

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**CAUSES, PROBLEMS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES
OF SELECTED RURAL-URBAN FEMALE MIGRANTS
IN DESSIE TOWN**

BY

HALEWYA MOHAMMED AHMED

June 2010

Addis Ababa

**PROBLEMS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF
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TOWN**

BY

HALEWYA MOHAMMED AHMED

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfilment of the
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MAPS AND TABLES

MAPS

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TABLES

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GLOSSARY

Term	Meaning
<i>Adar</i>	An Amharic word contrasted with the term ' <i>short</i> ' used to mark how long a man has to spend his sexual contract with female sex worker
<i>Adugna</i>	It is Arabic word which means wealth
<i>Amat</i>	Mother- in- law
<i>Antu</i>	Sir/your honour/
<i>Arake</i>	A kind of local drink or ' <i>katikala</i> ' made from sorghum or barley by means of distillation
<i>Areke bet</i>	A house where local drinks, such as ' <i>arake</i> ' or ' <i>katikala</i> ' are sold
<i>Ato</i>	Mister
<i>Bahir zaf</i>	Eucalyptus tree
<i>Barell</i>	Caring stone, cement, and related heavy goods for construction
<i>Be</i>	preposition /equivalent to the English term 'with'
<i>ETB</i>	Ethiopian Birr (Currency)
<i>Chile</i>	Traditional ceremony celebrated at every time of Ethiopian New Year, especially on sep. 25
<i>Debal</i>	Two or more individuals that shared or rented single room
<i>Delala</i>	Broker
<i>Dem</i>	A traditional ceremony celebrated at June or July by slaughtering a goat, a sheep, a cock recommended

<i>Dema-kese</i>	Traditional medicine
<i>Ena</i>	Conjunction/equivalent to English terms ‘and’
<i>Feto</i>	Traditional medicine
<i>Galemota</i>	It is Oromifa word refer to a divorced women.
<i>Gibbi</i>	Palace
<i>Injera</i>	A staple food in Ethiopia, made from ‘teff’
<i>Jeblo</i>	A boy who sells cigarette, biscuit, and related goods with their chest at night
<i>Kasa</i>	Compensation
<i>kasori</i>	A small box made from timber to store money
<i>Ke</i>	preposition /equivalent to the English term ‘from’
<i>Kebele</i>	Lowest Administrative units of towns
<i>Kolo</i>	Roasted cereals
<i>Lamba</i>	An Italy word introduced in to Amharic to refer to the black fuel used for lighting
<i>Madego/Tibique</i>	Restriction
<i>Majet</i>	Kitchen
<i>Mirat</i>	Daughter-in-law
<i>Nifro</i>	Boiled Cereals
<i>Qita</i>	Home made bread
<i>Ras /Rases/</i>	Title of regional lords during the old regime
<i>Shahi</i>	The ready made hot drink made from sugar dissolved in boiled water and coloured by tea
<i>Short</i>	An Amharic word borrowed from English used to mark how long a man wants to spend his sexual contract with female sex worker
<i>Shimgilna</i>	Traditional conflict resolution method/ reconciliation

<i>Shiro watt</i>	A kind of sauce made from Powdered beans or chickpeas to be used with 'injera'
<i>Sifet</i>	A home-made household goods made of grass
<i>Teff</i>	Ethiopian staple crop from which 'injera' is made
<i>Tela</i>	A home- made local drink or beer.
<i>Tela bet</i>	A house where local beer is sold
<i>Warsa</i>	A wife of one's brother or a brother of one's husband
<i>Woizero (W/o)</i>	Misses
<i>Woreda</i>	District/administrative level below Awraja or zone
<i>Wurse</i>	Inheritance
<i>Ye</i>	A preposition/pronoun to express possession in Amharic
<i>Yegbir Adarash</i>	A hall which was used to make feasts during the past regime
<i>Zuria</i>	Surrounding

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
ANRSUPI	Amhara National Regional State Urban Planning Institute
Birr	Ethiopian Currency
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
EMA	Ethiopian Mapping Authority
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
FHH	Female Headed Householders
FSCE	Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NUPI	National Urban Planning Institute
SNNPRS	Southern Nations and National Peoples Regional State
SWFEDO	South Wollo Finance and Economy Development Department
UNPF	United Nations Population Fund

ABSTRACT

Dessie town is known for a long time for its destination of rural migrants as it is important commercial and geographical centre. This study aims at exploring factors for rural female migration, problems they face and their survival strategies to Dessie town. The study contributes to the understanding of the causes that push female migrants to urban centre and problems they face and survival strategies at destination.

To acquire the necessary information, a range of data gathering tools such as purposive sampling methods, interview and in-depth interview, observation, focus group discussion and document review had been used.

Female migration to Dessie town is mainly related to economic, social, and cultural, factors that exist in rural and urban settings. The surrounding rural area of Dessie town is highly populated and affected by ecological disasters such as drought and irregular precipitation which results in poverty and famine. Absence of ownership of property, Family disintegration, intolerable cultural practices such as divorce and social isolation to divorced and late married females, early marriage, wife inheritance, family decision to marriages, and rural gender inequality, caused difficulties the life of rural females. Besides, better social facilities, job opportunity, and social network, family perception towards migration and proximity attract the rural female to the town.

At the time of arrival and the course of their stay, female migrants encounter problems like unemployment and underemployment, urban poverty, lack of basic needs and social services, prejudice and discrimination, physical and sexual exploitation, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and other transmitted diseases, Thus, to cope up with such problems, they employ various strategies: active survival strategies (participating in various jobs and job mobility, searching additional income), passive survival strategies (consuming low prices food, wearing second hand clothes and sharing food and housing, using alternative traditional medicines) and social network as a survival strategies (rural linkage, sharing lives with male partner, seeking aid, voluntary association and cooperation).

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The social, economic and technological changes have noticeable effect on the social structure of the society. The gradual shift from subsistence kind of economy to a more capital economy and the improvement of roads and means of communication has exacerbated family breakdown and community association. Individuals from rural areas started moving towards urban centres for a long time. It is generally believed that individuals migrate from rural to urban areas for various reasons (Peter and Larkin, 1989).

Migration could be related to the economic, political, social, and cultural factors of the rural and urban contexts, which was a high- priority area for anthropologists in the 1950s and 1960s. Anthropologists also noted that after 1960s, the prevalence of high rate of rural to urban migration, particularly in Africa and Latin America. After 1960s, migration research was also a hot topic among anthropological researchers whose main focus is the factors of migration and its consequence (Horevitz, 2009).

Early studies of African migration have noted the high proportion of men in the rural-urban migration streams (IOM, 2005). Ethiopia is one of the countries in Africa with internal migration and population distribution (Mberu, 2006; Goldstein et al, 2000). According to Mberu (2006), the flow of rural-urban migration in Ethiopia is highly increasing in recent times than any other time in history. This is happening mainly due to socio-cultural, economic and demographic factors.

In Ethiopia, where permanent migration of women seems to be greater than that of men, females are migrating independently for work, family, and marriage reasons (Youssef et al, 1979; Goldstein et al, 2000). In the urban centres of the country, more than half (50.7%) of female population are migrants. Despite this fact, however, less is known about female migrants than male migrants simply because they have often been looked upon as a less prone to migration. Specifically, the problems of female migrants with gender perspectives have been overlooked, whereas the survival strategy of female migrants after enjoying the urban life is paramount significant. This was one of the major concerns of the researcher of this study, and forms the main reason that necessitates the need for systematic investigation into the factors that contribute to the problems and survival strategies of rural-urban female migrants.

Dessie is a town in north-central Ethiopia, located on the Addis Ababa - Tigray highway in the South Wollo Zone of the Amhara Region. The town has been serving as the capital of *Wollo taqlay gizat*, and latter *Wollo kifle hagar*, and the capital of South Wollo Zone. Today, the town is serving as City Administrative. Its geographical location and the socio-economic importance made the town an outstanding place with further progress and expansion. In the last five years especially, the town has been growing fast, and has become the destination of thousands of rural migrants. The researcher has observed that many female migrants face special challenges when settling at the town. Taking into account that migration patterns are dynamic and changing in response to the socio-economic and cultural development of the study area, this study explored the factors that contribute for the increment of female migration to Dessie town, problems that female migrants face, and their survival strategies to cope up with the urban problems and to make a living in the target town.

1.2 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis has five chapters. The first chapter comprises six sections: introduction, problem statements, research objectives, research methods, significance, limitation, fieldwork experience and ethical consideration. The second chapter discusses the review of related literature, the basic concepts, relevant theories related to rural-urban female migration and reviews literature on female migration in Ethiopian, and discussed background of the study area. Chapter three discussed profile of female migrants and the potential factors that are claimed to affect female migration are analysed. Chapter four holds detailed analysis of problems and survival mechanisms of female migrants in the study area. Finally, the last chapter discusses practical implication in the context of this study. Then, the chapter concludes the major findings of the study and presents the recommendations.

1. 3. Statement of the Problem

Earlier researchers Mesfin (1968), Youssef et al, (1979), Bjerer (1985), Shegaw (1993), Yigezu (1997), Kebede (2001), and also recent researchers like Rahwa (2004), Feleke (2006), Aschalew (2006), Munira (2006), Woldie (2007), and others carried out a research on migration in Ethiopia. But, earlier studies discussed about past migration trend and are far to represent the recent socio-economic and political situation of Ethiopia. Moreover, reason for migration is less consistent over time and across regions.

Most of the studies, however, focused mainly on the causes of migration such as over population, limited resources and environmental stress, and marriage factors (early marriage and divorce). They also discussed the pull factors such as proximity, perception of relatively better job opportunity and availability of social services like education and health.

Other gender specific socio-economic, and cultural factors such as family breakdown, economic dependency, marriage and related factors (extended family dispute, wife inheritance, other form of early marriage *Madego* or *Tibique*, social discrimination to divorced and late married females, rural gender inequality are causing rural-urban migration which were not noted by others. The urban pull factors such as urban attraction, peer and kin pressure, rural family's perception towards female migration, social network as a pull factor and as a means to survival strategies to migrants are not well studied

Rural females seek survival opportunities through migration and different economic activities in town. Thus, empirical evidence on gender specific causes that derive to migrate, the problem that female migrants face at the new destination and survival strategies they adopt to suit themselves with the new environment remains limited.

Moreover, locally, there is no adequate literature which analyses problems and survival strategies of female migrants, who are engaged in various jobs such as domestic servants, daily labourer, street vendor and commercial sex workers. Those studies, however, focus on specific issues. Thus, the study was conducted to fill the gap in the anthropological investigation on the above issues.

1. 4. Objective of the Study

1. 4. 1. General Objective

This research aims to explore the causes and consequences of rural female migration to Dessie town, the problems and survival strategies of rural female migrants in the urban centre.

1. 4. 2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are

- to identify the factors that causes of female migration from rural areas to Dessie town.
- to find out the problems that female migrants encounter while they are working and living in the town.
- to assess the survival strategies they often adopt to sustain their life to the new environment.
- to explore their present view about urban life and their future plans

1. 5. Research Methods

In this study, both primary and secondary data collection methods have been employed. The researcher also used both qualitative analysis methods. This method was employed dominantly so as to have an in-depth understanding about the living condition and survival strategies of female migrants. The quantitative method was also used simply to show some demographic information.

1. 5. 1. Selection of Research Site and Informants

The subjects of the study were female migrants who were living in two localities of Dessie town which traditionally named as '*Segno sefer*' (kebele 01) and '*Robit sefer*' (kebele 09). The reason why these two localities were selected was that the major destinations of rural to urban migrants are located in kebele 01 and 09 and the magnitude of the problem and its linkage with the surrounding rural areas. As the Kebele officials explain, the two kebele known with poor female headed householders.

In addition, the biggest market places in the town are located in these areas, that is, *Segno Gebaya* is located in kebele 01 while *Robit Gebaya* is found in *kebele* 09. '*Segno sefer*' is located in the south part of the town where as '*Robit sefer*' is located in the north part. Around the two market places small bars and restaurants, broker's offices, house renters with least prices are found there. These local market places are also working place of street vendors and an open space given to cobble stone workers found near to *Segno* and *Robit* market places. The population size of kebele 01 is estimated to be 12, 337 whereas the population of kebele 09 is 8, 438.

To select the target groups, Broker's workplace, house renters, traditional beer house namely '*tella bete*', or '*aroke bete*', and the surrounding residences from each locality were selected based on carefully set criteria with two field assistances. Then, 60 female migrant informants, who involved in domestic servant, daily labour, street vending and commercial sex workers were selected. As far as the selection of subjects was concerned, purposive sampling technique was employed to select the informants of the study. The reason why purposive sampling was employed was that where the informants /target groups/ are available in the research site.

1. 5. 2. Data Gathering Instruments

The instruments used in this study were: (1) Guided Interview, (2) Interview and In-depth Interview, (3) Observation, (4) Focus Group Discussion, and (5) Document Review. The details of these instruments are described below.

1. 5. 2. 1. Guided Interview

The researcher employed a structured interview with all sampled 60 migrant females, to acquire basic socio-demographic background including age, education, marital status, religion, place of origin, length of stay, and family background.

1. 5. 2. 2. Interview and In-depth Interview

Both interview and in-depth interview were major principal methods of data collection implemented in this research in order to obtain more qualitative data. Information was solicited from female migrants, Labour and Social Affairs Workers, Women Affairs Office and NGOs - working on commercial sex worker, and concerned officials, elders who have rural background, community-elders, middle man, as well as individuals from the community were interviewed through these methods.

Out of 60, fourteen female migrants were selected for in-depth interview. These female migrants were composed of four from domestic servants, four from commercial sex workers, three from daily labourers and three from CSWs were selected. The selection of migrants was based on their ability to express their life experience and their interest to discuss the situation of their lives, which was identified during the structured interview. At the interview, migrants responded to open-ended questions regarding on rural background, factors for migration, problems encountered in daily life experience, and survival strategies, and future aspirations. This was later transcribed and analyzed. The researcher has described individual's life experience or cases of female migrants in detail.

An in-depth interview was also conducted with six experts: from Women Affairs Bureau, from Labor and Social Affairs Office (2), Children and Women Protection Police Officer (2) and FSCE Officer-working on female CSWs. In-depth interview was also held with three elders (two women and one man). The selection criteria were based on the rural background, knowledge on the rural economic and socio-cultural situation. At the interview, these informants responded to questions concerning on the economic, socio-cultural rural and urban settings, factors for rural female migration, problems that female migrants faced in Dessie and the magnitude of the problem and how to alleviate such problems, and the social network of migrant with the society and related questions.

1. 5. 2. 3. Observation

This method helped the researcher to get partially a direct and personal experience of what the situation was look like. For instance, she observed female migrants who were engaged in various activities in their working place as well as in their living room; furthermore, she saw what their working and living condition looked. This was the procedure what the researcher was actually followed and spend much time with them.

During the observation, the researcher had got the opportunity to see daily activities of female migrants; this chance gave her an opportunity to establish a good contact with the participants.

1. 5. 2. 4. Focus Group Discussion

Primary data was collected through focus group discussion. Female migrants from different occupations were involved in the discussions. The views' of the migrants provided invaluable information about their experiences, problem encounters, their feelings, perceptions, beliefs,

knowledge and attitude. Thus, more in depth stories and testimonials was extracted from these discussions.

Two groups were formed with selected twelve females from each job, who were living and working in the town for more than one year. FGD also held separately with commercial sex workers, because they usually have different life experience. Some of the females who took part in the FGD were those who have been previously enrolled in an in-depth interview about their private experience. The selection criteria were based on age (younger and relatively older), jobs (type of livelihood activities they engaged in), and their ability to express themselves. The major aims of FGDs were to cross-check and support the information gathered through other methods. It was also employed for the purpose of demonstrating, verifying, building on and adding to the results.

Major discussion guidelines with participants include the general opinion and experience of a group of female migrants, mainly about reason for coming to the town, common problems they faced while living and working in the town, survival strategies and their interaction among themselves and with the town community. The researcher took the role of moderator during the discussion.

1. 5. 2. 5. Document Review

Published and unpublished literatures on migration in general and on female migration in particular and other related issues on the study area were thoroughly reviewed. These include reports, books, journals, census data and other documented sources.

1. 5. 3. Data Analysis

The data obtained through interview and in-depth interview, observation, focus group discussion, and document review were organized and analyzed. In this process, reading, transcription and coding of information from interviews and FGDs were primarily carried out. In some cases, the researcher also used direct quotes of respondents which were believed to best articulate either individual or group life experiences. Besides, remarks as a result of observation by the researcher during the data collection were organized and included to enrich the discussion of the findings.

Data gained in the process of interviews, FGDs, observation or from documents were analyzed using qualitative data analysis procedures that involve breaking down of information into different themes and categories. In this process, the researcher used coding which is a central activity in quantitative data analysis and description.

1. 6. Significance of the Study

This study will provide useful information that can help to solve the problems of female migrants, and suggest possible measures that could contribute to control or at least to minimize the problems in accordance to the context of the study.

This study has importance today because it discusses the socio- cultural, economic, and demographic factors that push female migrants from the origin and also the pull factor that attract to the urban centre. It also indicates the problems and survival strategy of female migrants (domestic servant, street vendor, daily labourer, and CSW) in urban centers of the study area. This could serve as a base for government,

NGOs, and other sectors working on improving female migrant's living standard and prevailing poverty reductions in urban centers of Ethiopia.

The study also has relevance for a wide range of issues that encompass migration, female migrant's living condition, survival strategy, and problems or challenges. It further has a significance for policy makers and development planners to due attention on population distribution and migration. Moreover, the study can contribute a lot on developing social awareness about the life situation of female migrants in the town, and create realistic image on the issue.

Finally, the study serves as secondary sources of information for other further study on female migration and its effect on the socio-cultural and economic aspects of migrants.

1. 7. Limitation of the Study

The central team of this study is problems and survival strategies of rural female migrants in urban centre. But, in addressing the subject, the study has its own limitation.

First, in the study area, research on migration issues on both female and male rural migrants has not been conducted. This study has excluded male rural migrants due to time constraints and limited resources. However, from primary observation in the study area, the problem seems highly magnificent in female migrants than male and the population number of female more exceed than male in the town.

Second, in-depth interview and purposive sampling were the main tools to gather data. The researchers obtained data mainly from 30 key informants and 60 from rural female migrants from two Kebele. Even

though large numbers of female migrants are existed in the town, the data from these few sources may not be fully representative.

1. 8. Field Experience

The distance of the two research sites Kebele 01 and 09 is five kilometres that was challenging to collect data with shortage of transport access. In addition, due to road and new building construction as well as the new administration system of the town make the study so difficult. It is because, different government and non government offices changed from their previous places and their administrative systems too.

During field observation, I saw large number of retired old people who were very eager to request help believing as if she was NGO's worker so that there were some who requested her to register them while she was collecting data.

The absence of relevant documents on the issue made the study difficult. The researcher requested the Zonal Social and Labour Affairs Office, the Zonal Works and Urban Development Office, the Central Statistics Office of the target town in order to get relevant information about female migrants. Unfortunately, they couldn't do so to the fact that they had no an experience of registering in-migrant population of the town. As a result, it was difficult to find any document, which contains the issues of in-migrant population. Even the kebeles' administrative have not well organized recording system. Thus, it was difficult to estimate the number of both female and male immigrants.

