



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**LIVELIHOODS AND FOOD SECURITY IN THE  
SMALL URBAN CENTERS OF ETHIOPIA: THE  
CASE OF DURAME, WOLENCHITI, AND DEBRE  
SINA TOWNS**

**By**

**EPHREM TEGEGNE**

**November 2015**

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**November 2015**

**ADDIS ABABA**

## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, all sources and materials used for the dissertation have been duly acknowledged. This dissertation has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of the university or other institute of higher learning.

Ephrem Tegegne

## ABSTRACT

Food insecurity has generally been associated with rural communities, whereas the number of people living in urban areas is deemed to be growing constantly and so is the number of the urban poor. In addition, the recent sharp rise in food prices suggests that poor urban households would be forced to experience an ever-widening food gaps. However, there is little empirical evidence that quantifies the prevalence of urban food insecurity and how people living in urban areas are coping with the sustained high food prices. This study therefore aims to address this gap by investigating the food security situation in the small urban areas of Ethiopia. This thesis investigates the current livelihoods and food security as well as vulnerability situation of households living in Durame, Debre Sina and Wolenchiti towns of Ethiopia. In doing so, the study employs a mixed methods approach, whereby both qualitative and quantitative data are collected from the subjects of the study. The qualitative data is gathered using focus group discussions, case study and key-informant interviews while quantitative data is collected using a structured questionnaire administered to three hundred households randomly selected from the poor communities of the three small towns stated above. Food security was defined using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale criteria. It is found that the poor have limited access to financial capital and characterized by low human capital. They are also vulnerable to insufficient water supply and over-crowded housing conditions. The study findings indicate that the lack of stable income, especially from wage employment, has formed uncertainty about the survival of households. As a result, poor people rely on a wide variety of strategies to eke out a bare existence and to cope with their income and food insecurity. The price of foods was rising and simultaneously the households' purchasing power was eroded due to lower incomes and seasonal fluctuations in employment situation. It is found that households in the lower income group spent a great proportion of their income on food. The common coping strategies used by households against high food price were shifting to lower quality food or less expensive food types and reduction in the quantity of meals. The study found high prevalence of food insecurity; 77 % of the households were food insecure, with 48 % being moderately or severely food insecure. Factors associated with food security include level of income, source of livelihood, household size, and educational status of household heads. Households with higher food insecurity scores tend to have lower food consumption patterns. The research highlights that residents in the poor areas of the studied small towns generally eat monotonous food, with little concern for quality. The analysis of the data on the contextual factors influencing people's consumption patterns by using a political ecology approach reveals that various interacting factors, including the political-economic, socio-cultural and ecological factors that influence the decision around which foodstuff households consume and around food consumption patterns within the studied small towns. Overall, the urban poor as investigated in this study, experience the high level of poverty and the subsequent high prevalence of food insecurity; the situation worsening during summer (*kiremt*) season in the perception of the respondent, causing frequent use of consumption based coping strategies. Effective response to addressing vulnerability to food insecurity among urban households should focus on adopting an urban food security strategy with a safety net program on stabilizing the food market and on creating opportunities that could improve the livelihood and purchasing power of urban households.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ADLI	Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CSA	Central Statistics Authority (Ethiopia)
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FEWSNET	Famine Early Warning System Network
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HH	Household
HICES	Household Income Consumption Expenditure Survey
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoWUD	Ministry Of Works And Urban Development
MoUDC	Ministry of Urban Development and Construction
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SNNP	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples (Region)
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDESA	United Nations Development, Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
WFP	World Food Program

## Glossary of Terms

<i>Arakie</i>	Local distilled alcoholic drink, can be of very high alcohol content
<i>Bega</i>	Dry season starting around December
<i>Berbere</i>	Processed red paper widely used to prepare stew
<i>Enset</i>	The false banana plant that forms the staple diet of many in Southern Ethiopia
<i>Ikub</i>	Rotating credit association
<i>Idir</i>	Burial association
<i>Injera</i>	Fermented pancake, made from <i>teff</i> or other food grain flour in varying proportions (mainly prepared food in Ethiopia)
<i>Kebele</i>	The lowest administrative level in Ethiopia, below <i>Woreda</i>
<i>Ketena</i>	The sub-locality of <i>kebele</i>
<i>Kiremt</i>	Main rainy season starting around June
<i>Kita</i>	A thin flat bread
<i>Kollo</i>	A snack food consisting of roasted cereals and pulses
<i>Mitmita</i>	A hot condiment made from various spices
<i>Qocho</i>	A type of bread made from the root of the false banana plant
<i>Shema</i>	A fabric produce from cotton threads
<i>Shiro</i>	A stew which is made from pulse flour cooked with oil and onions
<i>Tella</i>	Local beer, brewed from available grains such as millet, barley or maize
<i>Woreda</i>	District level, below Zone, which is below Region

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Already half of the world's population lives in urban centers, and the majority of them reside in cities in developing countries (USAID, 2008). The world's population as a whole is expected to grow by 2.5 billion from 2007 to 2050, and most of this growth will occur in urban areas of less developed countries (Montgomery, 2009), every week the number of people living in cities in Africa and Asia increases by approximately one million (USAID, 2008). By 2030, the towns and cities in the developing world would account for 80% of the global urban humanity (UNFPA, 2007). In most countries, a large part of the urban population actually lives in relatively small towns and villages (Hannah, 2008; Haub, 2009). These trends have implications for the nature and distribution of world poverty, which is becoming an increasingly urban phenomenon.

Within the next 20 years, more poor and undernourished people in developing countries will live in cities than in rural areas ( Ruel, et al., 1998), roughly a third of urban people live in desperate poverty without access to basic amenities (IIED, 2006). If unabsorbed, rapid urbanization which is currently occurring in many developing countries may lead to the development of slums and pose a considerable threat to all dimensions of food security, because studies have indicated that the majority of urban dwellers are net food buyers and spend a large parts of their disposable income on food (Athreya, et al., 2010; Matuschke, 2009; Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009; WFP, 2009; Maxwell, et al., 2000).

Limited or absence of food subsidies, declining real wages, inflation, and price rises are the common problem of urban households (Potter and Lloyd-Evants, 1998; USAID, 2008). Moreover, cities and towns are cash intensive and residents often have to pay for goods and services (such as fuel and housing) that they do not have to pay for in rural areas.

Given the low agricultural productivity in developing countries, food imports are very common. This high dependence on food imports causes high food prices which in turn could lead to food insecurity, which hits first and foremost the urban poor. Nowadays, Africa is especially dependent on food imports. For instance in Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Tanzania and Uganda, imported foods, including basic staples such as grains and vegetable oils, are an important component of (urban) food supplies (Dubbeling , 2010).

In 2008, the world food situation appeared to be in crisis. Since then, a new dimension of food insecurity has emerged thereby bringing attention to urban areas as settlements that were more affected by food price rises than rural areas (Kutiwa, et al., 2010; Legwegoh, 2012). Global food prices rose by 83 per cent between 2005 and 2008 (Athreya, et al., 2010). These rises of price in food combined with increased fuel prices are likely to increase both the incidence and depth of household food insecurity. Higher prices may also translate into increased expenditure on food to the detriment of other household needs (e.g. education, health) and an even poorer diet, as families shift from energy-dense cereals to less energetic/micronutrient-rich but cheaper food products (WFP, 2008a) . Thus as food price rises, the urban poor are likely to be the most affected and vulnerable to food insecurity.

Although food insecurity is the most serious problem in urban areas (Hillbruner, 2008), most policy prescriptions focused on addressing constraints to rural based food production (Cohen and Garrett, 2009), as rural areas were presumed to have been worse off than urban areas (Athreya, et al., 2010). Cohen and Garrett (2009) further argued that the disproportionate attention that policy solutions give to rural dwellers regarding the food crisis is probably misplaced. The poor make up a large part of recent urban growth (USAID, 2008). The problems of poor city dwellers have become more pressing, including the issues of how the urban poor earn their livelihoods and the ways in which this affects key indicators of human welfare, such as food security and nutrition (Maxwell et al., 2000; Athreya, et al., 2010). Seasonal fluctuations in food availability, the high costs of urban living and unemployment were identified as key determinants of urban food insecurity (UNDP, 2009; Hillbruner, 2008).

Urban food security is different from rural food security. In the latter household production factors take lead in determining the level of food availability while in the former it is a combination of factors such as a competitive retail network, existence of safety nets like public distribution system coupled with the supply position of the state that usually decides the food security status. In normal circumstances, the wide network of retail trade takes care of availability issues in an urban area but the major issue is that of affordability (WFP, 2009).

Various development researches have suggested that in the light of urbanization, the access of urban populations to food, in terms of both availability and affordability, will be crucial to the future sustainability and political stability of cities in the developing world (Ruel, et al., 2010; Schmied, 2010; Crush, et al., 2006). Higher food prices are not just a

threat to the health and nutrition of poor urban people or to economic growth (as a result of lower productivity and poorer school performance) (Hillbruner, 2008); they also pose threats to political stability and domestic tranquility (Dubbling, 2010; WFP, 2009). Globally, protests over higher food prices have occurred in different parts of the world and different sources show that almost all demonstrations have taken place in urban areas (Teng and Escaler, 2010; Dubbling, 2010; WFP, 2009). These troubling actions have highlighted the increasing problem of urban food security in many countries and have brought to light the fact that urban poverty and urban food security need now as much attention as rural areas. Thus, the study of urban livelihood and food security is of considerable importance and policy relevance.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa behind only Nigeria, with an estimated population of 96.5 million by 2014 (World Population Review, 2015). According to 2007 census report, the population is growing at an average rate of 2.6% per annum (CSA, 2008). It is estimated that about 18% (17,172,948 people) of its inhabitants live in the urban areas in 2014 (Worldmeters, 2015). Agriculture remains the dominant economic sector contributing 40.2% of the GDP (FDRE, 2015). However, the Ethiopian agriculture is largely rain-fed and thus highly vulnerable to the vagaries of the weather. Extreme dependence on rain-fed agriculture and recurrent occurrence of drought has been a major immediate cause of food insecurity in Ethiopia. Food insecurity is a chronic issue as many families are unable to buy or grow enough food to feed themselves, and so need food aid each year to survive (UNDP, 2009).

The socio-economic predicament in Ethiopia is deep rooted and a result of the interplay of many factors. The past political instability and civil war have greatly contributed to the present poor state of the country's economy. Nonetheless, there have been some encouraging developments since 1991 with the end of the civil war and a change of government. The economy has experienced strong and broad based growth over the past decade, averaging 10.6% per year in 2004/05 - 2011/12 compared to the regional average of 4.9% (World Bank, 2013). The new government launched a sweeping program of economic reforms to revive the economy and Policy Framework Papers aimed at macroeconomic stabilization and poverty reduction have been implemented since 1992/93 (Tesfaye, 2006). Further, Ethiopia had been following a long-term strategy (10 year development strategy) of Agricultural- Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI) which is inherently poverty reducing and is the basis of Ethiopia's subsequent poverty reduction strategies.

Since the ADLI was also accompanied by a shift of government priority in favor of rural areas, it is imperative to investigate how the small urban centres perform in terms of livelihood and food security in recent years. As in many developing countries, food security and vulnerability assessments in Ethiopia have largely focused on rural areas. Although the level of urbanization is low in Ethiopia, the rate of urban growth is high. It is estimated at 4 percent per year (CSA, 2010), with this rate of growth, Ethiopia's urban population is estimated to exceed 50 million by 2050 (WFP, 2009).

These demographic and economic shifts raise a number of pressing development issues, of which food insecurity is one. According to MoFED (2010) report, though the food poverty head count index declined from 38% to 28.2% between 2004/2005 and

2009/2010, the Ethiopian economy and the poor in Ethiopia continue to be affected by global challenges. The global economic crisis and climate change are among the many global challenges, in addition to the rise in food and oil prices. Thus, the financial crisis impacts largely the poor urban population who rely on the market for their food.

A study by Kedir and McKay (2003) estimated that chronic poverty in urban areas at 26% and stated that 23% of households studied experienced transitory poverty. According to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) (2007), the incidence of poverty in the rural areas of the country dropped from 47.5 in 1996 to 39.3 in 2005. Comparatively the poverty indices in the urban areas of the country rose from 33.3 percent to 35 percent during the same period. While a significant improvement is recorded in depth and severity of poverty at national and in rural areas, both the depth and severity has shown no improvement in urban areas during the same years (MoFED, 2007). According to the latest report of MoFED (2012), 29.6% of Ethiopians lived in extreme poverty, which is a decrease of 9.1 percentages as compared to 38.7% poverty level in 2004-2005. Despite the impressive gains in economic growth in the recent past, poverty remains a major challenge. The Ethiopian poverty profile also reveals a decline in areal disparities between rural and urban areas in the distribution of poverty. As the latest available data shows, the proportion of the population below the poverty line stood at 30.4% in rural areas and 25.7% in urban areas (MoFED, 2012). This indicates emphasis should be given in urban poverty as well as in rural poverty.

Poverty in urban areas is driven by unemployment, lack of sanitation, rising cost of living, high dependency on the informal sector, HIV/AIDS (estimated at 7.7% prevalence in urban areas) and increased population pressure due to natural growth and rural-urban

migration (WFP, 2009), high food prices (following the abolition of food price subsidy) (Kedir and McKay, 2003), and inflation. The impact of inflation has been one key element that has resulted in increased food insecurity in urban areas (WFP, 2009). The food market in Ethiopia has recently been marked by uncharacteristically high prices (Yared, 2010). Since mid 2005 the country faced a spiral of price increases and the price of cereals increased by more than 100% (WFP, 2009). According to the CSA, the inflation rate in December 2008 was estimated at 44.4 percent (annual change based on the 12 month moving average), with food inflation estimated at 60 percent (FEWS NET, 2009).

This complex and multifaceted nature of urban poverty and the subsequent food insecurity deserves deeper understanding for the purpose of both knowledge generation and for practices aimed at improving the livelihood of the poor. High food prices specifically affect those households depending on markets for consumption. It is therefore, manifest that it is the urban areas, and within the urban areas the urban poor, who are the worst affected by rising food prices.

However, Satterthwaite (2004) observes that, much of the general literature on poverty assumes that there is an 'urban bias' in international agencies' which give a very low priority to urban poverty reduction (cited in Schmied, 2010). In addition to this, many writers (Cohen and Garrett, 2009; Degefa, 2008; UNFPA, 2007; Tesfaye, 2006) have concluded that there is only a limited focus on, and understanding of, urban livelihoods.

Even though the urban poor often suffer more than the rural poor from overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, environmental pollution, and the lack of access to potable water,

the first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of Ethiopia does not address urban issues, and little research has recently been conducted to understand the nature and evolution of urban living conditions nationwide. Daniel (2005) argued that efforts to address the unique problem of urban poverty have been neglected. Besides, within the urban milieu, small towns, which are catalysts of rural development, have not received the attentions they deserve. Degefa (2008) also pointed out that many poverty and food security related researches in Ethiopia have overlooked the urban settings. This has been explained by two main assumptions. One is the fact that the vast majority of the country's population lives in rural areas. Thus, many social researchers have focused their investigation on rural poverty and food security. The other misconception stems from the thinking that urban physical and social amenities are, more or less, equally accessible to all segments of the population inhabiting the city. Cohen and Garrett's paper 'The Food Price Crisis and Urban Food (In)security' (2009) also notified that recent policy prescriptions responding to food and livelihoods insecurity in the developing countries have had only limited impact on preventing urban hunger (mainly due to its focus on rural-based food production).

While a number of authors and empirical studies have examined the pattern of poverty reduction in Ethiopia and food security status of households, most of them have focused on rural areas. Relatively few studies have been done specifically on urban food security in Ethiopia. The few studies done have centered in Addis Ababa (Degefa, 2008; Yared, 2010, Ejigayehu and Abdi-Khalil, 2013, Birhane, et. al 2014, Girma, 2014). Similarly, earlier studies of urban poverty in Ethiopia essentially tended to focus mainly on the principal or major cities (WFP, 2009; Emebet, 2008; Tesfaye, 2006; Kedir and McKay,

2003). They do not show the situation of the urban poor in small towns. Nonetheless, the histories, the nature of poverty, and the living conditions differ greatly between the large and small cities of the country.

The study that is close to the present work in approach is the one by Solomon (2006). His work used household's monthly income to study household income change following the free market economic policies in Ethiopia, in selected four small towns namely Guder, Kemisse, Seka, and Wenago. He found that the economic liberalization has led to a considerably wider gap between the wealthier and the economically less fortunate households. Besides, the incidence of poverty has increased considerably within the studied small towns. A number of studies in different countries also suggest that rates of poverty in smaller settlements often exceed the rates in large cities (Montgomery, 2009; Elisa, 2008) and in many countries small-city residents go without adequate supplies of drinking water and minimally acceptable sanitation. For instance, a study in South Africa has shown that the incidence, depth, and severity of urban poverty are unambiguously highest in small towns, followed by secondary cities and lowest in the country's four metropolitan areas (Rogerson, 1998). This is due to the variation in administration, government focus, policies, and institutions.

Therefore, to paint a representative picture of the diverse livelihoods and food security of the urban poor nationwide, there is a need to draw insights from small towns that have a considerable potential role in regional and rural development and in poverty reduction.

In view of the facts mentioned above, this study has focused on trying to understand the nature and trends of food insecurity as well as its relationship to the poverty profile in

three purposively selected small towns in the country, namely Debre Sina, Durame, and Wolenchiti. These three small towns are located in different agro-ecological zones, representing a cross section of Ethiopian urban life. What is more, they have different historical, socio-economic, and demographic profiles. Thus in a nutshell the study has aimed at examining how the urban poor households in different geographical localities experience and respond to food insecurity.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

**The main objective of this study was:** To investigate the current livelihoods and food security as well as vulnerability situation of households living in small towns of Ethiopia.

**The specific objectives of the study were:**

- a. To assess the policy environment's and its impact to poverty reduction and the urban food security of households.
- b. To identify the main urban livelihood activities and assets of poor households in small urban places of Ethiopia.
- c. To examine the extent of food insecurity level of poor urban households in the study area.
- d. To identify associated factors responsible for increasing vulnerability to food insecurity in the study area.
- e. To identify strategies urban dwellers use to cope with high food prices and food insecurity

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions are answered in this project

1. What policies, strategies, and programs exist aiming at poverty reduction and food security at town or national level? What is the impact of the policy in alleviating urban poverty and food insecurity?
2. What are the main urban livelihood activities adapted by urban poor households in the research area? What livelihood assets are available to the urban poor?
3. What is the food insecurity level of households in the study towns?
4. What leading factors influence the degree of vulnerability and food insecurity of different households?
5. What are the leading livelihood strategies that different households apply in the face of food insecurity? How might urban poor people respond to rapid food price rises?

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The findings of this study are expected to be important in the following ways. Firstly, provided that urban research projects that have attempted to examine urban livelihoods and food security in small urban centers are scarce in Ethiopia, the present study will help to partially fill the gap in the literature on urban issues, the status of food security and livelihood strategies of urban households. Secondly, by using an analytical framework that combines household food consumption patterns with a political ecology approach, the study has shown that food access in urban Ethiopia is shaped by political-economic structures, socio-cultural norms and ecological factors; and thus, this study will offer the background information to be used as a basis for further research in the area and improve the knowledge base on urban food security. Finally, with regard to practical attempt of

poverty reduction and food security, the knowledge of the food challenges that urban households face obtained from the study will be of importance in the formulation of policies and strategies aimed at ensuring food and nutritional security in urban areas. Thus, the urban policy makers and planners might be benefited from outcome of such a research to address problems of urban poverty and the subsequent food insecurity in small urban centers.

## **1.6 Outline of the Study**

The balance of the thesis is organized as follows. **Chapter two** concerns an extensive review of literature. The chapter begins with a review of the livelihoods concepts and discusses its value in helping to understand urban livelihoods and household food security. The review of urban livelihood strategies is followed by a review of the concept of food security. In this review, the theory and development of food security concept and related approaches to address food insecurity are discussed. Urbanization, urban food vulnerability, and urban political ecology approaches are also some of the important topics considered here.

**Chapter three** is devoted to the research methodology. After the description of the study towns, the chapter discusses the research design, which combines qualitative and quantitative methods to understand urban household food security more holistically. The chapter explains the logic behind categorization and selection of households in the area. This consists of site selection, selecting respondents, data collection, data analysis, as well as the study challenges and limitations

**Chapter four** gives an overview of the urban poverty in Ethiopia. It then reviews and discusses post 1991 poverty reduction and food security policies particularly in relation to the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), and the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) of the country and the National Urban Development policy and the National Food Security Strategy of Ethiopia. The chapter argues that these policies and strategies have collectively limited concern to reduce urban food insecurity.

**Chapter five** presents the findings of the socio-economic survey conducted in the three towns. It reports on the demographic characteristics, income, as well as expenditure patterns of the households. In **Chapter six**, the various assets identified in the livelihood framework are used to discuss the assets of respondents across the three towns. Specifically, financial and social capital, human capital, and physical capital are discussed in details. This discussion is followed by a description of the household's income earning activities. It is evident that respondents undertake various livelihood activities to enable them to survive in the study areas. The section also discusses the spatial and seasonal issues observed in the activities of the urban poor. Alternatively, the analysis compares the livelihood strategies of male to female heads of households.

**Chapter seven** explores the various shocks and strategies adapted by urban households to cope with food shortages and other related shocks. Food insecurity and its various dimensions is the theme of **Chapter eight**. Besides presenting the levels of household food insecurity in the research area, the chapter also identifies the major factors that are responsible for increasing urban household vulnerability to food insecurity. The urban household food consumption score result is followed by details of food consumption

patterns of households by using urban political ecology approaches, to understand how political, socio-economic, and environmental processes shape the urban food system in the study areas. The final section discusses the seasonal variability of food supplies within surveyed households.

**Chapter nine** concludes the study. It begins with a summary of key findings relating to the research questions in chapter one. Policy and program implications were also examined in this chapter to provide a window of initiatives for follow-up policy interventions. The last section of the chapter indicates directions for further research in urban food security.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES, AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter presents a review of the literature as well as theoretical perspectives and concepts that are used to explain the perception of households, about their vulnerability to poverty and food insecurity. The major concepts used in this research are: livelihood security, household livelihood strategies, food security, urbanization, and urban food vulnerability.

A review of theoretical frameworks and the operation of the concepts in this study are done to enable the study of these concepts. The definition of concept is not only necessary when seeking to study the concepts, but also when interested in planning actions or interventions aimed at changing the state of the concept (Monde, 2003).

This chapter begins with a review of the livelihood concept and theoretical framework used to analyze Sustainable urban Livelihoods (SL). As many writers describe food security is one of the sustainable livelihood outcomes, hence the importance of this framework in the study of food security. The urban livelihood framework as applied to this dissertation provides a useful framework to evaluate poor people's livelihood strategies and factors that affect their livelihoods and contribute to their vulnerability to food insecurity. The review of SL is followed by a review of the concept of food security. In this review, theory and development of food security concepts as well as definitions of food security are reviewed. The aim is to decide on a working definition and on the methods appropriate for use in this study. Lastly, the concepts of urbanization, urban food

security, and urban political ecology of food are reviewed for the same reasons. The concepts are discussed and defined below.

## **2.1 Livelihoods Concept and Livelihood Security**

The word “livelihood” originates from the word “live”. The dictionary definition of the term “livelihood” is simply “ways of living”. Thus, livelihood is the way people (rich and poor alike) earn a living, be it in town or in the rural areas or both. Encarta English Dictionary puts this a bit more ornately as “something that provides income to live on, especially paid work”. It is related with the term job, work, or source of income. ‘Livelihood’ is, thus, used to describe the way in which people make a living, and mainly points to the economic resource base people have at their disposal for doing this.

In an attempt to better understand inequalities in the world, development geographers have increasingly adopted a livelihood perspective in the analysis of poverty (Phongsiri, undated). At the beginning of the 1990’s, more optimistic “livelihood studies” come up rather focusing on how people organize their lives than on poverty/ impoverishment (Haan, 2008). Thus since the 1990s, this perspective has gained momentum as a way of looking at development by putting (poor) people at the centre, stressing their active role in shaping their livelihood. As opposed to earlier approaches to poverty that tended to portray people as victims of structural constraints and focused on the material aspects of life from the perspective of specific, locally bound man-land interactions, the modern approach stresses the diversity of poverty situations and the multidimensionality of the poverty problem (Haan, 2008). In addition, a livelihoods approach attempts to acquire a clear and realistic understanding of people’s strengths (assets or capital endowments) and how they try to convert these to generate positive livelihood outcomes, rather than

investigating their problem (Beall and Kanji, 1999; Morse, et al., 2009). The following definition by Chambers and Conway (1991) captures the broad notion of livelihoods:

“A Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term” (Chambers and Conway, 1991, p.6).

‘Livelihood’ is a broadly defined concept and covers many components that include income, resources and risk opportunity management, social relation and negotiation, and social network management of households and community. The resources at a household’s disposal comprise both human capabilities skills, education, and the ability to work (including the availability of work as well as the health and nutritional status of workers) and other assets such as natural resources, savings and financial resources, and the web of social relations in which members of the household engage (Maxwell, et al., 2000).

In the attempt to understand and construct the livelihoods and food security situations among poor urban households, it is important to look at how each household gets access to diverse assets (Degefa, 2008). The assets, strategies, and outcomes at the household level must be understood in context, and the major contextual factors to consider are those that increase or decrease vulnerability the political, economic, social, and institutional context in which the household is situated (Maxwell, et al., 2000). It has been widely argued that the urban poor are continuously vulnerable to both natural shocks (flooding, freezing, and blazing) and human related risks (unemployment,

violence, and lay off, rape, eviction, and HIV/AIDS). In response, they developed strategies allowing them to sustain in such 'difficult' and 'harsh' conditions. Particularly field studies among the poor may give an opportunity to deeply understand and document vulnerability at household level (Degefa, 2008).

Livelihood security is a critical and indispensable element of food security (WFP, 2009). It puts food security in a broader perspective. Security means stability and continuity (Ahmed, 2005), and Household Livelihood Security has been defined as adequate and sustainable access to income and resources to meet basic needs (including adequate access to food, potable water, health facilities, educational opportunities, housing, and time for community participation and social integration) (Frankenberger, 1996 as cited in CARE, 2000). Thus, household food security means that all members of the household are food secure (USAID, 2008).

Livelihood security may be seen as a precondition of household food and nutrition security. Households are food and nutritionally secure when their livelihoods are sustainable. Food security is a subset of livelihood security; food needs are not necessarily more important than basic needs or aspects of subsistence or survival within households. Food insecure households juggle among a range of requirements, including immediate consumption and future capacity to produce (Baro, 2002).

Livelihood security in urban areas depends on a complex set of interrelated factors, of which employment and income are crucial. A study by Ruel and Garrett (2004) confirmed that most food consumed by urban dwellers is purchased and that food expenditures account for more than half of the urban household budget. Thus,

programmes aiming at reducing the cost of food for the urban poor – such as food aid, food subsidies, urban agriculture, technology, and food policies to reduce the cost of food – are likely to be particularly important for urban livelihoods. Similarly, employment is essential because urban dwellers need money for most of their basic needs (Ruel and Garrett, 2004).

A secure and sustainable livelihood is considered to be a sufficient and necessary condition for food security. Therefore, food security depends on individuals and households having a reliable and sustainable source of livelihood. In line with this approach, the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996 emphasized the sustainable management of natural resources, elimination of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, and equality between men and women as essential conditions for food security (WFP, 1996). As against rural areas, where subsistence agriculture is an option to cope with food security, the urban areas almost entirely depend on the markets and hence livelihood dimension of food security assumes special significance.

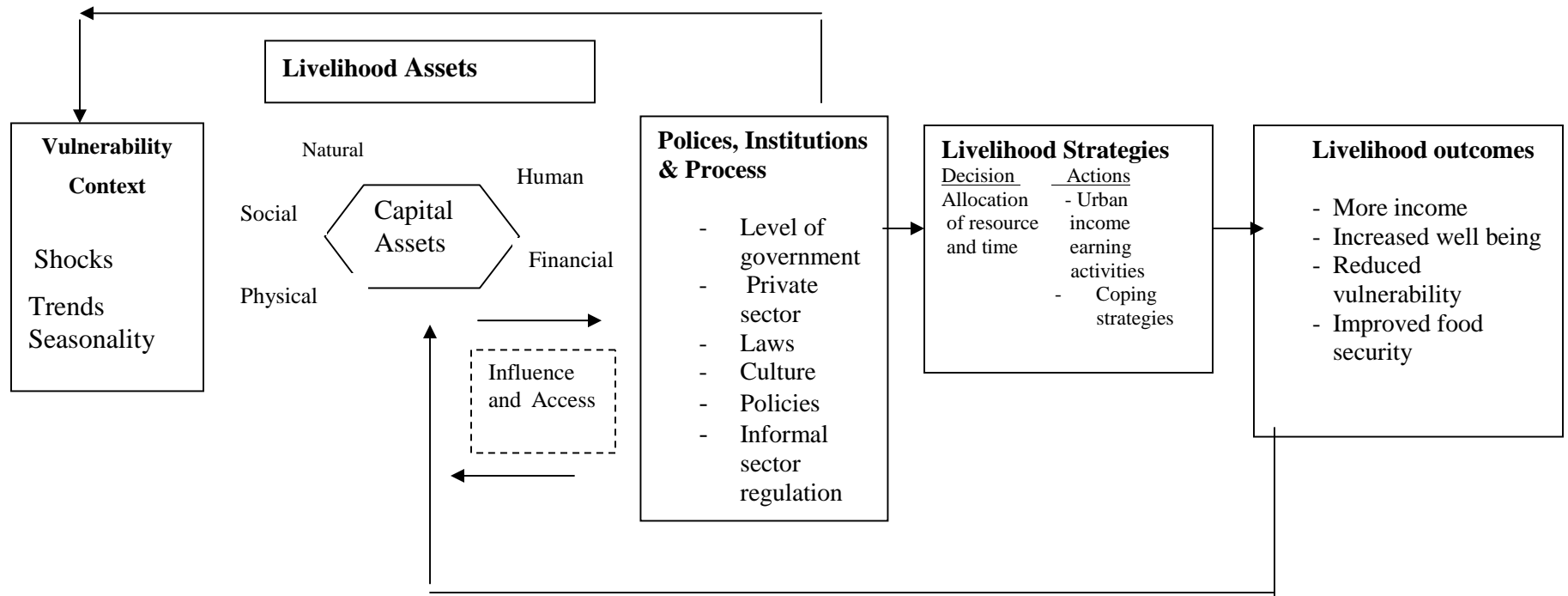
## **2.2. The Urban Livelihood Framework or Approach**

The livelihood framework is an approach that helps us to understand the particular economic strategies of poor people. It is a framework which helps to identify poor people's agency in developing and sustaining their livelihoods. The framework is centered on people. Its aim is to help stakeholders with different perspectives to engage in structured and coherent debate about the many factors that affect livelihoods, their relative importance, and the way in which they interact. The strategies that poor households employ to earn an income and to perform other range of activities in securing a sustainable livelihood in small urban areas of Ethiopia are important to this research.

Additionally, the research explores factors that affect people's livelihoods, and make them prone to shocks and food insecurity.

The livelihood framework has become increasingly popular in development planning. According to the livelihood framework or approach, a household's livelihood strategy, and so its level of well-being, depends on the assets or resources it has access to; the factors that mediate their access (for instance, gender relations or how markets operate); and contextual factors (such as macro policies or shocks). Both local factors and wider regional, national and global factors are important influences of living conditions (Owuor, 2006).

**Figure: 2.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**



**Source:** Adapted from Farrington, et al., 2002

The main factors that affect people's livelihoods are listed below:-

**Vulnerability:** Vulnerability has the opposite meaning of security. The vulnerability context within which people pursue their livelihoods includes trends (e.g., economic or resource trends), shocks (e.g. conflict, economic shocks, natural shocks, etc.), seasonal fluctuations in prices, production, health, employment opportunities (Abdalla, 2008). These factors can have a direct impact on people's assets and the options available to them to pursue beneficial livelihood strategies. The vulnerability context of poor people's livelihoods is usually influenced by external factors outside their direct control and is dependent on wider policies, institutions, and processes. To support people to be more resilient to the negative effects of trends, shocks and seasonality, development policymakers and practitioners can support people's access to assets and help ensure that critical policies, institutions, and processes are responsive to the needs of the poor.

**Assets:** These are the resources on which people draw in order to carry out their livelihood strategies. These resources include a broad range of financial, human, social, physical, natural, and political capital. Assets are not always owned by the men and women who use them in their livelihood strategies – rather, they may have varying extents of access to and control over these assets. Issues' relating to access to assets and how the access of poor men and women can be improved is a key to the SL model (Farrington, et al., 2002). Urban contexts, as opposed to rural context, depend largely on, (1) financial assets such as savings, and access to credit, (2) human assets such as labour, health, education, (3) natural assets such as land for agricultural purposes, (4)

physical assets such as housing, livestock, and production equipment, and( 5) social assets such as social support mechanisms and information (Meikle,2002).

