, reinforcement,

sharing ideas and thinking about families by migrants while the material remittance include financial support and martial gifts. Therefore, remittance is not only economic it is also social capital and that is why it is placed here under this chapter.

Turning to the issue of migrants' remittance in this research, it generally seems complicated that some are remitting while other are remitting and receiving and some are not remitting and not receiving as showed in the table below.

Migrants /send	Amount/birr	Migrants/send and recive but couldn't identify	Migrants neither send nor receive
Ayele	08	5000	Misa 010
Argaw	04	1000	Shewamebrat 03
Birhane	02	500	Aselefech 03
Yimenashu	02	600	Emyu 05
Mebrate	07	450	
Mekonen	06	1500	
Wogayehu	08	500	
Tanchiwodia	06	500	
Atfi	05	500	
		10550	

Table 9. Manifestation of remittance by migrants

Source, Own structured based on migrant's response. **Numbers that start with 0 are kebels.**

From the total interviewed migrants half of them are able to identify that they are remitting for their sending families. However, they have no registered data for how much they send rather they simply estimated the annual amount they send to families and told me like yimenashu in the table above. The result in the table is therefore imperfect total since it is their estimation. Nevertheless, it still showed that nine migrants send an estimated 10550 birr/ \$555.26 per year. The rest four migrants couldn't estimate the amount but indicated that they are sending certain amount of money and goods and in return receives agricultural products for consumption in the town and money too. The remaining five migrants unlikely indicated that they are neither receiving nor sending anything to and from families. The implication is that the amount is generally not significant or large but still help families to assist their subsistence livelihood. In line with this, studies also depict that economic remittances from internal migrants have less transformative potential (Campbell, 2010) in the livelihood of families instead social support which is given in the form of social remittance has significance value. As indicated in table above, there is big disparities even among migrant's sending amount; for those who get better amount, remittance have better supporting potential. In this regard an adult migrant Ayele, who alone sends an estimated 5000birr / \$263.16 which is almost half of the total remittance being send to families, said the following:

"I send money and sometimes cooking oil and clothes for families with marketers who come here to sell and by products it might be from family members and outside family. Mostly I send when holidays come and sometimes they also tell me to send money when their ox die, need to buy materials to students and fertilizers for farm".

A response by Ayele demonstrates the channel he used for sending remittance, occasions to send remittance and purpose why remittance is needed by families. In most developing nations like in Ethiopia where there is no sufficient infrastructure like banking in rural areas migrants like Ayele used the people who link the place of destinations and origin as a tool to send money and other forms of remittance called an official channel (Ansala, 2012). The families according to him are in a position directly to ask him to send what they need. This shows that they are in need of remittance to share responsibility by their son and assist their livelihood by buying inputs for their agricultural economic activity. Like indicated under 6.2.4 in chapter 6, Ayele is a migrant who opened extra jobs for another people. He generates the money being sent from his wood and welding work in the town. With discussion with him, he outlined that he reach this level by passing several trucks. As said in chapter 6 he used the machine and credits from the town micro and small scale office first to start the work collectively and later when member departed from the group, he became beneficiary in using of the equipments independently and finally to start his own business by his sole capital. As indicated, he independently send an estimated 5000 birr per year which is almost half of the total remittance being sent. Five woman migrants together could send 2500 birr per year and this shows how scare their work is in the town. Almost all of them are selling tela as stated in chapter six and these areas of work are less profitable.

The other manifestation of remittance in the perspective of interviewee in this research is that there is rural to urban remittance like their movement. Four migrants indicated that they are receiving the amount which they could not calculate. Giving that they still are seeking support from families and the trend of remittance become reverse to these migrants. Studies support this occasion and reveal not only the occurrence of reverse remittance but also comparison with direct remittance. In this regard, (Mobrand, 2012, p. 389) pointed out that required or reverse remittance in south Korean rural- urban internal migration has exceeded the formal remittance from migrants.

As also indicated in table 3 above, five migrants are not sending and receiving remittance. Among them Wolde a beggar migrant in the town indicated that he is unable to send because his income is not enough even for his living.

" Both my wife's and my families sometimes come on market days here in the town and take rest in our house and going to their home in the afternoon. We have no relation more than giving shelter to take rest and they don't bring us anything". Tadesse a man migrant from 09.