The other experience I encounter during the field work was that some of the informants were not willing to provide information. There were few informants who even refused to be interviewed during the pre-testing session. After having a long discussion with them in general and after

telling them that the interview was for the purpose of education in particular, some were convinced and agreed to provide information. However, they were not interested to be recorded on tape recorder. There were some who demanded whether there was any incentive for the services they rendered to the interview. Some of the respondents, particularly migrants who engaged in sex work were reluctant to answer questions thinking that such activities may take longer hours and waste their time.

I got the chance to be acquainted with persons who were working in an NGO on issues concerned with female young migrants. With the help of the workers in the NGO, I was able to meet some informants who were engaged in commercial sex work and rented houses in the research sites. This helped to conduct the in-depth and FDG interview with the commercial sex workers. As a result, the researcher interviewed seven females. She learnt from the head office that there is a drop-in centre where female sex workers spend part of the day's time getting some sanitation service, informal education about HIV/AIDS and reproductive health. After the morning health education, however, the female sex workers leave the centre, and they go to around the bars and the night clubs of the town in order to generate income that help them make a living.

1. 9. Ethical Consideration

The researcher considered the ethical values of the female migrants who were subject to the study. These ethical issues include informed consent, confidentiality and privacy. Orally, informed consent was given prime importance in this study. Hence, the research process began by asking female migrants to what extent they wished to participate in the research. Then, prior to the conduct of interview, all the respondents

were provided with information about the objective of the study, in a way they could understand. Moreover, in some instance, females were told to be free in expressing themselves as the information they provide would be kept confidential, for their names would not be mentioned instead pseudo-names has used and they would not face any kind of problems as a result of being participants in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Basic Concepts of Migration

Human society has been living in different parts of the world for many centuries. These areas are characterized by various social, economic, political, and geographical situations which determine people's ways of life. An area may not equally suit each member of a given society. People prefer some areas to live in. That is why today we have found through out the world different people who moved and started living out side of their native people, culture and environment for several times. Therefore, a technical term for this condition is said to be migration (Peter and Larkin, 1989).

The word 'migration' has different meanings when 'migration' referred as 'the movement of people' because it can be used as all types of population movement (Bjeren, 1985). This may include such as movement of political and environmental refugees, seasonal and labour migrants, economic migrants and so on (IOM, 2005). Therefore, Migration is defined as one or more family members leave the resident households for one or more reasons and varying duration of time (Ellis, 2000). It can be also defined as a permanent change of residence for a substantial duration (Bjeren, 1985; Lee, 1966 in Pedraza, 1991: 305).

The reasons of migration may differ from place to place, from time to time, even person to person as people are living in various social, political, economic and geographical contexts, their reasons for migration can be either for one of these factors or combination of them. Thus, from

the context of this study, it is possible to describe migration as a means for a survival strategy of human beings.

Migration could be in the form of inter-continental (between continents), intra-continental (between countries in a given continent), and interregional (within countries). Migration within a country involves Rural-Rural, Rural-Urban, Urban-Urban, and Urban-Rural (Todaro and Smith, 2003). The type of migration common in Ethiopia is rural to urban (Yigezu, 1997; Mberu, 2006).

2. 2. Theories and Models of Migration

Earlier studies underestimated women's social and economic roles in migration theory since migrant women and children were considered attached to men (Joyet, 2004). Currently, however, the phenomenon of female migration has increased with the feminization of labour in both the domestic and broader labour market. The theoretical framework of this study takes into account the following theories and models which are considered to be much related with the study topic.

2. 2. 1. Push and Pull Factors Approach/Conventional Migration Theory

Harris and Todaro (1970 in Pedraza, 1991: 29) model underlines specific economic motives for migration, without suggesting the possibility of specific reason for independent female migration. However, with the increment of female migration in developing countries, some scholars question the importance of conventional migration theory. Thadani and Todaro (1979 in Kusago, 2000: 3) were among the first to discuss a conceptual framework of female rural-urban migration. They directly address the issue of why women migrate, asserting that "the migration of

women, like that of men, is indeed likely to be job oriented; employment opportunities and wage differentials, actual or perceived, between rural and urban areas are of central significance. A distinguishing feature of female compared to male migration, is the importance of marriage as a reason for migration. Socio-cultural evaluations also may be an effective constraint on the migration of women.”

Accordingly, they argue that female migration is a result of interactions between individual economic, socio-cultural, and environmental factors, such as household economic power, household social structure, urban/rural differential in income and employment opportunities, socio-cultural norms or customs regarding female lifestyle (for example, appropriate age for marriage), age and education.

In addition, Behrman and Wolfe (1984 in Kusago, 2000: 4) present a micro study of internal female migration. They highlight young female migrate not just for economic gain but they are likely to consider a wide range of factors, such as work aspirations, consumption patterns in urban areas, enhancement of their skills and knowledge and career development.

To some extent, the pull and push factors approach to find the cause of rural to urban migration is a combination of neoclassical and Todaro's approaches. Lee (1966 in Pedraza, 1991: 307) framed origin and destination factor such as job opportunity can pull/ push potential migrants positively or negatively. In turn this take into account intervening obstacles such as transportation cost and distance.

The 'push' factors are pressures which push individuals or families to leave the rural home land. These factors could include: low crop yield, land shortage, poor employment prospects, political conflicts, famine and

poverty (Gmelch and Zenner, 1996; Graves and Graves, 1974; Bjerer, 1985). With the absence of job opportunity in the towns, the rural people forced to move in the urban centers for wage employment in the informal economic sectors (Adepoju, 1995).

The 'pull' factors, for example high wages, employment opportunities, wide range of amenities - availability of education and health services, etc. are attract the rural people towards urban centers (Acharya and Cervantes, 2009; Stichter, 1985). Proximity of the urban and rural setting is other pull factor to migration (Tdarro and Smith, 2003). They argue that distance from the nearest large town has facilitate the process of migration which mean the nearer the rural home has the higher the interaction.

In addition, current studies on migration access conceptualize migration as all-rounded phenomenon that involves much more than income and employment (Bettina, 2006). As Ni Laoire (1999 cited in Bettina, 2006: 157) has mentioned three major discourses of female migration: "First, migration taken as a measurement for transformation and liberation, it facilitated by the opposition of dominant social norms and constraints; Second, migration as an act of resistance, accelerated by the desire to run off an intolerant societal climate and subordinate position; Third, migration as an act of travelling, induced by the search for progress and modernization."

Little (1965) and Stichter (1985) put the traditional norms and restrictions in rural area as a main reason for their mobility to urban areas. They reported this as the case for many African women, especially crisis of family status such as divorce, desertion, widowhood, and unhappy marriages. As Chant (1966 in Little, 1965: 32), reveals the fact that African women are often entitled to land in their own right means

that incentives for migration may not be particularly pronounced, especially given that they usually have less opportunity than men in urban labour market.

Feminist writers have noted the greater potential for women to find alternative, less patriarchal ways of living in urban contexts. This is also an aspect of gentrification 'the city offers women freedom after all, the city normalizes the fair aspects of life' (Wilson, 1991 in Deborah, 2003: 33). As Wright (1995) describes in developing countries, females migrate and migrated independently so as to flee male domination and control rural gender inequalities. In rural society, women become exploited in farming as well as patriarchal households. Potts (1994) has also explained female migration presumably has some thing to do with the notably different history of land tenure in Ethiopia compared with most of Sub-Saharan countries. Many scholars' on gender analysis show that women face various problems in agriculture, especially inequalities access to and control over important resources.

2. 2. 2. World-Systems Approach

According to the world-systems approach to international migration, since the sixteenth century there has been a global division of states and regions into a core (where is abundant capital); a periphery (where is abundant labour, raw materials, and consumer markets) (Brettell, 2003). Migration, according to this approach, is the inevitable result of the problems that are created by unequal development between centre and periphery. Although this may not be immediately apparent, the world-systems approach to internal migration is appropriate because, as a semi-peripheral region is divided geographically along socioeconomic lines, the rural areas being considerably poorer than the urban centres. As such, migration will continue to take place from rural to urban as long as there

remains an unequal distribution of wealth, resources, and employment opportunities between the regions. Despite the fact that world-systems analysis emphasizes global divisions, a similar structure exists within the large semi-peripheral geographic space of the study area and the surrounding rural areas where the female migrants come from. Therefore, as in the cases of the other major theories of international migration, the world systems analysis is also applicable to internal rural-urban migration in context of the study area.

2. 2. 3. Neoclassical Economic Approach

The neoclassical economic approach to international migration is based on the premise that individuals will migrate in order to improve their standard of living (Castles and Miller, 2003). This approach recognizes the imbalance between the supply and demand of labour and capital such that there is an abundance of labour in developing or migrant sending countries, while capital is more readily available in developed or migrant receiving countries. According to this theory, migration will continue as long as this imbalance exists (Todaro and Smith, 2003). As a result, the migrant flow moves from the labour-abundant areas to the capital-abundant areas, despite the obstacles or difficulties.

The neoclassical economics model of migration could certainly be used as an explanatory tool for domestic migration from rural to urban areas as the former represents an area that is abundant in labour, while the latter boasts comparatively better employment and availability of resources. Thus, this theory could also be applied to internal rural-urban migration in the contexts in which the unequal distribution of wealth, services sectors and job opportunities are geographically based, as in the study area case. However, the Neo-classic economists approach is criticized as

studying migration on one direction i.e. individuals do leave their home for purely economic reason other non-economic factors not studied.

2. 2. 4. The Migration Systems Theory / Social Network Theory

Recent literature on migration in developing countries has emphasised the importance of social networks in facilitating migration. This becomes another important explanatory framework for migration behaviour that incorporate both individual motives, institutions and the structural factors in which the migrants operate (de Haan, 2000). The use of network theory helps to understand the role of agency and aspects of the social condition agency, during the migration process. It also helps to overcome some of the weaknesses of other theories of migration, for instance social network theory overcome the dualism between agency and structure implicit within this framework, by adopting a Giddensian structuration perspective. It focuses on the way in which the routs of migration are negotiated by migrants (Parvati, 1999). It also realized, its interrelation with gender have hardly been addressed and see how women access and mobilize social network during the migration process.

Networks link migrants with former migrants and non migrants in origin and destination areas through sets of interpersonal ties of kinship and friendship. Social network focuses on attempting to access necessary resources from families, relatives, friends and government or non government agencies and community based organization (Joyet, 2004).

According to network theory, this ties increase the possibility of migration by demising costs and risks and increasing the expected net returns to migration (Gordon and Jong, 2002). In theory, network increase the probability of migration, which in turn expands the networks. Caces et al (1985), Banerjee (1984), and Pessino (1991) on

their studies asserted that internal migrant network spread out information about jobs in destination areas and encourage migration due to this information (in Gordon and Jong, 2002:).

Social networks have also been served as conceptual tools in understanding migration processes. Despite isolated agents, people are communicated to each other through social networks. Such type of communications have a great effect on migration: first, as mentioned above making migration less risky for individuals by circulating information among potential migrants and second, influencing subsequent migrants. This could be explained through the fact that kinship networks allow migrants send remittances home, making migration a viable household strategy for diversifying economic risk.

The Marxism political approach and structuration approach theories, a more recent framework, have also tied to emphasize the role of both personal and local factors along with micro level and meso level conditions for migration movement. These include a household strategies approach that focus on the role of families as well as gender and social net-works approach, which focuses on how migration is facilitated by family, kinship, and community network (de Haan, 2000).

2. 4. Problems and Survival Strategies of Migrants in the Destination

2. 4. 1. Problems

It is worth noting that migration towards cities has created immense problems on migrants. The problems that female migrants face both the routes they travel through as well as the life they experience at their destination are the hardest of all kinds of life. In some cases, female migrant's life in the cities is harsher. Some of them lose the rural social

network when they migrate to cities and undermining the rural social viability. They live in poor houses with little access to basic necessities. They work for low wages in poor working condition. Their average of monthly earning is usually lower (Gordon and Jong, 2002).

UN (2004) report gives women migrants are vulnerable to deprivation, hardship discrimination and abuse. Generally, female rural-urban migrants encounter various problems in the destination such as unemployment and underemployment, urban poverty, lack of social services (education, health, and housing), sexual harassment and infected with sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS besides moral deterioration (Bjerer, 1985).

Different studies show that migration is linked with the negative outcome. Migrants, however, try to maximize their chances for survival by diversifying sources of income and spreading out risks (Lloyd et al, 2005). On the other hand, researchers are also increasingly pointing to the vulnerability of migrants to adverse living conditions in their urban destinations, because urban living is characterized by scarcity of job opportunity, poverty, crime, risky reproductive behavior, devastating environmental conditions and poor health outcomes (Mberu, 2006).

In addition, women and young people have less access to education and job skills, with a high proportion being engaged in domestic or service works (Mberu, 2006). As consequence, women often represent the bulk of the informal sector labor supply, working for low wages at unstable jobs with no employee or social security benefits (Todaro and Stephen, 2003). Migrant women working in unskilled and informal work are especially vulnerable to work-related injuries. Migrant women are particularly vulnerable to psychosocial stresses, such as divergent sets of cultural

expectations, marginalization in the host society and in the labor market, and the double burden of family and work (IOM, 1995).

Rogaly and Rafique (2003 in Waddington, 2003: 3) noted that migration for physical work by workers is a source of vulnerability – through ill-health, employers' malpractice, humiliation and the felt indignities involved in receiving cooked food as part of the payment for work. Receiving payment was a huge source of anxiety for some migrants, particularly where they were paid at the end of the season, and no formal mechanism existed to ensure that employers would actually pay up.

2. 4. 2. Survival Strategies

Migrant female's survival strategies in the destination vary from one to the other. Individual migrants in the destination tried to maximize their income and minimize their consumption to cope up the urban life. Lokshin and Yemstov (2001 in Embet, 2008: 23) have mentioned three known survival strategies to in which human beings win the challenges of life.

Active Survival Strategies: This is an immediate engagement of oneself in activities so as to get income. Female migrants at the new urban centres work any available jobs without selection to have income. They accept every job even beyond their physical fitness and ability (Embet, 2008).

A study in Middle East Asians reveals that commercial sex work is a survival mechanism for large segments of female migrants to sustain their life (Lim, 1998). In Sub-Saharan Africa, migrant women engage into self-employed and informal sector activities to maximize their earnings in order to secure their life (Swift and Hamilton, 2001). For west African

countries, the difficulties experienced by women in entering into wage labour and the formal sector are attributed to lack of wage earning opportunities even in the unskilled occupation which forces needy migrant female to be involved in very marginal self - employment activities such as illicit beer making, prostitution etc (IOM, 1995). Smith (1984) in his study mentioned that in Zimbabwe, female migrant economic activities rely on the informal sectors. It is often known that many of them represent selling cooked-food, child-minding, and even commercial sex workers.

Passive Survival Strategies: is a condition in which individual think to demise payment and reduce cost to use available resources rather than aiming to increase resources (Embet, 2008). Migrant to urban areas may be expected to face great difficulties in job entrance than urban natives. Therefore, mostly migrants at urban centres utilize their resources in small quantity than the native residents. Moreover, migrants adopt a mechanism of changing alternative preferred foods with cheaper food in order to safe their lives (Joyet, 2004).

Social Network as a Survival Strategy: As Singerman (2002 in Joyet, 2004:23) explain social net-work particularly relies on women network as the political life time of communities, allowing individuals and groups to join together with other members of the community to active individual and collective goals.

A good fit between the migrant flow and urban opportunities is also dependent on the adequacy of communication between rural and urban areas. The greater the distance between these areas, the poorer this communication is likely to be. Chain migration, where new migrants are brought to the city on the initiation of relatives, who are already there, serves as one adaptive mechanism for overcoming this problem.

Weisner (1972) in his study in Kenya describes the process as involving the attachment of rural homestead to urban jobs and the development of a network of kinsmen living in both the rural and urban settings. This social setting is served as a communication network as well, channelling a flow of people, information and material goods between rural and urban settings.

As Graves and Graves (1974) mention adaptive strategies of migrants in the city may also be analysed along two or more general dimensions. Strategies may be individualistic - the migrants rely on their own resources or initiative, or group oriented - rely on others for help. Strategies may also be classified as formal versus informal. In the first case, the migrant makes use of formal channels of organization and urban bureaucracies in finding a niche for him/her self in the city; in the second, he/she is more apt to rely on more informal contacts in his/her own personal network.

2. 5. Migration in Ethiopia: A Brief Note

Internal migration studies in general rural-urban migration in particular in Ethiopia is limited (Bjeren, 1985). More specifically anthropological studies are insignificant in their number (Worku, 2006). Different studies which were conducted on the rural-urban migration basically on male migrants, female migrants were not well studied. This is in part to be explained by the general 'male domination' of research in the past and usual invisibility of women in studies on any issue (Bettina, 2006; Lewis, 1982; Ranvinder, 2003). Thus, the following summaries are discussed about literature on female migration which is relevant to this specific study.

Youssef et al, (1979) in their study on women in migration in Ethiopia highlight that females' reasons for migration are less consistent over time

and across regions and often include marriage and family as well as work reasons.

Bjeren (1985) in her study notes that the pattern of female migration from rural to urban area in Ethiopia is somewhat different from what is observed in other parts of African countries. While male rural-urban migrants are more dominant in other African countries due to the employment opportunities available for men in urban areas, female in Ethiopia dominate the rural-urban migration. Her findings indicated that, the large proportion of female migrants come with the distance ranged from 100 to 200km from the study area (Shashemene) while migrants travelled above 200km account only six percent.

She has also point out there is high prevalence of female rural migrants among the Amhara to everywhere. This ethnic group has been in a majority in all towns except the ones in Tigray, but the main factors that the urban surplus is specific to Amhara everywhere would be unclear, unless the group could be analysed separately.

O'conner (1983) also in his study in Africa explains that, Ethiopia has always had a predominance of female rural-urban migration, but the reason of high occurrence of female migration is not pointed out.

Kebede (2001) has conducted a research on migration and urban development in Ethiopia: the case to Nazreth town. He stated that migration towards Nazreth town is dominated by females. He also put large numbers of female migrants (78%) are from the near two neighbouring administrative regions: Shewa and Arisi and the capital city of Addis Ababa. Females also migrate from the five northern regions: Tigray, Wollo, Eritria, Gonder and Gojjam together account for 14.3 of the in-migrants. This shows females are predominantly migrated to the

near by towns. Those migrants from the northern part of Ethiopia, who come with the long distance, could be explained by population pressure and environmental stress.

Rahwa (2004) in her study "the impacts of male out-migration on women: The Case of Silte" find out that female migration is uncommon among the Silte due to cultural and religious factors. Women usually migrate accompanying their successful husband. However, in some cases, female independently migrate to town when they are divorced or widowed.

Feleke (2006) in his study on migration, urban-rural linkages and poverty in Ethiopia, investigated migration experience of both men and women. He stated that majority of female migrated to Addis Ababa and Shashemene from the adjacent rural area of Shashemene like Gurage, Hadya, Kembata, Gamo, and Sidama due to its proximity and the perception of relatively better employment opportunities.

He also point out that female migrated from Amhara and Oromiya region. However, many had reach to Addis Ababa and Shashemene through step-wise movement. The main reasons for the higher level of female's migration from far region like Amhara is attributed to early marriage, marriage break down, and recurrent drought in rural areas. Munira (2006) in her study on domestic workers in Harar City mentioned that famine and poverty were the two prominent factors for rural-urban migration.

2.6. The Study Area

2.6.1. Physical Background

Dessie is one of the oldest urban centre which is found in the Borkena river valley at the foot of the escarpments and ridges in the north eastern part of Ethiopia. The town is the capital of South Wollo administrative zone in ANRS (Amhara National Regional State). It is located between 11° 08' North latitudes and 39° 38' East longitude. It is found at 401 km from Addis Ababa (See map).