**Table 2.1 Description of Five Types of Asset Central to an Urban Livelihoods Framework**

Asset Type	Description
Human capital	The labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities. Qualitative aspects refer to the levels of education and skills and the health status of household members.
Social and political capital	The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.
Physical capital	Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods
Financial capital	The financial resources available to people (including saving, credit, remittances and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.
Natural capital	The natural resources stock from resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water and other environmental resources especially common pool resources.

Source: (Rakodi 2002 in Vearey et al., 2009)

**Policies, Institutions, and Processes:** PIPs refer to the complex social, economic, and political context within which people pursue their livelihoods strategies. They can have a great influence on access to assets –creating them, determining access, and influencing rates of asset accumulation. Those elements in the sustainable livelihoods framework cover the interrelated issues of social relations, social and political organization, governance, service delivery, social norms, policy, and policy processes. These operate at global, national, regional, district and local levels. Key to understanding their impact on local livelihoods is an analysis of the operation, or absence, of links between micro, meso and macro levels (Alinovi, et al., 2010).

**Livelihood Outcomes** are the goals to which people aspire, the results of pursuing their livelihood strategies, such as increased income, reduced vulnerability, increased well-being, improved food security, and more sustainable use of natural resources. Livelihoods outcomes are important because they help the analyst understand the results of peoples' livelihoods strategies in a particular context, why people pursue particular strategies and what their priorities are, and how people are likely to respond to new opportunities or constraints.

**Livelihood Strategies:** These are the planned activities that men and women undertake to build their livelihoods. They usually include a range of activities designed to build asset bases and access to goods and services for consumption. Livelihood strategies include coping strategies designed to respond to shocks in the short term, and adaptive strategies designed to improve circumstances in the long term (Farrington, et al., 2002). Livelihood strategies are determined by the assets and opportunities available to men and

women (which are in turn affected by PIPs and changes in the vulnerability context) as well as by the choices and preferences of men and women (Farrington, et al., 2002).

There is a basic similarity in terms of the principles underlying the livelihood approach in rural and urban areas. However, there are contextual differences (social, economic, governance and environmental) between rural and urban areas (Meikle et al, 2001). The rural or urban origin of the models has implications for the emphasis of these models (for example the stress of the rural models on natural assets and environmental sustainability, as opposed to the stress of the urban models on households and housing and financial assets). However, because the models are conceptually broad enough, and because of the SL focus on contextual specificity, these models can be applied to both urban and rural settings.

In short, a livelihood approach helps to focus analytically on several questions: In view of recognized responsibilities and risks, how do households and individual decision – makers within households organize and manage income generating activities and other forms of assets and income? What are the various means of coping with shocks: household based mechanisms, formal safety nets, or kinship networks? How do they protect their future ability to earn a livelihood and ensure food security and their access to other basic necessities? This applies to both the individuals and the household as a unit. These are the focal questions addressed from a livelihoods perspective.

### **2.3. Urban Livelihood Strategies**

Livelihood is the central concept in this study which can simply be considered as having adequate stocks and flows of food and cash for an active and healthy life. In planning and

carrying out activities, people use a variety of strategies with livelihood security and well being as the desired outcomes.

Urban livelihoods are complex, and their analysis needs to take into account a variety of factors. Urban households, rich or poor, have adopted a number of livelihood strategies in their attempts to manage (in particular but not necessarily restricted to) the changes in their economic environment and circumstances (Owuor, 2006). However, as stated above, because of the economic, environmental, social, and political context in which they live, the livelihood strategies of urban (poor) households may be different from those of their rural counterparts. This study approaches the subject with a focus on poor and vulnerable urban households, and consequently puts people themselves at the core of analysis.

Beall and Kanji (1999) argued that urban people in poverty particularly, have been forced into multiple and resourceful strategies for survival and betterment and indeed, household level strategies have become an important focus of urban social research. The livelihoods approach emphasizes the differences between rural and urban livelihoods. According to Meikle (2002), the differences between the urban and rural are complex and their economic, environmental, social, and political contexts are both “dynamic and multifaceted”. However, the urban context is “more complex” given its differing asset pool and common vulnerabilities. The specific vulnerabilities common among the urban poor include, lack of legal status for men and women, limited access to basic social services, poor living environments, and dependence on the cash economy for basic goods and services.

Rakodi (1995a, as cited in Owuor, 2006) distinguished three types of strategies in her review of conceptual issues in the study of urban poverty: 1) strategies to increase resources: entering more household members into the workforce, starting businesses, growing own food, etc; 2) strategies to mitigate or limit a decline in consumption: reducing or eliminating consumption items such as meat; buying cheaper food or second-hand clothes, etc; and 3) strategies to change household composition: migration, etc. For Beall and Kanji (1999) strategies might include labour market involvement, savings accumulation, and investment, changing patterns of consumption and income earning, labour and asset pooling arrangements, or social networking.

Empirical evidences from developing countries suggest that urban households do indeed, engage themselves in multiple activities, and rely on diverse income portfolios. For instance, Cohen and Garrett (2009) explained poor urban households engage in a variety of approaches to deal with higher food prices. Common strategies include reducing food consumption and diet quality. Poor households in urban Ethiopia followed different strategies to cope with food insecurity. These include reducing the amount and quality of dietary items , engaging in income generating activities and depending on several income earnings (Yared, 2010), requesting support from relatives and families in the countryside, temporary family dispersal ( by sending their children to own relatives else where ) and starting to work in unusual jobs ( Degefa, 2008).

Therefore, in understanding urban households and their livelihood activities, it becomes essential to identify not only their poverty status (what they “lack or want”) but also their vulnerability status (“threat and resilience”). This argument enables this study to achieve

its central aim, that is, to understand poor urban household's responses to a changing socio-economic environment and food insecurity situations.

## **2.4 Food Security: Theory and Development**

The concept of food security is compatible to facilitate the discussion and guide action on promising pathways out of hunger and malnutrition. Over time, the concept of food security and related approaches to address food insecurity have been developed and modified in accordance with the common understanding of the nature of the food problem and the evolution of the global food system. At the same time, as noted by Lebailly and Muteba (2011), the analysis of food security has evolved and it is now recognized that it needs to be addressed in all its dimensions.

Since the term food security entered the broader development policy debate at the 1974 World Food Conference, the concept has been revised and extended. In the broadest sense, the term can be conceived as having evolved through three overlapping paradigm shifts (Ramos, et al., 2008).

- I. From the global and the national to the household and the individual
- II. From the food first perspective to the livelihood perspective
- III. From objective indicators to subjective perception

The aim of a review of these three shifts is to see how food security has been conceptualized in the past, and how it is conceptualized at present.

The periods following the 'world food crisis' of 1972 to 1974, the African famine in 1983/4 and the World Food Summit in 1996 are key historical junctures in the genealogy of food security (Alcock, 2009). As such, the final report of the 1974 World Food

Conference and the subsequent International undertaking on World Food Security, the World Bank's 1986 publication 'Poverty and Hunger', and the 1996 Rome Declaration on World Food Security and Plan of Action provide the historical material most relevant to a food security genealogy (Alcock, 2009).

#### **2.4.1 From Global and National to Household and Individual Levels Food Security**

The issue of food security emerged in the global debate as early as 1970 through international food conferences in Rome (Ahmed, 2005). However, the concept has become more complex due to a shift in the level of analysis from global and national to household and individual levels. In the 1970s food security was conceived as adequacy of food supply at global and national levels. This view focused merely on food production variables and overlooked the multiple forces that in many ways affected food access and the definitions of food security focused on aggregate food supplies at national and global levels, and analysts advocated production self-sufficiency as a strategy for nations to achieve food security. The 1974 World Food Conference was given credence on food supplies as the major course of food security (CARE, 2000).

In other words, the then food security was mostly concerned with availability of food, i.e., national and global supplies. This understanding was based on the perception of the food situation during the early 1970s, particularly in several Asian and African countries. Africa at large was faced with food crises mainly due to drought problems. The situation was characterized by shortfalls in food supply, low reserves of cereals, and high and rapidly rising prices on world food markets (Monde, 2003). Indicators were then developed on the basis of a food supply deficit model and the crisis was measured at the national level by shortfalls in supply of basic food stuffs in relation to aggregate

population requirements. It was assumed that the crisis at household level would manifest itself in malnutrition or under- nutrition. Supply deficits were thus translated directly into a decline in nutritional status (Monde, 2003).

Emphasis on food availability, which relates population size with the amount of food available from production, was later on highly criticized (Degefa, 2008). In the 1980s, with the work of Amartya Sen which emphasized entitlements or access to food, the approach to food security shifted towards the 'demand side', i.e., providing individuals access to food through the market or social/political mechanisms. He argues that access to food depends largely on people's entitlements through production, trade, own labour, inheritance, and transfers. The disintegration of entitlements to food is associated with food starvation. Therefore, not everyone experiences starvation; it depends on individual and household entitlements (Frankenberger and McCaston 1998; Moude, 2003).

Entitlement refers to the set of income and resource bundles (e.g., assets, commodities) over which households can establish control and secure their livelihoods. Sen's (1981) theory on food entitlement had a considerable influence on this change in thinking, representing a paradigm shift in the way that famines were conceptualized (Frankenberger & McCaston, 1998).

Food security is a matter of who has access to food, i.e. who can acquire food from own production or purchase on the market rather than availability of sufficient food in a region or a country (Sen, 1981). What is perhaps the most significant is that food insecurity is not simply seen as a failed agriculture unable to provide sufficient production of food products at national level, but as the failure of ways and means of subsistence, which are

unable to guarantee households access to sufficient food. As Lebailly and Muteba (2011) pointed out food insecurity in Africa is the result of low agricultural production and insufficient income, but not one or the other alone, and is the result of political and institutional failure.

Thus, the household food security approach that evolved in the late 1980s emphasized the issues of both availability and stable access to food (CARE, 2000), which were also incorporated in the definition. Since the 1980s, it has been recognized that the achievement of food security requires paying attention to both supply-side and demand-side variables and the concept of food security attained wider attention that shifted from global and national level to household and individual levels. Because macro-level food self sufficiency does not assure the achievement of food security at household level.

In brief, we may distinguish between national food security at macro-level and household food security at micro-level. The use of the term ‘food security’ at the national (and global) level has been often focused on issues on the supply side of the food equation i.e. an aggregate supply of food, from domestic sources or import or both are prerequisite but certainly not a sufficient condition for a food secure situation in a country. In other words, an adequate availability of food in Ethiopia on a per capita basis does not necessarily translate to sufficient and adequate food for every citizen. Food security at household level is a subset of the national level and it requires that all individuals and households have access to sufficient food either by producing it themselves or by generating sufficient income to demand for it. Thus, national aggregate insecurity entails household food insecurity. On the other hand, household insecurity can exist regardless of the status of aggregate national or regional food supply.

### **2.4.2. From Food First to Livelihood Perspective**

In addition to the above shift of perspective, the analysis and focus of attention has moved from a food first perspective to a livelihood perspective, which focuses not only on the production of food, but also the ability of households and individuals to procure the additional food they require for an adequate diet.

Sustainable food security depends on a number of resources to which households, communities, and individuals have access or entitled, especially in the long term (Maxwell, 2001). Woller, et al. (2009) noted vulnerable households allocate their assets over time so as to balance their current food needs with their ability to secure their ongoing livelihood viability and future food needs through a variety of livelihood strategies. This means in turn that successful food security interventions need to address not only issues related to food security but also wider issues related to households' livelihoods and their vulnerability context. Conversely, successful livelihood interventions need to address how food security concerns influence household livelihood strategies.

It was assumed that the coping strategies of people were designed to maximize immediate consumption. As time went on, these assumptions underlying the food first approach and old theories that had viewed food insecurity as strictly a product of poor accessibility began to be questioned (Monde, 2003). Preservation of livelihood assets may often take precedence over fulfillment of food needs in the short run, and people chose to go hungry for a period of time in order to save seeds for planting, purchase inputs for cultivating their fields or to avoid having to sell an animal (Baro, 2002). In the

famine experience of 1984-85 in Darfur, Sudan, De waal (1990), as cited Ramos, et al., 2008, indicated people were found to be quite prepared to put up with considerable degrees of hunger, in order to preserve assets and future livelihoods.

These findings showed that emphasis on meeting immediate and current food consumption needs was trivial in the context of achieving long-term economic and environmental sustainability. Instead, food security became framed in the context of broader factors (wider and holistic perspective). Therefore, there is a need to look at household's asset situations, local context, and the ability to generate wealth in order to sustain food production over time (Degefa, 2008; Ramos, et al., 2008). These thoughts led to a shift from the food first to a wider sustainable livelihood approach.

In food first approach, coping strategies are designed to maximize immediate consumption where as in the livelihood approach, the main objective is seen to be secure and sustain livelihoods, and coping strategies are designed to preserve these livelihoods.

### **2.4.3. From Objective Indicator to Subjective Perspective**

Another move on food security concept is a shift from a materialist perspective on food production to a social perspective. Because of concerns with quantitative measures of food indicators, in which nutritional needs vary with time, age, culture, and space, most researchers have moved away from an analysis of quantity and access towards a more subjective dimension of food security.

In the past, approaches to food security relied on objective measurements in order to identify who is food secure, and who is not. The level of consumption was the main indicator that was used (Monde, 2003). Qualitative aspects like technical food quality,

consistency with local food habits, cultural acceptability, and human dignity are omitted from the quantitative measures (Maxwell, 2001). These problems led to a shift in thinking about the concept of food security. It became clear that while the quantity of food entitlement is important, so is its quality.

Subjective approaches of data collection help us to know about how individuals express their own, and their household members' perceptions and responses to food insecurity and also the information provided is relative to their cultural and personal values and thus reflects their sense of deprivation, which may or may not always coincide with some external or absolute standard (Webb, et al., 2006). In studies, which adopt such a view of food security the subjective perceptions of poor people themselves are given greater weight.

## **2.5 Definition of Household Food Security**

Different institutions and organizations define food security differently without much change in the basic concepts. The approaches of different organizations and institutions to food insecurity seem to depend on various local, national and international factors including philosophy regarding the role of the market or trade, political and human rights, ecological sustainability, and national sovereignty with regard to food and food production, as well as larger political-economic interests (Adhikari, 2010).

The United Nations (UN) World Food Summit in 1974 indicated that food security is the “availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices” (UN, 1975). A definition by the World Food Summit held in Rome in 1996 states

that “ Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO,1996). This definition is again refined in The State of Food Insecurity 2001: “Food security [is] a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, **social** and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” ( FAO,2002).

This multifaceted definition is difficult to quantify and therefore food security is typically broken down into four more easily measurable sub-components: Food availability, food access, food utilization, and currently stability is also considered as the fourth component of food security (Hillbruner, 2008).

**Access** is referred to access by individuals to adequate resources (entitlements) to acquire appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. Entitlements are defined as the set of all those commodity bundles over which a person can establish command given the legal, political, economic and social arrangements of the community in which he/she lives (including traditional rights - e.g. access to common resources). Securing access to enough food at all times for an active and healthy life is a prime objective of all modern society because of the role played by food in economy, culture, and politics. Food access is largely determined by the ability of households and individuals to obtain food from own production, purchases and other sources, such as gifts, government transfers and food aid.

**Availability** exists when adequate quantities and varieties of food are on hand in local markets, either from local production or from imports. Food availability is often measured at a national level (e.g. FAO food balance sheets) but can also be explored at the level of local food markets.

**Utilization** is related to utilization of food through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation, and health care, to reach a state of nutritional well-being for which all physiological needs are met. This brings out the importance of non-food inputs in food security. It is not enough that someone is getting what appears to be an adequate quantity of food if that person is unable to make use of the food because he or she is often falling sick. The dimension of food utilization underlines the importance of such processes, including marketing, storage, processing, cooking practices, feeding practices and nutrition to the attainment of food security.

**Stability** is a very important component of the food security indicator. To be food secure a population, household, or individual must have access to adequate food at all times. They should not be at risk of losing access to food as a consequence of a shock (e.g. an economic or climatic crisis), or cyclically (e.g. during a particular period of the year – seasonal food insecurity). The concept of stability can therefore refer to both the availability and access dimensions of food security.

Food availability is necessary but not sufficient for food accessibility and access is necessary but not sufficient for utilization. In a larger sense, two broad groups of factors determine food security. These are supply side factors and demand side factors. The supply-side factors are those that determine food supply or food availability. In other words, they are determinants of physical access to food at national, household, and intra-

household levels. The demand side factors, on the other hand, are factors that determine the degree of access of countries, households, and individuals to available food. They are, in other words, determinants of economic access to food or determinants of entitlement to available food. Common to these two sets of factors however is another set of factors that affect the stability of both physical and economic access to foods.

## **2.6 Chronic and Transitory Food Insecurity**

Food insecurity is just the opposite of food security. It is the lack of access to nutritionally adequate diet in a household or country. There are two main types of food insecurity which are: **“Chronic Food Insecurity”** and **“Transitory Food Insecurity”**

Chronic food insecurity is a continuously inadequate diet caused by the inability to acquire food. It affects households that persistently lack the ability either to buy enough food or to produce their own. For example, chronic food insecurity exists when food supplies are persistently insufficient to supply adequate nutrients for all individuals. Chronic Food Insecurity is a routinized or cyclical pattern (Baro, 2002). In chronic food insecurity households experience food deficiency relative to needs in any given year (Workneh, 2008).

Transitory food insecurity occurs when there is a temporary decline and irregular occurrence in access to adequate food because of instability in food production, food price increases, or income shortfalls. In transitory food insecurity households experience food shortage for a certain period due to shocks (natural or social/market) (Workneh, 2008). However, what is transitory may become chronic, and irregular occurrences sometimes evolve into cyclical patterns. Theoretically, poverty, household vulnerability, and

undernourishment may be distinct conditions (Baro, 2002). Yet, in practice, these conditions intersect and overlap: poor households are usually most vulnerable to transitory and chronic food insecurity; hence they are often undernourished (Maxwell and Frankenberger, 1992 cited in Baro, 2002)

In the Ethiopian context, chronically food insecure households include mainly those who are landless/land-scarce, oxen less , pastoral , female-headed , elderly, disabled and sick, newly established settlers, non-agricultural poor households and low income urban households (Workneh, 2008). According to MoFED (2012), food poverty incidence in Ethiopia is 34% in 2010/11 at national level, 27.9 % in urban areas and 34.7 % in rural areas. Due to this fact Ethiopia needs immense and all round efforts to totally eliminate chronic and seasonal food insecurity.

By and large, urban food security depends on both food production as well as food purchasing power. The source of food could be through (own) production by the household in a farm setting or through purchase or both production and purchase. Household food production and household income therefore are important factors in household food security. Prices are also important because they determine the food value of household incomes. As it is defined earlier food insecurity is commonly conceptualized as chronic or transitory. This study focuses on chronic food insecurity which is currently prevalent among the urban poor.

## **2.7 Urbanization and Urban Food (In) Security**

Urbanization is an inevitable consequence of socio-economic development. The development of cities has led to significant improvements in living conditions for many people all over the world by facilitating the provision of services to residents, for example, the availability of (but not necessarily access to) services is better than in the countryside and urban areas also offer wider choices of income-generating activities. Despite these advantages, however, in most developing countries, especially that in Sub-Saharan Africa, urban poverty has been on the increase with increasing urbanization (Frayne, et al., 2009; Matuschke, 2009).

According to UN-HABITAT (2010), 3.56 billion or 51.5% of the global population live in urban settlements, towns, and cities; this has led international development organizations to focus on the previously ignored area of urban poverty. It is estimated that by 2030, 60% of the global population will live in urban areas. Many regions have seen their urbanization rates stabilize, such as in north America, Europe, and Latin America where 75-85% of the population already live in urban centers. The growth in urbanization in the next few decades is predicted to be concentrated in Asia and Africa (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Annual urban growth rate of Africa is very high (about 3.23%) as compared with other continents (UNDESA, 2011); the majority of urban dwellers (about 61 %) live in small towns (Matuschke, 2009). This urbanization process goes together with growing urban poverty and food insecurity, due to the fact that the majorities of urban dwellers are net food buyers and spent a large part of their budget on food.

Food insecurity especially in terms of access to healthy diets has featured as one of the multiple developmental concerns related to the negative experience of urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa (Legwegoh, 2012). Although linked to poverty as conditions reflecting inadequate access to resources to obtain food, issues such as hunger and food insecurity have seldom been recognized as important in urban settings (Faye, et al., 2010).

According to UN-Habitat (2008a) urban growth combined with limited employment opportunities in cities is leading to a more rapid increase in poverty in urban areas than in rural areas. A massive 43 percent of Africa's urban populations live below the poverty line. In several Sub-Saharan nations that share even exceeds 50 percent and Africa's urban slum populations continue to grow: About 69% of all households in Addis Ababa, 65% in Dar es Salaam and 50% in Kampala and Nairobi are slum households (UN-HABITAT, 2008a). African urban poverty is clearly manifested in the large number of poor people living in slums and slum-like conditions in cities across the continent. They lack access to secure shelter, basic services and to the political system (Abdella, 2008).

Maxwell (1999) noted that rapid urbanization and complexity of urban livelihoods, food supply, access, choice, health and social organization are making the whole food experience within African urban spaces multifaceted. Dubbeling (2010) proposes rapid urban growth and growing urban poverty should raise concerns particularly about African urban food security, supply, and distribution systems. While impacts of the food and financial crisis affect both rural and urban populations, the urban poor are particularly vulnerable to variations in food and fuel prices and in income since food (often over 60%) and fuel (often more than 10%) make up a large part of their household expenses

(Dubbeling, 2010). Urban consumers are almost exclusively dependent on food purchases and variations in food prices and income directly translate into diminished purchasing power and rising rates of food insecurity, thus compromising dietary quantity, and quality (FAO, 2014).

In terms of access to food, the most significant difference between urban and rural areas is that people in rural areas can often produce their own food, while people in urban areas are more dependent on food purchases. For the urban poor, it is the dominance of the cash economy over access to such a basic need as food that links urban food systems to poverty and vulnerability to food insecurity. The global number of hungry people keeps rising, and in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is estimated to be one in three, totaling to 239 million (FAO, 2010). Malnutrition has recently become an urban phenomenon and the urban poor carry the majority of the starving urbanites (Kadenyaka, 2012).

Urbanization also influences all aspects of food production and consumption. Specific aspects of food security applicable to the urban context include (i) the necessity to purchase most of the food needed by the household and (ii) greater dependence on the market system and on commercially processed food. Wage employment and monetary income are therefore the main prerequisites for achieving food security. However, the majority of urban dwellers, especially those in developing countries, are highly disadvantaged with limited purchasing power, as most are engaged in very low-paying employment in the informal sector (UN-HABITAT, 2008a). For instance, in the urban areas of Eastern Africa only, official unemployment rates exceed 30% (despite it, many people show their ability to cope within the informal economy); millions of people have no access to toilets; the vast majority of people live in slums characterized by limited

access to basic services such as garbage collection, water supply or health care (UN-HABITAT, 2008a). All the statistics discussed above on the increasing urban population density across developing countries need to be analyzed to reveal the politics and challenges that accompany urbanization. The lack of appropriate policies and state interventions intended for the urban context means that individuals and households tend to cope with the incidence of food insecurity by assembling complex livelihood strategies, which as Maxwell (1999) notes is poorly understood within the urban African context.

A large number of publications describe the qualitative aspect of growing urbanization – its impacts on people’s lives and the environment and responses necessary for preventing the negative consequences of this phenomenon. They argued that public and market responses to the poor conditions in which many people in the urban areas live today are inadequate (Schmied, 2010). Kennedy (2003) argued a concerted effort is needed to make the urban environment healthier for the growing number of urban inhabitants. Macro level policies related to agricultural production and the infrastructure necessary to ensure an adequate and safe supply of food to cities are warranted. Cohen and Garrett (2009) notified that recent policy prescriptions responding to food and livelihoods insecurity in the developing countries have had only limited impact on preventing urban hunger.

This suggests different authors and publications argument that the main source of food insecurity in most cases is food access (especially due to a lack of economic means), rather than food availability. For example, Maxwell (1998) argues that many governments in Sub-Saharan Africa persist in thinking about urban food insecurity

primarily in terms of aggregate food supply to the cities, rather than the ability of poor households in urban areas to purchase food. Food security is no longer viewed as a failure to produce enough food nationally, but rather as a failure of livelihoods to provide adequate supply at the household level (Crush, et al., 2006; Frayne, et al., 2009).

According to Ruel, et al. (2010) there is disproportionate vulnerability of the urban compared with the rural poor to the types of shocks (price and financial) that have hit the world since 2008. The global financial crisis affects mainly the urban poor, who are generally net food buyers, rely on income for their food security, spend a large proportion of their total budget on food, and have little access to agriculture or land to fall back on for increasing their food access in times of economic hardship.

The high and volatile food prices that triggered a renewed interest in food security since the 2008–2009 crises still linger due to several factors (Tacoli, et al., 2013). International commodity prices have fallen but remain above historical levels. But more important, domestic prices of staple foods in many developing countries remain high. FAO reports that at the end of 2008, domestic prices for staple foods remained, on average, 17 percent higher in real terms than two years earlier. The purchasing power of poor consumers who spend a substantial share of their income on staple foods thus remains severely curtailed. The urban poor are especially vulnerable. They were severely impacted by the food and fuel price crisis; they are now experiencing higher rates of unemployment and lower incomes due to lower export demand and reduced foreign direct investment (UNDP, et al., 2010). Legwegoh (2012) noted that the 2008 food crisis was not the first time countries in the global south were being affected by food insecurity; however, this new phase of food insecurity was specifically urban.

Countries are taking steps to establish social protection and safety net programmes that cushion the impact of the crisis on the poor and vulnerable. For instance Ethiopia has expanded public works programmes, featuring either food or cash for work (UNDP, et al., 2010). Schmied (2010) also argued that prescriptions aiming to increase rural-based food production may improve food availability in the country but not necessarily improve the urban dwellers' access to food (even though they can decrease food prices and thus make food more accessible). Thus, an in-depth understanding of the food security challenges facing the urban poor and the factors that are responsible for increasing vulnerability of the households to food insecurity in different geographical localities will provide added insight to the current conceptualization of food security. The next section therefore deals with the importance of urban political ecology approach for analyzing food security given its insightfulfulness on nature and society relationship.

## **2.8 Urban Political Ecology of Food**

Political ecology is a highly dynamic research field within geographical studies on development (Zimmer, 2010). As conventional modernization theories came to be increasingly regarded as outdated at the end of the 1980s, political ecology started to emerge as a new approach to human environment interactions in development discourse in the 1990s. However, in actual fact political ecology - without being defined and named as such - had its origins already in the 1970s (Schubert, 2005).

Political ecology studies how political and cultural processes shape society (human)-nature (environment) relationships (World Geography, 2010). In other words, it deals with how both nature and societal structures determine each other and shape access to

natural resources; how constructed concepts of society and nature determine human environment interactions; the connections between the access to, and control over, resources and environmental change; and the social outcomes of environmental change (Schubert, 2005).

Urban political ecology has emerged from political ecology. Both political ecology and urban political ecology can be used to study the relationships between nature and society, in order to explain environmental changes and link them to political and economical processes across different scales (Bjerkli, 2013). However, studies conducted within political ecology have traditionally focused on rural areas, and therefore urban political ecology is relatively new (Zimmer, 2010). Urban political ecology has focused on urban areas and has been used by researchers to argue that regardless of the fact that more than half of the world's populations now live in urban areas, urban environments are often neglected, and much of the urban studies literature is symptomatically silent about the physical-environmental foundations on which the urbanization process rests (Heynen, 2006).

Within urban political ecology perspective, emphasis is not on the city as a geographical entity but rather as a site of human-environmental dynamics and political struggles that produce and reproduce the urban landscape (Legwegoh, 2012). Thus, cities are seen as a social and political outcome of the interaction between nature and society. Bjerkli (2013) stated rather than seeing physical nature and society as two separate spheres, urban environments should be viewed as both social and natural, where social processes are seen in a historical-geographical production process of physical nature and society

welded together, and where the outcome is physical, social, economic, political, and cultural.

With rapid urbanization, there are problems, thus it is critical to begin understanding the interconnected nature of the political economy and the ecological processes that take place in these urban areas. Urban political ecology therefore features a broad portfolio of topics that mirror the diversity of political-ecological perspectives on the city (Zimmer, 2010). Several issues will be of interest in this context, among these a consumption pattern of urban populations is one.

In order to understand how social, economic, and environmental processes shape the urban food system, it is necessary to ground the concept of food security in the theoretical framework of urban political ecology. Therefore, recent urban food studies are approaching food (in)security through a wider lens of political, socio-economic, and ecological issue. An example of this includes Legwegoh's (2012) Urban Food Security Study in Botswana, and Merrifield's (2014) Urban Political Ecology of Food Insecurity. These show that how political ecology is a useful framework for analyzing urban processes regarding food production and consumption in the context of urban area.

Urban political ecology adds a new dimension to studies of food security because it uncovers the inequalities underlying food distribution while also pointing towards solutions that could benefit communities and the ecosystems upon which they rely for food (Merrifield, 2014). Additionally, Legwegoh (2012) proposed political ecology as an appropriate to complement the household dietary diversity score measure given its insightfulness on nature and society relationship. Thus, in this study an attempt is made in

the analysis to see how and why political–economic structures, socio-cultural norms, and ecological systems shape households food consumption patterns and dietary diversity in small urban areas by using urban political ecology approaches.

To sum up, chapter three has discussed the issues surrounding sustainable livelihoods, urbanization, and food security in urban areas. The review showed how food security results from a sustainable livelihood. The shifts in thinking about food security show the importance of the livelihood approach to the study of food security. The review also showed the importance of urban political ecology approach in the analysis of food security research. The next chapter focuses on the study towns and the materials and methods used to collect and analyse the study household data.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

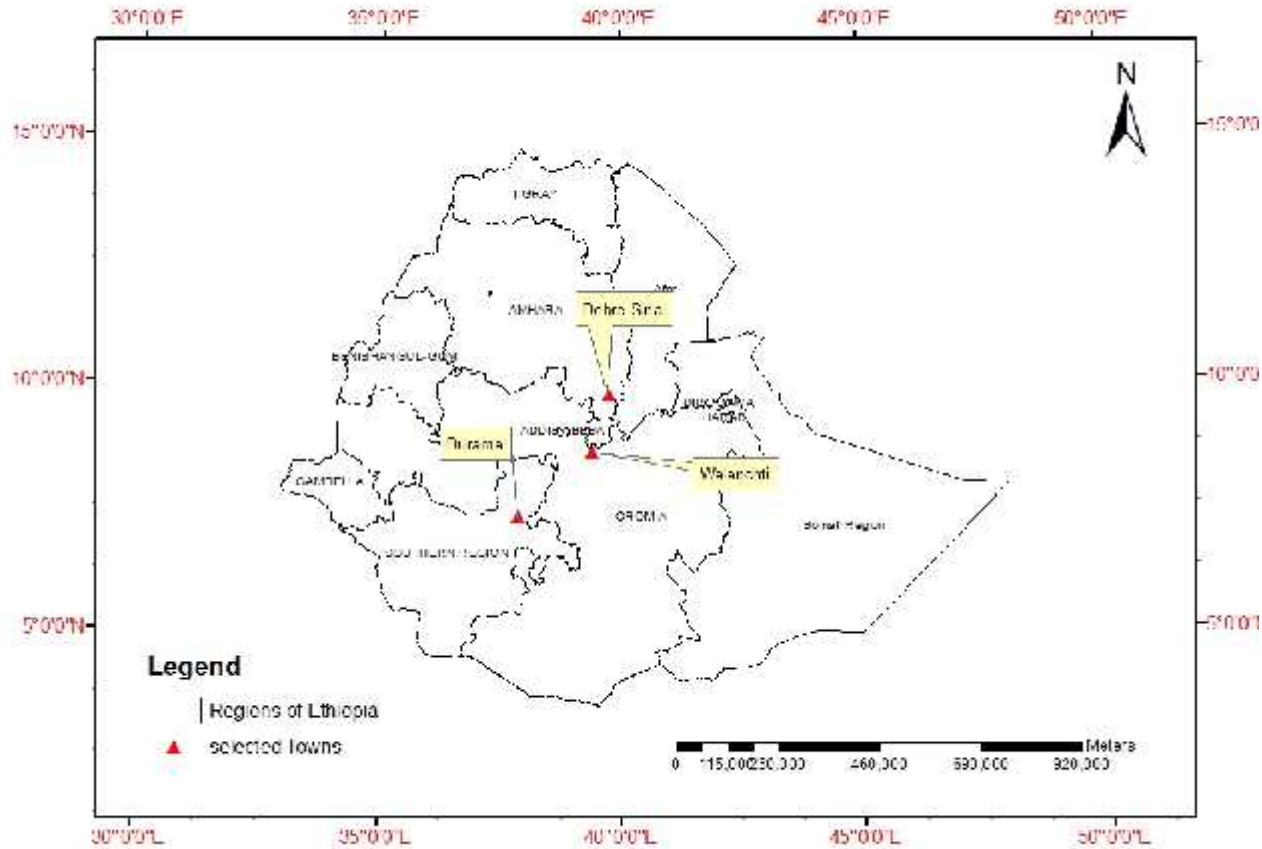
### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The chapter describes some features of the study towns and discusses the research methods employed to achieve the objectives of the study. As stated earlier, the main aim of this thesis is to assess the situation of poverty and food insecurity in the small towns selected for the study and to examine the extent to which and the ways in which poor urban households cope up with these predicaments. Additionally, this study also attempts to examine the existing policies and programs aiming at poverty reduction as well as other related policies since 1991 that have critical implication on the production, distribution, and accessibility of food in urban areas in general and in small towns in particular. As this research is principally concerned with household responses to poverty and food insecurity, the household forms the main unit of analysis in the study.