Tadesse's response showed that it is not a matter of ability to send or not to send, it is a matter of extent of their relation. However, as indicated variously in different parts, the rest migrants who are not in a position to send are poor and sick- Worknesh, and Manahle respectively.

Generally it is clear to see from the discussion and table (9) that there is relationship between livelihood strategies and sending abilities. Those migrants who are tied with adaptive strategies send more money than those who are under survival strategies. Those who are sending less and not sending are under survival strategies which also shows that their ability to send depends what they are doing in the town.

Chapter Eight

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to mostly show results of the research. It consists two parts, the first part is the conclusion used to understand the summary of the research and its findings. Points under this subtopic are given linking with the subtopics in the analysis in particular and the research questions in general. The second part is the recommendation which shows what has to be done by migrants, local government and the community in the rural and urban areas in the district. It further indicates some important areas for further research related with migration and other social processes.

8.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to assess the cause for rural to urban migration in micro level Berehet district Ethiopia and study also examines migrants ways of urban livelihood activities which is expressed with their participations in various town available works and lastly migrants social capital which they get by involving in various town associations. In the first main part the study identified physical factors such as land shortage, absence of rainfall and family death; socio-cultural factors, such as presence of enemies, marriage, rape, and the resulted fistula and education; economic factors such as lack of employment opportunities in rural kebeles, again land shortage as economic factor, better employment access in the town and the pull factors most of which are at vision levels by migrants. What migrants indicated as a pull factors, they are also economic factors, include, better infrastructure, market access, and relatively better security in the short run and in the long run they have visions to develop sustainable livelihood by accessing all necessary resources needed and have a vision to get better job, good returns from activities, to build house, educating kids and live standard lives. In the second part the study examines various areas of occupations which migrants chosen as their strategies to be able to live in the town and the ways how they keep sustainability of these strategies which is understood as works that they have chosen. The activities indentified include, traditional liquor preparation and selling, retailing gesho and onions on markets, spreading mud, selling tea and bread all of which are activities done by women migrants; and wood and welding work, street work, stone cutting all of which are chosen and done by male migrants in the town. The last point the study addressed related with social capital and migrants inclusion in town associations in which the study specifically identified town community associations which are formed by migrants and non migrants. These associations

include, Idir, Iqub, Tsiwa and Baltna. The relevancies of these associations to migrants asset possession and their roles for the associations were also addressed. Related with social capital, remittances by migrants also addressed. After assessing the aforementioned points, the study arrived at the following findings. The findings are clustered as culture of survival livelihood strategy disparities between male and female migrants and outcomes of the strategies on migrants urban livings.

8.2.1 Livelihood Survival Strategy Differences Between Male and Female migrants

Turning back to the issue of livelihood, there are various strategies that are usually motioned under the essence of strategies in livelihood and these include survival strategies, adaptive strategies and coping strategies and so on. Since majority migrants are fighting to realize living in the town, the survival strategies are taken as a point of departure to show the results of the study with differences in urban livelihood activities by male and female migrants in the town.

This study found that migrants working cultural space in the town has formed livelihood strategy differences that put women on the existing un sound, non profitable, exploitive and non transformative local drink preparation and selling works. This stratification in another end puts most male migrants on works that have better, dynamic and transformative potential to their live change and their families in the town. As a result, the migrant women population has showed no remarkable financial and every day status progress. They still work what they did last year and decades ago. As understood from migrant's different responses, informal tela and arekie selling work need more follow up time which again relate it more to women in the tradition of gender work in the country at large and in Metehbila in particular. Women especially those illiterate and migrant who are in circle of problems with social and cultural integration have experienced staying more in home and this make them to have a strong and historic contact with indoor work like tela preparation and areke distillation. This tradition still dragged them to not to see another transformative and profitable woks which could improve their financial capacity and social position in the society. With field observation, it is found that not even a single male migrant is doing tela and areke preparation and selling and not even a single woman migrant is participating in wood and welding work, instead both sexes have formed their own working cultural spaces where, it seems, every one of them doesn't pass the line of each other spaces to do. No one/person, in fact, forced women to stick with preparing and selling liquors. The most important factor which is responsible for this is gender since it determines the choice of types livelihood strategies as placed in the livelihood

framework in chapter three. Gender as one of the structure in livelihood framework, filtrates the strategy being chosen by them. It accompanied with their poverty forced them to select liquor selling while it placed male migrants relatively in better choice of strategies, that is adaptive strategies.