Dessie is characterized by rugged topography and surrounded by a chain of mountains namely 'Tossa' with up to over 3000 meter above sea level in the western part. Its eastern part is hilly with an average elevation of about 2400 meters. The town has an attitude range varying between 2525 and 2, 600 meters above sea level. Dessie has a climatic zone of 'Dega'. The annual average temperature of the town is between 15-20 degrees centigrade, and it receives the average annual rainfall amount (EMA, 1988).

2.6.2 A Brief History of Dessie Town

Dessie is one of the earliest inhabited regions of Wollo. The previous name of the town was known to be *Lakomelza*. The foundation of the name 'Dessie', goes back to the early days of Emperor Tewodros II, who during his reign (1855-1868) had made several campaigns to Wollo (NUPI, 2008).

A known local lord, Aba Jabal (son of Aba Wataw) made the town his administrative centre till he left the area in 1855. However, the year 1886, was a turning point in the history of Dessie. At this time, Ras Micheal, former Mohammed Ali, who was appointed as the sole governor

of Wollo, controlled the area from his competitors and changed his seat from Tenta to settle permanently in Dessie, which eventually involved into an urban centre (Abdu, 1997). He selected the town as a permanent seat due to its strategic importance as well as for economic purposes. He established his *gibbi* which was later named as *Ayteyyaf* at the highest hill area in the south eastern part of the town in order to control its surrounding from enemy.

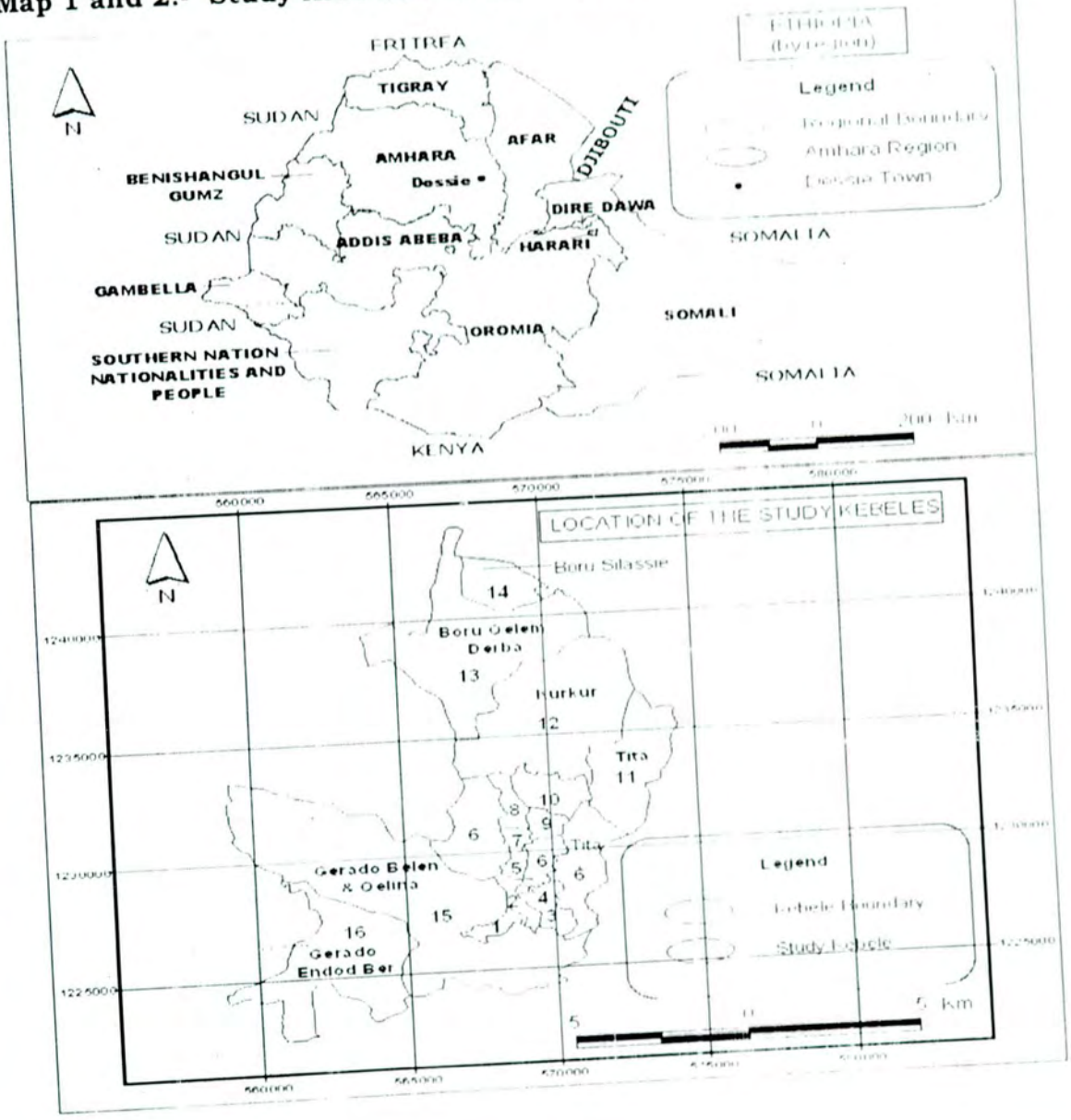
After the establishment of his '*giöbi*', the great hall, traditionally named as '*Yegibir adarash*' was also constructed by him self. The site was situated to see and control the area up to the southern fringes of Ambasal in the north and *Albukko* in the south (Abdu, 1997).

The colonial Italians administered Dessie after they annexed the town on April 15, 1936, long before they arrive in Addis Ababa. Later, Dessie was made the administrative centre of the governor of Regional Commissariat, within the '*Federazion dell Amhara*', one of the administrative divisions of Italian East Africa. However, the town was liberated from the Italian control in 1945. Since then, Dessie become under the control of the Municipalities Department of the Ministry of Interior, and later develop into the capital of Wollo province, the new administrative entity of the empire. This period was also characterized by the reshaping of the municipalities of Dessie (Abdu, 1997).

Politically, the town was divided into different administrative units in different times. During the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, the town was the capital of *Wollo taqlay gizat* and later named as *Wollo kifle hagar* during the Darg regime and after 1991, Dessie served as the capital city of south Wollo Zone. Besides this administrative importance, Dessie was a centre of the economic network of the North Eastern Zone of Ethiopia,

which includes the Afar region, Assab, North and South Wollo Zones. However, the link that had been with Assab was ended as a result of the Ethio-Eritrean war in 1998/99 (NUPI, 2007).

Map 1 and 2:- Study Area and Research Sites



Source:- Dessie City Administrative

inclusion of the rural area to the city administration and the total area of the city administration enlarged from 7, 200 to 16, 800 ha. (NUPI, 2007).

The first master plan for Dessie town was prepared during the period of Italian occupation (1936-1941). In 1967, a new master plan was prepared for the city along with other similar urban centers in the country under the then Ministry of Interior. The present Dessie's development plan was prepared by the NUPI in 2007.

The town is designed as Metropolitan City Administration along with Bahir Dar and Gonder in accordance with the Revised Proclamation for the establishment, organization and definition of power and responsibilities of urban centers and regulation for determination and Establishment of Organizational Category of Cities (2004). In addition, a guide to Desse's growth that used for ten year was also designed by the City Service Office which prepared detail plans and land assigned for housing and other functions besides the former boundary of the town.

2. 6. 5. Socio-economic Description

Dessie town has been a long-established market for grains, oil seeds, hides and skins, honey and beeswax and a distribution center for imported goods in internal trade of Ethiopia before 17th Century. It also has artisan industries and flour mills. The establishment of Addis Ababa to Asmara and Dessie to Assab road during the Italian period made the town commercial center which various goods were distributed to the neighboring regions and the hinterland (Asnake, 1988; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2009).

The town has been showing improvement in various fields of development activities in general and local economic development in

particular. The strategic location on Tigray - Shewan passage, made Dessie an important trade and transport center for northern and southern part of the country. As a result, the cities economy is largely characterized by diversified trade activities - that particularly involve collection and distribution of agricultural and industrial commodities- and provision of catering services. The town is also known with the availability of potable water, firewood, and grain and bounded with rural settlements which supply *teff*, and other cereals to the town.

The report, according to 1994 census, indicated that Public Administration and related, wholesale and retail trade and catering, Manufacturing and Transport, storage and communication were the four most important industrial divisions that constituted, 41%, 31%, 8.5%, and 8.1% of labour force in the local economy, respectively.

Private investors opened intermediate factories; the city's economy includes small scale industries: such as production of mineral water and soft drinks, flour milling, edible oil processing, bread and pastry making, coffee roasting and packing (ANRSUPI, 2009).

Dessie is endowed with historical sites and heritages such as Regional Museum of Dessie namely *Wollo bete mezekir* museum and a palace of Nigus Micheal, *Ayteyef* palace /*gibbi*/. Dessie also situated near to tourist centre sites such as the *logo Haik/lake Haik*, *Haik monastery*, and *Lalibela*.

With regard to social services, the town has shown a great progress and served the surrounding rural peoples too. According to the data obtained from the educational office of Dessie city administration (2008), there are 75 educational institutions which include 23 kindergartens, 32 primary

schools, 7 first cycle secondary schools, 2 second cycle secondary school (preparatory), 1 special school, 9 colleges and 1 university in the town. The health service coverage of Dessie town is 90.27%. A list of health institutions in Dessie are 1 referral hospital, 3 intermediate private hospitals, 4 higher clinic, 3 medium clinic, 11 small clinics, 7 pharmacy, 2 drug store, and 3 distributors. As far as communication service is concerned Dessie has transport linkages to the surrounding towns and rural areas. The town has also large coverage of internet and mobile services.

CHAPTER THREE

PROFILE OF FEMALE MIGRANTS AND FACTORS FOR MIGRATION

3. 1. Profile of Female Migrants

An analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants is of a prime importance in the migration studies since they affect social and economic relationships both in the area of origin and destination. In fact, the most widely documented socio-demographic factors which affect migration include age, education, and marital status.

From the sample, majority of female migrants (39) in the study area, are aged between 15 - 20 years. Some of them (10) ranged from 21-25 years. Whereas the two informants are below 15 years, the rest few are ranged from 26-30. The average age of migrants is 19 years. This is because most informants make their first move when they were very young which are forced by the rural socio-cultural and economic factors. Generally, the majority of the participant migrants in this study are found within the approximate working age.

As the field data result show, the rural females experience unequal educational opportunities in the formal schooling system due to various social, cultural and economic factors. Most of the migrants are characterized by illiterate or in complete primary education. Thus, nearly half of (28) informants did not get educational opportunity and while some (13) quit their primary education from grades 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Some respondents (12) dropped out at grade 7, 8 and 9 level and few females (7) completed grade 10. Where as, out of 28, six of migrants have been illiterate prior to their move to the current destination, but now attending their elementary education in the evening.

The marital status of potential female migrants is important to migrate. In the study area, single and divorced rural female migrants are highly mobile. They are mostly migrating at the earlier age. The study result also indicates that nearly half of the respondents (28) were single and some (15) were divorced in their origin, two of them have children back at origin. It has been observed that about 12 of the informants do have children as they are unmarried in the destination; about 5 of them are living together with their male partners in town.

As the study show, single and divorced rural females are more mobile independently than married ones as they are in a better position to decide when and where to move. Because, married women in rural society were expected to stay at home and take a responsibility to look after their children, as the mother-child relationship is of paramount important.

Most female migrants came from the surrounding rural woreda's and some were from relatively small rural towns away from Dessie town. The origin /birth place/ of most informant's are neighboring rural areas of Dessie town such as kutaber, Werebabo, Haik, Boru, Ruga, Tita, Delanta, Lalibela, Kobo, Gaint, Tossa, Mote werchimeno, Tebasit, Liguama, Sayint, Ajebar, Tenta, Borena, Akesta, Werilu, Gerado, Guguftu, Lasta, Kabe, Albuko, Harbu are found (see Map 3).

Migrant female's length of stay in Dessie town varies from one to the other. As confirmed from interviews, the length of their stay ranged from three months to twelve years. For more clarification, 19 of females had spent from 1-3 years; about 9 female migrants stayed from 4-5 years while the rest had spent from 6-12 years.

Information on religious status of the migrants was also collected. More than half of female migrants were Muslims while the rest are Orthodox Christians.

As far as the rural female migrant's family background is concerned almost all female migrant's families were illiterate and their livelihood depends on agriculture. While two of the informant's family completed grade 12 and employed as government worker in small village away from Dessie town and one informant's family was engaged in trade activities in addition to agriculture. Marital status of a family was the other issue seen in this analysis. As far as the marital status of migrants' family is concerned, some (six) respondents mentioned that they lost both their mothers and fathers, while others six of migrant's family were separated or divorced and the majority families of female migrant's were living together. The average rural household size of the respondents ranged from 6-8. This shows that, the family number of most informants is large in proportion.

Table 1. Sample of Respondents and Income Earning Activities

No	Informants Income Earning Activities		Number of Respondents		Sum	Total No. of Respondents
			Kebele 01	Kebele 09		
1	Housemaid (Domestic servant)	Live-in Housemaids	4	4	8	20
		Live-out Housemaids (daily labourer/temelalash)	6	6	12	
2	Street Vendor	Home made Business seller	3	3	6	12
		Street vendor	3	3	6	
3	Daily Labourer	Construction worker	3	3	6	12
		Coble stone worker	3	3	6	
4	Commercial sex worker(CSW)	Small bar CSW	4	4	8	16
		Street CSW	4	4	8	
Total			30	30	60	

3. 2. Factors for Female Migration to Dessie Town

Based on the data obtained from the female migrants living in Dessie town, this study witnesses that female migration cannot properly understood or analyzed without reference to a variety of gender-specific factors. Therefore, this study tried to analyze background history of the rural females' causes of migration in that how and why they move and why they choose to migrate to Dessie town. The following rural push factors and urban pull factors were found to be causes of female migration to Dessie town.

3. 2. 1. Push Factors

In developing countries like Ethiopia the economic, political, social and cultural factors are main push factors for rural-urban migration, which have been the predominant factors from the urban pull factors (Lam, 1993). It is also true in the study area that the rural push factors such as poverty, drought, land degradation and the decline of the size of landholding, undesirable traditional practices, inter and intra household decision, allocation of resources, marriage and other socio-cultural reasons are more severe than the pull factors.

3. 2. 1. 1. Economic Factors

As the world system theory or approach has shown, the existence of unequal development between centers (urban) and periphery (rural) leads to migration from periphery to urban areas. Because, the centre is mostly accessible to wealth, resources, and job opportunity while the rural is deprived of these resources (Brettell, 2003). This is applicable to the context of this study; lack of various resources in the rural makes the females to flee from their rural area to Dessie town.

Poverty in the Amhara region, more specifically in Wollo area, is a common factor that pushes the rural people towards urban areas. Poverty is resulted from drought, land degradation, low productivity, lack of natural resource, and the decline of the size of landholding. As migrant family's background profile indicates, almost all of the economy of most informants families livelihood is agriculture characterized by low productivity. The family size of most female migrants is one means for poverty enhancement as large family size need high rate of production to feed the whole family.

The surrounding rural area of Dessie town is known with high pressure of population. As the study result indicates, most female migrant's family number ranged from 6-8. The study also shows that young female migrants came from the rural poor family background. More specifically, about 21 of the informant's main reason is chronic poverty.

The prevalence of recurrent drought, scarcity of rainfall and land shortage in the northern highlands of Ethiopia is historical as well as current causes of rural migration. The existing topographic position and experienced drought condition of the Amhara region in general and in the study area in particular resulted in to push the rural people towards urban centers as well as outside of the surrounding area to settle elsewhere in other fertile rural areas. This resulted in change of the social structure of the society.

South Wollo is one of the zones in Amhara Regional State which has experienced a multitude of natural calamities. The rural sections of the zone have been especially affected by recurring drought. The periodic drought has pushed many to nearby cities like Dessie. As the study result show, females who have large family size were migrated to the nearby town like Dessie.

During interview session, migrant females came to Dessie town due to rural family's poverty. As they explained mostly, there is family decision on the movement of their children and female took a short distance move to provide the rural livelihoods and to cope up the existing poverty problem. As two of the informants – Hawa, a house maid (from rural village of Kuru) and Fozya, a commercial sex workers (from rural village of Kutaber) mentioned, they came from poor extended families of rural area. The main reason they claim to move to Dessie town was that to make their family relieve from stress. They stated several factors associated with the poverty of their families in one way or the other like family's inability to provide their basic necessities (food, cloth and education fees, etc), inability to sustain the life of their children and themselves. They also stated that their families are living in poor economic condition, in which they even do not have reserve foods to feed their family when drought occurred. In addition, their families are more vulnerable to food shortage that occurs due to natural shocks such as drought and irregular rainfall. In some serious cases, their families would borrow some cereals from relatively rich peasant householders.

On the other hand, as different studies indicate, females want to have economic independence. Migration, as mentioned by these scholars, is mainly a function of expected income in urban areas compared with small or no rural income. The relatively existing high economic growth in urban centres initiates the migrants to come to town from their place of residence. Even though urban income is low initially, most migrants prefer initial earning than unemployment in their area (Jamieson, 2000; Gundinning et al., 2003 cited in Bettina, 2006: 158).

The FGD's with female migrants also showed migration enables female migrants to empowering themselves in terms of higher self-esteem and

increased economic independence, because most rural females are economically dependent on their husband. As they stated, migration can help female migrants through wage employment opportunities in town. Thus, absence of economic independence of females in the rural area led them to come to Dessie. In this case, both unmarried and divorced females have similar feeling on the issue.

3. 2. 1. 2. Social Factors

Females were migrating not only for economic reasons but also for the social factors such as family disintegration either through death or divorce and absences of social facilities (education, communication, health facilities) are the major push factors, which have been causing rural female migration to Dessie town.

Family Disintegration: Family disintegration is identified as one of the factors which contributed for the migration of females to Dessie town. Family disintegration through death or divorce is prevalent cases in rural areas. Some female migrants came to Dessie town due to lose of the bread winner of the family (i.e., mother, father, or both) while few of other migrant's families came to Dessie due to separation or divorce of their parents.

Parent's death and/or separation for some reasons resulted in family breakdown and formation of a new family. It has therefore, a great impact on the rest of family members particularly on daughters. In the case of family separation, when the nuclear family falls apart, mostly their children remain with single parent. There would often be unhappy relationship between children and step-mother/father. According to some of the respondents, this resulted in the mistreatment of the children by step father or mother. As some of the respondents replied, the conflict occurred believing that the new step mother/father perceived

the children as rivals to the inheritance of family property. In addition, they forced the girls to quit their education to provide assistance to their families in farming or domestic work. As a result, the existing difficulties led them to flee from their rural village. This can be confirmed from cases of respondent as presented here under.