#### **3.1 The Towns under Study**

For this study three small towns namely, Wolenchiti, Durame and Debre Sina, are selected. Durame, the largest of the three study towns, had a population size of 24, 454 persons whereas Wolenchiti had 15,183 inhabitants at the time of the 2007 census survey. The population size of Debre Sina was 10,300 during the same period. With the exception of Durame, which is at a distance of about 352 kilometers from Addis Ababa, the other two study towns are located at road distances of not more than 200 kilometers from the country's capital, Addis Ababa (see Table 3.1). What is more, two of these study towns, namely Debre Sina and Wolinchiti are located on major highways that connect Addis Ababa with regional capitals.

**Figure 3.1: Location of the Study Towns**



Source: Produced by the Researcher Based on the Data Obtained from Ethio-GIS

**Table 3.1 Some Basic Data on the Study Towns**

Town	Road Distance From Addis Ababa (kms)	Population size		Region	Population Growth Rate (%)
		1994	2007		
Durame	352	7,092	24,454	SNNPR	18.8
Wolenchiti	113	11,732	15,183	Oromia	2.26
Debre Sina	190	5,509	10,300	Amahra	6.69

Source: CSA (2008) for population data; for growth rate own calculation based on the data

Out of the three study towns, Durame has been growing at fast rate (18.8%), followed by Debre Sina (6.69%). Wolenchiti has low growth rate (2.26%) as compared to the two towns. It seems that it is the proximity of Wolenchiti to Adama, the largest city in south eastern Ethiopia that tends to suppress its growth rate. People travel for most business to Adama due to low transportation cost given very short distance between the two unequal towns thus it might discourage the town's growth and the development of business centers. Ironically, Durame is the leading administrative, service, and trade center of Kembata zone. Besides, it is only 12 kms away from the road that connects it to the main highway that connects Addis Ababa city with Shashemenne and Wolayta-Sodo towns. It appears that the explanation for the relatively high growth rate that the town has witnessed in the recent past partly lies in its proximity and connection to this busy highway. Brief descriptions of each of the study towns are presented below.

### **1. Durame Town**

Durame, which is the administrative capital of the Kembata and Tembaro Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPR) of Ethiopia, has an

astronomical location of 7.23°N latitude and 37.88°E longitude. As such, it is found at a road distance of 352 kms to the south of Addis Ababa. Within the SNNPR state, it is located in the Kedida-Gamela Wereda at a road distance of 125 kms northwest of Hawassa, the regional capital. The town has an elevation of 2101 meters above sea level (Tiwari, 2015).

According to the results of the 2007 census, the Kembata and Tembaro Zone is the second most densely populated zone of Ethiopia, with a crude density of 535 people per square kilometer. Durame's population was 24,454 at the time of the census (CSA, 2008) of which 12,162 were male and 12,292 were female. Its 2013 projected population was 35,100 and the town covers a total area of 13.58 square kilometers (Brinkhoff, 2013). The major commodities sold at the central market of Durame are primarily coffee, *qocho* (*bula*), fruits and vegetables (e.g., cabbages, sweet potatoes, banana and avocado), *teff* and maize.

The town was founded in 1953. The main factor for the foundation of this town was interregional trade with the neighboring regions of Walayita and Gamo Gofa. The leading commodities in this trade were cattle, spices, *shema* and some industrial products (MoUDC, n.d). In addition to this, it appears that it was the regional checkpoint that was established in the area where that town stood today to control the coffee trade coupled with its favorable climate that led to the foundation and permanency of Durame as a trading center. According to oral tradition, the area where Durame town stands today had had a dense forest which was referred to by the local community as “Duro”, meaning a dense forest in the local language. Actually, the etymology of Durame is partly rooted in “Duro”/ “Dur” (=jungle or forest). The town got municipal status in 1960.

The area surrounding the town has a great potential for agricultural development as it is endowed with a suitable climate and highly productive soils in a region that is connected with the rather fast growing national passenger and transport networks.

## **2. Debre Sina Town**

Debre Sina is a small but important trading town located at a road distance of 190 kms to the northeast of Addis Ababa at  $9^{\circ}50'51''\text{N}$  latitude and  $39^{\circ}45'38''\text{E}$  longitude. As a town is situated on the escarp slopes of the Shewan Plateau it has an elevation of 2680 meters above sea level (Tiwari, 2015). As such, it straddles the main road between Dessie and Addis Ababa at a distance of about 60 kms north of Debre Birhan. There is plenty of public transport along this road. The foundation of the town was related to the construction of the Tarmaber Tunnel which was built during the Italian occupation (1935-41). According to elderly informants, the construction of the Tarmaber Pass was one of the leading factors behind the foundation of the town.



Tarmaber Pass near Debre Sina

According to the results of the 2007 national census, the total population of the town was 10,300. Of these, 4,859 inhabitants of the town were male while 5,441 were female. As one of the small towns found in a developing nation, Ethiopia, Debre Sina has the country's share of difficulties. Because of its location along the Addis Ababa–Dessie trading route the town has more than its fair share of migrant and transitory populations. This has led to a high number of commercial sex workers who serve mainly travelers that continuously pass through the town. Apparently due to a combination of historical, cultural, and economic factors, the town is also well known as a producer and exporter of the homemade or traditional alcoholic drink which is called arakie or katicala. The producers and sellers of this drink often hire minors to sell arakie and other local drinks to travelers. The town particularly becomes busier than usual on its market days, i.e., on Mondays and Thursdays.

### **3. Wolenchiti Town**

Wolenchiti, which is a Rift Valley town, is located in the eastern part of Ethiopia, in the Oromia National Regional State at a road distance of 113 kms from Addis Ababa. According to the latest boundary demarcation of 2011, the town's total area is 1224.7 hectares. The foundation of the town was related to the construction of the Djibouti - Addis Ababa railway (which started in 1894 and was completed in 1917). The town, then, acquired a legal municipal status in 1947 (OUPI, 2011). Topographically, the settlement here is characterized by plain land features in all directions, whilst its altitude ranges from 1446 to 1516 m.a.s.l. As such, the town belongs to a 'qolla' (tropical) agro-climatic zone.

Wolenchiti had 15,183 inhabitants at the time of the 2007 national population and housing census (CSA, 2008). According to the newly demarcated municipal boundary of the town (which includes farmers' associations), its 2011 projected population was 18,683 (OUPI, 2011). Although Wolenchiti is found along the main highway that connects Addis Ababa to both Dire Dawa and Harer, public buses passing along this route do not make stopovers in the town. The main reason behind this appears to be the preference of travellers for the facilities of the much larger and fast growing city of Adama, which is located at the same railway as well as highway at a distance of only about 23kms from Wolenchiti.

Wolenchiti has two market days. Saturday is the main market day of the town while Tuesday is its secondary market day. Since the people living in the area surrounding the town are engaged in agriculture, most of their products sold in the market. For some reason, the farmers of the immediate hinterland of the town are not producing tropical fruits and vegetable like mango, avocado, and cabbages. Given that the town is located on one of the major trade routes of the region, it normally collects agricultural products of its immediate environs (peasant associations) and those coming from more distant areas of Adama, Merabite (Amahara National Regional State) and Awash town. The major commodities sold at the central market of Wolenchiti are primarily different types of millet, *teff*, wheat and maize. Traders use camels to transport cereals, especially those that come from the nearer *kebeles* of the Amhara National Regional State.

### **3.2 Research Design: A Mixed Methods Approach**

The study is a product of the pragmatist paradigm that combines qualitative and quantitative methods with multiple techniques for data collection, which is strongly, inspired by literature on livelihood and urban food security studies. The advantage of employing qualitative and quantitative methods in livelihood and food security research is getting a growing recognition among researchers. The rationale for selecting both quantitative and qualitative research methods was based on the need to provide a more vigorous analysis, as both are insufficient by themselves to capture the trends and details of a situation (Ivankova, et al., 2006). Thus, this research employed a mixed-methods approach, which refers to the “collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially... and involve integrations of the data at one or more stages in the processes of research” (Creswell, et al., 2003).

Qualitative and quantitative approaches have been distinguished (and thereby defined) on the basis of the type of data used (textual or numerical; structured or unstructured), the logic employed (inductive or deductive), the type of investigation (exploratory or confirmatory), the method of analysis (interpretive or statistical), the approach to explanation (variance theory or process theory), and for some, on the basis of the presumed underlying paradigm (positivist or interpretive/critical; rationalistic or naturalistic) (Bazeley, 2002). Approaches taken to defining “qualitative” and “quantitative” have long been associated with different paradigmatic approaches to research—different assumptions about the nature of knowledge (ontology) and the means of generating it (epistemology) (Bazeley, 2002).

Different writers have different views on how to ensure research quality. Some writers argue that different methodological approaches are underpinned by particular philosophical assumptions, and that researchers should maintain consistency between the philosophical starting point and the method they adopt. By contrast, others believe that the methods associated with a range of philosophical positions each method has something to offer (Degefa, 2006).

The advocates of paradigm purism oppose the mixing of the two methods that quantitative and qualitative methods are linked to separate philosophies of “positivism” and “constructivism”, respectively. To explain, the quantitative paradigm is based on positivism. Positivism strives for objectivity, measurability, predictability, controllability, patterning, the construction of laws and rules of behaviour, and the ascription of causality (Cohen, et al., 2000)

According to Creswell, et al. (2003) a quantitative approach is one in which the investigator primarily uses post-positivist claims for developing knowledge. Science is characterized by empirical research; all phenomena can be reduced to empirical indicators which represent the truth. The ontological position of the quantitative paradigm is that there is only one truth or an objective reality that exists independent of human perception. Epistemologically, the investigator and investigated are independent entities (Joanna, et al., 2002). Therefore, the investigator is capable of studying a phenomenon without influencing it or being influenced by it. Knox (2004) indicated that the relationship between positivism and quantitative methods could be taken as being almost a law or ‘truth’. This shows that epistemology determines the type of method to be adopted in social research.

On the other hand, a qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (Creswell, et al., 2003). Qualitative research enables a researcher to gain empathic understanding of social phenomena, to facilitate recognition of subjective aspects of human behaviour and experiences (KIPPRA, 2005). Constructionists believe that it is impossible to objectively measure and classify the world. But, positivists argue that true knowledge can be generated through tools that facilitate the measuring of social phenomena. Hence, the positivists' special attachment to quantitative methods emanates from their philosophical belief. In a similar way, qualitative method is linked to constructionists.

The move towards a mixed-methods approach is partly aimed at offsetting the limitation of one method by another. Quantitative methods basically enable the generation of “categorical data” with either enumeration or measurements with categories, yet with limited potential to uncover processes involved in societal changes. Conversely, qualitative methods explore “events and processes” in a society, but hardly allow measuring of the different attributes that account for the structural differences between different groups in a society (Joanna, et al., 2002). This clearly suggests that mixing methods allows a comprehensive understanding of the rather complex social world. The contesting ‘compatibility thesis’, argues that it is possible to address a research problem that philosophically falls under positivism and constructivism by choosing the most appropriate method, or a combination of the two (Degefa, 2006).

Therefore, quantitative data and methods can be used to inform policy making in poverty and food insecurity concerns in which qualitative analysis alone would not be very helpful. There is also a need to indicate that there are areas of poverty concerns in which

quantitative methods and data alone would not be of much use to policy makers. For example, if policy makers are interested in measuring non-income dimensions of poverty such as powerlessness and voicelessness, these aspects of deprivation are inherently hard to quantify. Instead, subjective information would be a better reflection of the extent of such deprivations. Moreover, quantitative data may not portray as accurately as the qualitative data why people like or dislike certain food group.

In sum, the design of this research is a mixed-methods approach. In this research concurrent mixed method procedures are used, in which the researcher combines quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator collected both forms of data concurrently during the fieldwork and then integrated the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

By and large, in this thesis, quantitative and qualitative findings are inter-linked during the analysis. Qualitative findings are used to give meaning to the quantitative findings, to explain the gaps, and to draw conclusions and formulate policy options.

### **3.3 Sampling Method**

The sample households were selected by utilizing a three-stage sampling procedure as the major method of sampling.

In the first stage, three towns were purposely selected, namely Wolenchiti from Oromia, Debre Sina from Amhara and Durame from SNNP regional states. The number of the study towns was limited to three mainly due to budgetary constraints and shortage of time. The choice of each study town was made based on the understanding that it

reflected the realities typical of small towns of Ethiopia that have a considerable potential role in regional and rural development and in poverty reduction. In order to drive this basic consideration further home, towns that had the population size of less than 25,000 (at the time of 2007 census) were studied. Moreover, so as to address the issue of geographic location variation in socio-economic context with respect to livelihood opportunities and food security, the diverse agro-ecological settings of these towns were considered. As mentioned above, Wolenchiti was selected from grain producing regions which is surrounded by semi-arid lowlands that are inhabited by nomadic pastoralists; Debre Sina was also selected from grain producing regions but from highland areas of Ethiopia. Comparatively, Durame was selected from areas that specialize in the production of coffee and *enset*. Thus, the inclusion of more than one towns selected from different localities in the study is believed to give an insight into how the local context influences the households' socio-economic conditions, their livelihoods strategies, and food consumption patterns.

Similarly, at the second stage, in consultation with *Kebele* offices, within each town two poor communities (*Ketenas*) were purposively chosen. In doing this, the researcher's aim was to identify *Kebeles* and *Ketenas* (*Ketena* is sub locality of *Kebele*) having the largest proportion of poor households or community in each town. Thus, the subjects of the study were selected from poor-dominated six *Ketenas*/neighborhoods located in Debre Sina, Wolenchiti and Durame towns. The selection of the poorer neighborhoods was based on quality of housing, access to water and electricity, and level of income. The selection of poor communities in each town helped to focus on the poor residents and find adequate evidence of urban poverty and food insecurity. Besides, the selection of

poor-dominated areas would therefore likely yield useful information on how the urban poor construct their livelihoods and wrestle with food insecurity challenges in the study areas.

At the third stage, households were randomly selected from a list of households in the selected poor communities. A household list in the selected poor communities (*Ketenas*) was obtained from *Kebele* offices. A decision was made to cover a total of 300 households, since the size was believed to be large enough to undertake the proposed study. As one of the objectives of the current study was to compare the towns along different variables, the total sample was distributed evenly among the towns. Thus from each selected study town, 100 households were selected for the household survey irrespective of their total proportion. Systematic random sampling was used to select households from the lists.

**Table 3.2 Distribution of Study *Kebeles* in Each Study Town**

Town	Selected <i>Kebele</i>	Selected Poor community ( <i>Ketena</i> )	Total HH Visited	Total response
Wolenchiti	<i>Kebele</i> 01	Chara and Wellega Sefer	100	90
Debre Sina	<i>Kebele</i> 03	Ketena 01 and Enchet Tera	100	94
Durame	Kasha(01/02)	Ketena 4 and Ketena 7	100	94

### **3.4 Data Sources and Acquisition Methods**

The sources and methods that were used to acquire data for the research:

#### **I. Survey questionnaire**

Quantitative data gathered for in this study involved the collection of information through a structured questionnaire administered to sampled households in Debre Sina, Wolenchiti and Durame towns. According to Cohen, et al. (2000), there is no universal law for determining an optimum sample size since it depends on the purpose of the study and the nature of the population under study. However, the researcher is required to make sure that the sample should cover enough sub-groups to do some form of statistical analysis. Accordingly, in determining the sample size for the present study, I decided on a workable sample of 300 households based on two main considerations. Firstly, I was guided by the experience gained in previous related researches and, secondly, by the available resources (financial, human) and time. Thus, 100 households were selected from each of the study towns. However, due to a slight variation in the response rate, a total of 278 households - 94 from Durame, 90 from Debre Sina and 94 from Wollenchiti were included in the study.

For conducting the research, a questionnaire set was developed based on the research objectives in consultation with research supervisor before going to the fieldwork. The questionnaire was then translated into Amharic. Prior to the survey, a draft questionnaire was used for pre-testing with fifteen respondents from two selected research sites. A pre-testing of the survey questionnaire allowed the researcher to evaluate the extent to which the questions generated the desired responses, the duration of the interviews and the patterns of the expected results. Pre-testing of the survey questionnaire provided useful

feedback. Based on the pre-testing, the questionnaire was revised as required with the consultation with the supervisor.

Data collection for the general survey was carried out between January 2013 and July 2013. The final questionnaire (Appendix-1) had sections covering various aspects of the livelihoods and food security of the urban poor. It is designed to gather information on socio-demographics of the household and its members, household's economy and employments, migration, the nature of household infrastructure and assets, saving and credit access, urban agriculture and health, remittances and transfers, consumption and expenditure patterns, food security as well as shocks and household coping mechanisms. In order to obtain directly comparable information, the questionnaire had structured questions, but open-ended questions were also included to gain wider insights into the urban poor's perceptions. Each interview took at least 30 to 45 minutes. In most cases, household heads were selected for an interview. However, during the survey some people were reluctant to speak to the enumerators and asked how they would benefit from giving this information. An explanation for their reluctance is that governmental, non-governmental, and international organizations frequently approach them to provide information.

## **II. Focus Group Discussions.**

The focus groups in this study consisted of two groups at each selected town namely a female group and a male group. Each group had six to eight participants. The participants were drawn from different age groups, and individuals with different occupational characteristics (formal or informal). Selection of participants for the FGD was conducted

with the help of a facilitator employed to coordinate the data collected in each *kebele*. The discussion guide focused on access and utilizations of various forms of capitals, changes and continuities in the wellbeing status and living standards of households, food insecurity problem and how people cope with the constraint and their survival strategies. The issues of local governance and state–society interactions, government urban policies were also the points of discussions.

### **III. Observation**

In the fieldwork observation was carried out by walking around and informally talking with people in different contexts. Observations of the people’s way of life, their assets, and resources, the ups and downs to overcome their daily struggles, and their activities for living have provided valuable and supportive information to understand the existing real situations and the overall situation of the poor. Observation has also helped to decide what to focus on in interviews and was helpful to determine the socio-economic status of the informants. Thus, in this study an attempt was made to carefully observe every situation and understand them fully.

### **IV. Case Studies**

In this study qualitative data from brief case stories in the forms of narrative analysis and biographical approaches were collected mainly to complement the quantitative data collected through the household survey. Twelve individuals and households were approached for in-depth studies from three research towns in view of generating data through narration regarding livelihood strategies, decision-making processes, food insecurity challenges of the household, use of social capital, and their situations in

relation to local institutions and relations with other members, coping strategies, etc were issues on which information was collected by using the case study method. Of the 12 individual and household in-depth interviews, 7 were done with women and 5 with men. These subjects were selected for their in-depth interviews purposively.

#### **V. Key informants Interview**

Three key informants were also interviewed to share their opinions about poverty and food security situation of the people in the study towns. Three of the key informants were working for *Kebele* offices.

#### **VI. Secondary Information**

A literature review of existing information on the food security and nutritional status of populations living in urban area was conducted prior to, and during, the survey. Although the areas under study has attracted little research attention to date, specific studies made in urban poverty and urban food security were also seen to learn the overall context in the problem. Books, official published documents and many official documents of the present government served as the source materials for the policy analysis. The published census reports from the Central Statistical Authority are data sources for the demographic characteristics of the population at various scales. Unpublished reports and other documents from the Municipal offices and *Kebeles* were also accessed for data on certain issues.

### **3.5 Methods of Data Analysis**

Relevant quantitative and qualitative data were collected using the various methods and instruments described above in order to get a complete picture of the situation under study. Data analysis and presentation were carried out to address the research questions created in connection with urban livelihood and food security, i.e. the central issues of the study, from various dimensions. As mentioned earlier, a total of 300 households were covered by the questionnaire survey. From those, the researcher excluded 22 households for important missing and/or suspected of unrealistic information. The results are therefore based on a total of 278 household-based questionnaires. Missing data in specific questions may vary the total number of responses in some statistical analyses.

#### **3.5.1. Qualitative Data Analysis**

Qualitative data collected through different qualitative methods such as observations, focus group discussions, case studies, and interviews were subject to contextual analysis. Qualitative data were analyzed by using quotes from the group discussion and summarizing the essence of the discussion.

#### **3.5.2. Quantitative Data Analysis**

The survey data collected in the field was edited, coded, and entered into a computer. Through editing it was verified whether questionnaires were correctly filled in and the skip patterns were followed. Open-ended responses are recorded verbatim and these verbatim responses were categorized according to their commonness and frequencies.

The primary data that was collected from sample households was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program (Version 19.0). Baseline

characteristics were calculated as mean, and minimum-maximum for continuous variables, and as total number and percentage for categorical variables. Statistical comparisons of means between groups were made with ANOVA analysis. To assess the relationships between categorical variables, a Chi-square analysis (Pearson's method) was used. A Household Food Insecurity Access scale (HFIAS) was also employed to compute food insecurity status of household for the study towns

To measure poverty, an income of households was converted into adult equivalent (AE).

As suggested by Shinns and Lyne (2002), the AE value was determined using the following formula:

$$\text{No of AE} = (\text{No. adults} + 0.5 \text{ children})^{0.9}$$

Where:

No. of AE = number of adult equivalents in the household,

No. of adults = number of household members aged 15 years or older,

No. of children = number of household members younger than 15 years old.

Expressing incomes in adult equivalent removes the effects of household size. The amount of income each AE receives was then measured against the National Poverty Line (NPL). In 2010/11 the poverty line for Ethiopia was 315 Birr per adult equivalent (AE) per month. Households with an AE income of more than 315 Birr per adult equivalent (AE) per month were considered 'non poor', and those with an AE income less than 315 Birr per adult equivalent (AE) per month 'poor' households.

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). It is known that the level of household food insecurity can be measured in different ways depending on the purpose of the study. In

this study, food (in)security status was measured by: (1) (Household food insecurity Access prevalence (HFIAP), with indicators of secure to severely insecure; (2) Food consumption score (FCS) dietary diversity – poor, borderline, acceptable; (3) The Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP).

#### **A. The Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence Indicator (HFIAP)**

The household food security level was determined using the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale measurement guide developed by Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project (FANTA) (Coates, et al., 2007) which was validated in earlier studies. The Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence Indicator (HFIAP) is based on the idea that the experience of food insecurity (access) causes predictable reactions and responses that can be captured and quantified through a survey and summarized in a scale.

The questions asked how frequently over the last four weeks the respondent or household members either felt or behaved in a particular way in the face of food vulnerability or insecurity and the responses to the nine questions were coded and used to calculate an index, which was used to classify households into four levels of household food security: food secure, mildly food insecure, moderately food insecure and severely food insecure. Some urban food studies in Africa (like Crush, 2012; Tawodzera, et al., 2012; Battersby, 2011) and food security and household vulnerability in Addis Ababa (like Birhane et al., 2014; Bamlaku and Solomon, 2013) used the same food insecurity measures to determine household food security level.

Based on household's food insecurity access, households are categorized as increasingly food insecure as they respond affirmatively to more severe conditions and/or experience

those conditions frequently. On the other hand, a *food secure* households experiences none of the food insecurity (access) conditions, or just *experiences worry, but rarely*.

*Mildly food insecure (access) Household:* worries about not having enough food sometimes or often, and/or is unable to eat preferred foods, and/or eats a more monotonous diet than desired and/or some foods considered undesirable, but only rarely. But it does not cut back on quantity nor experience any of three most severe conditions.

*Moderately food insecure Household:* sacrifices quality more frequently, by eating a monotonous diet or undesirable foods sometimes or often, and/or has started to cut back on quantity by reducing the size of meals or number of meals, rarely or sometimes. But it does not experience any of the three most severe conditions.

*A severely food insecure Household:* forced to cutting back on meal size or number of meals often, and/or experiences any of the three most severe conditions (running out of food, going to bed hungry, or going a whole day and night without eating), even as infrequently as rarely in the last four weeks (30 days).

**B. Food Consumption Score (FCS):** The number of days each food commodity is consumed determines the dietary diversity in the household. The dietary diversity (number of different foods or food groups consumed by households over a given period of time) and frequency (number of days per week) have been demonstrated as good proxy measures of the access dimension of food security at household level. Variety and frequency were thus used to calculate a weighted Food Consumption Score (FCS). The higher FCS reflects an improvement in the household's diet.

**C. The Months of Adequate Household Provisioning Indicator (MAHFP):** This indicator captures changes in the household's ability to ensure that food is available above a minimum level all year round. Households are asked to identify in which months (during the past 12 months) they did not have access to sufficient food to meet their household needs. This data can then be used to estimate seasonal fluctuations in the survey populations' food security status.

### **3.6. Challenges and Limitations**

During the fieldwork, I encountered a number of problems related to the data collection process. The first challenge is concerned with the expectation of the households. Some households saw the research was going to bring assistance to them. Besides, they thought the government and NGOs were involved in the study and that the information gathered would be used to help their situation. As a result, some wanted us to realize how poor and pathetic their situation was and so they exaggerated their stories. Also, due to this perception, some households who were not selected into the sample requested to be included in the survey (particularly in Debre Sina town) although the researcher and enumerators explained to them the academic purpose of the research. Contrary to this, the other challenge stemmed from the fact that some households who were selected in the previous survey of government and NGOs felt that the previous interviews did nothing for their life and they believed that the information they provided is simply for the benefit of other people (particularly in Durame). Another problem that I encountered on the field was the focus group participants commonly needed and expected some form of compensation, which challenged the financial capacity of the researcher. Therefore, all these will create a challenge for future researchers in the areas.

This research has some limitations. One of the limitations of the research is inability to generalize the results from the sample of the general population must be recognized. The design of the survey data was cross-sectional; therefore, it enables the study merely to represent the situation at a given point in time. Another limitation in the study concerns the accuracy of the data that was supplied by respondents. The enumerators were trained to facilitate recall and quantitative estimates to improve internal validity. In some cases social desirability and expectations may have affected the responses and set patterns, particularly provided that some households may previously have been obtaining assistance. Consequently, therefore, the possibility that some of the respondents could have exaggerated their situation in the hope that they would be able to benefit if any assistance (eg. food aid) be available though attempt was made to minimize it by clarifying the academic nature of the study. The sampling method (purposive) used in this research also create a limitation to this research in that this method is not representative. While the selected poor communities could signal broader trends in many of Ethiopia's poor urban communities in small towns, they are nonetheless not representative. This is equally the case with the interviews conducted in each community, as those interviewed and the households identified are not necessarily representative of the whole households in the study towns. The survey sample also did not include urban residents who do not live in households—that is, street children or the homeless population. Access dimension of food security is the main focus of the study.

Over all, this chapter has discussed the methodology used in the study. The chapter shows the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in food security studies in order to understand the phenomena more holistically. The next chapter

focuses on poverty profile in Ethiopia and what policies and strategies were pursued to reduce the poor's vulnerability to poverty in the country in order to shed light on the impacts of the strategies on the urban poverty and urban food insecurity.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **POVERTY REDUCTION AND ENSURING FOOD SECURITY**

#### **RELATED POLICIES AND STRATEGIES IN ETHIOPIA**

This chapter starts with a brief review of the poverty profile of Ethiopia. The second part then summarizes the achievements and the challenges of the overall policies, goals, and strategies of the Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI), Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), and the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) and introduce the Growth transformation Plan I of the country and the National Urban Development policy. These poverty reduction strategies are assessed in order to identify the effects of the policy on the livelihood of the urban poor and urban food security, by analysing evolutions of growth, poverty, and inequality in the post-1991 Ethiopia. The last section of the chapter assesses the National Food Security Strategy of Ethiopia.

#### **4.1 Ethiopia's Urban Poverty Profile**

The research indicated that the explanations of poverty and food insecurity are inseparable, since both are among the undesirable livelihood outcomes (Degefa, 2005). Food and nutrition security relate not only to the intake of food that would provide the required calories but also the effective biological utilization of food by the individual. So, it is clearly not conterminous with poverty. Also, on the other side, a meaningful measure of poverty would recognise the multidimensional nature of poverty and thus not limit it to food security in the sense of a specified level of calorie intake. Nevertheless, Food insecurity is closely connected to poverty (Athreya et al, 2010). It is therefore of interest

to take a brief look at trends in urban poverty in a discussion of urban food security. Poverty is the driving force for food insecurity, and chronic food insecurity impoverishes a household over time.

As it is reviewed in the previous section, globally there is some evidence to suggest that poverty is getting ‘urbanized’ in developing countries. This is at least partly the result of increasing urbanization itself in the sense of increase in the proportion of population living in urban areas. But it also reflects increasing urban inequality whereby, even as per capita incomes in cities rise, the worsening distribution of income and wealth serves to increase the share of the urban poor in urban population (Athreya et al, 2010). For economic and demographic reasons, poverty is increasingly concentrated in urban settlements (Tacoli, et al., 2013). Ethiopia, as a developing country, is not different from the reality of the developing world.

Despite the fact that Ethiopia’s economy has been growing fast at an average GDP growth rate of about 10 percent per annum during the last 7 to 9 years, the sad reality is that the country is still one of the least developed nations of the world and is often associated with recurrent drought, poverty, and famine.

In fact irrespective of the steady improvement that the Ethiopia's economy has witnessed in the recent past, the country stood 173<sup>rd</sup> out of 187 countries of the world in 2013 according to the United Nations Development Program’s Human Development Index (UNDP, 2014). The Life expectancy of the Ethiopian population was 64 years in 2013 (World Bank, 2015). The total adult literacy rate of Ethiopia was 39% in 2012 (UNICEF, 2013). The agricultural sector employs more than 80% of the workforce and accounts for

about 44% of the GDP three times the average of sub-Saharan Africa. Agricultural self sufficiency has been a priority for the Ethiopian government in its entire modern history, and is indeed the main priority goal for the current government. It is estimated that 80 percent of the urban population is living in sub-standard housing. Half of these are either living in shacks or homeless (UN-HABITAT, 2008b).

The bad living conditions may contribute to the continued low proportion (about 18%) of Ethiopians living in urban areas. According to the recent reports by FDRE (2012), 29.6% of the Ethiopian population is poor and hence unable to meet its basic needs – the minimum nutritional requirement and other non-food necessities. The proportion of the population below the poverty line stood at 30.4% in rural areas and 25.7% in urban areas.

The ‘poverty line’ for the country was set based on the amount of money needed to buy a ‘basket of food’ yielding 2200 kilocalories, i.e., the minimum food requirement per adult equivalent per day. The 2200 kilo calories are valued at 2010/11 national average prices in order to obtain food poverty line of 2010/11. The Birr 3781 poverty line is applied to real per adult household consumption expenditure in 2010-2011 (of which Birr 1986 is meant for food, and the remaining Birr 1796 for non-food expenditures) (MoFED, 2012).

**Table 4.1: Total Poverty line and Food Poverty Line in Birr (average price)**

	Year	
	1995/96	2010/11
Kilocalorie per adult per day(Kcal)	2,200	2,200
Food poverty line per adult per year (Birr)	648	1,985
Total poverty line per adult per year(Birr)	1,075	3,781

Source: HICE survey 1995/96 and 2010/11 as cited MOFED, 2012

In Ethiopia today, a large number of poor people live in urban areas because of the continued migration of the rural poor in search of better opportunities. The prevalence of

poverty in Ethiopia, as reflected in the size of the poverty stricken population, is determined on the basis of a poverty line that separates the per capita income or consumption below which an individual is considered to be poor (Asmamaw, 2004). As Abu (2013) points out poverty in Ethiopia is persistent, widespread, and dominantly structural. A report by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (2012) shows that nearly 26% of the nation's urban dwellers live below the poverty line.

One indicator of the magnitude of urban poverty is the proportion of the urban population that lives in slums – about 70% of the urban population is estimated to live in slum areas (MoFED, 2012). Thus, improving the lives of slum dwellers is one of the best ways to reduce urban poverty.