In relation with migrants urban livelihood activities, it is also found that the town general atmosphere is filled with several bottlenecks that challenge migrants survival. Majority of the migrants indicated that their urban livings are tested by increasing cost of their rented house, increasing cost of products to retail and even to fully support self. In addition, the town micro and small scale enterprise exists in name. Some migrant's interview results indicated that the office instead of providing transparent selection, training, working areas and credits, stresses on using power by officials for securing their personal satisfactions and benefits. In fact, in the interview the study found contradicting ideas in this regard, officials on one side said they are working in accordance with the vision of the office while migrants said the opposite. Not a single women from migrants said she is getting better support from the office while the office vision said women are warmly welcomed. The study in the cloud of challenges with strategies also found that there is inconsistency of profit by migrants from their selected areas of activities. This is because of that there is competition among the migrant themselves. Especially majority of women migrants who work with preparing tela, areke and retailing gesho are interdependent. Gesho is the input for both the products and when the price in increase on gesho, ultimately it matters the price of tela and areke and some women migrants who sell tela cut the prices down to finish early and this has brought competition and aggravated the existing low profit from the activities.

In investigating migrants with social capital, the study found that social capital provides diverse support to migrants along side with some obligations. The supports are generally in terms of social safety net usually expressed with support with finance, support in kinds, alleviating sudden shocks, giving health care, advise and facilitating information between migrant with migrant and migrant with host town communities. The financial support is in terms of what migrants called credits by lottery from Iqub association. Iqub is different from saving in that the later is with interest, in fact it could be without interest, but with certain time to withdraw capital while in the former case cash is not deposited in institution like in bank rather it is collecting money from members and giving the cash to the selected person one in every week, mid of a month or a month. The social capital is the group which collectively contribute better amount of cash that could fill the holes of every day livings by

migrants and non migrants. Together with this, the study found that to get the support, contributing in the indicated time interval is an obligation to member migrants unless they could not get the aggregate support.

In providing support in kind, advise and alleviating living uncertainties, an association what migrants called Idir is prominent. In investigating the relevance of this association to migrants, it is found that, initially it is formed by volunteer migrant and none migrants to the purpose of giving material assurance while members from the group encounter death, it might be member itself or close relatives of the members. Together with giving support in kinds and in cash, members are tied with the spirit of help which is manifested with cheering up a person with shocks, closeness, collectives supports in preparing food to eat by guests, preparing shelter and providing additional utensils from members just for covering every aspects of troubles by the person in question. During such processes, migrants and non migrants get know each other more and information about work, personal life and community is diffused. In addition to Idir and Iqub, migrants are members in Tsiwa and Baltna. From interview response it is found that Tsiwa plays a role to connect migrants and non migrants and to think about heaven by doing what is good for member themselves and to others outside the members. It gives health care support including follow up and taking a person to hospital and common worshiping places. It in addition, gives leftover for disable migrants and non migrants living in the town. Baltna is association of women which help member migrants to open employment opportunity in every week and gives dividend for them in every half years. For this, they are supposed to contribute goods to sell.

8.2.2 Outcomes of Migrants survival Strategies

The study generally got contrasting result from migrants chosen urban living strategies. As indicated many times all most all women migrants are working in tela and areke selling by which they could maintain only surviving-just selling drinks, getting food to eat and trending the same living without shifting to other better position. Male migrants are in better off than women that they partly could established better strategies that could support better income and better livings but only with relative to women migrants. It is best supported with the remittance they send per year and the lives they lead in the town. Male migrants who are in the truck of sending, alone send 8000birr or \$421 from the total 10550 birr or \$555 while women send the remaining 2550 birr or \$134. This result also reflects how weak the strategies selected by women -selling local drinks. With the issue of remittance, it is also found that there are migrants who are receiving support from families which is called reverse remittance

and who are not receiving and sending remittances. Generally, even the amount being sent by male migrants is not sound to say that they are totally in better off, rather both male and female migrants are in circle of fighting for survival in the town but with relative improvement by male migrants.

8.3 Recommendations

Based on the summary and conclusion of findings, the researcher would like to recommend the following points.