Case 1

My name is Yeshareg. I am 14 years old and I am from rural village of kabe. I quit my education from Grade 6. I have 4 sisters and 2 brothers. My parents are divorced. I am currently working in a bar entertaining men to earn my daily bread (as commercial sex-worker). I came to Dessie before one year. Because of my family's divorce, my mother has married to another man. She has three children from my step father and three children from my father. But, my step father did not treat me like his children. He bought beautiful dress and other material to his children. When he plays with them, he doesn't even notice I am there. All this and other things made my life very difficult. Even though y mother tried to have a good condition in our home, she didn't have enough influence in the family to make changes and to bring my life better. When I quarrel with my younger sisters who are the children of my step father, he always used to stand for them even when I am totally innocent. He insulted and beat me accusing me of bullying my younger sisters. One day, for example, my leg was broken when my younger sister beat me with a stick after I quarreled with her. I did not beat her in the fear that the response that can be triggered from my step-father is dangerous. The only option I had was to cry and to weep. When my mother was at home at least she was willing to listen to me and she sometimes stands by my side. This situation also triggers quarrel between my mother and step-father; as a result, they seriously fight. When these incidences occur again and again, I decided to leave home because I didn't want to disturb my mom's life. At my first move I wait for three months in small town called kabe working in small restaurant for 40.00 ETB a month. Finally, I have come to Dessie to the fact that 40.00 ETB was not sufficient to support my life.

Yeshareg's life-history revealed that family separation and maltreatment of step father is a major factor that pushed rural females to migrate to Dessie town.

Further, in the rural society females have great social and economic function to settle social crisis/problems. In the case of parent's death, when the head of the family (especially father) has died, her parent would force her to get married without her consent because her family needed to get support from her husband to cover her father's role in the field. In addition, the family wants to have some financial as well as material assets from the new husband. Even when mothers died, the daughters would quit their education to help their family and to take her mother's responsibility at home. In this regard, one of the respondents story can be a casing point.

Zehabu is 18 years old from Akesta. The main reason for her migration to Dessie was her mother's death. Although her father had married another woman, Zehabu was not allowed to continue her education. Instead of going to school, Zehabu was forced to serve the family. In addition to this, she was badly treated by her step mother. All these pushed her to migrate to Dessie town.

From the above cases, it can be realized that females those who lost their family face difficulties at their earlier age. Such difficulties force them to migrate to the urban centers so as to escape from the existing rural hardships.

Lack of Social Services: As stated earlier, the urban population in Amhara regional state has been increasing rapidly. Furthermore, the number of female migrants is increasing with time. Dessie is one of the towns in which this trend is taking place. The town is known for commercial and communication centre as well as a centre for different social services like education and health. Some rural females come to Dessie town to get social services particularly to have an access to education and health service. For instance, the referral hospital and the higher educational institutions are found in Dessie. The above mentioned

factors are promoted the flow of people from neighboring small towns and rural villages towards the target town.

For example, after grade 8 rural females who have relatives in the target town have a chance to attend their high school education. As the field data indicates about six of the informants have awareness and enough information about Dessie town while they were learning. After the completion of their high school education, they decide to remain in Dessie and find work in different informal activities.

These responses were consistent with the information obtained from FGD in which the informants put the absence of social services as one of the reasons which made the rural life difficult. As some of these informants claimed, if all facilities had been there, they would not have left their village. These young female migrants had common proverb concerning this issue, that is, '*kegeter habit yeketma dihinet*' (urban poverty is better than rural wealth). They also say: '*Kegeter habtam yeketema listro mehon yishalal*' (it is better to be shoe shiner in town than to be wealthy in rural). In this explanation, they want to say even if rural area is accessible in terms of wealth, it does not mean with the absence of social facilities. Thus, from individual as well as FGD interviews clearly show, many female migrants would prefer living in Dessie (town) due to its accessibility of various facilities.

3.2.1.3. Cultural Factors

Marriage and Related Causes: marriage is one of a social factor which determines the characteristics of female migration in Ethiopia. As Guy (1990) explains, marriage in African society is a social institution in which male control over women is embodied, and that in the process of marriage the transfer of women's labor from the father's household to the husband's household was mirrored by the transfer of bride wealth in the

opposite direction. The bride wealth is used as a social transaction which united two great male concerns-the control of women and of the bride wealth-in a dynamic totality (in Wright, 1995: 82).

Ethiopian census of 1984 also indicates that, migration due to marriage could be one of the factors for the finding of relatively higher mobility on the part of females. Similarly, female migration to Dessie town is mostly linked to marriage and related causes including divorce which is common and increasing the number of female out-migrants because most divorced women are forced to leave their village. Individual and FGD information demonstrates divorce happen due to different factors such as family dispute, early marriage, and unhappy marriage or marriage arranged by families.

In-depth interview with elders and individual responses indicated that these were some of the problems that were related to marriage and divorce. One of these problems is that the divorced women face special challenges that can cause psychological problem on them. Among the rural societies of Wollo, a woman who is divorced is labeled as '*Galemota*' which implies that nobody would ever want to marry her again. In the study area, some of female informants are divorced in the origin. The divorced rural female is often under pressure to leave her place of usual residence and migrate to nearby urban centre because she would be less likely to get other partner. The main reason for leaving their rural origin is after they get divorce they considered as not functioning in the society and the name '*galemota*' has a great impact that harm the social as well as psychological well-being of the divorced because the name '*galemota*' has two meanings: it used as social identification of the divorced female from unmarried one and the name by itself is an insulting word.

According to the finding of this study, the other problems that push woman to leave their place were related to conflict with extended family

members. In the rural culture where this study is conducted, a newly married woman has to live with her in-laws until she has her first baby. Even after she had her first baby, she has to live near his family compound. In the mean time disputes between the wife and her in-laws would occur. Especially this usually happens between the wife ('mirat') and her mother-in-law (*amat*). There is a saying in the rural area '*amat ena mirat saismamu meret*' - (a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law always quarrel until their death).

As Zewdie (from Ambasel)¹ mentioned, she was always quarrelling with her mother in-law when her husband went to the farm. As she explains:

She ordered me as if I was her servant not as the wife of her son. Sometimes, I also quarreled with my father in-law. He used to warn me to respect my husband by calling him 'antu' (sir/ your honor, instead of 'ante'); although my husband belonged to other rural community where a husband needed to be called 'antu', I did not want to call my husband as 'antu'. Besides, my husband's male extended relatives want to have sex with. Then, I left from that house and requested my family to make a formal divorce. After that I separated from my husband and migrated to Dessie.

The result of the study revealed that the other problem that initiated females to migrate to Dessie was early marriage. Early marriage is considered as a cause for female migration. This was also supported by the report of UNPFA. The UNPFA (2008) report confirmed that rural-urban migration and susceptibility to poverty, physical and sexual abuse are direct consequences of early marriage. It is common in Amhara region in general and in the study area in particular that early marriage forced the rural female to migrate to urban areas. The median female age at marriage for the Amhara is 14 (CSA, 1993; Ezra, 2007). As the practice of early marriage in the surrounding rural area of Dessie town,

¹ Migrant's place of origin or/ and their current occupation put in parenthesis.

girls between the ages of 12 to 15 are very often married off to spouses much older than them. In this case, they may not be happy with marriage at this earliest age but the family put pressures to marry what they choose. Some female migrants reported that they run away from home due to problems associated with early marriages.

Madego or *Tibique*² is also part of early marriage in the rural society that daughters given to marriage at the age of 9 and even below 9. The couple's families made agreement to raise the girl till she become puberty. But, mostly the husband had forced the girl to have sex before the time restricted, that cause to physical as well as psychological consequences on the girl.

Case 2

My name is Amina. I am 20 years old and I came from Ruga (a rural village near to Dessie). Now I am selling spices in the street to earn my livelihood. I lost my parents while I was kid. I am given to 'madego' or 'tibique' when I was 9 to a husband much elder than three times of my age. He was a 35 years old. After the marriage ceremony took place, I started to spend and sleep with my husband's mother. One day my mother-in-law went to market and his father also went to farm. In the mean time, he deflowered me; consequently, I was seriously sick. Even I was not in a condition to control myself, and then later I got medical help as well as traditional treatment though I have found nothing for my internal feeling. I still remember that day. Later, the man divorced me in the request of my family. After that I decided to flee from my village and come to Dessie despite I faced more serious challenges than I ever had.

As the above case indicates, young rural females are given to marriage in the form of *madego* or adoption at their earlier age. In addition, young rural girls mostly deprived of attending school rather than their mothers' training how to be a good wife to their future husband. the family also

² *Madego* or *Tibique* is early marriage in the form of adoption.

wants to get daughters married at earlier age fearing of getting the name 'kumoker' or 'gitir' (a name labeled to late married females) which is mentioned as one major factor for female migration to Dessie.

In addition, some informants reported that they flee from the traditional practices of marriage arranged by parents. Marriage in African society is not a mere agreement between two individuals but a contract between two kinship groups (Radcliff-brown and Forde, 1950). Like those of the others, in the rural family of Wollo area, marriage is mostly arranged by family and the kin. In rural societies, females are seen as a source of wealth because their families have tended to give daughters to wealthier family who are traditionally known as 'adunia yemolachew' (a family who has wide plots of farming land and more domestic animals). These rural societies were believed that marriage is entertained as means of prestige. The female's family wants to give their daughters for a family who has honored name 'yetelique zer lij' (a family who is well known and well respected in the society for their clan, wealth or fame). Whether the daughter likes him or not, marriage is arranged by families that in turn pushes the rural female migrate towards urban centre.

Wife Inheritance /Warsa and Wurse/: in the surrounding rural areas of the study area, more specifically in the northern lowland area of Dessie town, there are traditional practices named as 'Warsa' and 'Wurse'. In the case of 'Warsa' one married female allowed having sexual relation with her husband's younger brothers and with his close male relatives. That means male relatives are considered by her and her husband as 'instant husband'. On the other hand, in the case of *Wurse (wife inheritance)*, a widow female is allow to marry her husband's younger or elder brother or his near relatives so as to control and inherit her husband's wealth. In addition, it protects her and the children from other

marriage outside of their kin. Similarly, a married man, whose wife died, can marry his wife's younger sister.

As Hailu (2007) explains in his study on the issue of *warsa* and *wurse*, these customs have still been practicing in the rural areas of Wollo among the Muslims community. This is causing various social problems. Furthermore, it violates gender equality and reflects male domination which leads to psychological deterioration. It can also be a means for the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. Besides, this pushes young females to migrate believing that it helps them escape from the unpleasant practices. As the interview result shows this harmful traditional practice has its own impact for female migration in Dessie town. Female migrants from the rural area of Ambasal, Kutaber, and Worebabo mentioned that these traditional practices are deep rooted in the society. As a result, today's young female are resisting and fleeing from the rural area so as to escape this unpleasant practices as well as the isolation, too.

Case 3

My name is Demeku and I am 20 years old. I came from Boru. Now I am working as a daily laborer in Dessie. I got married when I was 13 and I have two children in my rural village. I and my former husband were living with his family. Since he had not his own land, he used to plough his father's farm. Even his father was not willing to share him pieces of land. This was difficult to our marriage to the fact that he was not able to make a living. Lastly, he went to Afar in order to earn money that helps him buy piece of farm land (informally). Unfortunately, he never returned home for long time. Consequently, his family forced me to marry his youngest brother but I resisted and migrated to Dessie.

Rural Gender Inequality: Feminist writers have noted the greater potential for women to find alternative, less patriarchal ways of living in urban contexts. This is also an aspect of gentrification 'the city offers women freedom after all, the city normalizes the fair aspects of life'

(Wilson, 1991). This is also true in the study area and forms one major cause of female migration to Dessie town.

Despite the country's institution clearly stated that women have equal rights as men, many rural women are not aware of their rights so that they are not able to defend their rights of ownership of family property. As it stated earlier in this study, the information obtained through FGD revealed that, in rural society women and men do not have equal right in ownership of property. All inter and intra household decisions are made by her husband. The wife has no right to take part in the decisions made concerning the family; the wife even has no the right to take birth control unless the willingness of her husband is granted.

The informants further explained that there is a belief in the society that men are the pillar of a family, men are the breadwinner in the family, and considered as superior to women in most aspects of life that matters the family. Therefore, many rural females wanted to have freedom from such unacceptable and unfair traditional norms and restrictions in the rural area. This was indicated as one main reason for females' movement to urban areas. Patriarchal dominance is mostly common in rural areas of Ethiopia in general particularly in Amahara region followed by a popular proverb known as '*set lij wede majet*' (female's right place is her kitchen). In the rural society, female's only "employment" is her marriage so that her attention is expected to be directed towards satisfying her husband's desire in every aspect.

Thus, for young rural women the necessity to leave home in order to work elsewhere implies that they spend their young hood living far from their families. This is because girls are socialized to remain close to home and to fulfill obligations of the family. In FGD, some females reported that they fear the rural life looking the experience of their parents and/or elder sisters who were badly treated by their husbands. For instance, in

the rural society, a male who does not beat his wife is not considered as courageous instead he is taken as coward (female) because, in the rural society, to honor and respect the male is socially constructed. At the beginning (child hood level), the families do not give fair treatment to daughters equal to sons in all aspects of the society. This made females to accept it as one of the social obligations.

Ownership of Property and Resources: Government policies and rules related with women's rights or access to resources, such as education, housing and land have an immense impact on female migration (Bettina, 2006). The traditional patriarchal inheritance laws and practices preclude women from agricultural property and legitimize male dominance in agricultural production and politics (Bock and Shortall, 2006). For instance, in South Asia and Africa, many women are still exposed to discrimination in access to land, shelter and property rights despite policy and legal reforms (Deborah, 2003).

Similarly, customary system of the rural area of Dessie, land ownership goes to sons (not to daughters), and this situation left women landless. One of the main reasons for this occurrence is the expectation of the society that woman get married and make her living with her husband's family. Therefore, absence of belongingness to females on various rural properties is an indirect rural push factor for female migration. Some informants answered that, the main cause to come to Dessie town is to escape from the rural hardships, gender isolation and decisions of transfer of property and resources within the family.

Even though the country's institution clearly stated that women have equal rights as men, many rural women are not aware of their rights. As a result, they are not able to defend their rights of ownership of family property. The information obtained through FGD with migrant female informants revealed that, due to lack of knowledge of legal rights, in rural

society women and men do not have equal right in ownership of property. Moreover, it is indicated that women have been oppressed and they faced many problems in all conceivable way. For instance, if separation occurs due to disagreement between couples, the wife goes to her family without any property while the husband remains intact with his property and gets another marriage.

Even though the new revised law put the right to have equal share of property, the rural society has been sticking to the traditional method of conflict resolution, '*shimglina*' whose reconciliation may disadvantageous to woman. In addition, the data obtained from the informants indicated that all the divorced migrant respondents were separated from their husband without sharing any property. Even there were some cases in which females were sentenced to pay '*kasa*' /compensation/ to a husband or to return all her dowries bought for the wedding.

3. 2. 2. Pull Factors

Not only the push factors but also pull factors of urban settings influence the migration of rural females. Although individual difference plays its own role on the extent, there are central points that attract female rural migrants to a recipient area. According to the information obtained from the study, the most common pull factors include: the presence of relatives and friends in the destination (social network and peer and kin pressure), a need for better life, the existence of job opportunity, wrong information about the actual realities in urban areas, availability of social services such as education, health and communication and geographical proximity or ease of access to the destination area. The situation in the study area specifically points, however, to the following four major areas that attracted female migrants to Dessie.

3. 2. 2. 1. Job Opportunity

The neo-classical economic approach stated that, the migrant flow moves from the labour-abundant areas to the capital-abundant areas, despite the obstacles or difficulties (Castles and Miller, 2003). This study supports the neo-classical approach. The existence of urban job opportunity attracted the rural females towards Dessie town in order to improve their life.

Most of the time, informal employment is generally a larger source of employment for female in the developing countries. This was dependable with the migration pattern in the study area, too. Though migrants were poorly paid in their jobs, it was relatively better than what they would have earned in their own rural village.

Furthermore, due to its geographic position, Dessie become a centre for trade activities and various people come from different small towns and its surrounding rural areas, too. In addition, the expansion of construction industry and the recent coble stone project appears to be one of the major pull factors in the migration of rural people to Dessie town. Not only the mentioned factors but also the development of various social services such as schools as well as higher government and private institutions, hotels and restaurants were among the pull factors that attracted female migrants.

Recent evidence also shows that females are "pulled" to the cities because of the availability of a variety of menial-jobs and this was also contributing to movement of females to the target town. Key informants from the target town's administrative, trade and industry offices claimed that rural females become beneficiary and independent wage earner through informal sectors. According to the result from the field work, the informants reported that female migrants, specifically those who

completed their education at some stage, did not want to go back home. But instead they would often want to remain in Dessie to search for a job.

3. 2. 2. 2. Social Network

As migration system theory or social network theory has emphasized that social network such as information flow, friendship and kinship ties are important factors of and the decision to move to new area. Social network helps provide support during personal accidents, look for job, providing shelter and make the migratory process easy (Castles and Miller, 2003; Gordon and Jong, 2002; Joyet, 2004). These are important to understand the determinants of female migration in the context of this study.

The existence of relatives in the urban town is one of the pull factors that simplify migration to Dessie town. As the study result shows, 24 of female migrants arrived at Dessie town because of the presence their relatives. Among these 24 migrants, 13 of them have a chance to know Dessie due to different purposes such as visiting relatives, to get education, health and market services, and related reasons before they came to as migrants.

3. 2. 2. 3. The Kin and Peer Pressure

Kin and peer pressure is one of the pull factors which attract rural female migrants in the study area. Sometimes female migrants were initiated by their relatives and/or their friends who lived in the urban area.

There are few female migrants who have managed to secure good life in urban area. When these women return to their village, they convey wrong

message to young adults that the life in urban areas is comfortable. The relatives and friends of those returnees would be influenced by the small change they observed on these female immigrants when they went to visit their families. As a result, many rural communities could accept the migration of young adults as one livelihood strategy. The study shows that these attitudes were developed by the experience of migrants who have kept in touch, who return to the village on visits, and by villagers who have visited kin and friends in urban areas. During the in-depth interview, some of the key informants reported that even though life is expensive in town, the female migrants sometimes manage to send material or financial support back to their families in the rural areas.

The study result also shows that some female migrants came to the target town due to the pressure from kin and friends. According to some of the informants in the study area, in most cases most female migrants were highly exploited and mistreated not only by their employers but more importantly by their own kin or relative for unlimited time as in the following case.

Case 4

My name is Meselech. I am 24 years old. I came from Ambasel. I did not attend my education in rural area. I was married at the age of 14 and later I divorced. I have two sisters and one brother. My parents are farmers and they are living together. I am currently working on retail trade. I have been living here in Dessie for 12 years. I flee from my rural village due to the initiation of my aunt when she came to our rural village to visit her relatives. She asked my family to take me with her promising to let me go to school with her children. I become extremely happy when I heard this news because I was dissatisfied with my divorce. After I came to Dessie town, I was never allowed to go to school. Instead of that my aunt and her family took me as house maid. I had no other alternative because I did not know the town. In addition, I did not want to go back to my rural village. So the only choice I had was to spend my life with them; thus I spent 10 years going through this difficult condition without any payment and education. My aunt told me that after I had finished doing the works in her home, I had to wash

clothes, make injera and do other works to other people in the neighborhood in order to earn some money for my clothing and other basics. Then, I began to do some handcrafts and I could save 200.00 ETB. In all those years, she didn't send me to school, and I have come to realize that she would never send me to school anymore. So, I realized that I wasted my life without anything and I cannot support my family. I have some money and finally, when I told my aunt that I am planning to start a small business, the whole family did not allow me to do so, and she became very angry. In spite of her protest, I started the business. One night, I was preparing the market goods for next morning, but her younger daughter switched the light off. I cried. Lastly, I was disappointed and I just left her home and I decided to find my own. Fortunately, I found a very small room and I rented it for 40.00 ETB per month which was too much compared with my financial capital.