A report of the Ministry of Works and Urban Development (2007) also stated that Ethiopia's urban centres are characterized by a poorly developed economic base, a high level of unemployment, and a worrying incidence of poverty and slum habitation. The overall urban unemployment rates as registered in the Urban Biannual Employment and Unemployment surveys of October 2003 and April 2004 were 26.2% and 22.9% respectively.

The World Bank's (2007) Statistics on Urban Labour Markets in Ethiopia, also reports that the official rate of urban unemployment in 2005 was 21 percent. Nevertheless, urban unemployment shows a variation based on the size of the urban centers. Compared to small towns, large towns are characterized by lower employment rates and higher unemployment for all age groups. Employment in smaller urban areas shrank between 1999 and 2005, as did activity rates, while unemployment increased (World Bank, 2007).

According to a recent CSA report, urban unemployment has dropped from what was 21 percent in 2005 to 17.4 percent in 2014 (CSA, 2014).

Unemployment will be considered in this research as one causality of urban poverty and the persisting food insecurity, because the assumption is that at least employment enables one to have income, that in turn allows a person to purchase certain commodities that may sustain his/her livelihood.

Another key feature of the urban sector in Ethiopia is the prevalence of the informal economy. The informal economy is a significant source of livelihood in urban Ethiopia. In early 2000 the urban informal sector accounted for almost 40% of urban employment. Calculations of gross value of income in different informal industries indicate a significant rise in the share of the informal sector between 1996 and 2002 (from 1.6% to 8%). This improvement can be attributed to the absorption of more workers into the informal sector following specific liberalizations in the economy (Ministry of Works and Urban Development report, 2007).

The proportion of food poor people (food poverty head count index) in the country was estimated to be 33.6% in 2010/11 while it stood at 34.7% in rural areas and 27.9% in urban areas. The food poverty gap index is estimated to be 10.5 % while it is 11.1 % for rural areas and 7.3 % for urban areas. Similarly, the national food poverty severity index stood at 0.046 with rural food poverty severity index (0.05) being slightly higher than that of urban areas (0.029) (MoFED, 2012).

The above outlined poverty scenario is also intertwined with the country's inequality levels that continue to be a worrisome feature of Ethiopia. Inequality remains crucial in

the debate of poverty reduction and should not be glossed over by both the civil society, and the government in strategies for intervention. According to MoFED (2012), the incidence of poverty in the urban areas of the country dropped from 35.1 in 2004/5 to 25.7 in 2010/11. However, urban poverty severity increased from 26% 2004/05 to 27% 2010/11. This shows that urban income inequality is increasing meaning that the gap between the rich and the poor is widening every day.

In most developing countries, a large part the urban population actually lives in relatively small towns and villages (Haub, 2009). Elisa (2008) warns that urban poverty is slightly more spatially concentrated in the small/medium towns of Ethiopia than in the major towns. About 69 percent of the urban poor in Ethiopia live in small/medium towns that have less than 100,000 inhabitants. The incidence of urban poverty is also higher in small/medium towns (50 percent) than in major towns (41 percent).

Inadequacy of urban development efforts for over the last three decades has further exacerbated urban poverty in Ethiopia. This has left behind weak urban governance and management structure, poorly staffed and under-financed municipal administrations, obsolete local tariff and revenue structures, critical shortage of trained personnel and declining urban infrastructure and services (Meheret, 2001 as cited in Asmamaw, 2004). It is believed that such a scenario is hardly capable of reducing poverty in the urban areas which is clearly manifested in beggary and prostitution, growing number of homeless and street children, and increasing trend in youth and adult unemployment (Asmamaw, 2004). A recent study by Tegegne (2011) on livelihood and urban poverty reduction in Ethiopia noted that policies pertaining to enhancing households' asset, local economic development, home-based activities, casual activities, housing affordability, urban safety

nets and overcoming city level institutional capacity should be key areas for policy intervention that address the livelihood of the poor and reduce urban poverty.

Concerning poverty reduction and food security related policies in Ethiopia, the reduction of hunger and poverty have been central concerns for Ethiopia since 1991. Given that food security and poverty are the top problems of the country, they are much reflected in the macro-economic policies as well as in micro-spectral policies, strategies, and programs.

#### **4.2 National Development Strategies for Poverty Reduction**

The socio-economic predicament in Ethiopia is deep-rooted and a result of the interplay of many factors. Since the mid-1950s, Ethiopia has embraced all dominant ideologies and associated economic policies (Shahidur, et al., 2007). However, due to factors such as wrong structural adjustments, frequent weather shocks, mismanagement of the economy on the part of successive governments and three decades of civil war, the country has not been able to come out of its “poverty trap”. Nonetheless, there have been some encouraging developments since 1991 with the end of the civil war and a change of government. During the last two decades, the incumbent government launched the program of economic reforms to revive the economy and implemented a range of economic and sectoral policies and strategies to re-energize the agricultural sector and thereby to accelerate the economic development of the country.

##### **Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI)**

During the transition period from 1991 to 1995, important policies were adopted and incorporated into key policy documents. The policy thrust of the Interim Government

was proclaimed in Economic Policy for the Transitional Period in 1992, which contained a shift toward market orientation, removal of most restrictions on private sector activities, and liberalization and reforms in sectoral, investment, and public enterprise laws. Meanwhile, the Interim Government retained some features of the previous regime such as the state ownership of land and development centered on agriculture and rural areas. The idea of ADLI took concrete shape as an overarching economic strategy between 1992 and 1994, and An Economic Development Strategy for Ethiopia in February 1994 highlighted the concept of ADLI to define its strategic direction (GDF, 2009).

ADLI is defined as a development strategy which aims to achieve initial industrialization through robust agricultural growth and close linkage between domestic agriculture and domestic industry. ADLI is considered to be an evolving strategy subject to pragmatic experimentation and adjustments rather than an immutable principle. The revisions made from SDPRP 2002/03–2004/05 to PASDEP 2005/06–2009/10 as well as GTP I (2011–2015) reflect the evolving nature of ADLI that enables it to respond to changing circumstances, evaluation of past policies, and rising policy capability of the Ethiopian government.

The main motivation behind ADLI has been the recognition that Ethiopia is an agrarian society in which the bulk of the population (84% in the 2007 census) resides in rural areas earning a livelihood from land. Agriculture has long dominated the economy in terms of output, employment, and export earnings. The government emphasizes that economic development and structural transformation should be initiated through robust agricultural growth, and that peasant farmers and pastoralists should be the main agents of agricultural transformation and economic growth. It is argued that labor and land are

the main—and abundant—factors of production in Ethiopia and that their effective use should generate rapid and sustainable development.

The strategy (ADLI) revolves around making the small agricultural farmers the engine of growth (Habtemariam, 2008). It is argued that what the average farmer needs to kick start the growth process is access to a combined provision of land, labour, water, and capital (MoFED, 2000). The government also sees ADLI as a strategy that will ensure an equitable sharing of growth benefits. Its essence is that agricultural growth is taken as the driving force for ensuring household and national food security and as the engine for industrialization through its effects on demand for industrial goods, supply of raw materials and exports.

The main criticism of ADLI is that the strategy is biased against the development of the industrial and other non-agricultural sectors. These sectors are also deemed as vital to providing livelihood strategy options for those leaving the land. It is stated that, without strong linkage between agriculture and the non-agricultural sectors and equal policy support for the latter, sustainable development will not be realized in the long run (Haile, 2008). Admit (2008) also suggested that as ADLI is instrumental to transform the rural economy, manufacturing-led industrialization should assume its place, for the best use of the outcomes of ADLI and for a rapid rural transformation.

In addition to ADLI, during the last one and a half decades under Poverty Reduction Program, a number of development programs have been put in place, among which is Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), formulated in 2002, and the country's medium term development plan—the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained

Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), runs from 2005/06 to 2009/10—are Millennium Development Goal (MDG) based development plans.

#### **4.2.1 The Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) (2002 – 2005)**

In 1999 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced a new anti-poverty framework, or what has come to be known as Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) (Abdalla, 2008). The PRSPs are assumed to ensure debt relief through the provision of concessional loans from international financial institutions under the enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative (HIPC). To trigger such loans, poor countries are asked to prepare a PRSP by highlighting poverty reduction goals and their strategy for achieving these goals in a certain timeframe. Funds are released depending on the progress that countries make in the direction of the identified goals (Abdalla, 2008; Ansoms, 2009).

Ethiopia prepared its Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP) in November 2000 and the preparation of the full Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)—called the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP)—was finalized by the end of July 2002 (MoFED, 2002) and—was implemented from 2002 until 2005. The country’s Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) gave major emphasis to the agricultural sector, recognizing its central position in the country’s livelihood and its potential to generate surplus to stimulate growth in other sectors. The SDPRP also focus on increasing water resource utilization to ensure food security.

At the end of the implementation period of the first PRSP, the Ethiopian experience allows us to suggest some conclusion on the effects of implementing this strategy on poverty reduction. To what extent has Ethiopia met the following main challenges during the first PRSP implementation years (2002-2005)?

- 1) Has economic growth been sustainable and self-reliant?
- 2) Has growth led to substantial and sustainable poverty reduction?
- 3) Has the country been able to mitigate increasing income inequality?

In other words, each of the above questions respectively concerned with the extent to which growth is sustainable and self-reliant and its impacts on poverty reduction, and on income inequality. The subsequent discussion uses the government's official reports and figures and other recent data to analyze the progress made in all three areas indicated above. Based on this, it then assesses the extent to which PRSP policies were impacts on urban poverty.

#### **4.2.1.1 Has Growth Been Sustainable and Self-Reliant?**

The poverty reduction strategy's main aim was to reduce poverty through enhancing a rapid economic growth while at the same time maintaining macroeconomic stability. In the strategy, the poverty headcount ratio was projected to decrease by about 10% by the end of the program period (2004/05) from its 1999/00 level of 44%. And to enable the fulfillment of this goal real GDP was targeted to grow by at least 7% on average. In addition, it was stated in the Poverty Reduction Strategy paper that to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and thereby to half poverty by 2015 the economy should grow in real terms by 5.7% per annum (MoFED, 2002).

The policy document assumes that improving institutional efficiency through capacity building, devolution, and empowerment, reform in civil service and justice system, peace and stability, and improving the functioning of public services will make meeting the goal easier. The macroeconomic policy and framework reorients budgetary resources towards key poverty reducing sectors: agriculture, health, and education. Furthermore, the fiscal policy aims at reducing deficit while at the same time allocating investment and spending toward agriculture, natural resources, social service giving sectors and infrastructure such as education, water, health and road construction. In addition, the monetary policy aims to contain inflation at a single digit level (5%) (MoFED, 2002).

The overall performance of the macro economy, as measured by real GDP growth rate, was average 7.9 percent annual growth between 2001 and 2006. However, this average reflects very low growth figures in the first years, two digits a few years later (see Table 4.2a). More specifically, the Ethiopian economy has witnessed an annual average real GDP growth rate of 11.8 % (2003/4-2006/7).

Table 4.2a: Growth Performance GDP (%)

	Year					
	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
Total GDP (%)	1.6	2.2	11.7	12.6	11.6	11.4

Source: MoFED, 2007

The central issue is whether growth has been sustainable and self-reliant over the 2002–2005 period i.e., the first PRSP policy implementation phase. To answer the sustainability theme, growth has indeed been sustained; it achieved the growth projections set around 7%. Average annual growth between 2001 and 2006 amounted to 7.9%. This indicates

the good progress of Ethiopia's economy but which clearly failed maintaining inflation in a single digit with projections of around 5%. According to MoFED (2007), inflation rate was averaged at 17.8 % by the end of 2006/07. With respect to self-reliance, Ethiopia is still dependent upon aid. Between 2003 and 2012, it received US \$ 29 billion in development assistance. Specifically, Ethiopia received the equivalent of 9.3% of its gross national income (GNI) as aid in 2012 (Global Humanitarian Assistance, 2012).

#### **4.2.1.2 Has Growth led to Poverty Reduction and Food security?**

A second focal issue is then to determine how growth has been translated into poverty reduction. National poverty measured by the headcount index has fallen by only 5.5 percentage points, from 44.2% in 2000 to 38.7% in 2005 (MoFED, 2007), which is far below the target set at about 10% by the end of the program period (2005). This implies that the economic growth did contribute less to fulfill the projected level of poverty reduction. In fact, the above stated weakness of the economic growth was stated in the official report of the country: "despite the spurt of growth following the reforms of the early 1990s, this has not yet been sustained at a level that would be sufficient to reduce poverty on a large scale" (MoWUD, 2007).

When looking at the trends of poverty in rural versus urban terms, Table 4.2b indicates how the decrease in percentage of poverty measured by different indices was most pronounced in rural areas and least marked in the urban areas. The incidence of poverty in the rural areas of the country dropped from 45.4% in 2000 to 39.3% in 2005. Comparatively the poverty indices in the urban areas of the country reduced from 36.9 per cent to 35 per cent during the same period. This is an indication that the government's growth and poverty eradication policy has been successful in rural areas as the ADLI and

the first Ethiopian PRSP were exclusively rural-centered. As a result, the gap in poverty between rural and urban areas was narrowing during the first PRSP implementation period. This implies that the urban poor have profited far less from growth in comparison with the rural poor.

Table 4.2b: Trends of National, Rural and Urban Poverty

	Year			
	1995/96	1999/00	2004/05	2010/11
<b>National</b>				
Head count index	0.455	0.442	0.387	0.296
Poverty gap index	0.129	0.119	0.083	0.078
Poverty severity index	0.051	0.045	0.027	0.031
<b>Rural</b>				
Head count index	0.475	0.454	0.393	0.304
Poverty gap index	0.134	0.122	0.085	0.080
Poverty severity index	0.053	0.046	0.027	0.032
<b>Urban</b>				
Head count index	0.332	0.369	0.351	0.257
Poverty gap index	0.099	0.101	0.077	0.069
Poverty severity index	0.041	0.039	0.026	0.027

Source: MoFED, 2012

#### 4.2.1.3 Has Inequality Fallen?

The impact of growth on poverty depends largely upon inequality levels. On aggregate at the national level, there has been an increase in inequality with the Gini coefficient rising from 0.28 in 1996 to 0.30 in 2005. The rising levels of inequality are mainly due to an increasing gap between the poor and the rich in the urban settings, while the rural inequality decreased. The Gini coefficient declines very slightly in rural areas, from 0.27 to 0.26, but the Gini coefficient rises in urban areas, from 0.33 to 0.43 over the period from 1996-2005 (MoFED, 2007). The annual progress report of the Ethiopian government that discusses changes over a decade (1996-2006) acknowledges, “While

overall growth has been impressive, the impact on poverty reduction has been muted by the increased inequality in urban areas” (MoFED, 2007).

Taking all into consideration, for the period 2001-2006 growth has been achieved, and on average met the projected target of 7%. However, the translation of growth into poverty reduction has been low and the targeted 10% reduction of poverty was not achieved. Ethiopia is confronted with increasing inequality. It is thus evident that economic growth alone could not accomplish the task of reducing chronic poverty. While economic growth is a necessary condition, it is not sufficient to achieve poverty reduction. Overall, it can be concluded that the success rate of the first Ethiopian poverty reduction strategy in urban areas is very limited, though it has impact on rural poverty. The reason for this lies in the lack of prioritization among strategies according to their impacts upon urban poverty.

#### **4.2.2 National Urban Development Policy and Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), 2005/06-2009/10**

After the completion of the implementation period of the SDPR program in 2004/05, National Urban Development Policy, and a new plan (the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty) were adopted within a time frame of 2005/06-2009/10. Poverty reduction strategies in Ethiopia have relied primarily on agricultural and rural development investments. This is due to the overwhelming number of inhabitants that derive their livelihoods from rural activities. Within the PASDEP framework, agriculture - led growth and accelerating private sector growth are also taken

as pivotal strategies to tackle the poverty and food insecurity challenges of rural areas and unemployment problems of the cities and towns.

According to MoFED (2012), 70% of the urban populations are considered to be slum dwellers on the basis of the quality of housing, overcrowded living spaces, access to and quality of infrastructure, and security of tenure. On the whole, while rural poverty rates have dropped from 48 to 39 per cent from 1996 to 2005, urban poverty rates have increased from 33 to 35 per cent over the same period (see Table 4.2b). These figures suggest that although investment in agriculture remains a priority, investments in urban areas may need to be re-evaluated to address underperformance in poverty indicators in the towns and cities. Considering this figure, the government of Ethiopia drafted the National Urban Development Policy which became operational in 2005 (Schmidt and Kedir, 2009).

This document of National Urban Development Policy has two principal packages: the Urban Development Package and the Urban Good Governance Package. These packages consist of a set of initiatives and targeted programs which include: a rural–urban linkages program, a housing development program, land and infrastructure development, construction industry capacity building, justice reform, and ministry of water and urban development capacity building.

In addition to the National Urban Development Policy, the second Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) document, which extends to 2009/10, attempts to redress strategies and support programs to enhance urban development as well (MoWUD, 2007). Recognizing the unprecedented urbanization

taking place in the country and the increased importance given nationally to urban development and its contribution to the country's socio-economic and environmental progress, the PASDEP was adopted in 2005/06 as indicated above (MoFED, 2007). In other words, the plan was given a time span of 5 years (2005/06-209/10). Within this time horizon, it was aimed at linking the development strategies of the program to the achievement of the MDGs in a meaningful way by the 2015.

The PASDEP not just builds on the strategic directions pursued under the SDPRP but also includes a focus on growth with particular emphasis on urban development. Several of the underlying components of this strategy include investments in urban areas to improve roads, markets, power, water supply and housing. Job creation schemes for micro and small enterprises within the urban areas have also been identified as the key component for promoting urban livelihood strategies.

This shift is in line with international as well as Ethiopian evidence on the complementarities between urban and rural development, as well as the impacts of cities on growth and poverty reduction. Thus, it shows that emphasis has been given to urban issues in the second Ethiopian Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Tegegne (2011) noted that though all the strategies are important for rural and urban areas, particularly those related to the urbanization agenda, rural-urban linkages, infrastructure and employment creation, and urban development have explicit emphasis on the urban sector. In terms of urban development, the strategy indicates that there is a need to focus on urban poverty and welfare as much as on enhancing the contribution of urban centers for national development (MoFED, 2006). It is clearly stated that the main objective on the urban front during the implementation period of PASDEP was to achieve the goals of the

National Urban Development Policy, but Tegegne (2011) pointed out that the urban development policy in Ethiopia has come late compared to the heavy emphasis given to rural policies and strategies.

The urban component of the PASDEP strategy consists of four basic initiatives of urban development projects, namely (1) Micro- and Small-scale Enterprises Development program; (2) Housing Development program; (3) Urban Land and Infrastructure program; and (4) urban-rural and urban-urban linkages program (MoWUD, 2007).

Tegegne (2011) stated that the three pillars, namely the micro and small enterprises, the integrated housing programme and land delivery, are those which are applied in almost all urban centers by municipalities. He also acknowledged that the major involvement of the municipality in poverty reduction is the micro and small enterprise strategy and all the small towns in the study areas have a MSE strategy. From this, it is possible to understand that the basic initiatives of urban development are being implemented in the urban centers. The development of micro and small enterprises is seen as poverty reduction and growth-fostering strategy through promoting income generation.

#### **Does PASDEP tackle the problem of poverty and food insecurity?**

The macroeconomic performance and development outcomes of the PASDEP indicate that annual average GDP growth was 11% over the period 2006-2010 (MoFED, 2010). Poverty has declined during the PASDEP implementation period. The total percentage of the population living below the poverty line declined from 39% in 2005 to 29.2% in 2010, while the total percentage living below the absolute food poverty line decreased from 38% in 2005 to 28.2% in 2010. In 2010/11, much of the decline in national poverty

is attributed to a decline in urban poverty in contrast to the decline in national poverty in 2004/05 which was mainly due to a decline in rural poverty (see Table 4.2b). Regarding the non-income poverty indicators, primary education gross enrolment rate leaped from 79.8% to 94.2% in the PASDEP period. The percentage of primary health service coverage showed a dramatic increase from 30% in 2005 to 89% in 2010, while maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 populations) and infant mortality rate decreased from 871 to 590 and from 123 to 101 respectively over the same period (Aklilu, 2012).

As far as inequality is concerned, since 1995/96 urban inequality was increasing at an alarming rate reaching 0.44 in 2004/05 (see Table 4.2c), but because of the change in urban development policy after 2005 the rising trend of urban inequality reverted. In 2010/11, the Gini coefficient for urban and rural areas becomes 0.37 and 0.27 respectively. Like that of the previous years, inequality is higher in urban areas than in rural areas, though the declining in income inequality in urban areas has resulted in a significant decline in poverty.

Table 4.2c: Trends of National, Rural, and Urban Gini coefficients

Year	Rural	Urban	National
1995/96	0.27	0.34	0.29
1999/00	0.26	0.38	0.28
2004/05	0.26	0.44	0.30
2010/11	0.27	0.37	0.29

Source: MoFED, 2012

Although the pro-poor activities undertaken in urban areas since 2005 contributed to the decline of poverty and income inequality in urban areas, income inequality is still very

high and the gap in poverty between rural and urban areas is narrowing. The food policy of Ethiopia is mainly focusing on rural poverty reduction and overcoming malnutrition because the majority of the populations live in rural settlements and the urban poor are given little consideration. As it is shown earlier, official statistics point out that Ethiopia's economy has grown rapidly during the second poverty reduction strategy program implementation years (real GDP on average grew by about 11 per cent). During the same period, however, the country exhibited the highest rate of inflation in its history and which was 64.20 percent in July of 2008 (Trading Economics, 2015). Inflation in general was mainly driven by food price inflation. The most people affected by food price hikes are the urban poor since urban residents rely primarily on food purchases. Thus, the government policies should give emphasis to the urban poor as rural areas due to the aforementioned facts.

#### **4.2.3 The Growth and Transformation Plan(GTP) I (2010/11-2014/15)**

Growth and Transformation Plan is a continuation of the PASDEP. As a third generation of PSRPs, the government of Ethiopia adopted five year Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) for the period between 2011 and 2015. Agriculture was the decisive strategy of PASDEP, and the GTP also sees agriculture as crucial to the social and economic development of the country.

The plan highlighted the doubling of agricultural output, the doubling of the economy, and massive infrastructure development in the five years; industrial development is also expected gradually to lead the economy. Hence, the main objective of GTP was to maintain at least an average real GDP growth rate of 11% and meet the Millennium

Development goals the end of the programme period, i.e. 2015. Hence, real GDP growth is planned to grow from 10.1 % in 2010 to 11.5% in 2015 (FDRE, 2015).

In the GTP, seven strategic pillars are identified that are instrumental to accelerating development and attaining the MDGs:

1. Sustaining faster and equitable economic growth;
2. Maintaining agriculture as a major source of economic growth;
3. Creating favourable conditions for the industry to play a key role in the economy;
4. Enhancing the expansion and quality of infrastructure development;
5. Enhancing the expansion and quality of social development;
6. Building capacity and deepening good governance; and
7. Promoting women and youth empowerment and equitable benefit (MoFED, 2010)

When we see the performance during the first four years of GTP implementation period (2010/11-2013/14), real GDP growth rate averaged 10.1 percent, slightly lower than the target set for the period. Agriculture, industry and services have registered an annual average growth rate of 6.6 percent, 20 percent and 10.7 percent respectively (FDRE, 2015)

### **4.3 National Food Security Strategy**

The food security situation in Ethiopia has been extremely unstable due to the combination of environmental, socio-political, and developmental instabilities. Food security as a problem at the national level was first felt in Ethiopia in the 1960s, but it only started influencing policy in the 1980s, after the 1983/84 drought and famine, which claimed millions of lives. Consequently, Food self-sufficiency became one of the objectives of the Ten-year Perspective Plan (TYPP) in the early 1980s (Alemu, *et al*,

2002, cited in Haile, et al., 2005). Ethiopia has a long history of famine and near-famine conditions – most recently in 2002–2003 – and remains extremely poor (Haan, 2006).

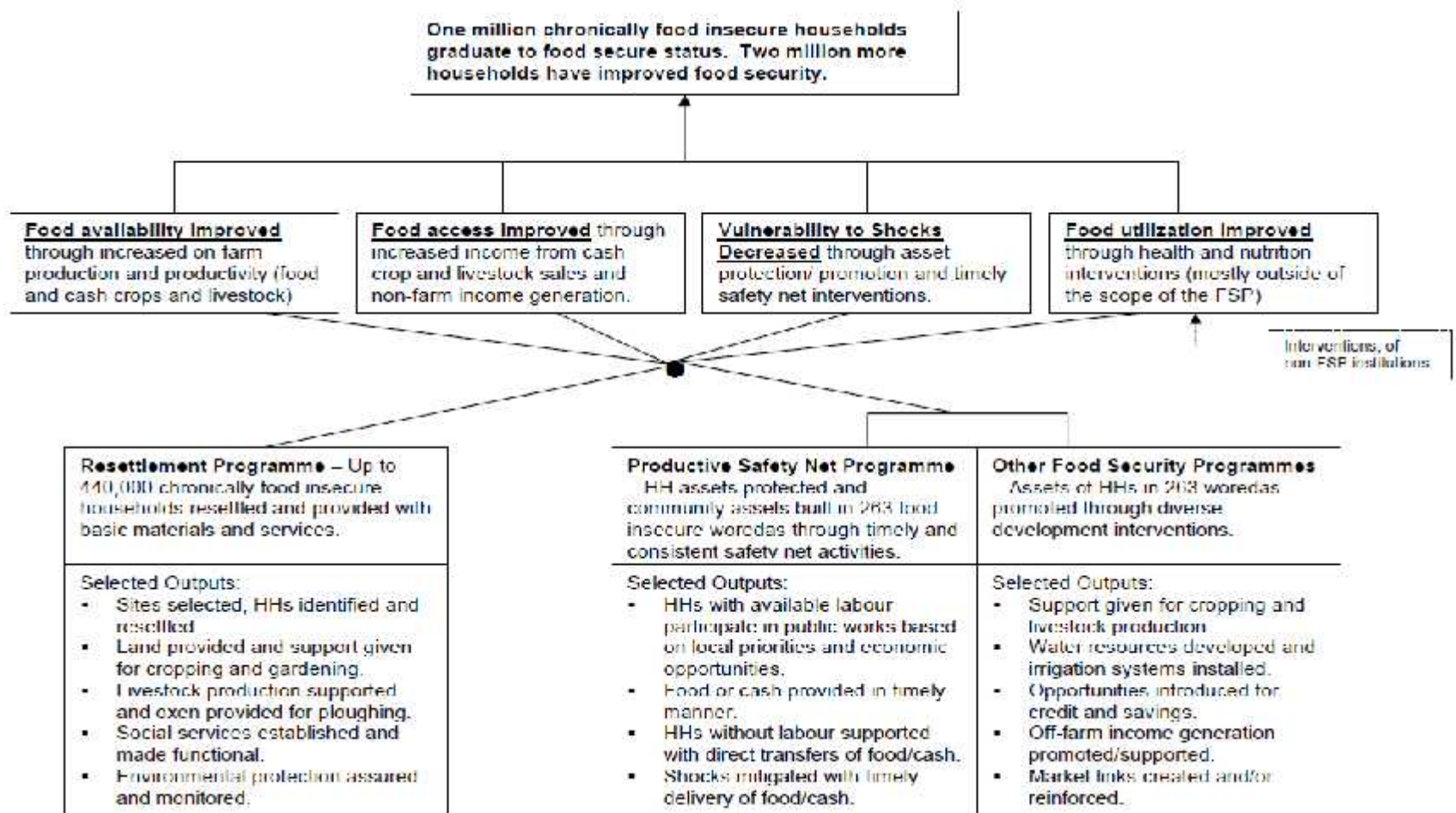
The current government has taken different measures to address the chronic problem of food shortage in the last two decades. Among the measures directly linked to food problem after the EPDRF took power in 1991 was the articulation of the National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management of the 1992/93 that emphasized the need to give priority to disaster prevention programs in all development endeavors. The directives for this policy identified Employment Generation Schemes as the main vehicle for able-bodied beneficiaries to contribute to development, although in practice this approach was not applied systematically throughout the country (Alula, 2013). The other was the adoption of the Participatory Demonstration and Training Extension System (PADETS) in 1994/95. These strategies were aimed at improving food access for vulnerable households and enhancing the productivity of smallholders (Workneh, 2008).

The EPRDF's the five-year National Development Plan for 1996-2000 was another initiative aimed at alleviating poverty in general and meeting the basic food requirements of the country in particular (Workneh, 2008). The major initiative of the government that was directly targeted at overcoming food insecurity was the national food security strategy issued in 1996. The national Food Security Strategy (Food Security Strategy, 1996, further improved and updated in 2002) rested on three pillars: increasing supply and availability of food, improving access and entitlement to food, and strengthening emergency response capabilities (FDRE, 2002)

The strategy states that both the supply and demand sides of the food equation, i.e., availability and entitlement, will be addressed at national and household levels. It is also indicated that particular attention will be given to the diversity of food production zones (areas with adequate moisture and moisture deficit) to tailor options and strategies depending on the situation. Expansion of investment activities in health, education and road facilities to rural areas as supportive mechanisms are emphasized in the rural development strategy.

The food security strategy is well developed as part and parcel of the poverty reduction strategy of the country (Haile, 2008). In line with the SDPRP, the “New Coalition for Food Security” had as its objective to develop a new strategy and investment package to address the underlying causes of food insecurity, issues of recovery, asset protection, and sustainable development for affected areas. The log framework of the strategy Food Security Program drawn by FSCB M&E Task Force (2004) is outlined in Figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1 Food Security Program Logical Hierarchy of Objectives



Source: FSCB M&E Task Force (2004)

Although the development of food security strategy is considered as a positive step in addressing the deep-rooted food insecurity problems of Ethiopia, a number of weaknesses are identified with the overall conception of food security issues (Mesay, 2008). One of the major weaknesses as pointed out by Workneh (2008) is that the food security strategy gives greater priority to the rural areas, as opposed to the most obviously inadequate attention given to urban areas. Food insecurity is widespread and severe in both rural and urban areas though the magnitude and intensity of the problem is higher in rural areas (Workneh, 2008). Dessalegn (2013) also stated that:

“Food insecurity, which until recently was a hardship borne largely by people living in the countryside has now crossed into the urban areas and is becoming a growing problem among the poor and the disadvantaged in the towns and cities of the country. This expansion in the “geography of hunger” is not getting the attention it deserves from public authorities and their development partners.” (Dessalegn, 2013 p.126).

Thus, the issue of food security, viewed through the urban lens should become a serious policy concern as Ethiopia is urbanizing at a rapid pace.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of the population of the country lives in rural areas, has been taken into account by the government in its decision to make the national food security strategy almost exclusively rural-centered. Hence, emphasis on generating rapid growth in the agricultural sector to eradicate poverty and hunger is the government’s priority.

Additionally, this framing of food insecurity as rural is partly the result of the ideological framing of poverty and the urban context. The most important influential theory in this regard was ‘urban bias’ theory. Urban bias refers to a political economy argument according to which economic development is hampered by groups who, by their central

location in urban areas, are able to pressure governments to protect their interests (Metaweb, 2006). The urban bias theory developers, Lipton (1977) and Bates (1981), as cited in Battersby (2012) argued that urbanization is a product of biased government policies and that those urban groups in developing countries were able to use their economic, political, and social power to disproportionately benefit from public policies. Urban areas benefit disproportionately at the expense of the rural, and as a result, the rural poor were systematically disadvantaged (Battersby, 2012).

The significant outcome of the urban bias theory was to adjust development emphasis from urban to rural areas. Drawing from the theory, Tawodzera (2010) noted that most governments became convinced that proper development in the nation could only result from the development of rural areas. Thus, urban poverty largely fell outside the development agenda. But different writers indicated that in most developing countries, urban poverty has been on the rise with increasing urbanization (Frayne, et al., 2009; Matuschke, 2009). While the urbanization of poverty is an increasingly recognized phenomenon, there is still considerable drag in shifting development policy direction caused by the legacy of urban bias theory. Within regional, national, and local policy frameworks, the urban reality is all but invisible (Crush and Bruce, 2010). As can be inferred from many studies the urban low-income groups, who rely heavily on market purchases for consumption, spend the largest share of their income on procuring food (Athreya, et al., 2010; Baiphethi and Jacobs, 2009; Matuschke, 2009; WFP, 2009; Maxwell, et al., 2000). This suggests that to a large extent, vulnerability and poverty are likely to be manifested in the form of food insecurity.

To eradicate poverty and assure food security, as described above the government in fact not only continued to support ADLI strategy but also launched a series of development and poverty reduction programs, including the first and the second Poverty Reduction Strategies and programs, and the Food Security program. However, these policies advocate mainly rural strategies in addressing food insecurity in Ethiopia. While increased agricultural production may have positive implications for urbanites, the primary challenge facing them is food access. For the growing urban population of Ethiopia, the challenge is to have access to affordable and nutritious food and to raise household incomes. This challenge needs to be at the center of any new food security strategy for urban areas.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE STUDY TOWNS**

This chapter presents findings of the socio-economic survey conducted in the three towns. It reports on the demographic characteristics, income, as well as expenditure patterns of the households. Information on the household head's background characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education, migration pattern, and household organizations was collected, some of which will be further investigated in the cross-tabulations analysis.