Causes

It is found that the causes for rural to urban migration in the rural kebel are diverse and include, physical, socio-cultural and economic factors. Actually migration is unavoidable human social phenomenon and hence, it is puzzling to recommend to stop migration rather, for physical factors, concern should be given to rural appraisal by which rural kebeles rehabilitation activities such as covering exposed areas with trees, improving kinds of plowing to avoid erosion, improve grazing and above all, limiting family members among rural kebele households. For this, a joint venture between the rural community, district agricultural and health office is important to return the ecological equilibrium by which consistent rain fall, discharged rivers and productive agriculture become certain.

It is also found that socio-cultural factors are the solid reason for rural to urban migration in the district. Therefore, the rural kebele community should avoid what is trended as a culture. It is not to stop migration at least to secure the health of women and children. Forcing daughters to have early marriage and rape produce nothing more than putting them in worse conditions like fistula. For this, in the first place, awareness on how impact full the culture is and ways to avoid the tradition of circumcising female children should be created among the rural communities who have been living with the cultures for indefinite time. Along with awareness creation, educative legal frameworks that punish illegal should be maintained. In fact, the country has it in its constitution but its practicality should be interpreted in every individual lives. Lowers, police and any ordinary citizens should cooperate honestly so that culture of abduction, dispute for land borders and killing each other may at least be minimized.

The economic reasons in one or another way are inseparable from the first reason in that land shortage results in unemployment. As indicated above, the key action to avoid this is again fixing family members, once this happened, land shortage doesn't occur so that

unemployment and dispute for land holding could get minimized. In addition to family planning awareness creations, the local administration should connect rural kebeles with infrastructure so that employment opportunities do occur in rural areas as in the urban area.

Urban Living Strategies and Challenges

This study investigated that migrants have maintained survival livelihood strategies most of which are informal and very less profitable. Supporting individuals migrants might be impossible as there is financial limitation, but supporting migrants in group is not difficult to town administration in particular and the district administration in general so that they jointly should organize migrants, give them training- on the basis of skill, knowledge and attitude- by which the trainees could change their informal work to formal and generate better financial returns. As a good news the district micro and small enterprise already started it but it is not inclusive and is not free from officials interventions for securing personal benefit. They should continue what they have started as a good and should avoid biased actions in selecting the trainees and using the budgets to buy supporting materials for the training. Migrants themselves should break the culture of stratified works by gender. The logic should be that every migrant is human being implies that everyone can do and realize living in the town so that women can do what males are doing and male can do what women are doing. The study also found that migrants are with certain problems of shelter and working places in the town. This shows that most of them are unable to build their house to live. Therefore, the district government should alleviate this with all possible actions. Humanity should come first, humanity without shelter is unsecured so that the local government should make urban house accessible to make humanity secured. It might adopt a plan which has been implementing in Zonal, regional and national levels to solve housing problems of inhabitants in the indicate area cities. What they have been using is that they are building condominium house that enables many people to live in one building but in different flats. Likewise, the district level administration can follow what has been trended in the indicated areas so that the town housing challenges can be solved not only for migrant but also for non migrants who are living in rented house in the town. It may have many several advantages by the way. One, it can enhance saving by inhabitants, second it maintains trust between the people and the local government, third it can make infrastructure accessible in specific common areas for many people even to the level to open market areas around. In addition to shelter, the study also found that migrants have no well defined working areas. The town municipality together with district administration should address this by allocating proper working areas and by

legalizing what migrants are doing. One of the means for legalizing might be what is indicate above-organizing them and giving sufficient working areas.

Social Capital

This study found that social capital is being implemented in migrant's everyday lives in the town. Migrants with town community have developed various associations by which they maintain multifaceted support for members. This shows that their knowledge about social cohesiveness and cooperatives go far what I expect. Therefore, they should continue this blessed coexistence and perhaps can also add modifications in the rules of some of the associations to embrace destitute especially in Idir association since the advance payment to for beginners is a bit high. In addition, disables should also be part of the associations and for this, healthy and economically better members and the association itself should consider their ability to pay consistently. Sometimes when they become unable to pay, members, as usual can cover, their payments and realize living for them.

This study ends with indicating some areas for further studying. As indicated many times in the town there are many associations structured by migrants and non migrants but they have no relation with government. Studying to connect these associations with local government could be a potential area for researching. This is because the local government have ambition to organize migrants and non migrants but they are organized by them solves with their associations so it might reduce effort to find members, it might encourage to get better support from the government and the government to get better tax from what they are doing. In addition, separate study about migrants' cause could be one potential area for further studying. This might need moving across each kebeles in rural part and understanding all the situation in many households. It might also help to find those hidden and segregated victim women.