From the above case, one can understand that rural females are highly stimulated by other agents such as urban relative to move to town. They readily accept and believe what their relatives tell them. On the contrary, many female migrants found the reality that the reason why their relatives initiate them to come to town is to exploit their labor and not for the sake of the innocent female migrants. Mostly, the urban dwellers face difficulty due to shortage of labor especially in household. This is because rural females do not want to be hired as housemaid due to its low payment, social isolation, and work load; consequently, the urban relatives used the above process to relief from labor shortage.

Other informants in the study, such as, lay man, brokers and government officials also mentioned that female migrants are often misinformed by middle man and by other agents about the labor market demand at destination area. They further explained that rural females have been initiated by returned peer migrants to come to town in the promise of better life which was against the reality. Because of this misleading information, many of them arrive early and get exposed to mistreatment and loss of money. What makes female migrants' move

more difficult is that they are exposed to sexual harassment and they are even susceptible for different diseases.

More importantly, the rural people are easily attracted by what they simply heard because of the lack of awareness about the realities in urban areas. The rural migrants in Dessie suggested that they had been misled by returnees who look so good and well dressed. The most migrant females have a chance to contact with their parents at least once a year and they go back to their birth place during holidays and family ritual ceremonies /'chele' and 'dem'/ to spend with their family. During family visit, the female migrants came with some material as well as financial remittances to their family. Not only this but also returnees appeared to be well dressed, and they look and act as modernized. That has a great motivation to the young girls as well as the families in the village. Furthermore, the returnees describe the town as a land of wealth, where the 'social life' abounds, where one can offer what he or she has, and where everything is available. Such myths were perpetuated by returning migrants who wished to build up their image and their exploits; as a result, the females who live in the rural village were highly initiated to leave their homes.

The FGD revealed that it was not only the wrong information from the returnees but also relatives of the migrant's desire for cheap labor were factors that triggered female migration. Moreover, other agents (like traders, brokers and bar owners) were mentioned as other factors that made female migrants decide to come to the target town without considering what they will face in the destination.

3. 2. 2. 4. Urban Attraction

Young rural females tend to leave the countryside in favor of cities and urban centers. The existence amusements and leisure activities, better

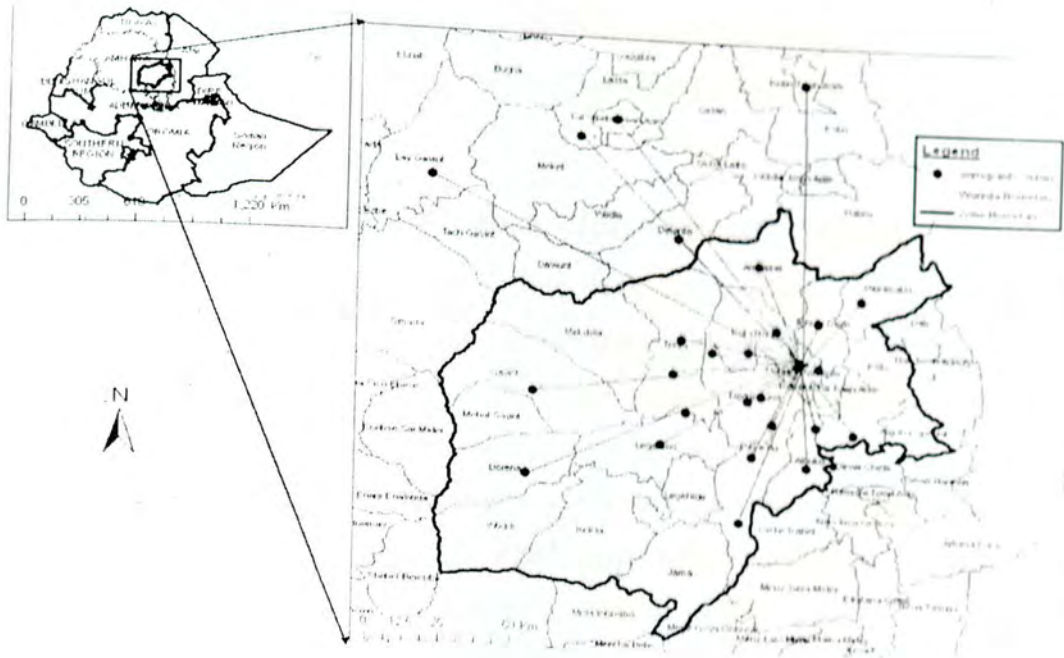
medical facilities, better education and training, creative atmosphere and individual freedom as well as 'narrow' social environment make the urban centre attractive. The key informants also explained that today the flow of female migrants towards urban centre is increasing rapidly. The rural families were also acknowledging the fact that this rapid flow of female migrants has become a normal phenomenon.

The majority of the informants reported that the reason why they migrated to the target town was to find a simple and enjoyable urban life. Some of female migrants put urban attraction as one of the main reasons to come to Dessie. Thus, female migrants want to be in towns where life is more active and they get in touch with modern amenities. A young female Hana whose age is 14 felt that 'Electric light' especially at night makes Dessie pleasant'.

3. 2. 2. 5. Geographical Proximity

Different writers supported that, Proximity of the urban and rural setting affect migration processes (Todaro and Smith, 2003; Barke and O'Hare, 1991; Hornby and Jones, 1993). It is also true in the study area. From the sample, more than half of the informants came from the nearby surrounding rural areas of Dessie town. More specifically, about 24 of the respondent's origin are around Dessie Zuria Woreda of rural area (see map 3).

They also mentioned that the decision to move to town was determined by its proximity and transportation cost to reach to the target town (Lee, 1966, in Pedraza, 1991:307). From this we can understand that short distance from the nearest large town has facilitated the process of female migration.



Map 3:- Origin of Selected Female Migrants

As the above figure shows, most female migrant's origin is near to the surrounding rural area of Dessie town. However, some of them came from relatively far from Dessie town such as Delanta, Gaint, Kobo, and Lalibela.

On the other hand, the proximity allowed female migrants to have frequent contact with their rural family and to fulfill some obligation to extend financial assistance. The maintenance of close ties with home communities has been strengthened by transportation links. For instance, migration for Aynalem was considered as if she moved from bedroom to the sitting room. She came from Ruga which is 15 kilometers away from Dessie town. She visited her family in Ruga regularly. As she says: I can attend family ritual ceremonies, 'chele' and 'dem'³. Proximity is also an easy way for migrants to return to rural village when they become sick or fail to get employment or, when they face other related problems. Mehuba is also another informant working as a housemaid

servant. Her origin is Haik which is 30 kilometres away from Dessie. She can go to her rural family when she faces health problem and get back to Dessie when she feels better.

3. 2. 2. 6. Rural Families Perception towards Migration

Migration was taken as a norm rather than the exception in northern Ethiopia because it is part of family strategy (Wood, 1977 in Tesfaye, 2007: 37). In the issue of female migrants, today, rural families accept the out migration of young females; communities have also developed migration strategies. Their strategies are informed by the experience of migrants who have kept in touch, who return to the village on visits and by villagers who have visited kin and friends in the city. From FGD, migrants explain that although life is expensive in town, the rural female migrants send something either material or financial support to their rural families. In depth interview with women affairs office asserted that females tend to be more reliable than their male counterparts with regard to sending money and keeping their ties with the family of origin.

In-depth interview with elder's also revealed that, the rural societies have not been interested to send their children to towns especially among the Muslim communities. They have been less likely to work outside the household, partly because of Islamic teachings that discourage independent female activities; rather they give to marriage at earlier age. Contrary to this, most female migrants to Dessie town are Muslims. The study also asserted that, Muslim migrants are more exceed than Christian followers.

³'chele' and 'dem' are commonly practiced ritual ceremonies both in rural and urban area of Wollo.

However, from individual interview, in most cases (due to rural unpleasant social and cultural condition) females were fleeing from the rural without family's recognition. But, in some cases, some of them were migrated through rural family's recognition.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROBLEMS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF FEMALE MIGRANTS IN DESSIE TOWN

4. 1. Problems/Challenges

The rural female migrates to Dessie town because of various pull factors at destination. These may include the promise of economic and social opportunities such as the possibility of job opportunities, better schooling and better life. But, the urban centre rarely provides what they aspire to get, and as a result female migrants exposed to various problems and challenges, even more worse than what they experienced in their place of origin.

The most significant challenges to migrants of people from the country side to the cities, usually to a single large town like Dessie, are unemployment and underemployment, poverty, housing problem, illness, working longer hour, bad living condition and other challenges different from their home village.

In terms of gender dimension, female migrants faced with more problems than male migrants. They are vulnerable to gender based discrimination in wages and labor market sectors which reserve the most repetitive, unskilled and tedious job. They mostly work in the informal sector and experience long working hours for a very low wage, un-healthy or dangerous working conditions, and psychological, physical and sexual aggression. Data from informants and case studies shows that female migrants in the study area have been confronted with the common challenges of urban environment as well as by being only females too.

4. 1. 1. Unemployment and Underemployment

Unemployment is one and common problems in Dessie town which is aggravated by migration and other related factors. Many other studies also find out the number of unemployed females and youth are increasing from time to time in the town (Getamesay, 2009; Yohannes, 2005; NUPI, 2007). As Yohannes, (2005) in his study explains that, the number of migrants estimated to be more than 40% of the populations of the town, which exacerbated the prevalence of unemployment in Dessie.

Similarly, information from in-depth interview with female migrants and key informant (Social and Labors affairs expert) attested that, unskilled rural females have difficulty in gaining access to the urban labor market because of the following major reasons. Firstly, the working condition of migrants in the urban centre is determined by their skill, educational status, and work experience. There are more skilled people in towns than in rural areas which make the unskilled rural females have difficulties gaining access to the urban labor market. Secondly, cultural variation of rural migrants and lack of information tend to be other factors for job opportunity. Thus, the only choice of female migrants is to be self employed or participating in urban informal sectors to earn income and survive the urban life.

Job opportunity is less for female migrants, who have children, because, employers mostly do not want to hire female migrants with their children, as they would fear that they may bring their children at working place. This is mostly common among live-in domestic workers.

With regard to underemployment, the unskilled and uneducated rural female migrant in Dessie town, tend to be low - paid workers while they are living in the town. Even though the existence of informal work tends

to be higher for female than male (Getamesay, 2009), they still receive lower wages and makes difficulty to cover the urban cost of livelihoods. Migrants, not only face with poor payment but also they offer little security, high vulnerability and few benefits in the informal business.

The result of interviews with domestic servants showed that most of them reflect that they earn low wages (average rate of 60 Birr per month) when they compare it with their physical exertion. As they explain, they are loaded with plenty of household works: washing dish, cloth, cleaning rooms, preparing foods and drinks, making *injera*, sending children to schools and receiving, etc. They are working longer hour, but they are dissatisfied with the wage. As Meseret, 26 years old migrant from Delanta explained:

I was loaded with various domestic works. I was always busy working dusk till midnight. I earn only 60 Birr per month. They had no concern to my health while I was working tirelessly. They wake me up early in the morning to prepare breakfast and to clean the room; then the routine continues till mid night. My employers do not treat me as a 'human being'. Lastly I become sick and I left the job due to health problem.

Most commercial sex workers have also explained that lack of job opportunity as well as unfair payment, mistreatment of employers are major reasons to be sex workers besides peer initiation. Similarly, the live-out housemaid and daily laborer who are working on contract to different households and those migrants working in the street also earn low income. But, they earn better than the live-in domestic servants.

4. 1. 2. Urban Poverty

Chronic poverty is not an exclusively rural problem; it is, highly concentrated in urban areas too. Poverty in rural areas is much more pronounced because as more migrant want to escape rural poverty, they move to cities in search of better opportunities. However, the problem of

poverty does not disappear but rather they are transformed to urban poverty as a female earn low wage which resulted in poor living condition. Thus, female migrants in the destination faced with urban poverty.

Most of the informants explained about the lack of money to fulfill their basic needs as well as to help their families. They earn low income from the existing various informal sectors that is not enough to cover basic necessities: buying foods, house rent payment and clothing. This is rightly explained by migrant Lubaba as below.

Lubaba is 19 years young female from Haik. She has a child and working on the street (selling vegetables) around *Robit*. She has been working as a live-out housemaid which was not sufficient to fulfill daily basics with her child. She is tending to start selling goods but she has no any enough initial capital to start business. Thus, as income raising strategy, she collected nearly perished vegetables from market places and from vegetable logging cars. Some times she buys nearly perished vegetables with least price and sells it to urban poor customers (to migrants, retired and helpless women, beggars, and female poor householders).

As the above case shows, female migrants are found in serious poverty in the urban life. Those female migrants who came to Dessie town due to family poverty, their first motive have been to improve their life and then to offer material and financial support to their families. On the contrary, after joining the town life, they become low income earners and the situation did not allow to-do their earlier expectations. This suggests that in urban centre there is also poverty which is expressed through lack of job opportunity, low income, poor housing condition, lack of social services, and high cost of living. For this, the following Zehara's case is very exemplary to show the extent of urban poverty that she faced in Dessie town.

Case 5

I am 21 years old and I am from Worehimeno. My parents' livelihood is based on subsistence farming. I missed my father when I was 10. I gave up my education from Grade 2 due to lack of support. I have two sisters and one brother. I came to Dessie town before two years ago so as to help my mother. I am live-out domestic worker. I did not know the town Dessie before, but my cousin (Hawa) has been selling home-made food. I started working as maidservant in her makeshift restaurant. But I did not get any payment for my services. I realized that I can not help my mother in this situation. In the meantime, I was introduced to a man, who was a customer to my cousin's small restaurant. He was a daily laborer, too. He approached me, and he offered to marry me. Thus, I left my cousin to live with him. After that I conceived his child. When he has come to realize that I am pregnant, he betrayed me. My only fate remained to be to work as a house maid. I had to work till the last stages of my pregnancy. When my term reaches to delivery, the woman who hired me forced me to leave before I gave birth. Because I was not fit enough to do so much work and she was not ready to take care of me and my up-coming baby. Therefore, the only place I had to go to was the local church yard where I could get at least something to survive for about 40 days. Then, I had my baby in the church yard, thanks to the faithful who helped me with food and clothing. Soon after I had given birth, I began to realize that life had become even more complicated to the fact that I was responsible to provide care and safety to the new born baby. So, I began to look for any job. Unfortunately, no one wanted to hire me - a woman with a new born baby - even as a housemaid. Lastly, I found a small dilapidated room to share with another female migrant for rent with 15 Birr per month. Now I am working various types of jobs including baking 'injera', washing clothes etc. However, the wage is not adequate enough to sustain my life and my baby's basic needs. I and my baby had no proper clothes to wear; we have a miserable life. So, I even sometimes used to go to mosque on Fridays in order to find some help through social network with the rich person.

The above case shows that migrant females have come to Dessie town because of rural poverty but they also face urban poverty. Financial constraints to buy food and clothes, sharing rooms with other people, caring for a child alone and seeking aid are some of the challenges that are associated with the socio-economic problems and poverty.

4. 1. 3. Lack of Basic Needs and Social Services

Unlike the rural economy, urban economy is characterized by capital oriented; all consumable and non consumable goods need cash or money. Female migrants came to Dessie town with least resource from their rural area i.e. only labor and unskilled rural knowledge, with which they tried to do informal jobs and earn least wages. The decrease in income and other resource (skill, education, and training) caused unemployment and underemployment in the town. The income that they earned from the informal sectors is not enough to fulfill their basic needs. This is because the costs of urban consumable goods are beyond the capacity of migrant's purchasing power.

The study also shows that mostly migrant female did not prepare *injera* in the rented houses because they can not afford purchasing *teff* with their low income (the price of minimum of 10 kilos *teff* is more than 100.00 ETB). In addition, making *injera* needs various ingredients which could be difficult to make *injera* in the rented house. Thus, they would prefer to buy a ready made one. A price of single '*injera*' ranged from 2 ETB to 2 ETB and 50 cents.

Moreover, as they mentioned, the recent phenomena of the cost of living make their life more difficult to consume enough and quality meal such as meat, eggs, milk and other items. Aregash (from Mote) is 30 years old whose work is daily laborer reports that,

'injera beshiro' is mine and my daughter's common meal. Some times, I give injera or dabo to my daughter but I eat roasted cereal (kolo), even the daily income that I have earned is not enough to buy available foods like cabbage and potato properly. Some times, the house owner's where I live in demised me the rent cost and some rich neighbors offered us feasts (meat and money) at the time of holyday.

Female migrants also remarked that the problem of clothing is other constraints in the urban centre. Most new rural female migrants travel from their origin, the cloth with only they wear which is not clean and fashionable as urban dresses. Similarly, they have problems with shoes and they worn plastic shoes. They can not also easily buy new cloth and shoe at the course of their arrival because most rural migrants came from their rural homes with small amount of money that only covers the transport cost. Even after they adopt the urban life, they can not buy new clothes and shoes easily due to shortages of money. On the other hand, employers did not become interested to hire housemaid who do not wear clean clothes. Fatuma is 17 years young from Tenta, working as a house maid said:

When I was hired as a live-in house maid, my employer told me to take shower and then she gave me her shabby cloth and lastly she dumped my cloth in the garbage.

Housing accommodation or shelter requirement at arrival is also one of the immediate needs of migrating females besides their future long staying places. According to the information from brokers, house renter's and field observation, female migrants, who have not relatives in the town the brokers took them temporarily 'maderia bet' or private house renters. They rented the house with low price i.e. from 1 to 2 Birr per day. The rented room is small, unclean and not suitable for sleeping. It has no bed and any proper clothes. Migrants simply used the open space by using their clothes as coverlet. As W/o Dessie who is renting a house around *Segno sefer* explained:

Before they come to Dessie, both male and female migrants think that they can get a job as soon as they arrive. However, things would not turnout as they expected and even getting modest shelter becomes very difficult. As a result, the migrants had to share very small room in groups of men and women who do not know each other before. In these small rooms the migrants sleep on the floor covering them with whatever clothes they have. They stay in such

condition until they get a job. Even then it may be often difficult particularly for women migrants to find money to pay the rent in addition to covering the cost of their meal because most rural migrants came from their rural homes with small amount of money.

More importantly information from city administration shows that, Dessie town administrator has destructed the old settlement houses due to the new urban planning strategy and program. As they explained, the destruction and population increment are serious challenges for providing housing, services and infrastructure for the residents and also the newly incorporated kebeles. The rural-urban flow also aggravates housing problem in the town. Most town's dwellers live in houses either rented from individuals/private houses/ or from peoples who have Kebele houses.

Yohannes (2005) in his study "*Poverty in Urban Households: The case of Dessie Town*" explains that the living house of the poor dwellers are characterized by poor sanitation and unhealthy housing conditions. About half of the households have no toilet, bathing, and water supply. Migration to the town also aggravated the problem. NUPI (2007) report also shows as the town is highly dense and overcrowded which is unhealthy for living and working.

Similarly, from field observation and interview with individual female migrants in the study area make clear that migrants live in informal and shanty houses which have no toilets and water facilities too. Even the urban Kebele houses are long aged which are not renewed and are inhospitable to live in. The main reason that forced new migrants to rent such kind of houses is due to housing problems in the town and high cost of rented houses. Migrants tried mostly to balance their cost with income to survive the urban life. For this, they are forced to rent a house made from wood, grass, and plastic materials that exposed them for

various diseases like acute water diarrhea, common cold and related diseases. Tsega is 26 from Gaint and she has two children. As she explained:

I am sharing a house as a 'debale' with desperate female migrants consisting of two old beggar women, two migrants, and one daily laborer. I paid 30 Birr per month. It is a very old dilapidated room without windows. Sometimes the inmates quarrel with each other. Especially my children fight with other's children. If one member has caught with common cold, all would get it soon. Still we are living with the existing problems because we do not have other alternatives.