The first part of this chapter presents the frequency distribution of respondents by selected variables in order to make the following chapters simple. The percentage distribution of these background variables are given in Tables 5.1- 5.3 below. Household structure and composition in the form of household size, dependency ratio, and sex of household head have implications for poverty reductions and needs of the family (Tegegne, 2011). This is because different demographic features provide different opportunities and constraints for livelihood strategies of the poor.

#### **5.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents**

A range of basic demographic information was collected from surveyed households. Age and sex are vital demographic factors and provide deep insights into background characteristics of the population under study. In all three towns, the majority (53.6%) of household heads were within the age ranges of 31 to 50 years. This is the most productive age group as most of the household heads were young adults. Small proportions (8.6%)

of the respondents were in their twenties and the remaining 37.7% were in the age group of 51 years and above.

The mean age of the surveyed household heads was 46 years. However, there was considerable variation from town to town (Table 5.1). The older established areas of Debre Sina and Wolenchiti had a good number of older household heads (about 20% over 60 years of age). However, in Durame (the newest of the three towns by establishment) there were relatively less elderly household heads (16% over 60 years of age). A Chi-square test statistics shows that there is a statistically significant difference among the study towns' in terms of the different age categories(  $\chi^2=25.528$ ,  $df=8$ & $P=0.001$ ). This finding is related to Battersby's (2011) study in Cape Town which shows that more established area had a generally older population profile than the newer settlements.

Table 5.1 Age Distribution of the Household Heads by Location (in percent)

Age	Name of the Town (%)			
	Durame (N=94)	Debre Sina (N=90)	Wolenchiti (N=94)	Total (N=278)
20-30	4.3	13.8	7.8	8.6
31-40	25.5	38.3	30.0	31.3
41-50	35.1	7.4	24.4	22.3
51-60	19.1	19.1	15.6	18.0
>60	16.0	21.3	22.2	19.8

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Regarding headship, the sex of head of the household is a good indicator of the level of poverty and vulnerability at household level. Many African countries have experienced a significant increase in the percentage of female headed households in recent years. Among the main causes are male-selective out- migration, the death of by far more males than females in civil conflicts and wars, adolescent fertility and family disruption. Evaluation of studies have shown that greater vulnerability of female headed households

largely due to the fact that they have a higher dependency ratio in spite of the smaller average size of the household; have fewer assets and less access to resources; and tend to have a great history of disruption( IFAD,1999).

Households in Ethiopia are largely male-headed with over 76% of households being headed by males at the aggregate level (CSA, 2012). However, according to EDHS (2011) only about 64 % of households are headed by males in the urban areas of the nation. The findings of this study indicating that 66.2 percent of the households were headed by males.

For the sample of households, the average household size of all the three study towns was 4.5 persons. It is closer to the EDHS 2011 national average of 4.6 but markedly greater than the corresponding figure for all the urban households in the country, which is, about 3.7. Overall the mean household size ranges from 5.5 persons per household in Durame to 3.7 persons per household in Wolenchiti. In general, the size of households ranged from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 10 persons per household. Thirty five percent of all the surveyed households had between 1 and 3 household members, and 18% of households had 7 and more members (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Household Size by Location (in percent)

Characteristics	Name of the Town			
	Durame (N=94)	Debre Sina (N=94)	Wolenchiti (N=94)	Total (N=278)
Household size				
1-3	15.9	38.9	51.1	35.3
4-6	47.8	47.7	44.6	46.7
≥ 7	36.2	13.3	4.3	18
Mean	5.5	3.7	4.4	4.5

Source: Research Survey, 2013

In terms of marital status, the data indicates that about 67% of household heads were married, 10.4% divorced / separated, 17% widowed, and the remainders never married (Table 5.3a). Data on migration status shows that only 33 percent were born in their respective towns. These results are almost the same as that of Tegegne’s (2011) study which showed that 64 percent of the surveyed urban households in the study areas were migrants or were not born in the town, or had moved over from other places. The fact that the majority of the sample households are migrants is a sign that internal mobility has a great contribution for urban growth in the study towns.

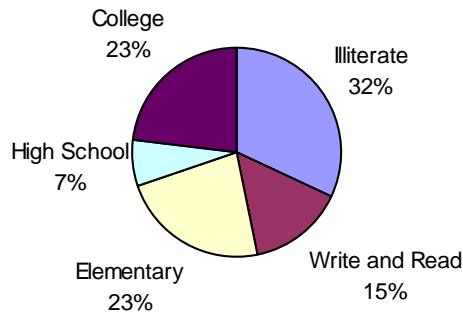
Table 5.3a: The Marital Status of Heads of Households by Location (In Percent)

Marital status	Name of the Town			
	Durame (N=94)	Debre Sina (N=90)	Wolenchiti (N=94)	Total (N=278)
Single	6.4	5.6	5.3	5.8
Married	76.6	62.2	60.6	66.5
Divorced/separated	5.3	12.2	13.8	10.4
Widowed	11.7	20.2	20	17.3

Source: Research Survey, 2013

In terms of education, more than a quarter (32.2 percent) of the respondents have been found to be illiterate; 14.7 percent read and write; 23 percent have attended classes anywhere between grades 1 and 8 while about 8 percent reported that they have attended classes in high schools. The rest have some kind of exposure to post secondary school training and have as such managed to secure a college diploma or degree. Figure 5.1 provide data on the educational level of respondents in the study towns.

**Figure 5.1. Educational Level of Heads of Households**



Source: Research Survey, 2013

Great variation among study towns was observed in relation to ethnic and religious background. Household heads in Wolenchiti exhibited the greatest ethnic diversity although the Oromo ethnic group dominated in the area (52 %) of the sample, followed by Amhara (29%). In Durame 82% of the household heads identified themselves as Kembata while in Debre Sina an overwhelming majority (91%) identified themselves as Amhara. Meanwhile most respondents (over 70 %) in Durame were followers of Protestant Christianity, over 90 % in Debre Sina were Orthodox Christians. In Wolenchiti about 68 % were Orthodox Christians while about 16% were Muslims (Table 5.3b).

Table 5.3b: The Ethnicity and Religion of Heads of Households by Location (In Percent)

	Durame (N=94)	Debre Sina (N=90)	Wolenchiti (N=94)
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Oromo	4.1	3.3	52.1
Amahara	5.4	91.1	29.3
Kenbata	82.4	0.0	1.6
Others	6.8	5.5	16.9
<b>Religion</b>			
Orthodox Christians	14.9	90.7	68.8
Muslim	2.7	9.3	16.6
Protestant Christians	70.3	0.0	14.6
Catholic	12.2	0.0	0.0

Source: Research Survey, 2013

## 5.2 Household Income Patterns

For the purposes of this study, income includes all type of income from work, pensions, or other transfers. Various studies indicate that questions related to incomes are normally sensitive in urban household surveys (Maxwell, et al., 2000). Similarly during the interview, respondents were not eager enough to reveal their level of financial income and accurate earnings because many people either do not want to tell how much money they earn or they are not able to estimate their monthly incomes. Besides, the respondents have been asked to estimate the income of their household, meaning all the members who are living in their house, but it is also possible that some respondents have answered only for themselves. Given this challenge, which are not specific to this questionnaire survey, respondents were asked during the survey to estimate their average monthly income.

In the survey, three-fourth of the households fell into the category of monthly incomes do not exceed Birr 1500. About a quarter belong to “very-low-income” households. Table

5.4 shows that about 30.3% of the households have very low incomes (incomes that do not exceed Birr 500 per month). It is in fact possible to say that households that belong to this particular income group are ultra poor, as they cannot afford to buy even the requisite food items from the market. About 45.3% of the respondents belonged to the Birr 501-1500 monthly income bracket while 14.2 % of the households earned incomes that ranged from Birr 1501 to 2500 per month. The Table also shows that the remaining 6.2% and 4% of the respondents earn the highest category of monthly incomes that fell between Birr 2501- 3500 and above 3500, respectively.

The average monthly household income of all of the household heads covered by the questionnaire survey is 1123 Birr. Mean monthly household incomes varied, however, from town to town in the survey: ranging from Birr 1591 in Durame to Birr 906 in Debre Sina and Birr 886 in Wolenchiti. A higher mean monthly income of households in Durame is due to a significant proportion households engaged in formal employment and their relative good economic conditions due to additional income access from home garden. The conversion from Ethiopian Birr to USD makes it easier to comprehend how little income the surveyed households in the three study towns were generating at the time of the survey. Indeed given that one USD equaled Birr 18.5 at the time of the survey, it is not difficult to see the fact that the average household, which was earning Birr 1123 per month as mentioned above, lived just on USD 2.02 per day. If we disaggregate the data by town we can see that the mean daily income of the households in Durame was USD 2.87 while the corresponding figures for Debre Sina and Wolenchiti were USD 1.63 and 1.60 respectively. This clearly shows that the majority of the surveyed households lived on less than USD 2.0 per day.

Table 5.4: Income Group in Percent by Location

Income categories	Town (%)			
	Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina	Total
< 500	14.4	39.4	36.7	30.3
500-1500	45.6	50.0	40.0	45.3
1501-2500	16.7	6.4	20.0	14.2
2501-3500	15.6	2.1	1.1	6.2
>3500	7.8	2.1	2.2	4.0

Source: Research Survey, 2013

### 5.2.1 Measuring Income Poverty

When the reported income is compared to the adult equivalent, it becomes evident that most interviewed households live below the country's official poverty line of Birr 315 a month per adult equivalent in a household (2010/2011). For this information monthly income per adult equivalent of the household was calculated for each household, by dividing the reported monthly income by adult equivalent. The average per capita monthly income was Birr 293, which is equivalent to 0.53 US dollar per day. Based on the national poverty line of Birr 315 a month per adult equivalent in a household for 2010/2011, this study demonstrated that 66.8% of the heads of household were living below the poverty line (see Table 5.5). The result is less than to what was found in another study undertaken by world food program in Addis Ababa which shows that 77% of the households were below the line (WFP, 2009b). However, the result is considerably higher than the proportion of the urban population below the poverty line (25.7%) estimated in the 2010/11 HICES (MoFED, 2012). The higher proportion of respondents below the poverty line identified in this study could be due to the fact that this study was specific to the poor dominated area, where household income is low.

Table 5.5: Income Categories and Poverty Level by Headship (in Percent)

Income Categories	MHH	FHH	Total
<500	19.2	52.2	30.3
500-1500	46.2	43.5	45.3
1501-2500	19.2	4.3	14.2
2501-3500	9.3	-	6.2
>3501	6.0	-	4.0
Poverty Line < Ethiopian Poverty Line 2010/11	58.6	82.8	66.8
Poverty Line > Ethiopian Poverty Line 2010/11	41.4	17.2	33.2

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Within the survey population, female headed households were on the average most likely to be income poorer than male headed households. In fact as shown in Table 5.5, fifty-two percent of the female headed households fell into the lowest income group, i.e, those who earned less than Birr 500 per month at the time of the survey. Comparatively only 19 percent of the male headed households belonged to this particular income bracket. Similarly, only 17.4 percent of the female headed households lived with monthly incomes that were above the country's poverty line. Comparatively the proportion of the male headed households that earned incomes that were above the poverty line was as high as 35 percent. This finding is consistent with the broader literature on gender and poverty which holds that women are the most vulnerable in society and also have a lower level of income due to their limited access to education and employment opportunities (Frayne, et al., 2009; Emebet, 2008).

### 5.3 Household Expenditure Patterns

This section analyzes household expenditure patterns. To gain some insight into the households' general expenditure patterns, the respondents were asked to estimate the average amount of money that they spent during the previous month on items such as

food, energy (cooking fuel and lighting), clothing, health, house rent, school-related expenditures, transportation, recreational purpose, and other non-food household items.

The results obtained revealed that, on average, the main household expenditures were on food, and health care. About 88 percent of the household reported that, on average, the main household expenditure was on food. The average monthly food expenditure of households is Birr 618.68. This shows that food forms the largest share of the total household budgets, accounting for 59 percent of all expenditures (Table 5.6). Consistent with the finding of this study WFP (2009) was also reported that the proportion of consumption expenditure on food is considered to be one of the most significant indicators of food insecurity. A low share of expenditure on food items also indicates a higher standard of living.

Table 5.6 Descriptive Statistics of Expenditures

Expenditure item	Total expenditure birr	Average household Expenditure by item	No of households
Food	170138.00	618.68	275
Energy	26443.00	96.16	256
Cloth	13990.00	50.87	49
Health	31364.00	114.05	90
Rent	10336.00	37.58	99
Education	23079.00	83.92	94
Transport	8524.00	30.99	73
Entertainment	4759.00	17.30	28
Total expenses	288633.00	1049.57	275

Source: Research Survey, 2013

The monthly average expenditure of households was Birr 1050 (57 USD). There was also a wide range of food expenditure among the surveyed households. The minimum food

expenditure of poor households is Birr 100 whereas the maximum food expenditure is 2200 per month. Intra-household differentials of food expenditure is (std. dev. 420.97) among such sample households. Next to food, health is the second most important expenditure item, accounting about 11 percent of the expenditure.

The majority of the respondents from all towns fall within the food expenditure range of Birr 100-600 a month. A fairly large number of households (50.2 per cent) spent Birr 301-600 per month on food (see Table 5.8) and 19 per cent of households spent Birr 100-300 per month on food; this scenario could only be acceptable if the size of families was very small. Nevertheless, as shown in the previous section, the average household size is quite large, and as such the amount of money spent on food is a real concern.

Table 5.8: Households Monthly Expenditure on Food in the Study Towns (%)

Expenditure on food (birr)	Total number	%	Durame		Wolenchiti		Debre Sina	
			No	%	No	%	No	%
100-300	52	18.9	12	13.2	23	24.5	17	18.9
301-600	138	50.2	34	37.4	56	59.6	48	53.3
601-900	38	13.8	13	14.3	10	10.6	15	16.7
901-1200	17	6.2	8	8.8	3	3.2	6	6.7
1201 Or more	30	10.9	24	26.4	2	2.1	4	4.4
Total	275	100	91	100	94	100	90	100

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Because urban dwellers must buy most of their food, urban food security depends mostly on whether the household has adequate effective purchasing power given the prevailing prices and incomes.

The Table 5.9 below also illustrates the mean amount spent on food by each income group. The analysis of household monthly income and food expenditure within the respondents revealed that as income increases, the proportion spent on food from their

income decreases. This is in consistent with Engel’s law, which states that as income rises, the proportion of income spent on food falls, even if actual expenditure on food rises. For instance, if we take the average income of Birr 3000 they earn six times as much as those in the lowest income groups and yet spend less than four times as much on food. The figures clearly indicate that those at the lowest end of the scale spend the highest share of expenditure on food items. Overall, the findings from literature show that the poorer the household, the greater the proportion of its income that is spent on food purchase (Stage, et al., 2009; Tawodzera, et al., 2012; Battersby, 2011). The present research also revealed that the households spent the largest share of their monthly income on food, which accounts 59 percent of all expenditure. With such a high proportion of expenses going to food any factor that affects either income or expenditure has a major impact of household food security.

Table 5.9 Mean Monthly Expenditure on Food, by Income Group per household

Income Group	Mean Expenditure
0-500	378.35
501-1500	526.19
1501-2500	923.49
2501-3500	1394.82
≥3500	1509.09

There were a number of ways in which people responded to lack of income and food shortage. The qualitative information is also confirmed that poor heads of households spend a lion’s share of their income for food items. Poor households not only pay out the high share of expenditure on food items, but those who did spend money on food were buying cheap cereals. It is evident in the stories shared by Tadele in the case study interview:

I spend most of my daily income on food. Everything is expensive and I hardly survive. I always consume *kita* (a flat tin bread) and *kuti* (leaf of coffee) or cabbage only for the sake of filling stomach. (Case Study interview 08, Durame town).

This description was common among interviewees and FGD which gave out to show the severity of food insecurity within poor households where food shortages had become a permanent feature of daily life. Urban food security depends mostly on the purchasing power of households given the prevailing prices and incomes. Due to skyrocketing inflation, an average worker's wage was inadequate to buy sufficient food for most households. Consequently most households were generally food insecure and forced to consume the same or monotonous meal.

The rise of cost of living was emphasized by one respondent who described her situation as follows:

At the time my children were born my living standard was fine and things were affordable. Mainly encouraged by the then prevailing conditions I ended up having 5 children. You know it was possible to survive during those days even with a monthly income of Birr 100. But these days things are tough. We are forced to consume cheap food crops and I am also receiving aid from Emmanuel Development Association. (Case study interview 09, Debre Sina).

Thus due to limited income and rise in price of goods, poor households in the study towns found themselves spending a large share of their little income on food. Besides, to reduce expenditure and to meet the deficits they consume cheap crops and need food aid, if any. To cope with the urban realities and overcome the shocks and trends, poor households have turned to a number of coping strategies. In (Chapter 7) coping strategy and (Chapter 8) political ecology of small town sections, the strategies poor urban dwellers adopt when the food shortage occur due to price hikes and other socio – economic factors are discussed.

All in all, in this chapter the socio-economic characteristics of respondents in Debre Sina, Durame and Wolenchiti towns were presented. The majority of heads of households were young adult within the age range of 31-50. Households in the study areas were fairly large but almost equal with the national average. On average there were five people per household. The majority (about two-third) of heads of households were male. Nearly half of the respondents were not attended the formal education. About 75% of households heads earned incomes less than Birr 1500 a month. Average monthly income was higher in Durame than Debre Sina and Wolenchiti. The degree of income poverty in the study areas was very high, about 66.8% of the household heads were living below the national poverty line. The expenditure patterns of households showed that households spent a large proportion of their income on food. Chapter 6 will provide information on urban livelihood activities and the assets of households in the study area.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **ASSETS OF THE URBAN HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES**

The urban households' livelihood strategies are shaped by a lot of factors in their setting and/or the context in which they operate especially their job environment, their access to resources, and their social networks. This is also formed by the political and socioeconomic conditions in the sample towns. This chapter highlights the resources that are available to urban households and how they strategize to survive and maintain a livelihood in small urban areas. The discussion is focused on the main livelihood assets that are accessible to urban households.

The households covered by the questionnaire survey engaged in a variety of activities to support their households. The range of activities that urban households undertake is based on the kind of assets available to them and how they are able to access them. The urban livelihood strategies are impacted by a combination of resources available to people but at the same time urban contextual factors and environmental attributes determine the availability of these assets (Meikle, et al., 2001). The assets of urban poor are therefore very important in their livelihood and food security discussions.

#### **6.1 Status of Assets Ownership of the Urban Households**

This section discusses the assets of the households covered by the study. By doing so, it seeks to understand people's strengths in order to identify what opportunities they have and where constraints may lie. The section also includes the views of case study and

focus group discussion participants. Of the five capital assets identified in the livelihood literature, financial, social, physical, and human were found to be available and utilized by the sampled households.

### **6.1.1 Financial and Social Assets**

This part discusses the financial capital of the urban household in the study towns in order to characterize the pillars that sustain urban livelihoods and food security. Financial assets refer to the financial resources base of the poor. The urgency in financial assets is not just having enough money to fulfill daily needs but also having access to flows of money in times of crisis or for long term investments (Amis, 2002). For instance, savings play an important role in decreasing a household's vulnerability to longer-term stresses (unemployment) and sudden shocks (Schmied, 2010).

Moreover, access to financial assets is of vital importance for access to other assets. This means that saving and borrowing opportunities are crucial for the urban poor. These services can be obtained from formal institutions like banks, saving and credit unions, and recently micro-finance institutions (like Omo micro finance in SNNPR, Amhara and Oromia credit and savings associations). It can also be achieved from informal institutions including family, friends, and *arata abedari* (money lenders). Hence, access and use of financial services is a prerequisite for development of livelihood activities and reduction of vulnerability to food insecurity. The following parts thus look at the forms of financial capitals: savings, credit, and remittance situation of households.

### 6.1.1.1 Savings

The results of the questionnaire survey revealed that nearly one half of the total surveyed household's members (48.2 percent) had saved some portions of their incomes within the twelve months before the survey as shown in Table 6.1. The proportion of the total respondents of Durame who save some portions of their incomes during the given period was 43.6 percent. The comparable figures for Wolenchiti and Debre Sina were 52.1 percent and 48.9 percent, respectively. Among households with any savings, the mean value of money save was Birr 2523. The minimum amount of the savings reported was Birr 35 while the highest amount saved was Birr 20,000. Similarly a study by Tegegne (2011) also found that on average households in small towns reported a higher amount of mean saving (2107 birr) than big towns (718.8 birr). This might be due to the fact that in small towns, micro-financial institutions and NGOs could easily identify the needy people and facilitate access to credit. What is more, to access credits the poor are required to start saving and become members of the saving and credit institutions.

**Table 6.1 Distribution of Households' saving and Place of saving by study towns (%)**

	Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina	Total	Test	Sig
<b>Proportion of households with savings</b>	43.6	52.1	48.9	48.2		
<b>Place of saving</b>						
Bank	63.4	28.6	27.3	38.8	2 =1.334	.006
Saving/credit	26.8	51.0	50.0	43.3		
Home	4.9	-	2.3	2.2		
Other	4.9	14.3	18.2	12.7		
Small micro enterprise	-	6.1	2.3	3.0		
<b>Mean amount of saving</b>	2240	2641	2647	2523	F=1.291	.162

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Aside from this, saving for emergency purpose was by far the most commonly cited reason for savings (68.4% of households), followed by general household needs (14.7%) , for the purchase of building or buying land for housing (11%) and 4.4 % for financing educational related purpose of household members (see Table 6.2). The fact that over half of those who saved use their saving for crisis time shows that there is an attempt by the poor using saving for reduction of future livelihood vulnerability. Also, the result supports the livelihood perspective of food security concept. In the livelihood approach, the main objective is seen to secure and sustain livelihoods, and coping strategies are designed to preserve these livelihoods. Similarly, Woller, et al. (2009) indicated vulnerable households assign their assets over time in order to balance their current food needs with their ability to secure their ongoing livelihood viability and future food needs through a variety of livelihood strategies.

**Table 6.2 Distribution of Households' by Purpose of Savings (%) for the study towns**

<b>Purpose of saving</b>	Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina	Total
For Education	12.2	0.0	2.3	4.4
House building/to buy plot of land	12.2	7.8	13.6	11.0
To buy Car/motorcycle	0.0	2.0	2.3	1.5
For emergency purpose	70.7	76.5	56.8	68.4
Other general household needs	4.9	13.7	25.0	14.7

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Some individuals in the case study indicated that they do not have any saving since their incomes did not allow them. In connection with this, they mentioned low incomes, high inflation rates, and continuous rises in the prices of goods as the major factors affecting their abilities to save.

Specifically, Kebebush shares her situation in an individual interview,

I am very poor and I always borrow money from neighbors and friends if there is a funeral or any other emergency among the rural families. I have to do so because I do not have money saved for such incidences. (Case study interview 01, Wollenchiti).

Interestingly, Female FGDs participants in Debre Sina town indicated that most of them managed to save some money because that was the basic requirement to secure access to credit.

As it is shown in Table 6.1, saving and credit union (43.3 per cent) is the most important institution that the poor save. The ANOVA test showed that there is no significant variation on mean amount of saving among sample towns significantly ( $F = 1.291$ ,  $p = .162$ ), (see Table-6.1). However, there is a significant variation on place of saving among the study towns. Bank is less important in Wollenchiti and Debre Sina compared to Durame. Saving and credit cooperative, on the other hand, are important in Wollenchiti and Debre Sina towns as opposed to Durame. Saving and credit cooperative are more important in Wollenchiti and Debre Sina towns shows that the poor in these towns rely highly on credit union and small enterprises for the purposes of saving due to the fact that credit unions provide comparable financial services to that of bank but the criteria to get credit at saving and credit cooperative level is by far easier in contrast to bank system. In addition to this, the saving and credit cooperative in Wollenchiti and Debre Sina towns may either do their job better than Durame.

#### **6.1.1.2 Access to Credit**

Access to other financial resources is critical to the livelihood strategies of households in the different well-being categories. There are few (regional) micro finance institutions in

the study towns which are established on the aim of eradicating poverty through providing financial support for those who have ability and commitment for work but idle due to lack of money. Besides there are a number of traditional micro institutions (association) like *Idir*, *Ikub* and *mehaber* (which mostly is an association of people who are faced with one or another type of life' challenges such as the associations of HIV/AIDS carriers, or individuals that belong to specific faith groups).

Abdalla (2008) disclosed that access to credit helps households or individuals to meet their demands for cash without having to sell essential capitals used in generating income. Loan funds reduce households' vulnerability to income fluctuations or assist households to better manage their existing capital base. In the study, households were asked about the loans, if any, that they had received during the year that preceded the survey. Roughly one fourth (22.7%) of the respondents reported that they had taken loans during the given period. On the whole the respondents that were indebt borrowed on the average Birr 3323.65 per household. The most commonly reported reasons for borrowing money were the need for financing family events (36.7%), home repairs (16.7%), and their intent to start or run businesses (13.3%), and meet other household needs (10%).

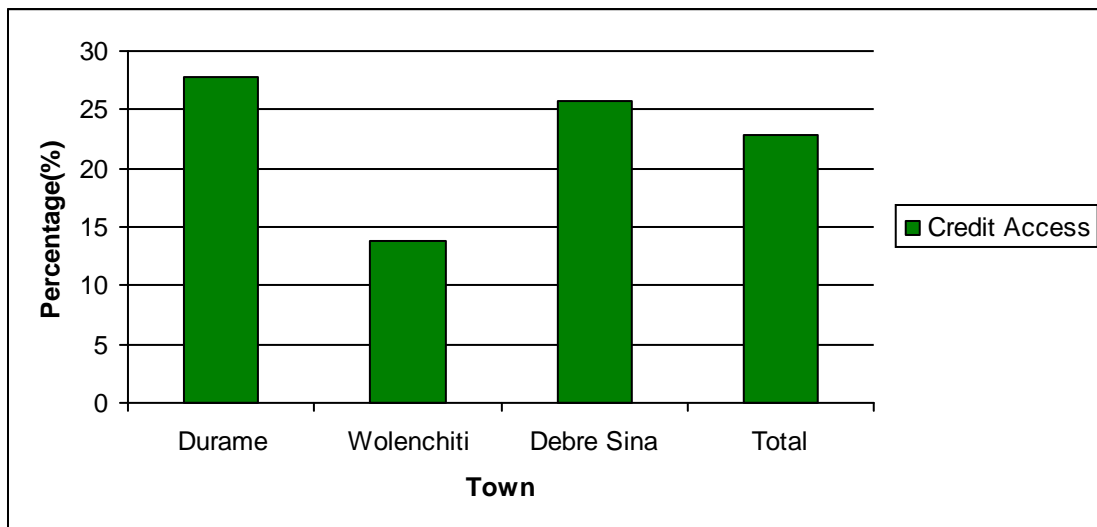
**Table 6.3 Distribution of Households by Purpose of Credit and Source of Credit (%)**

Source of Credit	%
Saving and Credit Association	60.3
Family/Relative	12.7
Trader	4.8
Neighbor	6.3
<i>Areata Abedari</i> ( money lender)	3.2
Other	12.7
Reason for Borrowing	
To Start Business	13.3
To Buy land/house Building	6.7
House Equipment	10.0
School expense	3.3
Repair house	16.7
Loan Repayment	3.3
Health cost	6.7
Family affairs	36.7
Other	3.3
(N=63)	

Source: Research Survey, 2013

However, the main difficulty for some of the urban poor is getting access to loan as they have no means to pay it back. To borrow, there are criteria. For instance, as the focus group participants in Durame explained if an individual wants to get a micro credit he/she has to have house or relative who has house or those who have relative of government employee. Households who could not fulfill the criteria are the most vulnerable. The survey found that about 40% loan transactions were informal and 24% take place between relatives, traders, or neighbors (see Table 6.3). And about 60 % of loan was through formal credit and saving institutions. The case study participants in Debre Sina indicated that interest rate is 12.5% for monthly loan repayment especially for trader and 15% for annual repayment for those that rear cattle.

**Figure 6.1 Credit Accesses of sample households in the Study Towns**



The modern micro financial institute which exists in Wolenchiti town, for instance, was Oromia Credit and Saving Share Company which was established in 1999 E.C. It gives credit services to urban and rural unemployed persons that are organized as a business enterprise. The institution was using the following criteria to provide a credit:

- a) Forming a group of 5 to 7. Besides, the *Kebele* administration should approve the business partnership based on the registration of capital and other criteria set by the *Kebele*. For instance, the group should present their business plan.
- b) If they have family member or witness from government employee.

Almost a similar procedure to that of Wolenchiti is used in Debre Sina by Amhara Credit and Saving Association and each member is responsible for repayment of credit. According to the Wolenchiti *Kebele* 01 administration, the town administration is supporting the organized micro and small enterprises by granting them land or space for starting business and metal containers for use as market stalls. However, there are

problem of good habit for repayment of credit. Credit taker should save 20% of their credit. Especially for university graduate the town administration in Wolenchiti is taking responsibility.

In general, there is less reliance of the poor on credit to support their livelihood due to lack of credit availability that meets the conditions of the poor. In most case forming a group is required by micro finance institution, thus those who cannot form a group cannot get credit access. This requirement of collateral and group lending procedure discourages some households to take credit. People are afraid of share responsibility for others because there is a lack of commitment by some members of the group to do their job and repay the loan.

### **6.1.1.3 Transfer and Social Assistance**

Social capital is intended as the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through social networks, relationships of trust, and reciprocity that may provide the basis for informal safety nets for the poor.

In this section, the remittance of households is discussed. Remittances are found to be of central importance to the complex multiple livelihood strategies that transcend both urban and rural spaces. Households were asked about both if they had received assistance (from NGOs, and/or government, neighbors, colleagues, or family members i.e., their social network) and if they were given any assistance during the year preceding the survey. Overall, assistance was large with about 36% of the urban households having received support from outside the household in cash or kind. Out of these about 65 percent of the respondent received assistance from former family members, friends, and relatives and

34.7% households having received support from government or NGOs (see Table 6.4). However, the main characteristic of remittances was their irregularity as they are usually sent once or twice a year. On average, a total of 3323 Birr per year is received per household by those who reported transfers in cash. This translates into a monthly payment of 276 Birr per household. Though this is not substantial, it could be a good complementary source of income.

**Table 6.4 Distribution of Household Heads Receive Assistance during the survey Year in the three towns**

<b>Household Received support from</b>	<b>Number (N=101)</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Previous household member , who is now living by his /her own (within Ethiopia)	18	17.8
Previous household member , who is now living abroad (outside Ethiopia)	22	21.8
Close Relatives	19	18.8
Friends	7	6.9
Government and NGO support	35	34.7

Source: Research Survey, 2013

With its drought-stricken economy and one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world, Ethiopia is one of the largest recipients of humanitarian assistance (Global humanitarian assistance, 2012). In terms of the contribution of Food Aid Activities for Urban Survival, however, very little of the food aid that was coming into the country was being distributed in the urban areas as most activities were concentrated in rural areas. The *Kebele* officials in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti towns confirmed that there was no food aid activity by government institution that was targeting urban areas. The most pronounced aid activities in the study areas were being carried out under NGOs or Church based organizations.

At present a few NGOs are running programs for the ultra poor in the study towns. Although their focuses and criteria for selection vary, they are providing support for vulnerable groups. For instance, the Emmanuel Development Association and the Muluwengel Church in Debre Sina; NGOs such as World Vision Ethiopia and Christian Children's Fund Ethiopia in Wolenchiti town; and UNICEF in Durame are some of the NGOs working in the study towns to improve the living conditions of poor.

Emmanuel Development Association is the main NGO in Debre Sina, which is giving support to vulnerable groups (such as the old aged, those affected with HIV/AIDS, the sick and the orphans). Through this program the vulnerable groups are provided with 50kg of wheat, 6-13 kg peas and beans, 2.5 - 5 liters of edible oil, blankets and soaps for 12 months. According to interview with the household heads, the support varies depending on the size of the family. Some complain about the unfairness of the screening criteria used by the support providing organizations. This organization is also paying school fees for selected poor family's children and for sick children. The role of the *Kebele* is selecting the vulnerable groups and recommending them for assistance by the NGOs as well as the savings and credit associations. There is committee in the *Kebele*. These officials select the eligible poor households for support and advise the various support giving organizations to assist them in one way or another.

At the time of the survey, the Durame town administration was providing support to the urban ultra poor mainly in the form of food aid. However, we did not observe any food aid being provided for the urban poor in two other small towns, namely Debre Sina and Wolinchiti during the same period. It is also good to note that at the time of the survey the government was making visible efforts to suppress the rise of food prices by

providing edible oil and sugar at reasonable prices to those in need through consumer associations and selected retailers.