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Appendixes

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Social Science and Technology Management
Department of Geography
Trondheim, Norway

First and for all this interview guide is prepared for academic purpose. That is for the fulfillment of master of philosophy in development studies from Norwegian University of Science and Technology Faculty of Social Science and Technology Management Department of Geography.

The information to be obtained through these interviews will remain completely confidential and informants' responses will not be given to other parties for other purposes.

Thank you so much for your respective cooperation!!

Appendix I. Migrant Informants Interview Guide

A. Personal information

Name

Sex

Age

Departing Kebele

Marital Status

Education

Years stayed in the town

B. Cause to migration

1. What factors forced you to migrate and how it affected you before migration?
2. Who held the decision for your migration and how?
3. What kind of special memories you have with the factors, if any?
4. Is the town better for your living? if yes, what conditions attract you in the town to move out from the rural kebeles and live here in the town?
5. Do your families specifically intervene for your migration? if yes, how?

C. Urban Livelihood Activities

1. what kind of occupation do you have and how do you start it in the town
2. Why you choose the work you are doing
3. How many work do you have ? and what are they
4. How do you acquired the desired working places for making your work?
5. Is there parties or individuals who take part in granting or denying the work or the place where you are working, if yes, what are they?
6. Is your current work make changes in your ever day living? how profitable is it?
7. How do you make your work continues?
8. What kinds of challenges you face with your work in the town and how do you solve it?
9. Do you have special memories with the activities you are doing in the town?

D. Social capital

1. What kind of social relation do you maintain here in the town community?
2. Are you a member in town associations ? if yes, what are these associations and under which you are belonged?
3. Why do you want to be a member in these associations?
4. What kind of contribution you do have in the these associations and what are the necessary duties you are supposed to do?
5. How do you become a member in the associations and who help you to be a member?
6. Do face segregation or any unwanted attitude from the community here in the town? if yes, what are the reason for that? and how keep living?
7. Do you have special memories with your membership in the associations?

E. Remittance

1. Do you send remittance to your family? if yes, how much could you send and how many times in a year? and if no, why not?
2. Why you need to send remittance? Do your families expect it, if yes, why?

3. Do you also receive remittance from your family? if yes, why they send and in what interval?

F. Life history questions (Commonly asked open questions to get a separate story from migrants)

1. Tell me about your special life incidents in the rural kebel, you can start from your childhood for example, education, family support or reason with your migration

2. After you come in to the town what special challenges and success you face as part of your life history? if any?

Appendix II. Key Informant Interview Guides

A. Interview Guide for Micro and Small Scale Office Representatives

1. What is the purpose of this office to the district community in general and the town community in particular?

2. Do you have any idea about the occurrence of rural to urban migration in the district? if yes, would please explain it?

3. What kind of problems you realized about migrants living here in the town?

4. What kinds of support your office gives to unemployed migrants in the town?

5. Do you face problems in giving any support to migrants? if yes, what are they?

6. What kinds of policies do you have to resolve problems related with recruiting and training unemployed migrant and non migrants in the town?

6. What do you have to say about Metehbila in particular and Berehet in general?

B. Interview Guide for Municipal office Representative

1. How do you see rural urban migration in Berehet ?

2. Does your office has contact with migrants in the town? if yes, what kind of contact is it?

3. How do you see migrants ways of living in the town?

4. What do you say about migrant's working areas and quest for housing in the town?

5.What kinds of measures you take to answer migrant's questions related with market areas and other social services? if any?

C. Interview Guide for Population Finance and Development office Representative

1.How do you see the trend of rural urban migration in Berehet district?

2.Do you have any formal registration for migrants and non migrants in the town? if yes, in what interval?

3.What are the challenges you face during registering migrants? if any?

4.How do you see migration by women and man in the district?

5.Do you have something to say about Metehbila and Berehet in general? historical, economic and any other aspects are possible to say.

Appendix III.

Photographs Captured from the Field

While Women migrants buy and resell gesho



While women migrants retail onion and potato





While a woman migrant sells tela



While a male migrant do wood and metal work, shading with ink



Stone extracted and cut by male migrants