From the above explanations and field observation it can be realized that poor housing condition and sharing single room with different individuals resulted in social crises and health problems.

In addition, they are exposed to theft and other violence. Hawlet, 19 years old from Kutaber and Aynalem, 17 years old from Ruga are sex workers. They rented a house which is highly deteriorated that could not protect the cold temperature at night which exposed them to various diseases and violence. They rent the house to take daily rest for night business, or to take rest when they feel sick, and they also use it when they lost business. As Hawlet and Aynalem mentioned, because of the nature of their work, they left their house every night. However, they lost all household goods and clothes because of thief.

Similarly, on the issue of social services, female migrants have no access to education and health facilities. As individual and FGD interviews showed, the rural female migrants thought to have access to educational opportunity and health service while they came to Dessie town. But among the sample of 60 female migrants', insignificant numbers of females (only six of them) had a chance to get educational opportunity in the evening program.

Concerning to health services, the only government referral hospital in South Wollo zone is found in Dessie. Due to its strategic location and linkage to its surrounding area, people from all the 14 woredas of south Wollo and the other nearby regions (e.g. Afar) use the hospital (NUPI, 2007). Thus, the situation is more difficult to migrants to have access to hospital services.

4. 1. 4. Prejudice and Discrimination

Migrants have had various socio-economic and cultural backgrounds before come to the towns that create difficulty to adapt to the new urban setting easily. Unskilled rural females are discriminated in gaining access to the urban labor market. Migrants from rural area, whether culturally and socially distinct or not, are vulnerable to being characterized as uncivilized and rough. Not only this but also they faced with verbal harassment. From FGD interviews, migrants commonly reflect their idea on the decline of social position or discrimination exists in the urban communities. More specifically the new comers are generally not warm-heartedly welcomed. They are experienced with urban prejudice and discrimination in terms of their action and word when they speak, dressing style, their knowledge on the urban life and related cases. Neima is young 16 years old from Harbu and working as housemaid said:

Madam trained me how to prepare salad and she gave me to have it but I said 'hossa new' (it is not testy); all the family laugh at me. They also laugh at me at my rural "uncultivated" rural Amharic accent.

They asserted that, it is also difficult for new migrants to adapt to the new environment with the new urban technologies at the time of their arrival.

As Misaye, a young girl of 19, from rural area of Lasta, and working as housemaid explains, "I am not familiar with some urban modern household goods and their usage. For instance, I did not know how TV is put on and off with a remote control; usage of thermos and refrigerator were strange to me. I sometimes become a laughing stock because of my ignorance. Sometimes I receive severe criticism and abuse from my employers. One day I saw madam put a water jar in the refrigerator, and in the next day I also put thermos in the refrigerator. Madam was insulting me as 'balager' (uncivilized).

As the above explanation indicated, rural female migrants are mostly discriminated and ill-treated by the urban dwellers with their doing, dressing, and words which lead to psychological deterioration and frustration.

4. 1. 5. Physical and Sexual Exploitation

Female migrants mostly exposed to different physical as well as sexual exploitation. One of the central issues raised by female migrants was the degree to which they experience physical and sexual exploitation in the study area. Both interviews and focus group result indicates that almost all female migrants who are engaged in various informal jobs were highly exploited at their working places as well as in the rented living room by different group of individual: burglar, brokers, middle men, employers, un ethical polices, even by their urban relatives/kin.

According to the two Kebeles (01 and 09) Police Station Child and Women Protection Officer in-depth interview, children and women are victims of different violence. Many new female migrants are also highly harassed by burglars and by their employers as well as other group of individuals. The researcher also observed that absence of waiting room for victim females in police stations make the problem more severe, because when new victim migrant females came to the police station, they have had only some professional advice. The officers did not offer

waiting rooms in the police station to protect them from further violence. The problem is more difficult to female migrants, who have no relatives in Dessie or may quit their relation due to various factors.

As to the case of housemaids, the payment that they earn is not satisfactory with the labor that they exerted. They are forced to work heavy works beyond their capacity for a longer hour. As they revealed, working longer hour and work load/heavy work with small payment resulted in health problem.

Mulu is a 19 years old from Kobo, now working as live-out housemaid in different houses around segno. She lives sharing a small room with two individuals. She has one daughter. She said, "I have been working as live-in domestic servant for more than seven years. I have got nothing but serious illness. I have kidney problem. As you see me, I can not walk properly, and my illness aggravates when I do heavy works. But, I am also doing heavy work such as baking injera and washing clothes. If I stop the work, how would I feed my daughter and my self?"

On the issue of sexual harassment, from key informants in-depth interview, FGD with CSWs and individual interview it is realized that the extent of vulnerability was determined by their job and duration in the town besides common vulnerability. That means, CSWs are highly vulnerable than daily laborer, street vender and domestic servant and new comers are also more vulnerable than those who stayed a long time. The main reason for vulnerability of CSWs female migrant is because of the nature of their work. They mate different customers who have different conduct and behavior. They faced physical, verbal as well as sexual abuse such as insulting and beating. Their customers forced to have sex with out condom, they snatched, denied and theft of their money. Not only this but also CSW migrant females are exploited by other groups such as 'jeblo' or 'suq bederetea', who are engaged in small mobile business, street boys, burglars, and even some unprofessional

policemen. As Toyba (from wereilu), a 14-year-old commercial sex worker explains:

There is a huge cruel burglar who is infamous for raping women engaged in commercial sex activity. He always forced new comers to sleep with him without paying money. He has raped me twice when I was starting the work. We report this crime to the police but when they caught him, he acted as if he was mad and they left him. Since then, no one can ask him for what he has done. The only choice we have was to run away whenever he comes to us.

Similarly, another informant called Bethlehem (from Akesta), who is 20-year-old sex worker said:

I was introduced to a man when I was working as a daily laborer. He is a policeman, and we start to live together in my rented room. Six months later, he completely changed his conduct. He was so cruel to me that he warns me and beats me. He takes away the money that I get from my daily labor. Whenever I resist, he threatens to send me to prison using his authority. One day, he took all my household goods and clothes while I was out of home. I didn't have any money, so I had to start life from scratch again. This was the situation which led me to become commercial sex worker in order to survive.

Live-in house maid female migrants also faced sexual harassment from their employers. This is because female migrants want to have easy work, for this they prefer to work as housemaid in unmarried individual male householder. This is because mostly urban female individual householders are not hiring a house maid rather they would do home activities themselves. But, males have no exposure to cook and wash clothes among the Ethiopian society. For this, they tend to hire domestic workers. Similarly, domestic workers have a great interest to work in bachelor's home or 'wende late bet' than females and family houses because there is freedom of moving, visiting their friends and relatives, and the work is also easy. However, those informants hired in 'wende late bet' or bachelor's home faced sexual harassment from their employer. This is commonly faced not only in male individual

householders but also in family houses although the degree varied. This condition is verified by the following case.

Case 6

My name is Genet. I am 20 and I came from Lalibela. I did not have the opportunity to attend school. I have two sisters and one brother. My parents were farmers. Now they are old and retired. Currently, I am working as street vendor "gulit" selling vegetables such as tomato, and onion around Robit Street. I came to Dessie because of a woman who has an intimate relation to my family (yager lij). She found me a job to work for a man who is working in government office. He was a bachelor and after few days of my employment, he started playing with me and he asked me to marry him. I declined and I told him that I am his servant and he was a government employee and that we could not go together. In addition, I told him that marriage was not my priority at the time. Because I felt a huge responsibility to help my old poor parents back home. But he insisted and sexually harassed me. Lastly I left his house without getting my wages. Then, I went to my relatives again that they would find me another job in a family's house. The reason why I wanted to work in a family's house was that believing that living within family would be safer than living in a bachelor's house. Then, I have got a job at family's house. After I have worked there for 15 days, however, the elder boy of my employers did similar sexual harassment. The boy sexually harassed me frequently whenever his parents were out. As a result, I decided to leave that family and I tried to shift my livelihood. Finally, I started working as a street vender. I rented a room for 40 birr per month.

Genet's case shows that, female migrants face being exploited for sexual intercourse by the employer when they hire them as housemaids. This resulted in psychological and physical problems of migrants.

Daily laborers and street vendors faced with sexual harassment from their counterpart male daily laborers, burglars, and from individuals of the host community. According to Aregash's (from Mote), a daily laborer explanation, she coupled with daily laborer whose work is in the construction field and they started to live together. They have one child; after all she heard that he has a wife and two children in his rural background and then separated.

3. 1. 6. Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and Other Sexually Transmitted Diseases

With growing urbanization, female migrants were victims of the increasing lawlessness and human rights abuse in some developing countries (ILO, 2004). Most female migrants face serious problem. It is also clear that mobile persons can become vulnerable to HIV and other infections through the migration process (IOM, 2005).

This was also true in the study area. Key informants from various professions (FSCE worker, women affairs office, health officer) agreed that female migrants are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases than male.

Birtukan, 26 years old female migrant from Boru is a good exemplary. Initially, she flees from her rural families due to early marriage. She got married at the age of 11 and faced a lot of difficulties. She came to Dessie town to her uncle. He has wife and two children. But, her uncle's wife mistreated her. She left her uncle home and went to other relatives who had borrowed her 100.00 Birr to start a small business. Then she started to sell spices in 'segno', 'robit' and 'arada' local market places. She rented a house with 40 ETB per month. She was abused by different men and she becomes victim of HIV. Now, she has one daughter. Life is difficult for the people who are living with HIV/AIDS like Birtukan and has raise a daughter without support even her uncle did not want to see her. She had a serious shortage of money to feed herself and her daughter.

As the above case indicates female migrants are vulnerable to gender specific problems in urban area. They also exposed to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease.

In-depth interview with kebele police station officer indicates that CSWs are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDs and other sexually transmitted disease than other group of female migrants, because they have contacts with different males. Their male customers also forced them to have sex without condom, in some cases the condom may be scratched during intercourse that exposed them to HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. The following female migrant experience is a typical example of such a case.

Case 7

I am 20 years old from rural village of Akesta. Now, I am working as sex worker around Segno in small bar. My parents are alive and they are farmers. I dropped out of school while I was in grade 4 and I was given to marriage at the age of 13. As a result of early marriage, I faced a problem and run away from my home without telling anything to my husband and parents too. At my arrival to Dessie town, I was hired as 'Birchiko atabi' (glass-washer) in a small bar. The bar owner always encourages me to engage in commercial sex. Then, I started the work as 'ashashachi' (as waitress and as commercial sex worker at the same time). During this time, I was raped by various people, and there were many customers who forced me to have sex without condom. When I repeatedly got sick, I went to Dessie Hospital, and finally I have recently been informed that I have been infected with HIV. From time to time, I am getting tired and weak; I could not do anymore the work I used to do regularly. The worst thing I faced was the behavior some cruel people showed to me. For instance, the bar owner forced me to pay for the damage that I incurred while I was on duty. She takes money from me when a glass is broken or when a negative balance occurred that she thought I lost while selling alcohol. When I faced shortage of money, I sometimes go to my family. My families do not know the case and the work I am doing in town.

4. 1. 7. Increasing of Urban Poor Female Headed Householders

As the census data of Dessie town indicated the natural growth rate of the population in Dessie town decrease from 3.1 (1994) to 1.6 (2007).

But, the size of population has increased. The main reason for this increment might be the net immigration towards the town or rural-urban migration was a major cause than the apparent population growth of Dessie town. The town is characterized by high flow of migrants from various small towns as well as from its surrounding rural areas.

Rural female migration increased the size of population and the urban FHH (female headed householders) characterized by poor or disadvantaged householders. As the information obtained from the two kebele's (01 and 09), about 320 and 298 female headed householders are living respectively. According to the Kebele Administrative and Social Affairs Bureau information, the number of urban single female households become rising from time to time. The main cause for the increment of FHH is the high incidence of single population flow from the rural areas. From the sample of 60 female migrants, only five females were living with their partner, twelve of female migrants headed the households with their children where as the rest were also single female householders.

In-depth interview of Women Affairs Expert, FSCE manager and Police Station Officers clearly showed that female migrants team up with male partners without formal marriage concession. They simply team up to survive the urban cost of living. But this intimacy could not be long lasted. In one way or another case, male partner denied their babies or relation when they conceived a child. In most cases, their male partners left nothing to take over which would provide their children with basic needs. Thus, female migrants would carry full responsibility to look after the child without any assistance. When they came to women affairs or Police Bureau, they could not get proper judgment because their male partners have no any address. In some cases the females give their

children to rural families or NGOs. For this, the following cases are exemplary.

I am now working as commercial sex worker. Before my entry to CSW, I have been working as housemaid and later I also worked as street vender, selling lemon on the street. I was introduced to a daily laborer at my work place and we started to live together. Later, however, when I told him that I am pregnant, he changed his address. When he left me, I decided to become CSW in order to get some money till I was on the seventh month of my pregnancy. After I gave birth, I gave the child for adoption to an NGO. Because I did not have the means to provide basic needs for the child. (Serke from Kutaber)

The other informant Zeritu from Tebasit said the following.

Case 8

I am 26 years old. I am illiterate. I have two sisters and one brother. My parent's are farmers. My father died when I was a kid. I came to Dessie town 8 years ago to visit my sister who left our rural village before me. I currently work as domestic servant and my duties include baking injera, washing clothes and related works. But, the wage is not adequate to survive the urban life let alone helping my family. My sister has gone back to the rural village after she got sick. This makes me feel alone and my life more difficult. For this reason, I decided to live with a man who is a beggar. I had a baby girl from the man. But we soon quarreled and separated. Later, I began to look after my daughter alone. Some times, he offers me some money. Finally, I also started new relation with another man who was working as a daily laborer. I had my second child from this man. I faced similar problem and he left me. Now I am looking after my two children single handedly.

As Serke and Zeritu's cases showed, female migrants coupled with their counter male partners to share the urban cost of living. They could live for some limits of time. Later on, however, the male partners leave them when disagreements happen. Even the female did not know the address and relatives of the male partners. This forced them to look their children alone and they become FHH and this situation therefore, increased the number of female householders in Dessie town.

4. 2. Survival Strategies of Female Migrants

Migrants are working with many types of constraints which their physical and social environments impose. They seek to overcome the problems confronting them by choosing among perceived available options. Once the rural female migrants arrive in urban centre, they faced with the existing urban realities of expensive life styles. To fulfill basic needs and to get social services as well as to earn more income to support the rural families, they follow different coping strategies to minimize risk and avoid or escape urban problem and to maximize the desired living standard.

As the study result showed, female migrants who are living in Dessie town do not form a homogenous way of life nor do they earn their living similarly. Rather they adopt a variety of survival strategies to overcome the challenges of urban life.

Therefore, the following coping strategies adopted by the rural female migrants under study include active, passive and social networks as survival strategies to lead their lives in Dessie town.

4. 2. 1. Active Survival Strategies

Active survival strategies are the immediate measure of female migrants after they arrive in the town. This may be arranged by urban relatives, friends or brokers. They simply accept any job even if the job is unsuitable to them. The basic active survival strategies of female migrants of the study area are participating in various income earning activities and job mobility.

4. 2. 1. 1. Participating in Various Jobs

Many female migrants to Dessie town were creating their own employment or working small-scale business to earn income to fulfill the urban livelihood. According to Devereux et al. (2003) in their study in northeaster highlands in ANRS including Wollo area, female out-migrants have been constrained from such activities and they are more often migrating permanently to urban areas for domestic work. But the present study found that different to this conclusion. Most of female migrants not restricted to domestic services rather the domestic work served as a bridge to female migrants. They are also engaged in various urban informal sectors. The involvement of such informal sectors are characterized by unorganized, unregulated, marginalized, and migrants have less income. Thus self employed migrant females are engaged in a remarkable range of activities. In this study, however, rural migrants are engaged in four informal activities such as domestic servants, small business holders/street vender/, daily laborers, and commercial sex workers (see Table 1).

4. 2. 1. 1. 1. Domestic Servant

It is well known that domestic work is an important occupation for female migrants in urban area. Domestic servants can be either live-in /reside with employers / or live-out /do not reside with employers/ also known with local term '*temelalash*'. Live-out domestic services such as baking *injera*, washing clothes and related works to one or more households as a contract, which earn them salary daily or monthly. Most of the live-out domestic servant female migrants have children that made difficulty to get the live-in domestic work while some of female migrants are working as live-in domestic servants.

Domestic work is predominantly filled in by migrants to cities and exceptionally by recent young migrants. As they adopt the urban life, many of them leave to move to other job (Jelin, 1977). The work is characterized by a base or a benchmark as well as a transitional type of job for new migrant females in the study area. It becomes an important means of adaptation to urban life and the urban labor market. This is because the work is more available, easy and does not need professional skill. Job opportunities in domestic service offer rural females the possibility of moving to the town with a job and thus gaining autonomy away from their families of origin.

In-depth interview with Labor and Social Affairs Office, Women Affair Office and elders showed that it is quite likely that many rural families also allow their daughters to move to the city just because there are available jobs in domestic service, jobs in which the basic subsistence needs of the young female, food and shelter, will be covered.

This study also showed that majority of migrant females who are currently engaged in various jobs (such as daily laborer, street vendor, and commercial sex workers) explained that their previous or first job has been domestic servant. Then as they grow older they are running to small business which requires small or no start up capital and often involve the marketing of home made foodstuffs and handcrafts as well as daily laborer. Most other migrants were forced to be involved in very marginal self-employment activities such as commercial sex workers.

There are three main reasons for migrant's selection of such kind of work in the study area: the first and most common reason is migrants' urban relatives can arrange them such kind of job easily with low salary. In addition, female migrants would expect to serve for their relatives without payment for unlimited time. However, for new migrants who did not have relatives in town, the brokers take the part. Secondly, in

domestic work, basic necessities like food and housing are covered by employers. The third reason is, hired as housemaid servant help migrants to know and adapt the urban life. It help for them to get urban information through which they learn a lot how they prepare modern food, how do they keep their cleanness and how to dress, how to act and speak like urban community. After they trained well, they flee and/or change other type of job. Therefore, the immediate measure of those new female migrants would be to get hired as domestic servants or giving free service to the urban relatives in order to be familiar with the new urban environment.

Those who worked as live-in domestic servants earn less wage than other informal workers. They are also highly exploited and isolated from information, social relation with their migrant friends and relatives. The informants hired with the range from 40 to 80 ETB. Whereas the live out domestic migrants have not constant income because their income is depend up on job availability and the contract they took. But most of them estimated to earn from 200 to 350 ETB.

4. 2. 1. 1. 2. Street Vending

Street vending is one way of income generating activities to rural female migrants in Dessie town which includes retail trade (*gulit*), selling home made foods and drinks, boiled sugar-potato and charcoal, other food items like vegetables (including onion, potato, tomato etc), cereals and spices. From field observation it can be realized that retail trade is the most visible aspect of women's informal business in the study area. But, for lack of legal status and recognition, females face frequent harassment and eviction in their work places. Both local market places and open places or '*gulit*' are also often dirty, dangerous and not suit to serve as exchange market goods. During field observation, both informants Amina

and Desta sell their market goods near to *kebt tera* (market place of domestic animals) which is difficult to sell their goods. For all these risks, street vending is one means of income option for many migrant females in Dessie town. They sell their goods in local market area *robit*, *segno*, and *arada*, in the rented home as well as other open places or on the street.