In Durame town, 500 households were getting food aids from government institution during the survey year. The most important question here is what makes this difference. While Durame is a zonal capital it also has rural *Weredas*. Due in part to this, the town's local government decided to support the very poor that were living in the town at the time of the survey by taking the quota of the *Kedida Wereda*. Through this program vulnerable group were provided with 60kg of wheat, 2 kg of peas, one and half litter of edible oil per year. Besides, up to 6kg of FaFa flour - a high energy to children and breastfeeding mothers who were suffering because of the food shortage. However, the support was once per year during the survey. In addition, NGOs like UNICEF are providing credit access for poor urban people in Durame without interest through the youth and children office based on community and *Kebele* criteria.

Generally, the level of action by the NGOs and the government is very limited and has thus not been influential in fostering household resilience to food insecurity in urban areas. It is found that if there is any alternative, it is likely that there are people in these towns who qualify for government aids of one kind or another, but they are not accessing such support due to less focus on urban food insecurity. Therefore, specific poor-oriented Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP) should be considered as a means of improving food security among poor urban households.

## **Reciprocal Exchange: Gifts between rural and urban**

The current literature on rural-urban linkages emphasizes the remittance of urban resources (mostly cash) to the rural areas, with little attention paid to social linkages or to reverse (rural-urban) remittance flows (Girma et al., 2008). Urban-rural reciprocity is therefore not only a one way movement of people and resources from the urban to the rural areas, but also a transfer of food from rural to urban households (Drimie, 2008). In the present study urban-rural reciprocity was also observed and there was a great linkage of rural relatives with urban ones.

Most group discussions and case study participants indicated that most transfers are used to meet household's consumptions needs. Transfer in the form of food and/or money is one of the important elements that link the rural and urban communities. Transfer from the town is taken in the form of cash. Those who are living in the town send money to rural relatives in times of 'bad' weather and during the summer season. In addition to this, the focus group discussions revealed that one of the causes why urban household members visit the rural areas is to allow them to take part in agricultural activities, particularly during the rainy season. This is for the reason that some urban households still uphold small plots of land in the rural where they grow crops. In focus group discussion organized for women at Durame, one participant stated that:

My mother-in-law has given two Qerti of land at the countryside. Thus every year my husband goes to the rural village during the rainy season to farm which support our supply of food. (Source: Fieldwork).

This shows that some urban households still participate in rural farming and support their livelihoods and these situations smooth the progress of urban-rural linkage in the study small towns

**Table 6.5 Distribution of Households Given Support during the Survey Year**

<b>HH given support to</b>	<b>Number (N= 55)</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Children in school elsewhere	30	54.5
Family living in rural area	16	29.1
Family living in urban area	9	16.4

Source: Research Survey, 2013

Notwithstanding the current economic hardships, about 20% of the interviewed households reported giving assistance to other family members outside the household. It is important to ask to whom the money (support) was being sent. The survey revealed that the children in school elsewhere (urban or rural areas) were the principal receivers of the support which accounts for 54 percent out of the total such support provided by reporting households. About 29.1 % of all such support went to other family members in rural areas, and about 16.4 % was directed to other family members in urban areas (see Table 6.5). When we cross tabulate the support and food security status of the surveyed household heads, over 57 % of the households that were supporting other family members leaving outside the household were food secure or mildly food insecure. All these observations clearly demonstrate the importance of social networks in the livelihoods and food security of the populations of the study towns.

#### **6.1.1.4 Migration and Urban Survival**

Migration is seen as one of survival strategies in the study communities where some households survive on remittances sent from their family members working in inland or abroad. Of the sample urban households 32.7 % indicated that one or more of their

household members migrated and live outside the town. Searching job is the main reason for migration which is indicated by the majority of respondents.

In the survey, about 22 percent of remittance comes from relatives who are living outside Ethiopia (see Table 6.4). There are different forms of migration in the study areas, namely, seasonal, urban-urban, and overseas migration. Seasonal migration is predominant among the poor; for instance, focus group participants in Durame indicated that young poor men migrate in search of job in agro-industrial areas like coffee and tea plantation areas seasonally. Urban-urban migration also occurs in the study areas.

Concerning this issue, Yewibdar explained her idea as follow in a case study interview:

I sent my older daughter to Addis to her aunt as I could not afford educational and other expense of my children. (Case study interview12, Debre Sina).

Overseas migration or migration to other countries is also noticed among the people who can afford to travel either formally or informally. It is a public secrete that overseas migration is increasing in Ethiopia nowadays. Females are migrating to the neighboring countries (like Djibouti and Sudan) and to Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, and Qatar. The migration of predominantly young females out of the study towns as well as similar other small towns of Ethiopia to these countries has increased considerably in the recent past. FGD participants in Wolenchiti indicated that females migrate to Djibouti and Arab countries to get job opportunities so as to improve the livelihoods of their family. Ababo (a 42 year old female), one of the participants said as follow in a group discussion:

My daughter was sending money during the last three years as a result we were in the good condition but now she returned from Djibouti due to

health problem thus we are in a great trouble of daily life.(Source: Field work)

Similarly participants in the FGD from Debre Sina also explained that young women from their area are travelling to Arab countries. All agreed that the remittance from these individual is helping for the improvement of their family life. Nonetheless, from the three study towns, Durame clearly appears to be sending out by far more migrants to destinations outside Ethiopia than either Debre Sina or Wolinchiti. It is also interesting to note that the great majority of the migrants who leave Durame for other countries tend to be young men who move to South Africa in search of better life. While there are some indications that a substantial proportion of such migrations tend to take place through informal arrangements most likely with the assistance of human traffickers, they often tend to be chain migrations in which new migrants tend to be relatives of those who have already settled in South Africa.

FGD participants in Durame explained the situation by saying that: “aspirations to migrate are already present in the minds of school children. It has virtually become a persistent dream of the young men in this area to go South Africa. Young people see this as a good opportunity and an easy way to become rich within a short period. What reinforces their desire to migrate is the fact that many of those who have migrated to South Africa are presently buying public transport buses that are known by the name of *Isuzu kitkit* for their parents. Many others are also, building new houses and starting big businesses for their respective families.”

The young overseas male migrants predominantly come from families that can afford to pay the rather huge amounts of money that are needed to finance their travels to South Africa. Regarding this, in FGD organized for men in Durame, one shoe shiner commented the following: *“I lent 5000 birr for my relative to go to the R.S.Africa and he promised to return and help me to go there.”* Likewise, though traveling to overseas illegally has a serious risk, one participant of focus group discussion explained the benefits of such a long distance migration in the following words: *“The families of these young migrants are enjoying a relatively better standard of life than the rest of the people in this area, the remittances that they send are really high once they have arrived safely in South Africa and begun to work and earn good incomes.”* During FGDs in Durame, the researcher has also observed the presence of a strong desire to migrate to South Africa (the country which they usually refer to as the “south” using the Amharic word “*Debab*”) among the young men of the area. This desire to migrate to South Africa actually remains strong among the young males of the Durame area in spite of the fact that they face great risks of losing a large sum of money or even their lives due in part to either cheating or mishandling by human traffickers. In view of this fact, one astonishing thing that the researcher observed during the time of the survey was that the Durame's young males were strongly dreaming of starting the long journey by land to South Africa even after hearing the widespread media report that 43 Ethiopians died while crossing Tanzania as they were travelling to South Africa, being packed into a congested metal container. The researcher himself has observed while a funeral of one of those victims of human traffickers took place in the Durame town. Aside from risking their lives, many of would be migrants often lose a substantial amount of their hard earned money as they get

cheated by human traffickers. One unforgettable incidence in this regard was the rather well talked about case of the many potential migrants who got cheated by human traffickers that promised to take them to South Africa apparently by using the 2010 World Cup games as a pretext. Unlike the fact that such stories of deaths and cheating abound, it just looks that they do not do much to deter any of would be migrants from dreaming to go to South Africa.

Furthermore, the focus group discussions participants provided additional information about the reasons for migrating to South Africa. Accordingly, migration appears to be motivated by the lack of employment opportunities in Durame. In addition to this, aspirations for a better standard of life within a short period of time are also mentioned as a reason for migrating to South Africa.

**Table 6.6 The Top 5 Countries of Destinations By Number Of Refugee Applicants And Decisions In South Africa By 2009.**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Applications</b>	<b>Accepted</b>	<b>Refused</b>
Zimbabwe	149,453	200	15,370
Malawi	15,697	0	7,749
Ethiopia	10,715	1,307	3,130
DRC	6,226	779	1,706
Bangladesh	4,923	31	3,310

Source: Crush (2012)

From Table 6.6 it is possible to realize that Ethiopia is one of the three top applicants to join R.S Africa though it is too far from South Africa as compared to Zimbabwe and Malawi. Lending credit for the above argument, the explanation for this considerably higher figure lies in the fact that South Africa is one of the selected destinations for Ethiopian migrants. This could be because some migrants get acceptance and hence may contribute to the other would be migrants to dream South Africa.

Although migration cannot be termed as a source of livelihood in itself, overall it represents an important set of conditions under which livelihoods are earned or supplemented in the study areas.

### **6.1.2 Physical Assets**

Physical assets refer both to productive and household assets. Productive assets include access to services and basic infrastructure such as shelter, water supply, sanitation, waste disposal, and energy supply, as well as tools and production equipment required for income-generating activities or enhancement of labour productivity. Household assets in turn refer to household goods such as furniture or other saleable personal belongings.

#### **6.1.2.1 Housing Conditions**

Housing in urban areas is undoubtedly the most important physical asset that a household can possess, as it can be used productively and eases financial pressures. Many urban livelihood writers equated the role of shelter in the livelihoods of the urban poor to that of land for the rural poor (Schutte, 2006). This physical asset becomes a critically important asset at times of shock and stress when a house can be rented or utilized as a place for home-based enterprise or other activities. Given a chance, people are willing to go into much hardship and risk if only to own their homes (Beall and Schutte, 2006). Tegege (2011) also stated that since housing is an important asset for urban households, it is essential to understand its different dimensions for two main reasons. First, it is vital to see the tenure type because of its direct implications for poverty. Second, the quality of housing which is a direct indicator of the standard of living and the possibility for using housing for income generating activities needs to be understood. Due to this fact it is

assumed that the urban poor, with their tangible assets such as housing, are more likely to secure and do well compared to those who lack them.

### **Home Ownership**

The majority of the households owned the houses (64.4 percent). Of the several indicators of housing, one of the most potent ones is the level of crowding in a town at household level. The number of person per room is an adequate measure of overcrowding / spacing in view of the household size, which were 2.1. Regarding size, the average number of rooms per housing unit in the study towns was 2.7. Most of the respondents (about 57 %) were living in houses with two rooms or less. Table-6.7 shows that 15% of the households live in three-room dwellings and the remaining 28% of sample urban households are living in dwellings with more than three rooms. The use of limited number of rooms per housing unit is made difficult for privacy and sanitation. About 96 % of households were living in houses made of wood and mud, and 3.6% are made of stone/brick houses. Besides, in some places the rooms are used as a living, bed room, kitchen, and the like. Such poor housing conditions in sample households can have profound effect in terms of the loss in economic gain from productive in-house activities and the large economic burden as a result of poor health born from poor quality housing.

As it was explained during some interviews,

I am living in a two room house. One room is used as a *beret* (a cowshed) and the other one is used as the seating and bed room for the family. I and my sister's daughter sleep on the bed and my son sleeps on the floor in the living room. We are adapted to the situation thus we do not want much solitude. (Case study interview 10, Debre Sina).

**Table 6.7: Number of Rooms per Housing Unit in the three study towns**

<b>N<sub>o</sub> of Rooms</b>	Frequency	Percent
1.00	57	20.5
2.00	101	36.3
3.00	42	15.1
4.00	36	12.9
≥5.00	42	15.1

### **Location Differentials in Housing Tenure**

Slight difference was observed regarding housing tenure system at the three study towns. In the older established towns of Wolenchiti and Debre Sina, we can get great proportion of people who live in housing units rented from *Kebele* administrations and they pay small amount of money per month. And most dwelling units lack basic facilities and display unattractive typology. They have insanitary transition areas and in most cases they are roofed by old and rusty corrugated iron sheets that are patched several times (see picture taken from Debre Sina). As regards to this, Solomon and McLeod (2004) stated that the extremely low and never changing rental values of the nationalized dwelling units made it virtually impossible for *kebeles* to repair them. As a result old slums got worse. In the newer town of Durame (only about 5 decades have passed since its establishment) we can get relatively less proportion of dwelling units under the control of the state (according to Durame towns administration report only 150 houses are under *Kebele* administration), however, according to Wolenchiti town administration office there are 950 houses owned by *Kebele* which is about 20 percent of the total houses.



### **A housing cluster in Debre Sina**

To sum up, poorer households' houses, particularly in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti are generally small and sub-standard with problems related to inappropriate drainage for rain water, a lack of toilet facilities or unsafe pit latrine that flood or collapse during the rainy season, and expose them to a myriad of hazards. Unlike in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti, what is noticeable in Durame is that there are small vegetable gardens in front and at the back of the houses. Most of these rather small green areas consist largely of coffee bushes, *enset* and other vegetables, indicating the residents' reliance on urban farming as a source of livelihood there by creating an attractive garden environment.

#### **6.1.2.2 Access to Urban Services**

Access to basic services is vital to improve the quality of life of the poor as well as ensuring the sustainability of their livelihoods. Urban services influence areas such as access to work, living conditions, and access to income-generating opportunities. However, Schutte (2006) noted that the urban poor have little access to urban

infrastructure facilities despite having lived in the city for a long period of time. What is particularly relevant for the absorption dimension of food security is the provision of urban services like safe drinking water, sanitation, and other facilities. In this sub-section, the condition of the study towns as regards these amenities is discussed.

### **Access to Safe Drinking Water**

With respect to water supply, the degree of access to water is one of the major indicators of the living condition. The supply of water through pipes is recognized as the most effective means of protecting it from pollution and ensuring its purity. In addition, the means of getting water show the adequacy or shortage of it.

Access to safe drinking water is still a major problem for most of the population in Ethiopia. The result of the survey shows that, the source of water supply for the majority (95%) of the housing units is piped water. Overall about 35.9% of the households have indoor plumbing while about 16.5% accessed piped water through faucets that are found in the compounds in which their dwelling units were found. About 43.8% of the respondents depended on communal taps (*bono*) and the rest (3.6%) relied on unprotected sources of water mostly *gudiguad* (A hand dug well in *Durame*) and *Minch* (spring in Debre Sina area, for instance *Aba Smuael* spring). This low access to individual pipe water connection has implications on the livelihood of the people since it weakens businesses in the informal sectors such as making and selling local drinks and foods processing that depend on reliable supply of potable water.

It was found that households in Durame town have relatively lower level of access to potable water than those in Wolenchiti and Debre Sina due to low yield of the bore hole.

Due apparently to this reason nearly all the surveyed households in Durame indicated that their access to water was inadequate and irregular. In fact in sharp contrast to the situation of the other two towns where water was by and large available on a daily basis, the respondents in Durame reported that they were accessing tap water twice a week through a shift system. However, some households in Durame town have hand dug wells in their compounds and they often used water drawn from such holes only for washing purposes.

**Table 6.8 Urban Services, by Location in percent**

Urban Services		Town Name				Chi Square	Sig
Source Of Drinking Water		Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina	Total		
		%	%	%	%		
Piped water	Private	55	13.83	38.89	35.97		
	pipied water elsewhere	14.89	23.40	11.11	16.55		
	Public	27.66	62.77	41.11	43.86		
No	A hand dug well /Spring	2.13	-	8.89	3.6		
<b>Toilet Facilities</b>							
Private Flush Toilet		12.1	6.4	5.7	8.1	<b>26.243</b>	<b>.002*</b>
Private Pit Toilet		80.2	62.8	62.1	68.4		
Public Toilet		2.2	15.9	16.1	11.1		
Use Field		5.5	14.9	16.3	12.2		
<b>Means of Dry Waste Disposal</b>							
By Burning		53.3	19.1	27.1	33.1	<b>180.044</b>	<b>.000**</b>
By Burying		33.3	1.1	5.9	13.4		
Throw in to Open Space in The Area		3.3	51.1	18.8	24.9		
Throw in to Nearby River		.0	.0	35.3	11.2		
Use Trucks		10.0	28.7	12.9	17.5		
<b>Energy source</b>							
Wood/Charcoal		84.3	91.5	95.3	90.3	<b>8.001</b>	<b>.238<sup>ns</sup></b>
Dung		4.5	3.2	1.2	3.0		
Kerosene		1.1	.0	1.2	.7		
Electric Power		10.1	5.3	2.3	5.9		

\*\*Significant at < .001, \*Significant at < .01, ns = not significant.

There is statistically significant different between the study towns in terms of means of dry waste disposal and toilet facilities ( $\chi^2=26.243$ ,  $P<01$ ) and ( $\chi^2=180.044$ ,  $P<001$ ), respectively whereas there is no statistically significant different between these towns in terms of energy source.

### **Sanitation**

Sanitation is one of the critical pillars for attaining food security. Across the globe, about three billion people lack safe sanitation (WFP, 2009). Access to safe sanitation in urban Ethiopia was about 27 percent in 2006 (USAID, 2007). As the results of the questionnaire survey show, about two-thirds (68%) of the respondents from the study towns reported that they had access to dry pit latrines. Comparatively only about 8 % of the respondents had flush toilets built inside their dwellings. Those relying on some type of public facility accounted for about 11% of all the respondents while about 12% had no toilet and as a result use fields or other open spaces for easing themselves. The highest percentage of households who used private dry pit latrines was in Durame while the lowest was in Debre Sina which had the highest percentage of households who used communal dry pit latrines (see Table 6.8).

### **Solid Waste Disposal Facilities**

Households in the study area use various mechanisms for storing and disposing solid waste of their residences. The survey result on the storage and disposal of domestic solid wastes showed that about 33.1% of the respondents dispose household solid waste through burning whereas 24.9 % dump it in open fields and 17.5% report that rubbish gets collected weekly. Household heads who reported burying solid waste accounted for 13.4% whereas about 11.2 % throw it into nearby rivers. From this, one can understand

that about 36% of all the respondents in the study towns were using unsafe and inappropriate solid waste dumping sites at the time of the survey. Some households also throw away solid waste either into open places or into the drainage system. This needs to be discouraged through follow-up and supervision by the local government.

The use of micro enterprises to collect solid waste from homes and transport it to designated solid waste collection centers is clearly lacking in the study towns. In the larger cities of the country such enterprises generate substantial employment opportunities as they collect solid waste from residential areas and transport it to spots from where municipal trucks pick them up for disposal at designated dump sites. The very little attempt that has been made to date in the study towns to use such types of microenterprises to facilitate the collection and disposal of solid waste shows that much remains to be done in small towns to rectify this shortcoming. Since the few micro enterprises that are already in existence have very little acceptance by the society, it is clear that much remains to be done in the area of awareness raising as regards the advantage of letting such enterprises do the solid collection and transportation work. During FGDs organized for men in Wolenchiti, one participant explains how bad the situation is by using the following words: *“we ask only ten birr a month for the service but some people are reluctant to pay that monthly.”*



Photo by Author, one means of Solid waste disposal in Durame town

### **Source of Energy for Lighting and Cooking**

The nature and patterns of energy use at the household level, especially, the fuel that they use for lighting and cooking are important determinants of the overall quality of life. Energy issues have been included in this study because energy production and consumption are closely linked to livelihood activities and food security. Researches indicate that there is a strong link between the availability of cooking fuel and food security (Turunen, et al., 2010). Concerning this, almost all the surveyed households reported that electricity was their main source of lighting. Overall 51 % of all the household heads in the study towns reported that they were using shared electric meters at the time of the survey. Only one respondent was using kerosene as her source of lighting. In addition to source of light, in the survey the sample households were also asked what types of energy sources they used for cooking. The majority (90.3%) of households in the study areas reported that they were using firewood and /or charcoal as the main source of cooking, followed by electric power (5.9%) and cow dung (3%).

Firewood is usually acquired from forests (especially from areas planted with eucalyptus trees) around the towns (in the cases of Durame and Debre Sina in particular) and from market.

As described above, provision of water and sanitation is clearly deficient in the poor households living areas. There are a range of public health challenges associated with inadequate access to clean water, inappropriate sanitation and refuse collection, predominantly associated with the spread of water-borne infectious diseases. Generally speaking, the access, quality, and affordability of services to the urban poor are dependent on several actors and operate through a complex network of urban governance. Those actors include formal (like the municipal authorities) and informal service providers (the private sectors). Informal practices may be interlinked to other formal activities and institutions in the public, private or community sectors in order to bring successful outcomes.

### **6.1.2.3 Household Asset**

The most commonly owned household assets were radio (70%), followed by a cell phone (69%), tables and chairs (63%), television sets (44%), sideboards (40%) and DVD/CD players (33%).

In terms of livestock ownership, it was found 24% of the respondents owned cattle and 16% own either sheep or goats. About 38% of the household in Durame owned cattle as compared to 17% in Wolenchiti and 15% in Debre Sina. As regards sheep or goats 21% of the respondents in Debre Sina owned such livestock. The comparative figures for Durame and Wolentchiti were 15 % and 12% respectively. An examination of the overall

patterns of household livestock ownership in each study town, however, suggests that their agro ecological backgrounds have most probably influenced the proportions of their livestock ownership.

### **6.1.3 Human Assets**

In relation to human capital, two variables are included: education and health. Regarding education, the higher the skills and education a person has, the wider are her/his opportunities to get a job. Various researches have shown that school (and related access to education) is one of the most important institutions for poor people. A household investing in education (provided facilities are available) can increase its alternatives for income generation and might be able to find better income sources through regular salaried jobs, or start a self employed business (Steimann,2004, cited Khan , 2008).

The survey data shows that the majority (46.7%) of household heads did not get formal education. Among all household members between 6 and 25 years of age, 54% were currently enrolled in school. Of those that were not enrolled, about one-third (29%) had completed grade 10 or grade 12 or more. The remaining school aged household members reported a range of reasons for not attending classes. Most commonly, young people needed to work and bring income into the household (16%), did not want to go (12.8%), or could not afford to attend school (6.5%).

Although the value of education has been underlined through interviews and focus group discussions, personal motivation is one of the important assets that should be considered as a component of human capital. Some school dropouts simply discontinued there due to their lack of interest in education; for some selling petty merchandise on the streets were

more attractive than sitting in the classroom. In addition to this, children are often expected to contribute to the income of households. Thus, in the study the involvement of young children in the urban work force has been noted as an income diversifying strategy. It is true that certainly some households seriously need their children's earnings to cope with poverty and vulnerability. Some households rely on their children earning as I was told,

I know education has long term return, but I could not feed my children by selling *chiraro* (dry branches of trees and stems of low growing bushes that are used as firewood). I took my 15-year-old daughter from school and sent her to sell *kollo* on the street, so that she could earn something which is helpful to raise the family's income. Going to school gives us no returns, but now she is bringing a little amount of money back home too. (Case study interview 09, Debre Sina).

This observation is consistent with the other findings. The incidence of child labour in Addis Ababa's slums has also been noted by Degefa(2008). In his study he reported that some households expect their children to contribute to the income of households. According to Schutte(2006) there is a trap in which many poor and vulnerable urban households are caught, where a choice has to be made between investing in the future by providing education and not having sufficient income in the present, or sacrificing education for current livelihood security.

A Kebele administration official in Wolenchiti also made the following comment:

World Vision Ethiopia is providing different school materials and uniforms for the children of poor families to encourage school enrollment if they have the courage to learn. But, some families and children earn their current incomes from work as daily laborers.

Good motivation for education and work in conjunction with the above mentioned assets is vital for the improvement of people's livelihoods and food security. Consistent with this, Fatuma shared her opinion as follows,

I do not have the resources to raise my children but I believe in myself and I am still strong. I believe that if I got opportunities and startup capital, I am capable of working. I am now doing petty trade on market day only due to financial constraints, but if I get a capital support I want to be engaged in a more rewarding trade by expanding what I am doing now.( Case study interview 06, Durame).

Contrary to what is stated above, in a FGD held at Wolenchiti for men, Mulugeta, a twenty four year old man who is dependent on his parents and is a bachelor degree holder spoke the following about:

I have been employed but the monthly salary I used to get was not enough to cover my basic expenses. So I left my job. I must get a job with a monthly salary of not less than Birr 3000 to meet my basic needs. Right now I am expecting better job. Until I get a good job I better continue to depend on my family. (Source: Fieldwork).

Over ambition is largely observed among some young people who have parents or guardians to depend on. Such individuals rarely see and seize good employments or business opportunities that could ultimately help to improve their livelihood.

## **Health**

Health is one of the key determinants of an individual's ability to use his/her own labor to access income. During the survey, health situation was assessed by looking at the incidence of sickness in the past year. Overall, 51% of the respondents reported that a household member had been ill in the previous year. The levels were highest in the Durame town (57%) and lowest in Debre Sina (47%).

The main health problem that emerged was a high prevalence of diseases such as, malaria, pneumonia, gastric problems (gastritis), and HIV/AIDS. In Durame, more households reported about malaria and typhoid than the respondents in the other two studied towns (see Table 6.9).

The strong presences of malaria and typhoid in Durame are due to the use of untreated small pool of rain water and storing of pipe water for days. A sanitarian in Durame expressed that, there was a great shortage of water in the town so that in order to satisfy water needs the people store water for three or more days, a practice that may easily expose the people to contamination by water born diseases. The people in the area also use water from *kure* (small ponds) known as *Gocho*. The waters in such ponds are especially used for washing clothes and various household equipments. As it is difficult to keep the water of *kure* clean, there is a good chance that it might contribute to the spread of various water born diseases. Furthermore, such standing water bodies make a very suitable breeding ground for the mosquitoes that transmit malaria. Additionally, the households who have hand dug water wells in their compounds do sale water to the more needy households. This is also another reason for contamination. In Durame, as it was formerly explained, during the survey the people have been getting water once or twice a week. Consequently, the possibility of the water to be contaminated while being kept in storage, for days is quite high. The study by Schutte (2006) in the urban Herat indicated that the susceptibility to health risks is accelerated by hazards such as poor housing, lack of sanitary facilities, defective water supply or inadequate waste and sewage disposal.

As regards the health status of the people in general, one thing that surprised the researcher is that in all the three study towns the heads of the sample households reported

openly about the HIV/AIDS status of their household members. Though there is a need of further research it seems that there is an attitudinal change in the society as regards disclosing theirs or their household members HIV status. The extent, if any, that expectation for some kind of support has encouraged people to talk so openly about an issue which was almost a taboo a few years back is not clear.

**Table 6.9: Distribution of the Household members of the sampled households by Main Type of Illness**

Disease	Town name			Total
	Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina	
Typhoid/ Guardia	23	8	11	42
Malaria	25	2	5	32
Pneumonia	7	3	1	11
Gastric	5	6	9	20
HIV	1	5	3	9

Source: Research Survey, 2013

The illness or death of one or more household member can have a devastating impact on poor households. Different studies shows correlation of illness and food insecurity. For instance, a study by Rudolph, et al. (2012) “Statistical Analysis of the Johannesburg Data” suggests that, illness is correlated with food insecurity, although the causal connections can work in both directions. Battersby (2011) study also indicated that the contributions of household members to household income reduced due to their inability to work, thus affecting food security.

## **6.2. Livelihoods Activities – How do People Survive?**

This section discusses aspects relating to employment and/or livelihood activities of households. Livelihood activities refer to all activities pursued in the process of securing a livelihood and as such include income-generating as well as reproductive activities (Schutte, 2006). Households perform various activities to gain and maintain their livelihoods. The nature of these activities depends on the availability of assets, resources, skills, education, social capital, and gender.

Household heads in this study were found to be deriving their livelihoods from a wide range of activities. In the study area, the majority (above 80%) earn their livelihood from service sector. Classifying different types of livelihoods in an urban area is a difficult task because of the considerably diverse livelihood activities. Nevertheless, 8 distinct livelihood groups were created for this research namely government and private salary/wage earner, agriculture, self employed/small business, wage laborer, petty trade, handicrafts/artisan, and welfare dependent (remittance, gift, food assistance, pension etc). In the study area, in their attempt to get cash, the urban households engaged in various types of livelihood strategies including formal and informal activities. Working in informal employment comprises private casual/wage sector activities like involvement in daily labor, petty trade, and self employment in activities such as cart pulling, selling of local drinks and home based food dominate the livelihood activity in the area reported by about 40 percent of households. The problem is, as the main source of livelihoods, the informal economy is characterized by irregularity, low wages, unreliability, high competition, and seasonality (Schutte, 2006). The next most common source of income is

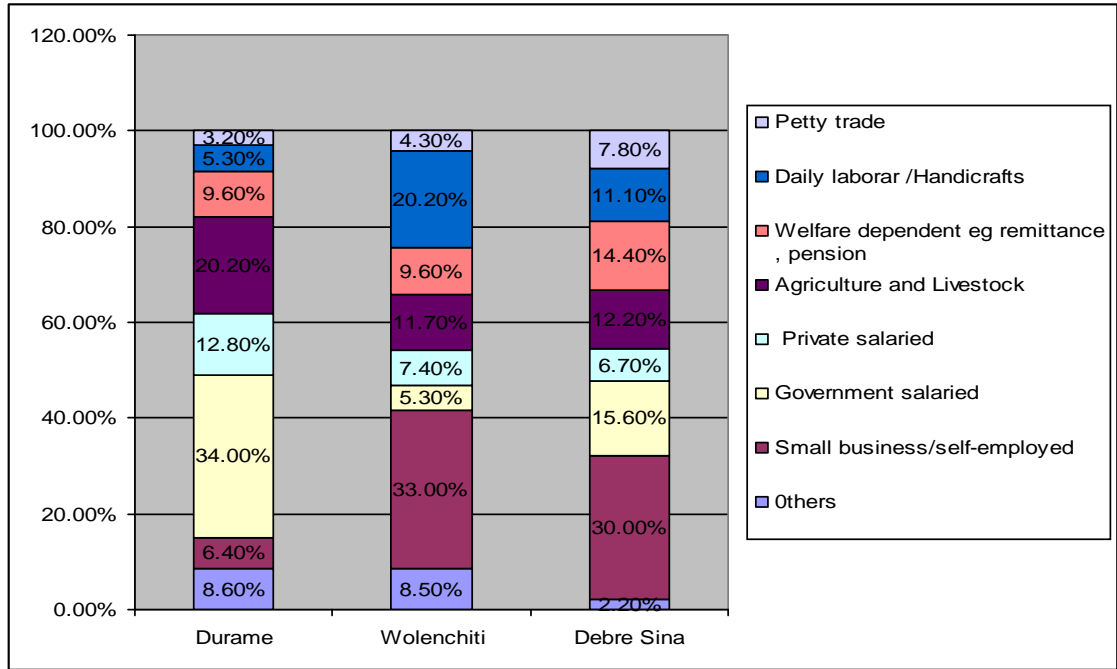
working as a government employee at 18.3 percent, and 14.7 percent depending on agriculture and livestock.

In terms of activity the main activities are:

- Government salaried(18.3
- Private salaried (9%)
- Self employed/small business (23%)
- Agriculture and livestock (14.7%)
- Daily laborers (10.1%)
- Petty trade (5%) and
- Handicrafts/artesian (2.2%)
- Welfare Dependent (11.2%)
- Others (6.4%)

The town samples are described in the charts below by the livelihood groups of the urban dwellers. It is clear here that Durame has a greater share of households relying on salary/wages for their livelihoods compared to the other towns. However, the households in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti have a much higher share of cases depending on self employment and small business enterprises.

**Figure 6.2 Livelihood Groups by Towns**



**Table 6.10 Descriptive Statistics Livelihood Group and Income**

Livelihood Group	Total number	Total percent	Male (%)	Female (%)	Mean Income(birr)
Small business/self-employed	64	23.0	17.9	33.0	899
Government salaried	51	18.3	27.7	0	2258
Private salaried	25	9.0	11.4	4.3	1220
Agriculture and Livestock	41	14.7	19.0	6.4	766
Welfare dependents	31	11.2	8.7	16.0	566
Handicrafts /artisan	6	2.2	2.7	1.1	1383
Daily laborer	28	10.1	8.2	13.8	608
Petty trade	14	5.0	1.6	11.7	678
Others	18	6.4	5	13	1293

Source: Research Survey, 2013

The Main Livelihood Strategy Categories were defined and explain as follows:

**1. Wage Laborer:** A total of 28 households (~10 percent) out of the sample rely on daily wage labour as their main source of income. This in the majority of cases is accessed via the crossroads, where every day a huge number of people wait for work opportunities.

Competition is very high, since people from surrounding villages come and wait besides urban dwellers. Wages paid for unskilled labour are not only low for a day's work, but it is insecure and not available every day, and it depends on the situation and there is seasonal variation especially for agricultural daily laborers.

By stressing the above idea, the majority of daily workers respondents in the study area expressed that it is difficult to get job daily. In addition to this, daily laborers largely emphasized the seasonality of access of daily wage labor. In Durame, for instance, findings from group discussions indicate that during the coffee harvesting seasons, many young men leave their house and travel to rural areas and agro-industrial areas to earn income as agricultural workers. This indicates household members seasonally migrate for working in order to sustain livelihood in urban areas.

A lack of new private businesses in Wolenchiti signals that the town is experiencing not considerable growth. Focus group participants in the town confirmed this impression. The main problems are the lack of growth in the number of local jobs, forcing people to leave the town in search of jobs in one of the major cities of Ethiopia, Adama.

They earn pitiful wages that condemn them to survive in a state of disproportionate poverty and undignified daily existence. The average monthly payment for those who are engaged in daily wage laborer four weeks prior to the date of the survey was 608 birr. The likelihood of a households being poor depends not only on the wages earned but also on factors such as the security and seasonality of the work and the nature of employment. The participants argue that they are limited to these low paying and insecure economic activities due to lack of jobs in regular formal employment and lack of other job opportunities in the area.

**2. Small Business or Self-employment:** Sixty-four of the individually interviewed households (23 per cent) in the study rely on self employment as their main income source. This very diverse category comprises activities such as selling homemade drinks like '*tella*' and '*arekie*', and home-based food like *Injera* and small bread (*Tibigna dabo*), selling of vegetable and fruit, pulling carts, tailor and small business. However, all the different forms of self-employment observed in the study commonly have low and irregular returns due in part to the irregularity of the job opportunities.

The mean monthly income for those who are engaged in self employment one month prior to the date of the survey was 899 birr. However, there is a great spatial variation in the aforementioned self employment activities as income sources. For instance, '*tella*' and '*arekie*' selling are rarely found in Durame area due to their cultural and religious sentiment. Many respondents who work in self employment in Durame are involved in the selling of vegetables and fruits while the selling of '*tella*' and '*arekie*' is common for a lot of respondents who were engaged in self employment activities in Wolenchiti and Debre Sina towns. This activity is the domain of women. Out of the total female headed households about 35 percent earned their incomes from this source.

On the subject of this, one of the households' heads whose income relied on *tella* making and selling from Wolenchiti stated:

Her livelihood is mainly depending on brewing and selling of local brew or *tella* and *arekie*. As this business is the only way and option of earning her living, this is the job that covers her food. Besides from this source she is supporting her two children who are living with her parents in a rural area, with clothing, and school expenses (Case Study interview 03, Wolenchiti).

Similar to the above idea, Takelech, one of the case study interview respondents indicated the importance of the small business as follows: *Tella* and *arekie* making and selling is the main source of income for the household. They are living in a two room house rented from *Kebele* administration. She brews *tella* in one of the rooms and sells it from home two days a week but she also has regular customers of *arekie*. When she explains her livelihood situations, she says the following: “...relying on income from *tella* selling alone is difficult. I don’t earn enough money to buy food and other basic necessities for the whole family.” She gets help in the form of money and food from the local Muluwengel Church (Case study interview 11, Debre Sina).

*Injera* baking and selling - is also one of the informal trade activities for women. Some households at the study sites also rely on generating income by get involved in this activity. Concerning this activity, Workinesh commented the following:

I sell *injera* from home. I sell up to 30-40 *injera* every day. I can make a profit of 10-15 birr a day. I sell it to individuals around here and also after 5pm I sell at a *gullit*. If I am healthy, it is my main livelihood activity. I have also tried to do many things to diversify my income, even home brewed *tella*/shameta for sale. Now the problem is my health, and sometimes I find it very difficult to work. I would be lying to you if I were to tell you that I used *teff* only to bake *injera* due to high price of *teff*. It is difficult to get profit if I baked pure *teff*, thus, commonly I am mixing *teff* with maize. (Case study interview 07, Durame).

In addition to the informal activities that were briefly described above, activities like vegetable selling, and tea selling are among the livelihood activities in the study areas. Other self-employment activities that have some importance in Wolenchiti and Durame are cart pulling. Cart driving is reported as a livelihood activity for transporting people in Wolenchiti and used for transport of goods in Durame and only male are engaging on Cart pulling. Contrary to this, selling *Kollo* – is among the livelihood activities of female

household heads in Debre Sina.

The experience of poverty alleviation at micro level should be adopted in small towns to transfer certain informal trade activities to the formal sector activities. Thus identifying those productive trade activities within informal sector and organizing them under micro enterprise development associations and promoting employment oriented and labour intensive investments are very essential to transfer informal sector to the formal one.

**3. Government employees:** (include if household head is engaged in a regional & federal level job (police, army, teacher etc). Activities related to public employment are carried out by 51 households (~18 per cent) in the sample, which was dominated by males and are most widespread in Durame town, as it is a zonal capital. About 34% of respondents in Durame were involved in government job. However, this livelihood group was reported by 15.6% in Debre Sina and 5.3% in Wolenchiti. What this suggests is that the earning potential of households in Durame is potentially higher than that in the other two towns. This is compounded by the fact that this town has the potential formal sector employment opportunities. The average monthly income of this livelihood group in all the study towns was 2258 Birr.

#### **4. Agriculture based livelihoods ( Farming and Livestock raising)**

Urban and rural agriculture could be important sources of livelihood for the poor. Given that urban agriculture is often hypothesized to mitigate household level food insecurity and improve dietary diversity, survey households were asked d questions regarding access to land and participation in fruit/vegetable production and raising livestock. Many studies have indicated that the poor engaged in urban agriculture mainly for own need and also for

raising income (Maxwell,et al., 2000; Hillbruner, 2008, Tegegne, 2011). The poor also engaged in livestock breeding as a source of income.

According to the results of the household survey, about 15 % respondents relied on urban and peri-urban agriculture as the main livelihood strategy. It accounts 20.2% in Durame, 11.7 % Wolenchiti and 12.5 % in Debre Sina. They earned on average 766 birr a month. The fact is that as the study focus on small towns, these small towns are closer to rural areas and this could be one reason for some households in small towns to engage in agriculture. Unlike the two small towns, what is noticeable in Durame is that there are small vegetable gardens in front and at the back of their houses, indicating the reliance on urban farming as a source of livelihood for the residents living there.

A total of 85 household heads reported that they were raising one or another kind of livestock at the time of the survey. This represents 30.6 per cent of the total household heads who were, mostly keeping cows, sheep, and chicken. Only one survey household reported that it was raising a donkey. Households in Durame owned significantly more animals than households in Wolenchiti and Debre Sina although the magnitude of this difference was not large. Out of the total household heads, about 18 % (51 household heads) grew fruits or vegetables, most commonly potatoes, kale, *enset* and avocado. The distribution is highly skewed towards in favor of Durame. Out of the total 51 households that were growing fruits, 40 were from Durame while 11 were from Debre Sina. Besides, urban garden is almost void in Wolenchiti.



Photo by author, Home garden in Durame

In all the study areas, it is found that men's and women's income generating activities differ markedly (see Table 6.10). The primary source of income of a considerably large proportion (about 33%) of the female headed households is small business. About 16 % of such households were also found to be welfare dependent. Female headed households also make more use of available support through NGOs or from other sources. About 28 % of the male headed households depend on salaries paid by the government. While 19% of such households depend on agriculture nearly the same proportion (about 18%) draw their incomes from small businesses. What is more, male workers tend to have considerably more secured jobs than female workers. For instance, about 40% of male headed households rely on regular monthly salaried income, whereas female headed households have to find other means of survival since only 4.3% have a regular salaried income.

Over all, this chapter analyzes the livelihood strategies of urban poor households. It presents their assets, and the particular activities they employ for survival and how place differentially shapes their experiences. The lack of stable income, especially from wage labour, has cast uncertainty on the survival of households. The diversity of livelihood activities pursued by individuals and households have been survivalist in nature and thus

not sustainable. Urban households are exposed to a lot of factors that makes them vulnerable in the study areas. These factors and the strategies that urban poor adopt to overcome these vulnerabilities are discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **HOUSEHOLD VULNERABILITY, SHOCKS, AND COPING STRATEGIES**

This chapter attempts to explore the various shocks and coping strategies adopted by the surveyed households so as to deal with the hardship caused by shocks. A detailed discussion of the type of shock and coping strategies of the respondents is stated below with the support of qualitative results obtained from group discussions and case studies.

#### **7.1 Shocks**

Poor households often experience a range of risks and insecurities, which results in a precarious existence. Factors that contribute to household instability and that place them at risk are often referred to as “shocks” (Wet, et al., 2008). Shock is an unexpected or unpredictable event that affects a specific household (idiosyncratic shock) or the entire community (covariate shock). Covariate shocks occur due to natural disasters, or socio-economic instability. Idiosyncratic shocks, on the other hand, arise due to illness, death, and displacement of a household member; or loss of job or property, or failure of business (Netsanet, 2009).

Generally about 38 % of the survey population felt that, in general, their household met its basic needs for food; water, shelter, and healthcare (see Table 7.1). A slightly smaller proportion of households in Durame reported meeting basic needs and this difference was significant at 95 % level of confidence ( $p=0.016$ ,  $t=8.304$ ). The great shortage of water was among the main reasons that created high dissatisfaction in Durame.

In terms of seasonal variation in wellbeing, most survey households identified June through September as the worst times of year (mainly availability of cereal in the market reduce and the food price rises for those who depend on market), and December to April as the best time of year. Food prices (especially cereals) are also relatively low during this period and therefore most households tend to be well provisioned. These patterns were broadly similar across all the study urban centers. It is due to the fact that food shortage is common in summer months as opposed the winter months in Ethiopia. In winter (*bega*), farmers have plenty of food because it is the season that follows the harvesting season. In summer (*kremet*) food supply dwindles significantly since it comes roughly 6 months after the main harvesting season. However, smaller proportion of households in Durame reported summer season is the best time due to the fact that they produce root vegetable and green maize at this season. And in Wolenchiti the traders who are engaged in *tella* and *areqie* selling, reported that August through December as the best time to livelihood and food security due to the fact that a large number of agricultural daily laborer come to the area as it is ploughing, planting ,weeding and harvesting period.

**Table 7.1: Perceptions of Wellbeing**

Households reporting that they meet their basic needs for food, water, shelter, healthcare (%)	Durame	Debre Sina	Wolenchiti	Total Average (N=108)
	29.8	35.6	51.1	38.8

When asked to identify why the hardest months were difficult, the top three reasons reported by survey households were: general financial hardship due to limited income,

lack of job, etc (31%), lack of product in the market especially during ploughing time (25.6%), and price rise (21.7%). More households in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti than in Durame reported the weakening of trading activities and the consequent shortage of the supply of cereals on the markets as the major reason for reporting summer as the worst time of the year as regards food security. The seasonal variation of income earning was clearly reflected in the case study interviews. For instance, Dinke reported the seasonal variation of income and her living situation in a case study interview as follows:

My main occupation is brewing and selling *tella* and *arekie*. I brew it here in the house and also sell it right here. My customers increase during the country's agricultural season (August-December). At this time a lot of agricultural workers come from different parts of the country to plough the land or do weeding and participate in other farm related activities. Thus my income increases during this season. But during *bega* (winter) season my income drastically decreases due to low trading activities (Case study interview 03, Wolenchiti).

In addition to the general information on the good and bad times of the year, survey respondents were asked to identify and rank the top three shocks that they experienced in one year prior to the survey. Accordingly various types of shocks that they witnessed during the 12 months preceding the survey were reported by the respondents. The shocks that were thus identified ranged from a rise in the price of food and non-food items to shocks that affected the household's human capital, and hence, its income generating capacity.

Among respondents that had experienced one or more shocks, the most important covariate shock that affected food security profiles was related to high food prices. Over 78 % of the respondents reported high food prices as the main covariate shock that adversely impacted their incomes and access to food. The other common type of reported

shock was illness/health cost (45.3%) while 43.8 percent cited irregular water supply as the shocks they were experiencing.

Overall, inflation or high food price has been reported as the most common shock being faced by the households in the study areas. This shock was reported less often in Debre Sina (74.4%) and most often in Durame (82.8%). About 77% of the households in Wolenchiti felt the shock of high food prices. In urban areas of Ethiopia where most of household food sources come from market, it is not surprising that market prices had such a significant and direct impact on households' livelihoods and food security.

**Table 7.2: Common Shocks Affecting the Households' by their ranks**

Shock	Rank			Total	Percent
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>		
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.		
High food prices	125	57	36	218	78.4%
Sickness/health expenditures	38	45	42	125	45.5%
Irregular/unsafe drinking water	6	60	56	122	43.8%
Bad weather/lack of rains or flooding	19	26	24	69	24.8%
Loss of job of household member	28	11	7	46	16.9%
Increase in energy price	5	8	21	34	12.2%
Rise Payment house rental	3	18	11	32	11.5%
Death household family/funerals	15	6	6	27	9.7%
* Multiple response is possible					

Natural factor-induced shocks (like bad weather/shortage of rain) were not very common given the fact that these factors do not directly affect an urban area. However, as it is described in Table 7.2, over 24 percent of the respondents in the study towns reported bad weather as a shock that they had faced, indicating the significant number of respondents directly depending upon agriculture in these towns and have a great urban-rural ties .

By livelihood group, the group that is most likely to report high food prices as the primary shock is the group of daily laborers (91.1%), followed by those depending on government salary/wages (90%) while the least likely are those that depend on money transfer or pension funds (67.7%) as shown Table 7.3.

**Table 7.3: Respondents Reporting High Food Price as a Shock by Livelihood Group**

Livelihood group	High food price as a shock (%)
Agriculture and Livestock	78
Wage laborer and Artisans	91.1
Government salary	90
Welfare dependents	67.7
Private salary	81
Self employed	73
Petty trade	71.4

Focus group discussions also indicated that commodity price increase has been a major shock to most households over the recent past. Focus group participants’ particularly formal employees mentioned that: *“salaries have not increased to keep up with the increasing prices hence we have been forced to buy cheaper foods and that too, in smaller quantities.”* Prices have gradually increased and our incomes have not been able to match the continuing price hikes. In a FGD at Durame, one participant also said: *“My monthly salary in 1996 E.C was 710 birr while I was a fresh degree graduate. In those days, I could consume my food from restaurants and I did not worry for my food but now though my salary has increased it is difficult for me to go there due to price increment.”*

When asked about the households that were affected the most by the food price hikes most focus groups participants mentioned daily laborers, petty traders, and low-income civil servants. A butcher (who was organizing a *qircha* on a weekly base in Debre Sina) explained the issue in a group discussion as follows: *“I have friends who are low-income*

*government civil servants who are suffering because of the current prices of commodities. Thus, as to me they are the most vulnerable than the trader who can adjust their incomes with the rising prices.”*

Related with the above expression one of the participants, a tailor man from Wolenchiti said in a group discussion the following: “...*Even though the prices of the commodities increase these days, our daily incomes have also improved. We are adjusting the prices of our services and are asking our customers payments that are commensurate with our efforts but there is a great seasonal variation. For example, the beginning of the academic year improves our incomes since most students buy uniforms”*

In all the study towns focus group discussion participants indicated daily laborers and old aged heads of households that do not have supporters as people that are affected the most by food insecurity.

### **7.1.1 Economic Perceptions and Impact of Rising Food Prices**

When asked to compare their households' present standard of living with what it had been five years ago, nearly three-fourth of the respondents in the surveyed towns felt that there was no change in their income levels. Only 28 percent of the respondents reported that improvement has taken place in their levels of household incomes. On the other hand, a rise in the number of employee in the family should ideally improve the aggregate household income. Over 83 percent of the respondents reported no change in the number of employees in their respective households during the five years prior to the survey.

**Table 7.4: Economic Perception of Households**

	Earning members in households increased		Income raised	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	46	16.5	79	28.4
No	232	83.4	199	71.6

The prices of food play a significant role in the poverty-food insecurity status of households. A follow-up question on the respondent's attitude towards the most influential shock (rise in food price) and food consumption behavior was also asked during the questionnaire survey. As shown in Table 7.5, the majority of the respondents reported that they thought an increase in the price of food is the primary shock that affects their food security.

During the survey the respondents were specifically asked to indicate how food price shocks affected their food consumption patterns by distinguishing between three different categories of impact as shown in Table 7.5

**Table 7.5: Perceived impact of Food Price on Food Consumption by Town**

Town		Impact of Food price			Total
		Highly Significant	Moderately Significant	Highly Insignificant	
Durame	No	27	60	3	90
	%	30.0%	66.7%	3.3%	100.0%
Wolenchiti	No	47	43	4	94
	%	50.0%	45.7%	4.3%	100.0%
Debre Sina	No	48	30	8	86
	%	55.8%	34.9%	9.3%	100.0%
Total	No	122	133	15	270
	%	45.2%	49.3%	5.6%	100.0%

As shown in Table 7.5, about 45% of the respondents indicated that during the survey period food price is high and it has significantly affected their food consumption habits. Thus as response to food price rises households are likely to adjust their food

consumption and poor families can reduce food expenditure by eating less or shifting to lower quality food or less diverse diets. This can have multiple negative long-term impacts on household well being and future human capital. Cohen and Garrett (2009) clarified changes in consumption patterns brought on by higher food prices will mean increased poor school performance and over time , reduced work productivity.

The other 49% households were able to withstand it through increased expenditure on food items. The high increment of food prices forced people to spend more on food. This brought about reduction of the family's financial capacity for other expenses which mean that households will try to mitigate higher food prices by reducing their outlay on education, health, clothing, etc. These will have also negative effect in the long run on household or household members' economic productivity and well being. Only 5.6% of the surveyed households noted that they had avoided disturbance of food consumption patterns because of price increases.

Between 2007 and 2008, international and regional food prices rose to unprecedented levels (WFP, 2009). Ethiopia was also vulnerable to price increases. A rather high rate of inflation affected the people's access to food and non-food items in Ethiopia. Such price rises were particularly devastating for poor urban households.

## **7.2 Coping Strategies**

Food insecurity in its extreme form is portrayed by malnutrition, but households under livelihood stress or facing food insecurity due to a shock used different coping mechanisms to mitigate the household's food shortage. Most of the time people respond various ways of coping to conditions under which they do not have enough to eat, in

principle the more people have to adopt coping strategies, the less food secure they are. In general the formal survey revealed that 53% of the household heads have experienced food shortage to a considerable degree during the last 12 months before the survey. The respondents reported that they responded to both income insecurity and food insecurity in many different ways. In most cases they used a combination of behaviors, as well as asset and assistant – based coping strategies to meet their basic needs.

### **7.2.1 Consumption Related Coping Strategies**

Change in consumption behavior is the most common strategy used by the respondents to cope with their declining purchasing power. The survey found out that households were moderating their consumption patterns as a cost cutting measures. Among the strategies of consumption change, the most common one was to switch to less preferred or less expensive food (44%). Limiting the size of the meals consumed was the second most common coping strategy (32%) followed by the practice of reducing the number of meals eaten per day, i.e, skipping breakfast, or lunch (21%) (see Table 7.6). A small proportion of the respondents reported that sometimes they skip meals for the whole day to cope with high food prices and low incomes. This is obviously the most severe of any of the strategies mentioned, even though it is much less frequently practiced than the rest.

**Table 7.6: The Respondents' Consumption Related Coping Strategies**

Type of coping strategies	Frequency	Percentage*
Eat less preferred, lower quality or less expensive foods	123	44.2
Limit the amount of food during meals	90	32.3
Reduce the number of meals consumed in a day	59	21.2
Some times skip entire day without eating	16	5.8

\*since respondents could have multiple responses' the total percentage does not add up to 100

There are also strong cultural differences among the respondents as regards their attitudes towards expressing the extent to which they have faced food insecurity and the nature of the coping strategies that they used in times of food shortage. For instance, during the focus group discussions certain heads of households spoke that it was shameful for them to reveal that they were faced with the problem of food shortage. This is particularly true in Durame, where begging is not practiced on the streets, and openly stating the fact that they did not have enough to eat is seen as a shameful act. Contrary to this some exaggerate their situation of food insecurity by expecting food aid. In some cases their explanation of their food consumption patterns and their actual conditions of living vary considerably.

As pointed out in chapters 5 and 8, individuals and households in the study towns have a number of consumption based mechanisms for coping with financial shortfalls and food insecurity. Case studies and focus groups noted different adjustments as associated with the types of staple crops and specific meal households employed at times when there was not enough money to buy food for all household members. In general terms, these include:-

- **Dietary changes** such as change in staple grain from more expensive (*teff*) to other cheaper and less-preferred foods such as wheat, sorghum, millet, and maize. Case studies indicated that they used *teff* mixed with millet and *guaya* for preparing the traditional sauce which is known as *wat*.

Most focus group respondents agreed that less preferred food items are consumed by the lowest income households as a means of adapting to lower incomes. Besides, there is seasonal variation in the patterns of consumption. During the summer season the poor households' food menu is mostly dominated by some food group like potato, cabbage, *yebokolo eshet* (green maize), *adungare*, and others which are relatively cheaper during this season.

- **Reducing quantity of food per meal** - Cutting back the amount of food that each person in the household gets was the second most common coping strategy, and in terms of severity, is roughly equivalent to eating foods that are less preferred.
- **Reducing number of meals per day** – Eating only one or two meals per day was commonly practiced, particularly by some lower-income groups. Some interviewed household heads choose to have a late morning meal and an early dinner as a way of avoiding a third meal.
- **Maternal buffering** - Mothers often deliberately reduce their own food consumption in order to ensure that children get enough to eat when food supplies

are inadequate. Among some lower income households, the children eat their breakfast but the parents skip breakfast, eating only one or two meals per day.

### 7.2.2 Asset and Assistant Based Coping Strategies

In response to the aforementioned shocks, households were asked if they applied any asset and assistant based coping strategies during the past one year prior to the survey. Shock-affected households reported some type of coping strategy, most often borrowing money (33.5%). This was followed by strategies such as receiving donation from relatives or friends (31.3%), buying food on credit basis (24.8%), migration of household members to the nearby town for wage labour (14.7%), and practicing petty trades (11.2%) (Table 7.7).

**Table 7.7: The Respondents' Asset and Assistance Based Coping Strategies**

Type of Coping Strategies	Frequency	Percentage*
Migrate household members to the nearby town for wage labour	41	14.7%
Receiving donation from relatives or friends	87	31.3%
Borrow money /credit	93	33.5%
Buy food on credit basis	69	24.8%
Selling household assets	19	6.8%
Selling household livestock	14	5.0%
Sell on street/ petty trading	31	11.2%
Sell wood	14	5.0%
Engaging children in work	19	6.8%
Begging	4	1.4%
Others	3	1.1%

\*since respondents could have multiple responses' the total percentage does not add up to 100

There were also some various coping strategies reported during the discussions such as diversifying their income activities in order to bring in more revenue and sending some of children to rural areas to reduce expenditure

### **Household head rely on multiple coping strategies from Debre Sina**

The case is 44 years old. She is a widow who lives in Debre Sina with her 4 children. Her first husband, who was the bread winner of her family, died ten years ago. After his death, the burden of raising their children lies upon her. Before her first husband's death, they could have at least a full stomach three times a day. Due to difficulty of feeding her children after the death of her first husband, she got remarried to a man who was a tailor. She had a daughter from this marriage. Her second husband did not give her enough money to meet her basic needs. Instead he kept on giving hard times to her children. Thus they divorced. She says she was in a better condition before she got married to the second husband. She is now involved in brewing and selling *tella* (local beer) and *areqie*. Her older daughter went to Addis in search of employment after dropping out of school. She gets support from the Emanuel Development Association, Debre Sina Branch to cover the costs school uniforms for her children. She also receives some from the local Mulu Wengel Church. (Case study interview 09, Debre Sina).

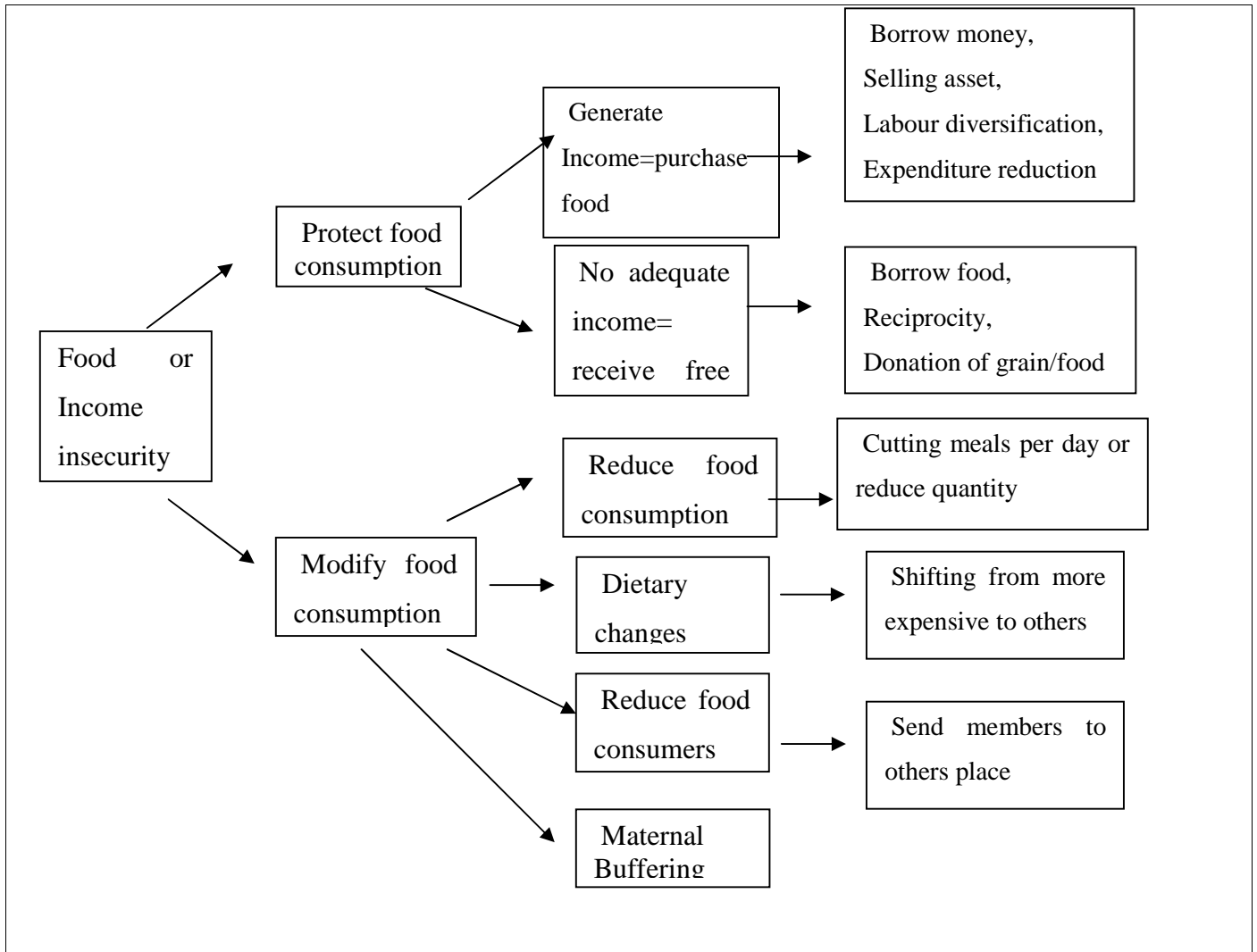
Some single female heads of households when they unable to cover the households expenses, they send some of their children to rural areas in order to reduce their vulnerability. A case study participant from Durame explains the situations as follows:

It has been four years since my husband died. I am a maid servant. Most of my employers are teachers thus my degree of suffering increase during summer seasons because of lack employment when they take a break. I have three kids and I am the only earning member so not able to satisfy their food needs and as a result, I send my older son to my rural family.(Case study interview 07, Durame).

Similarly, a case study interview participant from Wolenchiti indicated that, “... *after I divorced, I could not feed and send my children to school .Consequently, I send both of my children to rural areas for my parents.*”(Case study interview 03, Wolenchiti) The rural areas appear to offer the best alternative for poor households that unable to survive with their household members though the divide of the household unit into two may have its own problems.

In general, there were a number of ways in which people responded to both income insecurity and food insecurity (see Figure 7.1). These varied from assistance based to altering food consumption.

**Figure 7.1 Summary of Urban Households' Response to Income and Food Insecurity in the Study Towns**



To sum up, poor households often experience increased vulnerability as a result of shocks. The most significant event that leads to the vulnerability of a household was high food price. It is found out that households were moderating their food consumption patterns in order to adapt to the shift in household income and price rise, as a cost cutting measure. Their resilience is thus born of an income saving activities. Besides, households were using different income generating activities in order to raise income for food and

other urban expenses so that the food security of their members is enhanced. The following chapter examines household food security levels in study towns and to identify the factors responsible for increasing vulnerability to food insecurity

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **FOOD SECURITY STATUS OF URBAN HOUSEHOLDS IN THE STUDY TOWNS**

This chapter discusses the findings that emerged from the study in terms of household food security in Debre Sina, Wolenchiti and Durame towns and the factors that are responsible for increasing the vulnerability of these households to food insecurity. These findings were presented by linking data collected using qualitative and quantitative methods. It is known that the level of household food insecurity can be measured in different ways depending on the purpose of the study. In this study, an attempt was made to use three important food access measuring tools: Household food access experience, Dietary recall, and Months of Adequate Food consumption. In doing so, the chapter was divided into four major sections as shown in the subsequent pages. The chapter begins by providing a descriptive analysis of the levels of household food security, followed by a presentation of some factors associated with household food insecurity. The second section discusses the food consumption patterns, followed by political ecology of the study towns. The final section discusses the seasonal variability of food insecurity within the surveyed households.

#### **8.1 Proportion of Food Insecure Households**

The majority of surveyed households indicated that they were food insecure as they could hardly uphold a balanced supply of adequate food for household members. Based on household food insecurity access prevalence (HFIAP) score, the respondents are categorized into four levels of food insecurity: Food secure; mildly, moderately and

severely food insecure. Of the total heads of household, 23 (8.2%) heads of household reported that they have ever experienced sleeping hungry, and 21 (7.5%) participants reported that no food available entire day at the time of survey. 167 (60%) households have reduced the variety of food that they consumed, 106 (38.1%) have reduced the amount of food that they consume, and 71 (25.5%) have reduced their meal frequency (Table 8.1a).

Table 8.1a Household Response to HFIAS questions

Questions	Yes	
	N	%
Q1: Worry about food	148	53.2
Q2: Unable to eat preferred foods	162	58.5
Q3: Eat just a few kinds of foods	167	60
Q4: Eat foods they really do not want eat	90	32.3
Q5: Reduce amount of meal	106	38.1
Q6: Reduce frequency of meal	71	25.5
Q7: No food of any kind in the household	21	7.5
Q8: Go to sleep hungry	23	8.2
Q9: Go a whole day and night without eating	2	0.7

Source: Research Survey, 2013

The results of the questionnaire survey show that only 22.7% of the respondents in the three study towns were food secure at the time of the survey, while the rest fell into different food insecurity status categories. About 28.4% of all the respondents were mildly food insecure, 35.3% were moderately food insecure, while 13.3% were found in the severe food insecurity condition. The results of the analysis further revealed that Durame, with 28% food secure respondents, was leading the other two towns in food security status. Debre Sina stood second in this regard with 21% of the respondents being food secure. Comparatively, only 19% of the respondents from Wolenchiti were food secure during the period of the survey (Table 8.1b). A Chi-square test statistics shows

that there is a statistically significant association between the study towns and their food security status at less than 1 % level of significance (Pearson  $\chi^2(6) = 27.214, p < .001$ ).

In line with this study, high levels of food insecurity have also been documented in other urban poor settings in the developing world in general and in Ethiopia in particular. For example, Kimani-Murage, et al. (2014) found that only 15% of households in slum of Nairobi were food secure. Moreover, the study towns' food insecurity level was slightly higher than the 75% prevalence rate recorded for the urban household survey held in three sub-cities of Addis Ababa (Birhane, et al., 2014).

**Table 8.1b: Food Security Status of Households across Towns**

<b>Town</b>		Food Secure	Mild food insecure	Moderate food insecure	Severe food insecure	<b>Total</b>
Durame	Count	26	11	37	20	94
	%	27.7%	11.7%	39.4%	21.3%	100.0%
Wolenchiti	Count	18	41	29	6	94
	%	19.1%	43.6%	30.9%	6.4%	100.0%
Debre Sina	Count	19	27	32	12	90
	%	21.1%	30.0%	35.6%	13.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	63	79	98	38	278
	%	22.7%	28.4%	35.3%	13.7%	100.0%

Pearson  $\chi^2(6) = 27.214, p < .001$

The case study respondents and FGD participants confirmed the quantitative analysis of the food insecurity situation of the households in the study that for most households due to high food price, the struggle to find enough food to survive is a daily occurrence. Skyrocketing inflation reduced the real income thus an average worker's wage was inadequate to buy sufficient food.