Involving in small scale business has its own importance to female migrants besides its problem. Mostly, female migrants sold home made foods, which need small or none start up capital because they can consume the left over perishable goods. The problem is the work of street vender is the hand to mouth type of job. It does not secure their income. Besides, they did not have a chance to get loan from kebele. As the kebele women affairs officer interview showed, to get loans, they should register as one of the household member in one of kebele house which is difficult for them because the house renter did not allow them to do-so.

4. 2. 1. 1. 3. Daily Labour

Daily labour is other type of work and a mechanism to survive the urban existence for rural female migrants in Dessie town. Daily laborer includes working in construction; caring sands, stone, cement and others for construction purpose and working in recently established new cobble stone project.

As the coordinator of the cobble stone project work mentioned, the work, daily labor is not an easy task that someone could join and do it as soon as he came to the town. This is because beginning a cobble stone and construction activity demands some kind of skill, education as well as training. Information from Social Affairs Bureau shows that due to government strategies to demise the urban unemployment rates, the work of construction business specially, the cobble stone work is highly

available to the urban young workers who coordinate in association and completed their education at 10th grade. It makes also other difficulty to the rural uneducated and unskilled female migrants. Even the least field works such as caring stone and cements require education at least elementary level. The field work result revealed that five female migrant laborers are completed grade 10 whereas the rest are 6th, 7th, and 8th grade level.

However, this construction business has better income than other informal sector businesses. In particular the coble stone work has much income. The data obtained through interview showed that females who were engaged in construction work, earned more income than domestic servants and street vendors. Those who worked in coble stone work earn from 600-800 ETB while those who worked in construction earn from 400-450 per month.

However, as the researcher observed and the informants asserted that the cobble stone work has some difficulty and needs labor and physical strength which is more challenging for females. Not only are these but also the workers are temporary susceptible to physical accidents. Fentaye is a 22 year young girl who came from Saynit and working in the coble stone project work. As she explained "the work is so heavy, I carry crude and big stone with my shoulders, I have split the big stone with hammer into peaces, then shaping each piece with square shape. With this I faced different problems such as the pieces enter into my eyes which are dangers to my eye, when I move the big stone it falls and hurt my feet. As you saw, our working place has no shelter to protect us from sun rays, wind and rain.' In addition, such kind of job has no sustainability, it ends when the project will be phased out.

4. 2. 1. 1. 4. Commercial Sex Work/CSW

CSW is other income earning mechanism for female migrants in Dessie town. Such type of work is characterized by more attractive, easy and does not need any skill and capital. But it is dangerous and females would be exposed to illness (infected with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease), addiction to drug, face physical and sexual harassment. The work has also high income but their income is not fixed because CSWs have play gain-loss type of business.

Commercial sex workers are two types: those working in small bar, *tella* or *areke* bet are named as '*ashashach*' /serving as waiters and sex workers at the same time/. They are not expected to pay house rent but they have to sell alcoholic drinks to bar owners. Others are working on the street. The street CSWs initial working place had been in the small bar but later they are out due to disagreement with and maltreatment of the bar owner's. CSWs took a contract with male customers named as '*short*' and '*adar*' /how long a man wants to spend his sexual contract with the sex worker/.

During individual and focus discussion, CSWs mentioned that initially they had no an intention to be engaged in commercial sex works. But the choice of such kind of job is held by peer, bar owner as well as broker's pressure and misinformation besides lack of job opportunities. They had been working as domestic servants or '*birichiko atabi*' (washing cups and cleaning the room) in small drinking places and restaurant. Later, on their employer's initiation and by making them dress well, they would be engaged in CSW. CSWs have to be young to suit the interest of bar owners and customers. In turn the bar owners do not employ old women because most of their customers like young charming girls. As the data survey indicates, the informants who are engaged in the sex industry age

ranged from 14 to 21 years and most of them are indeed divorced. They become hopeless for their future life concerning marriage.

From key informants of elders, host settlers and individual female migrant's interview, the fate of female migrants, those who have not relatives in the town at their arrival were laid on the hand of *delala* or broker. The brokers initiated the new female migrants to work as '*birchiko atabi*'³ /cup cleaner/ in small bar or restaurant. This is because the brokers have great incentives from bar owners. Later, the bar owners instigate them to start the work by making the reason that the income that they earn from '*birchiko atabi*' is not such satisfactory and advice them if they want to have better income and change their future life, they have to start the work. Most of rural females who were first hired as '*birichiko atabi*' start the work due to their peer and bar owner's influence. In addition, the work has much income than other informal sectors.

Peers pressured also other way for female migrants to shift from previous informal job fields. Shimbra is 18 years old young female from Woreilu, her access to be commercial sex worker is because of peer pressure. She had been working as street vender. As she said:

When my friend who are engaged in such kind of work was always telling me CSW has high income; she said to me 'why don't you do this job? If you go out with a man, you can earn 350 Birr in a single night. In addition, you can have the best drink, food and entertainment.' Eventually, I agreed to try it. And in the first day, a man asked me to go out with him for a night. I told him to pay me 350 Birr. He laughed at me and said 'Are you different from others?' Since then I have come to realize that I could not get that much money as my friend told me.

⁴ '*birchiko atabi*' (cup washer) common word used by brokers to entertain migrants.

The majority of the CSWs reported that their rural families had no idea about their involvement in sex work. They would assume that they are domestic servants or are engaged in any other types of jobs. However, the parents of insignificant proportion of the females are aware of their daughter's involvement in sex work.

4. 2. 1. 2. Job Mobility

Rural females in the study area passed through various job sequences to earn high income and to cover their basic need costs besides rural families support. Thus, an individual migrant female diversified the above mentioned informal sectors to cope up with the urban life (through job mobility). They do not stayed on one specific job rather they compare available works which has more income, favorable, and easy for them.

Data from informants showed that job instability among female migrants is seen in the study area. The main reason for this is, those migrants who came due to family cases are expected to do more for their basic needs as well as to send money and material remittances. Thus, they are comparing one work to other to earn much income. As a result, they were forced to enter the commercial sex work so as to earn enough money for their basic needs and to send remittances to their family.

The instability of job preference of female migrants is not only for income purpose but also to escape from various difficulties that faces them in the work places. They faced both, because of the nature of the work and maltreatment of employers. This is well explained by the following case.

Case 9

I am 21 from Delanta. I dropped out school while I was in grade 6. Though I was married at the age of 15, I was divorced. I have three sisters and three brothers. My parents' livelihood was based on farming. Now they are retired, so I felt that I have the responsibility

to support my family. This was the reason why I came to Dessie five years ago. By the way, it was my relative who motivated me to come to Dessie. She has a small cafeteria. When I was working there, I was getting 60.00 Birr per month. I used to work in the cafeteria for 16 hours a day. For example, after I finish my job in the cafeteria, I also cover the house work that was so tiresome. In addition, she was cruel, and I was not even able to have proper meal whenever I am hungry. I had worked in many places and I suffered from lots of hardships. Because of the problems, I left her and rented a room for 50. 00 Birr per month. Later, I started to do a manual labor at local construction sites (barela). But such type of job was very difficult for women and the wage was not satisfactory. Lastly, my friend initiated me to work in bars and in night-clubs. Even though the work is bad and dangerous, it generates more income than my previous jobs. Now I get about 150.00 Birr a night when there is "business". This allowed me to rent a better room for 100.00 birr per month; further I was able to furnish the room. I could get better food, and drink. Moreover, I'm in a good position to support my rural family back home.

This case tells that, migrants are engaged in various low income labours on the daily basis to earn more and each work has its own problems on female migrants. But, female migrants are always mobile till they have got the work of high earning income, easy, satisfactory to survive urban life and help the rural families.

From the majority of female migrant's interview it can be realized that they diversified their livelihood during the course of their stay in Dessie town. In addition, job mobility exists among female migrants specifically among daily laborers due to the nature of the work. Both the building construction and the new coble stone project have no sustainability; it stops when the project will be ended. With this migrants forced to stay without any income for unlimited time till other project has started. However, to sustain the urban life they have to move to other informal sectors. Lemlem, is 21 years old female migrant from rural area of Tossa. She completed her education up to grade 10 but she has no any point to continue pre college school. Lemlem said,

I was not interested to go back to my rural village after I completed my education. The only choice is to work in one of urban informal sector and I have got a job in coble stone work; I have got the chance because of my education level. But now the project is nearly ended. It is only left with 15 days. It is difficult to get other job opportunity in Dessie town.

4. 2. 1. 3. Searching Additional Income

Urban area is known with its high cost of living. To earn a living, it is often necessary for female migrants to have two or more jobs simultaneously as supplementary means of income. Thus, the female migrants who are engaged in various informal sectors do additional work such as handcraft, dressing hair, and home made food and daily works in addition to their present works. Having a small business at the rented home is also a secondary source of additional income for female migrants. For instance, two of the informants (Zeineba and Semira) who were engaged in commercial sex work were selling 'kollo' or roasted cereals and boiled eggs at night in their working place. When they get business for 'short' or 'adar', they give their selling goods to their friends (to other sex workers) or 'jeblo'. Similarly, Genet, Yeshareg and Lubaba, their job is street vender but when they return from the market, they do a daily work and handcraft 'sifet' which is used for household services to cover some costs. As Yeshareg explained "I do a handcraft when I return home. One big 'yenjera moseb sifet' /a grass made container to bread and a flat bread staple food/ needs one month to finish, then i sold in the market with other selling goods, the income covers the house rent."

4. 2. 2. Passive Survival Strategies

This is the second type of survival strategies of rural female migrants that they took an alternative means of survival to cope up the urban constraints. Searching additional income, consuming low price foods,

wearing second hand cloths and sharing food and housing are considered to be passive survival strategies.

4. 2. 2. 1. Consuming Low Price Foods

Food is one of the basic necessities for existence. Most new female migrants in coping with the new environment with limited personal resources try to balance their income and expenses by using their resources carefully. In order to use their income properly, changes in food consumption pattern is one of the major survival strategies. Individual migrant females try to reduce their food costs through different ways. They used an alternative less costly food items such as *kita*, *injera-beshiro*, *dabo-beshahi*, pulses and local cabbage instead of costly foods such as meat, milk, butter and egg.

The price of single '*injera*' ranged from 2 ETB to 2 ETB and 50 cents. Those female migrants working as live-out house maid or '*temelalash*' (baking *injera*, washing cloths etc) have a chance to get one '*injera*' when they bake. It minimizes their costs so they prepare only sauce or '*shiro wat*'. Tsega (from Gaint) is working as live out domestic servant and has two children as she explained "I baked *injera* twice per week to four households thus I have received eight '*injera*' from each household per week that enables to feed my children and me too."

Those female migrants who were engaged in selling home prepared food like *qita*, *injera*, and sugar potato, etc used as consumption when it left from market their '*woret*' (or capital). It helps them to avoid bankruptcy because those home made foods are perishable goods thus the left home made food from market are consumed by them.

In addition, they tend to buy on a daily basis and still others buy ready made foods that will be consumed at a single meal like *qita* or *dabo* with

least price. As individuals explained, some times they prepare *qita*, roasted cereals *kollo* or boiled cereals, *nifro* to minimize their cost.

4. 2. 2. 2. Using Second-hand Clothes

Clothing is one of the basic necessities to an individual next to food and shelter. Rural female migrants have poor financial and material sources that make life difficult in town. Thus, they tend to use second-hand cloths from donors or buying with least price.

As a strategy of decreasing the costs of cloths, female migrants choose to buy second-hand cloths named as '*salvaje*', which is smuggled from abroad or obtained local ones. Wearing second-hand cloths has been considered as shameful among the society but female migrants openly buy and wear it because no one knows them in the town. They have sayings: *salbaj kale kesew gar ekul tihognalesh* /second-hand cloth makes you equal with other people/.The rural female also give second-hand cloths to their rural family to minimize their cost.

4. 2. 2. 3. Sharing Food and Housing

Housing and food are major constraints to female migrants in the study area, for this, they shared and rented house to minimize the urban cost of living. From field observation, females who have similar jobs shared food and house in group for two major purposes. The first reason is that expensiveness and unavailability of rented houses are observable problems in Dessie town and of major problem to rural female migrants. In order to cope up with the existing problems female vender and female daily laborer, domestic workers and commercial sex workers team up in groups and share rooms where they cook and eat together. Secondly, female migrants rented house in group for their safety from plundering, sexual harassment, and related problems.

Close to half of the migrants: domestic worker, daily laborers, street vendors and sex workers reported that they live together with friends as a group lodger or 'dabal'. One may find two or more households living in a single room separated by a curtain. By doing so, they minimize the high cost of house rent. The urban poor dwellers who rented kebele houses to migrants are used as a source of income by renting rooms for relatively higher price. However, some female migrants more specifically those stay in Dessie for relatively a longer time and individual couples are rented independently.

Migrants shared not only single room but also single meal together. From their wage and living situation, it can be understood that they faced lack of money to buy daily basics. As they explained, the urban life is hand to mouth living, if some one lost business, other should cover her meal. This is other way of coping mechanism to female migrants during their stay in Dessie.

In-depth interview and FGD showed that such type of mechanism is common among CSWs, who experienced lost and gain type of livelihood. To some extent street vendor, daily laborers and live-out maid workers also shared meal when they off from job due to various reasons.

Such type of social life has given a great importance beside its economic aspects to the recipient. It helped them to facilitate social interaction among female migrants. They shared their experiences and develop intimacy among themselves. They have also exchanged their current socio-economic issues. It has also helped such laborer to cope with social problems. If one of them sick, her friend are responsible to taking care of her by washing her clothing, taking her to health centers, and covering her daily food. Fozia is CSW and reported that "I was highly sick with heart attack. My friend Hawlet was rescuing me by taking me clinic. She was with me taking care always till I feel well."

4. 2. 2. 4. Using Alternative Traditional Medicines

As most migrants explained, individually and in group (FGD), though various government and private clinics are available in Dessie town, it is difficult to get medical treatment with fair price because, the private clinics or hospitals required high amount of money. Because of this, they have to use other alternatives. If female migrants have got some health problem, they would simply used available traditional medicine such as *dema-kese*, *bahir zaf*, *feto*, garlic, and holy water. In the case of holy water, the Muslims also baptize either in the church or go to the area where the Muslims believed as holy place known as *bilen tsebel* or *bilen* holy water which is found in Dessie town and used by the rural and urban Muslim and Christian communities.

As the older women who are from rural origin and the individual female migrants more specifically who came from the near by rural area revealed, if female migrants faced serious health problem, they go to the rural families to get traditional treatment, *wodaja*. It is a traditional belief and ceremony in which group of old people either male or female (named as *Yewond wodaja* or *Yeset wodaja*) are chewing chat and pray to the patient. However, if they have no feel better, they would buy and take medicine from pharmacy without Doctors consultation. Belay, 21 years old from Akesta and working as commercial sex worker has mentioned:

I have been HIV positive, but my families do not know my status. Nor do they know what my job was in Dessie town. However, a person who watches my physical status can understand that I was ill. Since my families are not aware of HIV/AIDS, they do both 'yewond' and 'yeset wodaja' when I go to see them.

4.2.3 Social Network as a Survival Strategy

Migrant's social network: rural linkage and social relations among themselves and within the host community such as sharing lives with male partners, seeking aid 'zak'at' or 'mitswat' and voluntary association and cooperation are major coping mechanism for rural female migrants through social network.

4.2.3.1. Rural Linkage

Once female migrants moved to city, it does not mean a sharp break down with one's community of origin. The urban-rural linkages are not only important for the rural households but also are an important element of the livelihood (or survival) strategies of female migrants in Dessie town. It is also believed that different forms of networks are essential elements of survival and security. Majority of female migrants have contact with their rural families. However, few (about eight) female migrants have no contact with their rural families. These females are those who flee from their family due to early marriage and related factors and those who lost their parents. Some also detached themselves from their rural roots for being unsuccessful in the town.

During interview migrants reported that they have a strong belongingness and link to their rural family. They are involving in one of the networks, neighborhood, friendship or kin network with the rural family, share risks by helping each other in times of crises. Migrants build up their existence in the town through rural families contact. Accordingly, they often visit families in the countryside depending up on their success to collect money that would help them to cover transport and other related costs. In turn, the rural family offered them material assistance when they are in need of support from the rural. Amina (Street vendor), Medina and Aregash (are daily labourers) stated that

their families offered them some cereals and fuel wood when they lack money in the town. Migrants also have support from rural families when they got sick.

4.2.3.2. Social Relationship within Migrants and the Host Community

Female migrants at the destination form strong relationship among themselves and with the host neighbor's too. Their life is communal in the sense that they share cash, materials, and tools. The social relations of female migrants among each other are not further limited by considerations of affinity, area of origin, kinship and occupation in the city, or almost any other source of common interest.

In addition, migrants develop close relationship with the host community so as to adapt and survive the urban life. When they faced some problems, the immediate problem solvers are their near urban neighbors and not the rural families. For this, female migrants form close relation with the host community through *iqub* and other social aspects such as holidays, wedding, funerals, and religious feasts.

4.2.3.2.1 Sharing lives with male partner

Forming an intimate relation with their counter urban or rural male partner is other coping mechanism of female migrants in Dessie town. Female migrants were sharing lives with rural or urban male partner so as to have good relation and live together. As the interview result showed, initial introduction of the two couples started at their work place or some where which leads to share lives together without formal marriage recognition. They are simply coupled so as to simplify the urban inconvenience and to share costs for basic needs, house rent payment and other expenses.

The informant interview result showed that nearly half of migrant females have sharing lives with their urban and rural male partners. Some of them have children. However, as the data indicated that, five of female migrants are coupled and living together. As Bezabish (Street Vendor) from Sayint, Elsa (Live-out housemaid) and Tschay (daily laborer) from Boru and Lalibela respectively explained, they are living together with their counter male partners who are working in the gardening and construction field. Their partners are sharing the urban burden; they pay house rent, school fee to their children and cover other costs. Similarly, the females do the household productive works and they also cover different costs from their income. Generally, they agreed that urban life is difficult alone or without support.

4.2.3.2.2 Seeking Aid: 'zak'at' or 'mitswat'

Major religions in Ethiopia insist on the significance of offering aid to the needy. Thus both the Muslims and the Christians give aids such as money, food and some times clothes. They also prepare feasts individually or in-group to feed the poor. For instance, the relatively richer Muslims occasionally make feasts (*sa'daqa*) in their home to feed the destitute, believing that GOD ("Allah") will bless them for doing favor to the destitute. There are also some rich Muslims who perform religious obligation such as to share some percentage of their wealth to the poor mainly in the month of Ramadan (fasting month). Some Muslims also give money to the poor on Fridays (*jum'a*). This is also true among the Christians. Thus, migrants have become recipient from these feasts through neighbor and own networks information, which is one way of survival mechanism to satisfy some of their basic needs.

For instance Demku (Vendor) from Ruga and Meselech (live-out domestic worker) from Worehimeno shared a rented house together and both had

children. So they were most of the time in need of help to feed themselves and their children. They did not officially out to beg but they approached rich people who help the poor secretly. The givers make secret as they do not want to publicize it in line with the religion rules) and sometimes they attend or share the ceremony due to friend or neighbor's network system. Tsega (from Gaint) has two children. Some times she goes to the church to obtain the feasts on Sunday /*senbet*/ to feed her children.

4.2.3.2.3 Voluntary Associations and Cooperation

Studies show that associations are created and involved through time to adapt and fit changing socio-economic and cultural environments. For some scholars, "the existence of various self help associations in the changing socio-economic circumstances ensures adjustment and minimizes social anomie at an individual level" (Lughod, 1961).

Similarly, in the study area, female migrants have formed self help association to adapt and sustain the urban life. It is clear that mostly female rural migrants engaged in informal sectors and earn low and limited income which is difficult to save money for next consumptions, emergencies, as well as to send remittances. However, they have tended to extend strategies to save money through informal institutions like '*iqub*'. They saved money individually at home in *kasori* /a small box which made from timber used to store money/. Amina (street vendor) from Ruga reported that,

I store the left over money from my expenses in kasori. This is because my daughter forced me to buy new clothes at the time of holydays as she saw neighbor's children.

On the other hand, migrants not always have harmonious relationship during their stay in the urban. In some cases, there are conflicts while

they are living and working in group in the same places. From FDG with CSWs it can be understood that they quarrel each other at the working place. If one has frequent sex work business on 'short' or 'adar', the other blamed her as she has magic from her rural background. For instance, an 18 years old Hiwot looks beautiful and attractive. As she said,

I never return to my rented home with out money, my friends (CSWs) blamed me as 'gimbarua lai asdegmalech' / she has magic on her forehead/ but, I do not have anything, God knows.

As the same time, they usually found in group while they wonder in the evening at their working place to defend themselves from different violence. As semira mentioned, "One day three buglers tried to harass us while we are waiting "business" but we defended in group by throwing stone to them."

CSWs also have a symbiotic relation with the *jeblo*, who are working at night. So, CSWs spend the night with them till they can get business. The *jeblos* have accompanied the CSWs to home when CSWs have lost business. The *jeblos* also protect them from burglars and other violence. Similarly, the sex workers offered them some money. But, some times, the *jeblo* mistreated them wrongly (sexual exploitation). On the other hand, street vendor, daily laborer, and the live-out migrants, who shared the rent house in group and shared working spaces and competing over job opportunities are cooperating at one time and quarrelling at another.

4.3 Future Aspiration of Female Migrants

According to Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) and Devereux et al (2003), whereas men are eager to return, a desire expressed in their frugal and strict living to accumulate savings, women on the other hand, they tend to stay longer or avoid return as they experience a new style of life and

got freedom of independency. This is also true in the study area as female rural migrants do not want to back to their rural village.

According to an in-depth interview with the Social and Labor Affairs Bureau, individual and FGD's interview with migrants, rural females who migrated to Dessie town do not often return home shortly. Once they have migrated they live permanently. This is mainly because of some positive aspects they obtain through migration such as job opportunity, economic independence, sending remittances, free life from social isolation and constraints. The availability of social services in town makes them to stay in Dessie town.

On the other hand, their engagement in low paid informal services which made them unable to save money to help their family and the decline of returnee female migrants' social position within rural societies are two major reasons that forced them to stay in the town.

With regard to job opportunity, it is clear that migrants were poorly paid in their job earnings but they consider that the payment is almost always higher than what they would have earned in their own rural villages. It is repeatedly heard from female migrants '*kegeter habit yeketma dihinet*' (urban poverty is better than rural wealth).

In addition, they explained that although life is expensive in town, the rural female migrants can economically support themselves and sending either material or financial support to their families made them to stay in Dessie. The study result showed that though migrants are differing in sending remittances, all send according to their levels of income. Most sex workers are helping their family frequently, at least with material remittances (coffee, sugar, kerosene gas or '*lamba*', and cloth) while daily labourers, house maid servants and street vendors took remittances

when they went for vacation in the time of holidays and traditional ritual ceremonies.

Other reason for rural females to stay in the urban centre is that they can learn a lot of skill such as the proper way of cooking and dressing and personal cleanness. They compare the urban life with cleanness and expressed it with urban slang '*tera tsda bileshe tinorialesh*' (Living in the town makes you neat and tidy).

Data obtained through interview revealed that urban free life is the other reason to female migrants to resist returning to rural origin. Urban life is empowering female migrants in terms of higher self-esteem and increased economic independence. Migrant females want to escape from rural social and family's constraints, especially the divorced females can have free life. As Tshay, 18 years old street vendor expressed that,

Living in the town makes me free from specific male controlled and domination, no domestic responsibilities and there is also freedom of movement and I can also establish a variety of friendship.

Female migrants desired to stay in Dessie because aspect of rural life always noticed by as a life in darkness. Most of them were not interested to go back to their rural village because they are familiar with the urban environment such as the presence of electric lights, schools, health services, pure water, job opportunity, etc., which more attract them to stay in Dessie than to return to the rural village.

From Individual and FGD interview, female migrants asserted that even though urban life is difficult in terms of employment, housing problem, cost of living and social and other problems, it is better to live with the existing problem than to go back to rural areas. Almost all female migrants do not have curiosity to go back to their rural home. More importantly, those who migrate due to divorce case and family poverty

are highly resistant to go back to their rural village permanently. They have developed pessimistic image about the rural areas; this might be one factor reinforcing choice of an urban lifestyle and refusal of rural life as a future option.

Therefore, as the collected data showed more female migrants have social network with their rural background and they have make a visit or sent a remittance as they earned better income but they do not need to go back home and live there. Interview obtained through FGD showed that they hoped future life in Desie to be good by working hard or through diversifying their livelihood. If not possible, they would go to Addis Ababa or Middle East Arab countries to earn more income and improve their living standard because they thought that life in Addis and Middle East is delightful.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRACTICAL IMPLICATION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Practical Implication

As stated earlier, the aim of this research was to investigate the problem of rural female migrants and their survival mechanism in Dessie town by making the studied group as the concern of the study. In order to analyse and interpret migrants' situation, different theories, models, and approaches were employed.

The rural "push" and urban "pull" factors approach or the conventional migration theory, pointed out the concept that economic, political, and gender specific rural unfavorable social and cultural factors push and the apparent urban settings pull females towards urban center. This approach is more applicable in the context of this study. But, the main reason for rural-urban female migration to Dessie town is more of push factors.

As the study result showed that economic factors such as poverty, drought, land degradation, low productivity, lack of basic natural resource and the decline of the size of landholdings which resulted in poverty and famine are major reasons that push the rural female to Dessie town. High pressure of population in rural villages also formed another push factor that forced most female migrants to migrate to Dessie town. Economic dependency of women was the other gender specific factor that pushed rural females towards Dessie.

Political factor pushing rural female migrants is the other reason and used as an explanatory tool to this study. Lack of ownership of property such as land and other property is a reason of female migration to Dessie town.

The conventional migration theory highlights females not only migrated because of economic reasons only but also other gender specific socio-cultural factors pushed them to urban center. Similarly, besides economic factor, rural females come to Dessie town due to socio-cultural factors such as lack of social services, family disintegration through death and divorce, marriage and related causes like early marriage, early marriage through adoption, divorce and rural societies negative perception (isolation) towards divorced and late married females, extended family dispute, wife inheritance (*'warsa'* and *'wurse'*), and family arrangement of marriage pushed them to Dessie town.

The other positive argument of this theory is the pull factors to rural-urban migration. The presence of better social services such as education, communication, health and market center in the town attract the rural female migrants. Job opportunities like the presence of various informal sectors in construction, petty trade and other field works attract many individual rural females to Dessie town. Kin and peer pressure and social network and rural families view towards migration have great contribution to migration process.

Both world system and neo-classical economic theory stated that individuals move from periphery labour abundant area to centre capital abundant area, from scarce to resourceful area in order to improve the standard of living which is important to understand female migration in the context of the study area. Female migrants came from the

surrounding periphery rural area due to lack of job opportunity and lack of available resources in the rural background.

Different writers supported that, Proximity of the urban and rural setting affect migration processes (Lee 1966, in Pedraza, 1991:307; Todaro and Smith, 2003). They argue that distance from the nearest large town has facilitate the process of migration which mean the nearer the rural home has the higher the interaction. Lee (1966, in Pedraza, 1991:307), Todaro and Smith (2003) also mentioned transportation cost and distance can influence the potential migrants towards urban centre. It is also applicable in the study area. As it is clearly presented in Map 2, most of the respondent's origin is around the immediate rural area of Dessie town. In turn, short distance of the origin has the great importance for migrants for having frequent interaction, flow of information and materials.

Migration system theory is another theory which is important to analyse the causes of female migration to Dessie town. This theory has, therefore emphasized social networks are important determinants of migration and the decision to new areas is largely influenced by the presence of closer relatives or friends because female migrants would expect human and financial help that rescue them from urban problems and constraints.

In the study area, most female migrants came to Dessie due to the presence of relatives/kin or friends in the town. Urban relatives protect them from different problems and violence that they face at the course of their arrival. In addition, urban relatives found jobs to the new migrants; they also provided them with shelter and made the migratory process safer for the migrants and their families. However, in most cases, female migrants are maltreated by urban relatives.

5.2. Conclusion

Rural females migrated to Dessie town due to economic, social and economic factors both in the urban and rural settings. Poor rural economic conditions as well as gender specific economic, social and cultural factors are attributing factors to rural-urban female migration in the study area. On the other hand, urban favourable conditions appear to be the main reasons to attract female migrants to Dessie town.

Female migrants in the study area faced varieties of social and economic problems. It can be concluded that female migrants exposed to gender based violence and discrimination, physical and sexual exploitation, vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, urban female poverty as they are migrants and females too. For the challenges that they faced when they are living and working they devised a range of active, passive and social network coping mechanisms.

Active survival strategies of female migrants are participating in various jobs. This is mainly at the time of arrival and in diversifying their income generating activities (job mobility) after they relatively adopt the urban life.

Female migrants also used passive survival strategies such as searching additional income, consuming low price foods, using second hand clothes, sharing food and room, using alternative traditional medicines to minimize the living costs.

Social network with the rural families (exchanging remittances), with the migrants and urban dwellers (forming voluntary association and

cooperation and sharing lives with male partners and seeking aid) used as a survival strategies.

Finally, with regard to future plans of female migrants, even though they faced more challenges in the town, they were resistant to go back to their rural origin because of some positive aspects they obtained through migration such as job opportunity, economic independence, sending remittances, free life from cultural isolation and constraints and availability of social services.

5.3. Recommendation

Based on the aforementioned findings and conclusion, the following recommendations have been forwarded:

Government policy through its relevant ministries, especially through Ministry of Women Affairs Office, Labour and social Affairs and Population Policy Council should address the issue of female migration. In doing so, the interest, attitudes and experiences of female migrants should be incorporated.

Absence of job and income opportunities in rural areas has forced many people to move to the town. Providing migrants with non-agricultural job opportunities through the intensification of small scale industries for the young female population to work and live in the rural areas can reduce the rural out migration substantially.

A large number of migrants move particularly from the surrounding rural area and other Woreda of South Wollo Zone to the town to look for modern urban social services. Balanced distribution of various modern facilities and the provision of different social services such as

infrastructure, water and electricity services to the rural areas and other centers of the zone will decrease the flow of rural-urban migration.

It is true that population pressure, lack of natural resources, environmental degradation, poverty and famine resulted in rural-urban migration of females. Thus, increasing agricultural productivity through the provision of modern agricultural inputs and intensification of using irrigation projects would have significant impact in minimizing the flow of people because of poverty and famine.

Various unpleasant gender specific socio-economic problems push rural females to leave their rural origin. A lot has been expected to be done on changing the attitude of rural societies towards socially constructed gender perception through formal and informal education at the grass root level.

Female migrants are more vulnerable to physical and sexual exploitation and abuses than their male counter parts since they work in gender segregated and unregulated sector of the economy, such as, domestic work and prostitution and informal sectors. Thus, the concerned bodies (Government, NGOs, and Women Affairs, Police offices, host communities and others) have to do a lot so as to prevent gender specific violence.

Empowering rural females in all political, economic, social, and cultural aspects enables them to understand their right, open a chance to make decision at all level which could resulted in self determination and protect themselves from male domination.

One of the limitations of this study is absence of accurate and recent data on female immigrants in the study area. To this end, there is a clear need for a survey on number of immigrants to prepare effective intervention mechanisms for addressing the problem of migration in general.

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List of informants (kebele 01)

No	List of informants	Site	Age	Educational background	Place of birth	Job
1	Merema melaku	01	19	6 th	Berara	House maid servants
2	Enanu	>>	28	0	Kuru	>>
3	Hana	>>	14	0	Wereilu	>>
4	Fatuma	>>	19	10 th	>>	>>
5	Zewdie	>>	28	0	Ambasel	>>
6	Neima Assen	>>	16	5 th	Harbu	>>
7	Meseret	>>	26	0	Delanta	>>
8	Tsehay Melaku	>>	17	0	Lasta	>>
9	Belay	>>	19	5	Liguama	>>
10	Msaye Ahmed	>>	19	5 th	Lasta	
11	Meselech legesse	>>	24	0	Ambas	Street vendor
12	Kimem Gashu	>>	19	2	>>	>>
13	Aregash	>>	24	0	>>	>>
14	Bosena	>>	16	6	Haik	>>
15	Serke	>>	28	8 th	Tenta	>>
16	Zewdie Ali	>>	17	5 th	>>	>>
17	Fentaye m/d	>>	22	8 th	Saint	Daily Labourer
18	Lemlem hussien	>>	21	8 th	Tossa	>>
19	Zeineba	>>	19	10 th	Key gedel	>>
20	Aregash	>>	30	8 th	Mote	>>
21	Medina	>>	19	10 th	Berara	>>
22	Semret	>>	25	10 th	Ruga	>>
20	Seada	>>	19	0/2*	Lasta	>>
23	Yeshi	>>	19	5 th	Tebasit	Commercial Sex Worker
24	Bossi Endris	>>	28	4 th	Akesta	>>
25	Seada Ahmed	>>	18	0	Tebasit	>>
26	Zehabu Yimer	>>	18	0	Akesta	>>
27	Yeshareg seid	>>	14	7 th	Kabe	>>
28	Semira M/d	>>	19	5 th	Tenta	>>
29	Zewdie	>>	26	4 th	Akesta	>>
30	Tsehay yimer		24	0	Worilu	>>

* 0/2 which refers to 0 grade mean illiterate before they migrate and 2 mean now they are attending grade 2.

List of informants (kebele 09)

No	List of informants	Site	Age	Educational background	Place of birth	Job
1	Alemtehay	09	19	0	Delanta	House maid servants
2	Mulu	>>	19	0/2	Kobo	>>
3	Bosena	>>	15	0/2	Delanta	>>
4	Hawa seid	>>	19	0	Kuru	>>
5	Meseret	>>	26	0/3	Delanta	>>
6	Mehuba	>>	19	0/3	Haik	>>
7	Zehara Hussen	>>	21	0	Were/no	>>
8	Demeku	>>	19	0/2	Lasta	>>
9	Tsega dubea	>>	26	2	Gaint	>>
10	Elsa	>>	25	0	Kutaber	>>
11	Amina yusuf	>>	20	9 th	Ruga	Street vendor
12	Genet	>>	20	0	Lalibela	>>
13	Lubaba seid	>>	19	0	Haik	>>
14	Yeshareg	>>	20	0	Boru	>>
15	Lubaba m/d	>>	25	0	Werehimen o	>>
16	Zewde	>>	20	3	Wereilu	>>
17	Fatuma seid	>>	17	8 th	Tita	Daily Labourer
18	Astatek Abaye	>>	22	10 th	Kutaber	>>
19	Abaynesh Yimam	>>	18	10 th	Albuko	>>
20	Birhan Ayalew	>>	30	10 th	Kutaber	>>
21	Rabia	>>	19	8 th	Ruga	>>
22	Zewde	>>	20	3	Wereilu	>>
23	Betelhem B	>>	20	6 th	Delanta	Commercial Sex Worker
24	Toyba	>>	14	7 th	Wereba	>>
25	Kasech	>>	18	4 th	Saint	>>
26	Worke	>>	18	0	Tenta	>>
27	Hawlet	>>	19	0	Agbar	>>
28	Shimbra	>>	18	0	Wereilu	>>
29	Fozya seid	>>	16	7 th	Kutaber	>>
30	Aynalem	>>	17	7 th	Gimba	>>

Interview Guide

1. Characteristics and general profile of respondents?

Name	Age
Place of birth	Educational Background
Marital Status	Occupation
Religion	Length of Stay

2. Can you tell me about your family background?

Family Number

Educational Background

Livelihoods

Marriage condition: living together/Separated/dead/ (If they are not live,) who supports your family?

3. How long is it since you came here?

4. Under whose decisions could you come here?

Under your own decisions _____

Under family decisions _____

Under peer pressure _____ others, _____

5. What information did you have about urban life before you left home?

6. Why did you choose to migrate into Dessie town?

Because of Proximity / Demographic reason/

Because of Kinship /Social Network/ Others, _____

7. Do you have relatives or friends in this town? If so, what kind of support do you get from them? If not, what measure did you take at the course of your arrival?

8. Did you know the reason why young females are migrate to Dessie town?

Economic factors

Political

Socio-cultural factors

others, _____

9. What kind of job do you currently have to work?

10. What was your first work?

11. How could you decide to choose such a kind of job?

12. How did you get the opportunity? / Through your relative, through your own effort, through brokers, Specify, if there are others _____/

13. Do you have any additional means of income? Specify, ___

14. How much do you earn a) per day? ___ b) in a month? ___ Other, ___

15. How do you spend your daily or monthly income?

16. Are there any bad or good things that encountered you in the course of your stay here? /How did you get urban life?

- Socio-economic condition (Job opportunity, wage, working condition and hours, etc)
- Access to Social Services (Education, health services, etc)
- Basic needs supply, such as housing, food, and clothing.
- Urban setting (City life, social relations with other male and female migrants and the host community, etc)

17. How did you cope up with the problem?

18. Do you have any family contact?

19. Do you offer any gifts to your family? If not, why?

20. What do think about your future carrier? Do you want to go back home or stay here?

Focused Group Discussion /FGD/ for Informants

1. Under whose decisions could you come here?
2. What information did you have about urban life before you left home?
3. Do you have relatives or friends in this town? If so, what kind of support do you get from them? If not, what measure did you take in the course of your arrival?
4. Did you know the reason why young females migrate to Dessie town?
5. What are the possible job opportunities in this town?
6. Are there any bad or good things that encountered you in the course of your stay here?
7. What kind of relations you have with rural parents/relatives?
8. What kinds of gifts you offer to your rural parents/relatives?
9. What kind of relations you have with other migrants /both male and female?
10. What kind of relations you have with the urban community?
11. What do think about your future carrier?

Focused Group Discussion /FGD/ for CSWs

1. Why did you choose such kind of job?
2. Do you have regular income? If not what do possible measure do you take when you lost business?
3. How do your customers treat you?
4. What are the major problems that you encountered?
5. How do you cope up with the problems?
6. Do your family aware of your job?
7. What kind of relation do you have among themselves, with the family, and urban community?

Interview Guide for Key Informants

1. Do you think the rate of rural-urban migration increase or decrease in the last five years?

2. Who are the female migrants? (in terms of age and other demographic characteristics)
3. Under whose decision female migrants come to Dessie town?
4. From where female migrants come to this town?
5. What are the major causes of females that lead them to urban areas?
6. What are the characteristics of migrant female's socio-economic conditions at the Place of destination?
7. What are the sources of livelihood of female migrants?
8. What are the possible job opportunities in this town?
9. What are the major work female migrants engaged in?
10. Why did they choose such kind of work?
11. What are the major problems of migrant females in the destination?
12. Do you think migrants' right is respected here?
13. What possible measures taken by the government in relation to rural- urban migration?
14. What is the relation of your institution with them?
15. Do you allow giving credit for migrants?

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, and has not been presented for a degree in other Universities, and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Declared by

Confirmed by

Halewya mohammed

my

Candidate

Advisor