### **Gender differences in the food consumed by households during the year before the survey**

A Chi-square test of significance revealed statistically significant differences in responses between genders in the statements describing the food consumed in the household (see Table 8.2). Overall, more males (54.7%) than females (44.1%) stated that they had enough, but not always, kinds of food they wanted. More females (53.8%) than males (34.9%) indicated that their food was sometimes or often not enough ( $\chi^2(3) = 13.976, p = .003, < .01$ ). This shows that female headed households have a relatively less sufficient quality and quantity of food than male headed households. This raises the question related to financial capital. The heightened vulnerability of female-headed households is likely to be linked to the low income levels that were found among these households. In the urban environment where food is obtained mainly from market, such differences in household income were bound to play a significant role in determining household food security status. Consequently, the chances for female-headed households to eat sufficient food were lowered. The more general reasons for the poverty of female-headed households include unequal access to education and employment opportunities, the triple role of women in society (productive, reproductive and community management) and wider discriminatory laws and practices (Battersby, 2011; Tawodzera, et al., 2012).

**Table 8.2: Description of Sufficiency of Food Consumed By the Respondents during the Last 12 Months before the Survey by Headship**

Food Security Questions	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi-square	Sig
Always have enough to eat and the kinds of food we want	10.5	2.2	13.976	0.003
Enough food , but not always the kinds we want	54.7	44.1		
Sometimes we don't have enough to eat	27.3	47.3		
Often we don't have enough to eat	7.6	6.5		

What household characteristics were responsible for increasing the vulnerability of surveyed households to food insecurity? The next part attempts to answer this question by presenting and discussing the research findings on the association of some selected variables and food insecurity status of household heads in the study towns. The objective of exploring the relationship between these variables and food insecurity was to be able to describe food insecure households and identify how they were different from households that were food secure

### **8.1.1. Factors Associated with Food Insecurity**

In this section, bivariate association between food security status and selected variables are examined in order to better understand characteristics associated with food insecurity. Nonparametric statistics, chi-square test was conducted to determine relationships between categorical variables in bivariate analysis. The results are presented below

#### **Household Income Poverty and Food Insecurity**

Since urban households purchase so much of their food, and food is the major expenditure item in household budgets, it is likely that the level of household income has a major impact on food security. For ease of analysis, household income was divided into

five levels in this study. For instance, while 65% of households in the income less than Birr 500 a month were either moderately or severely food insecure, the figure dropped to 33.3% of those in the income between Birr 1501-2500 a month and to 18.2% in the higher-income greater than Birr 3500 a month, which is a statistically significant difference  $\chi^2(12, N=274) = 88.164, p < .001$ . Similarly, the proportion of food secure households was 3.6%, 38.5%, and 81.8%, respectively (see Table 8.3). This suggests that the less the income level, the more the possibility that the respondents would be food insecure. This type of positive association between income level and food security is also observed in other local and foreign studies on urban food security (Bamlaku and Solomon, 2013; Tawodzera, et al., 2012; Frayne et al., 2009).

In the urban areas a higher income unquestionably empowers households to have access to food as most of the food groups have to be purchased. The relationship between poverty and food insecurity was also observed within the poverty line. About 53% of the households in the category above poverty line were food secure, whereas only 10.8% of the households below the national poverty line were food secure. On the other hand, only 2.5% of the households in the category above poverty line were severely food secure, underlying the fact that income poverty is a major factor increasing vulnerability in the study towns.

**Table 8.3: Food Security Status of Households across Income Levels and Poverty Line (in %).**

Income Category(in Birr)	Food Security Scale (%)				Total No
	Food Secure	Mildly food Insecure	Moderately Food Insecure	Severely Food Insecure	
0-500	3.6	31.3	39.8	25.3	83
501-1500	18.5	31.5	40.3	9.7	124
1501-2500	38.5	28.2	33.3	0.0	39
2501-3500	76.5	11.8	11.8	0.0	17
>3500	81.8	0.0	18.2	0.0	11
<b>National Poverty Line</b>					
Below Poverty Line	10.8	28.7	43.6	16.9	183
Above Poverty Line	53.2	27.8	16.5	2.5	91

### **Level of Education and Food Security**

An attempt was made to examine the association between education levels of the respondents and their food security status. The result of the Chi-square test shows a positive and statistically significant relationship ( $p < 0.001$ ) between education and food security as better education increases household food security (Table 8.4). From the total of illiterate sample respondents considered for this study, it was observed that only 3.8% of them were food secure. The remaining 96% fell into different levels of food insecurity. For instance, 32% of the total illiterate sample households were mildly food insecure, 42% were moderately food insecure, and 21% were severely food insecure. The results further showed that about 12% of the total respondents that had elementary school education were severely food insecure.

On the other hand, a significant proportion of the respondents who have post secondary school education and training, were found to be either food secure (50%) or mildly food insecure (22%). Only 3% of the respondents in this category of educational attainment

were found to be severely food insecure at the time of the survey, thereby showing that there is a positive association between the food security status of the respondents and the level of education that they have attained. Here it is good to note that these observed associations between education level and food security status of the respondents were found to be statistically significant  $\chi^2(9, N=278) = 66.831, p < .001$ .

**Table 8.4: Food Security Status of Respondents and Their Educational Level (in %)**

Educational status	Food Security Scale (%)				No of household heads
	Food Secure	Mild Food Insecure	Moderate Food Insecure	Severe Food Insecure	
No Formal Education	3.8	32.3	42.3	21.5	130
Elementary	32.8	21.9	32.8	12.5	64
High school	25.0	45.0	30.0	0.0	20
College +	50.0	21.9	25.0	3.1	64

$\chi^2(9, N=278) = 66.831, p < .001$ .

### **Household Size and Food Security**

Different studies indicate different arguments on the impact of household size on food insecurity. Ideally, the addition of (adult) household members has the potential to increase household income and thereby the food security of all household members (Tawodzera, et al., 2012). The assumption is that the higher the household size, the more will be the probability that members could earn more and support the family. On the other hand, some empirical works indicate that there is an inverse relationship between family size and food security (Ejigayhu and Abdikhalil, 2012). This is mainly due to the fact that larger household size would mean greater food insecurity as more mouths rely on a meager income to survive. In the study towns as a whole, the results of the

questionnaire survey revealed that there was a tendency for larger households to be more food insecure: for example, 43% of the households with 1-3 members were moderately or severely food insecure compared with 45% of the households with 4-6 members and 70% of households with more than 6 members (see Table 8.5). This difference in the association between family size and food security status was found to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2(6) = 20.161, p=0.003$ ).

**Table 8.5: Household Size and Food Security Status of Household Heads (in %)**

household size	Food Security Scale(%)				No of Household heads
	Food Secure	Mild Food Insecure	Moderate Food Insecure	Severe Food Insecure	
1-3	18.4	38.8	32.7	10.2	98
4-6	29.2	25.4	33.1	12.3	130
7 +	16.0	14.0	46.0	24.0	50

### **Livelihoods and Food Security Status**

Unemployed heads of households are more likely to be vulnerable to food insecurity compared to those who have jobs. Almost one out of ten unemployed head of household is food secure, whereas one out of four employed head of household is food secure. In terms of livelihood groups, more than 40% of the respondents relying on government salaries were food secure, followed by craftsmen or artisans, private sector employees, and the self employed who were 33%, 32%, and 29% food secure, respectively. The groups with the lowest food security status were households that depended on agriculture for their livelihoods (4.9%) and the petty traders and daily laborers (7%).

**Table 8.6: Livelihood Group and Food Security (in %)**

Livelihood Groups	Food Security Scale (%)			
	Food Secure	Mildly Food Insecure	Moderately Food Insecure	Severely Food Insecure
Small business/self-employed	29.7	21.9	43.8	4.7
Government salary/wage	41.2	29.4	29.4	0.0
Private company salary/wage	32.0	16.0	36.0	16.0
Agriculture and livestock	4.9	29.3	34.1	31.7
Welfare dependents	19.4	35.5	19.4	25.8
Handicrafts /artisans	33.3	33.3	33.3	.0
Daily laborers	7.1	28.6	39.3	25.0
Petty traders	7.1	28.6	50.0	14.3

(N= 276)

The depth of household food insecurity in Durame, Debre Sina and Wolenchiti was not only reflected in the prevalence of households that were food insecure but also limited number and quality of food groups consumed by these households. A Chi-square test statistics shows a significant relationship between the food consumption scores and the household food security status ( $p < .01$ ) (see Figure 8.1 below). Thus a household's vulnerability to food insecurity can also be expressed by the household's inability to afford and consume diverse and nutritious foods. Most respondents to the case study interviews indicated that they were often forced to repeat the same and monotonous meals which consisted mostly of *injera* and *shiro* (particularly in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti), maize *kita* (bread) and vegetables in Durame.

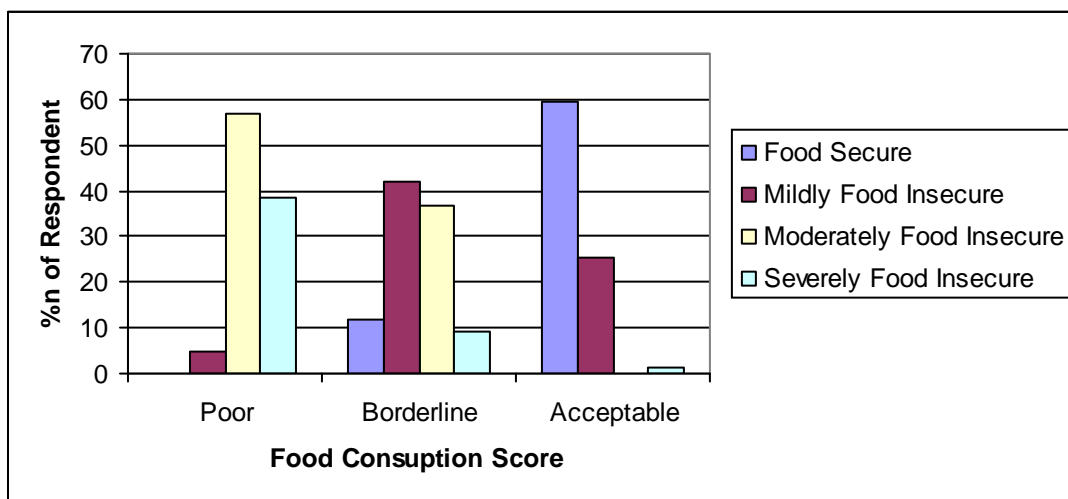
Gudissa from the case study in Wolenchiti town expressed the severity of his household's food security situation like this:

The price of cereals and other goods are too expensive these days. Each day I worry about how to feed my family and where to get money. I cannot think of buying expensive food stuffs such as *teff* for *injera*, and bean or pea pulses for *shiro wat*. I buy cheap cereals such as millet, maize, and *guaya* (vetch). Regularly I use meals made of

these cheap cereals while I consume some meat and *teff injera* occasionally during holidays (Case study interview 04, Wolenchiti).

Food quality and variety was reported as a major challenge and the narratives of case studies often indicated their reliance on limited type of food. As shown in the following section, quantitative survey results validate these claims that less than one-third of households had acceptable food consumption.

**Figure 8.1: Respondents’ Food Security Status by Food Consumption Scores**



## 8.2 Food Consumption Patterns

Food consumption patterns are important indicators of the food security status of households. Those who frequently consume a wide variety of foods (from different food groups) are more food secure than people who endlessly consume the same foodstuff. To assess food consumption patterns of households in the study towns, information on dietary diversity and the consumption frequency of foods was analyzed at the household level. The WFP (2008b) clarified that dietary diversity is a good proxy indicator of household per capita consumption and household per capita caloric intake, both of which are measures of the “food accessibility” component of food security.

The formal questionnaire survey was used to collect information on the number of days a food item was consumed during the seven days prior to the assessment. The “food consumption score” is calculated by examining the number of times certain foods (grouped into basic food groups) are consumed in the seven days preceding the survey and then by weighting them by approximate nutrient density values. The WFP has created a custom dietary diversity tool intended to capture different consumption patterns in terms of both the number and frequency of food groups consumed. Eight food groups and their corresponding weight were classified (see Appendix-V).

As regards the types of food consumed in the previous seven days as mentioned earlier, it was found that almost all of the respondents consumed *teff*, wheat, maize, and other cereals. The second most common food group consumed was oils (92%), followed by sugar (87%), roots and tubers (75%), and pulses (70%) (see Table 8.7). *Teff*, wheat, maize and millet, oils and fat, legumes, and tubers are being consumed most frequently by people in the sample towns. This is an important piece of information for macro-level decision making as any interventions related to the prices of agricultural products need to take this consumption pattern into consideration.

**Table 8.7: Type of food consumed and % of households within 7 days during the survey**

Food group	% of households
<i>Teff</i> and other Cereals	99
Roots and Tubers	75
Vegetables	48
Fruits	18.7
Dairy Products	32.3
Meat, Poultry	11.3
Oils / butter	92
Pulses	70
Eggs	5
Sugar	87

Households are categorized into three food consumption groups according to their food consumption scores: namely, poor food consumption, borderline food consumption, and acceptable food consumption groups. However, the cutoff points recommended by the WFP to define poor, borderline, and adequate food consumption groups should be determined based on a country's consumption behavior. If there is frequent consumption of oil and sugar in a given country, a threshold will be raised. In the study areas and in the Ethiopian context in general, frequent consumption of oil and sugar is very common. Thus, for the sake of analysis, the respondents were classified into three groups using 28 and 42 as thresholds to define: poor consumption ( $\leq 28$ ), borderline consumption ( $> 28$  and  $= 42$ ), and acceptable consumption ( $> 42$ ). These figures are the same as the cut-off points used by the World Food Program (2009) study in the urban areas of Ethiopia.

Food consumption groups are shown in Table 8.8a. Across the towns about one-fourth of the households were found to be in the poor food consumption category, around 48% in the borderline consumption category while the rest were in the acceptable consumption category. It should be known that this classification is a snapshot of the food consumption situation during the period of the data collection and it cannot be considered representative of what households consume at other times of the year. However, provided that only 28% of the surveyed households were found in the acceptable food consumption, it can be concluded that most diets for the urban poor in the study areas were nutritionally inadequate and would therefore impact negatively on the health and growth of household members. Poor nutrition has often been associated with increased micronutrient deficiency disorders and a higher incidence of disease, and child and maternal mortality, poorer school performance and, over time, reduced worker

productivity (Cohen and Garrett, 2009). These narrower household diets therefore reflect a deeper food insecurity problem that is related with the issue of food accessibility.

**Table 8.8a: Classification of Households' Food Consumption Situation**

Food Consumption Group	Cut-off	Percent
Poor consumption	$\leq 28$	23.5
Borderline consumption	( $>28$ and $=42$ )	48.0
Acceptable consumption	( $>42$ )	28.5

Source: Research Survey, 2013

On average, consumption of staple foods was regular in each consumption groups. Basically, every sample household consumed *teff* or other cereals on a daily basis. However, households in the borderline and acceptable consumption groups were more likely to be able to diversify their staple intake by eating different cereals, vegetables, pulses, and other food groups with higher frequency. *Teff*, maize, millet, and wheat were found to be the staples more frequently consumed in the study towns. Nonetheless, it is good to take note of the fact that most households in Durame town widely use maize as a staple diet.

Among the household heads in the study areas, households in the poor consumption group consumed on average most frequently cereals and tubers (7 days), oil (5.6 days), sugar (3.4 days) and vegetables (2.1 days) and. The consumption of animal proteins, milk, and fruits was close to null in that group. Among the borderline consumption group, consumption of all food groups increased, with cereals and tubers (7days), oil and being consumed over 5 days a week. Consumption of animal proteins, milk, and fruits remain infrequent, at an average of less than a day per week. Among households with an

acceptable consumption score, consumption of all the food groups continues to increase as table 8.8b shows.

Table 8.8b: Average number of days of food consumption by FCGs

Food Consumption Group	Cereals & Tubers	Pulse	Vegetables	Fruits	Animal proteins	milk	Oil	Sugar
Poor	7	1.2	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	5.6	3.4
Borderline	7	3.7	3.8	0.4	0.2	0.6	6.3	5.1
Acceptable	7	4.8	3.9	1.9	1.5	3.3	6.8	6.7

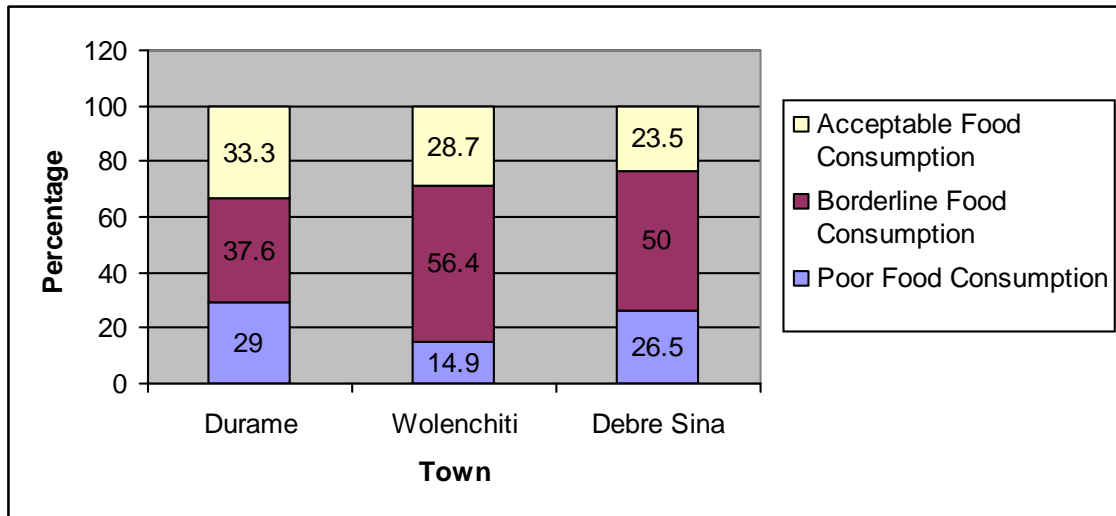
Source: Research Survey, 2013

During the questionnaire survey, data on the number of meals consumed per day prior to the survey date were collected. As shown in Table 8.9, the proportion of the respondents that used to consume three meals a day was 69%. About 30% of the household heads were consuming 2 or less meals per day. The greatest proportion of the household heads consuming 3 or more meals per day were in Wolenchiti (80.6%), followed by those in Durame (69.3%). The lowest proportion of households consuming 3 meals per day was in Debre Sina (58.3%).

**Table 8.9: Number of Meals Eaten by Respondents a day prior to the survey date by Towns (in %)**

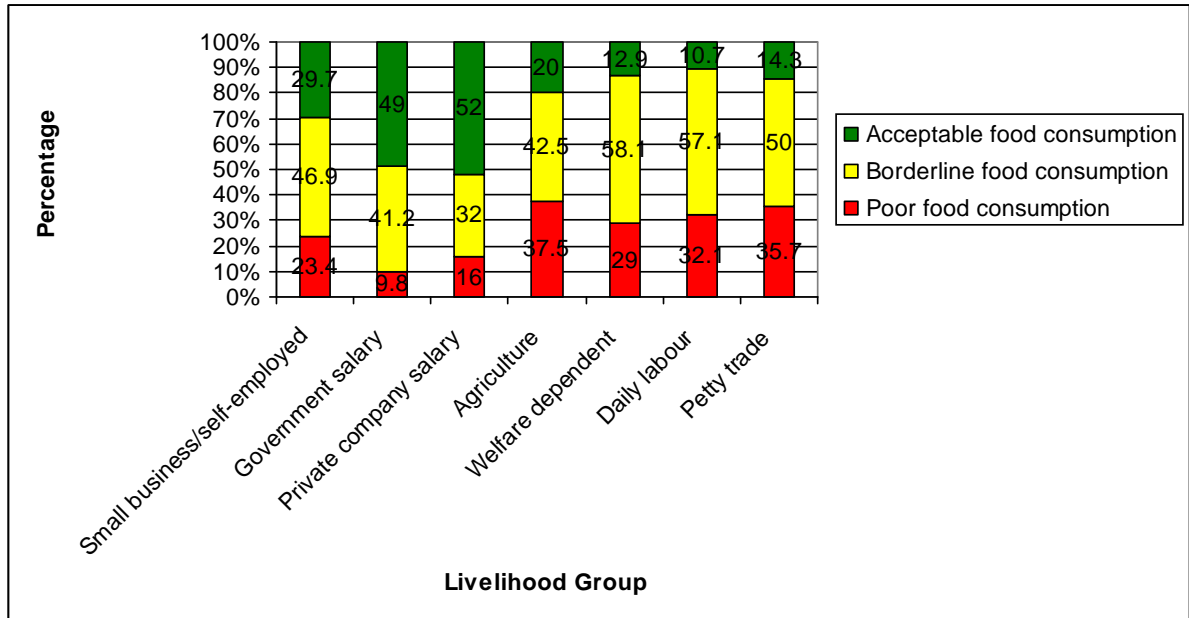
Number of meals	Total	Durame	Wolenchiti	Debre Sina
0–1 meals	0.8	2.3	0	0
2 meals	29.3	28.4	19.4	41.5
3 meals	70	69.3	80.6	58.5

**Figure 8.2: Consumption Pattern by Town**



By town, the highest rate of poor food consumption was found in Durame (29% of households). About 26% of Households from Debre Sina and 15% from Wolenchiti had poor food consumption. This emanates from the consumption difference in the study towns. In Durame the very poor consume cereal especially maize with vegetable which has low consumption score whereas the poor in the other two towns consume cereals with pulse (as it has a weight of 3) which have increased the consumption score.

**Figure 8.3: Distribution of Consumption Profiles by Livelihood Groups**



The most vulnerable groups to poor food consumption were the urban poor who depend on agriculture, petty trades, and daily labour for their livelihood. More than 30% of the agriculture group, petty traders, and households relying on daily labour had poor food consumption. Considering that most urban poor are net buyers of food, the typical poor urban people were negatively impacted by the food price spikes. The groups with the lowest prevalence of poor consumption were the government salaried households, followed by private salaried households (10% and 16%, respectively).

This study found out that there is a variation among study towns on the type of foodstuff they consume. For instance, the majority of the respondents in Durame consume maize and vegetables and thus the basic staple is maize, while this is not true for the respondents from Wolenchiti and Debre Sina. Thus, the following section highlights and contextualizes household food consumption by using political ecology as a framework, in

order to understand how political, socio-economic, and environmental processes shape the urban food system in the study areas.

### **8.3 Food Security Differentials in the study towns from Political Ecology Perspective**

Even though the dietary recall result of the study indicated the food groups and level of dietary diversity, it did not offer an explanation as to why and how certain food groups were popular in one of the study areas but not in another as would be described under the present section. Thus, by using urban political ecology approaches to the analysis of urban diets in the studied small towns, the following subsections assess and analyse how and why political-economic structures, socio-cultural norms, and ecological systems shape household dietary diversity. Political ecology allows for a viewing FS as being integrally linked to environment and policy spheres.

#### **8.3.1 Political and Economic Structure**

Political and economic structure influences food consumption scores and the type of foodstuff in urban Ethiopia as it determines the availability, access, and utilization of the types of food group.

Food availability is highly determined by the source that the food comes from. The government's judgment has also its own contribution to food availability. The government measures food availability in terms of cereal, oil and sugar availability. Yared (2010) explained that the availability of subsidized wheat in the recent past has allowed households to replace part of the *teff* they normally purchase with wheat. Cereals

(like wheat) are, therefore, affordable, and the components of foodstuff of the surveyed households are dominated by cheap cereals (especially wheat, maize and millet) rather than by other expensive foodstuffs like *teff*.

Following the 2008 food price hikes, there was an attempt made by the government to form a market at the *Kebele* level for poor urban people. Due to the 2008 price rise, the ban on cereal export was imposed by the Ethiopian government in February 2008 (Rashid, 2010). This was based on the supposition that the production estimates were correct and that prices had increased because of exports. In addition to this, there was a sale of subsidized cereals under urban programs. Yared (2010) also pointed out that a sale of subsidized wheat to urban residents that the government embarked upon in 2008 is perceived to have had a positive impact on food security. The rationing program was large and has had an impact in terms of reducing urban prices (Rashid, 2010). The government also tried to open market sales to traders at less than 50% of market prices, but the program was abandoned quickly. Currently, the government's remedial actions include distributing edible oil and sugar at the level of small shops and importing wheat products. Thus, government interventions affect the availability and access of certain food groups.

Though the level differs, urban households in the study areas have three sources of food: mainly purchase from the market, own production (like dairy products), and food aid. Food availability at a household level, therefore, depends on the market prices of food items and the employment opportunity to get income. Thus, income or access to cash employment is a major determinant of people's dietary diversity and food security.

Economic accessibility involves that financial costs are associated with the acquisition of food for an adequate diet without compromising the attainment and satisfaction of other basic needs. In other words, economic access to food refers to the ability of households to purchase the food they require. This is the most important dimension for urban residents since they are net food buyers. Thus, a key element of this dimension is the purchasing power of consumers and the evolution of real incomes and food prices. This implies that as Cohen and Garrett (2009) indicated, in contrast to their rural counterparts, urban residents are more dependent on cash incomes and thus on employment opportunities. Actually this was one of the main problems of the people in the study areas. Though food availability in the households is mostly determined by the incomes earned, some food items (such as maize, wheat and millet) can be bought relatively at a low price from the market.

If there is an economic deficit, one of the initial and major steps that urban poor households take is change or reduction in the levels of food and other items that they normally acquire from market. Due to rises in food prices and/or shortfalls in resources, an analysis of change in demand for major cereals discloses that there has been a decline in demand and quantity for *teff*, as perceived by case studies. However, the change in demand has gone in favor of cheap cereals like maize, wheat, millet and sorghum. At various times in the last few years, household's cut back the amount of *teff* they purchased on a regular basis. As regards this matter, the focus groups participants explained that they reduced their *teff* purchase, for instance, from 50% to 30-15% of the proportion of the flour they used for baking *injera*.

As explained earlier, for example, there is a decreased consumption of *teff*. This was achieved by mixing a considerably low proportion of *teff* flour with high proportions of millet, maize, and wheat in as much as their household budgets allowed. In addition to this, case studies have shown that the urban poor households turn to cheaper products in times of when their income declines. A common alternation that many ultra poor households make is to stop or reduce the purchasing of *teff*. In Wolenchiti, for instance, poor households use only *keteto* (cheap millet) in order to bake a less preferred type of *injera*.

The survey households in the studied small towns used a variety of cereal flour to bake *injera* or *kita*(bread). In Durame, 67.5% of those households consumed maize, wheat, and/or barley alone, 27.3% consumed *teff* mixed with, mainly, maize and sometimes mixed it (the *teff*) with wheat. Only 5.2% of the respondents said that they did use pure *teff* for baking *injera*. In Wolenchiti, 29.2% consumed pure *teff*, while 49.3% consumed *teff* mixed with millet and maize, and 21.5% eat millet alone or use millet mixed with maize for baking *injera*. In Debre Sina, 45.5% consumed pure *teff*, 30% consumed *teff* with sorghum/millet, and 26.4% baked *injera* from mixtures of sorghum or millet and wheat.

Some poor households buy a small amount of baked *injera* from the neighborhood on a daily or mealtime basis. According to case study respondents, the price of one *injera* in 1998 E.C was Birr 1.50, but at the time of the survey it was Birr 3.00 to 3.50. Likewise, according to the respondents, the price of 100 kg of *teff* was not more than Birr 200 before a decade. As a study by WFP (2009) indicated in urban Ethiopia the price of 1 quintal of *teff* averaged around Birr 1,000 in 2008. However, during the time of the data

collection the price of a quintal of *teff* has already reached Birr 1300-1500 depending on the type and quality. This clearly indicates that the price of *teff* has been rising at an alarming rate in the recent past.

Households also reduced purchases of food items other than cereals in response to the fast rising prices of food crops. Poor households frequently reduce or eliminate food stuffs such as meat, egg, and the like, to allocate their remaining cash towards the purchase of cereals. Quantities of food available for consumption may also be problematic among the poor households due to their low purchasing power. According to case study participants, ingredients to make the *wet* or strews (such as oil, *berbere* or onion) are reduced or some are missed; and if they used these ingredients they do it nominally (or “le-amel”, as they say it in Amharic). Generally, household’s food consumption patterns and dietary diversity can be understood as the outcome of political and economic structures.

Even though the changes in eating habits observed and the individual or household strategies adapted certainly depend on household incomes, they probably include important socio-cultural factors that should be identified in order to develop strategic aspects of a sustainable food policy. The following subsection, therefore, attempts to highlight the influences of social and cultural factors on the eating habits of households in the study towns.

### **8.3.2. Social and Cultural Factors**

Socio-cultural structure considerably influences food consumption patterns in the study towns. As Legwegoh (2012) explained, people generally have emotional and symbolic

attachments to their food and they seek a complex means of sustaining or modifying their diet within the existing societal structures. Similarly, Teng, et al. (undated) revealed that food availability can be influenced by an entire range of socioeconomic and cultural factors that determine where and how farmers perform in response to market conditions.

The foods that are relatively more frequently consumed by households in Durame included more of the traditionally prepared foods such as *kita* made from maize, a bread made from the root of the *enset* plant which is locally called *qocho* and vegetables. Maize is more widely consumed in different forms in the southern parts of Ethiopia in general and in the Durame area in particular as compared to the other study towns. Thus, due mainly to socio-cultural norms, there is a strong attachment to a meal consisting of bread made from maize flour and stew made from vegetables, especially kale (cabbage) in Durame town, even though the ingredients may vary depending upon household income. What is more, as stated above in Durame most people consume *qocho* which is usually eaten with cabbages, cheese, or coffee. However, the ultra poor in the area consume *kita* (bread) with *quti* (*mecha buna*), a type of drink made from coffee leaves.

Regarding this, one respondent from Durame shared his experience with the following words: "...As I am one of the poor in this area, we often consume *kita* with *quti* and that fills our stomach. We do this frequently. When my children get better daily incomes we may afford to eat vegetables and other additional foodstuff."

In Debre Sina and Wolenchiti, the food that is more frequently consumed by urban households is *injera* made from *teff* or a mixture of *teff* with sorghum or wheat or millet. In cases where *injera* is absent or unaffordable, poor families may consume *qita* (*shilito*)

which is a form of bread made in the household from wheat flour or by combining maize and wheat for lunch or in all diets, with tea, *mitimita* or *shiro*. In addition, the ultra poor in Wolenchiti town consume *injera* made of very cheap millet (known in the area as *qeteto*).

*Injera* is usually made of maize flour and *teff* in Durame. First the maize cereal alone is put on the mill, and then the milled maize is mixed with *teff* for a second round of milling. The mixed flour is then used to bake *injera*. Families in Durame prefer cabbage as a vegetable for preparing a stew to pulse mainly due to the fact that almost all people have access to fruits, vegetable, *enset* and coffee in their home garden. The poor use most of the time *kollo* made from peas for their breakfast. The poorest households may have to be satisfied with some *kollo* served with *mecha buna* (coffee) for the whole day. Concerning this a fifty five years old sick women who headed a family of three in Durame said “If there is no maize flour at home, we eat *kollo*, drink some *mecha buna* and go to sleep.” Certainly, due to the cultural acceptability and preference of maize to every meal, access to and availability of this crop is a key in thinking about the concept of food security in Durame area.

Even though *injera* made of millet is not a preferred cereal for a whole day's meal, for instance, respondents in Wolenchiti town shifted to millet alone or millet with maize and wheat due to its relatively low price. During the time of survey in Wolenchiti the price of *teff* was 13 birr/kg, white millet was 9 birr/kg, millet (*qeteto* type) was 7.5birr/kg and maize 5 birr/kg. In Wolenchiti people did use a mixture of *teff* with millet. For instance, case study participants said that they consumed 70kgs of millet mixed with 15 kgs of maize and 15 kgs of *teff*. The poorest people consumed *qeteto* (very cheap type of millet

as stated above) which did not appear to be a popular choice. In Debre Sina, *teff* is mostly mixed with sorghum. Although maize is a preferred cereal in Durame for daily consumption, in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti it is mostly used for brewing *tella*.

There is also a spatial variation of the legumes that are used to prepare *shiro*. In poor households, *injera* is usually eaten with *shiro*, stew which is made from peas, beans or vetch flour cooked with oil and onions (if available), and *berbere* (a processed red pepper). Again, to cut down on costs, either a mixture of peas, beans, and *guaya* (vetch), or vetch alone is often used to make the *shiro* powder. Apart from the legumes, other ingredient such as oil, onions and *berbere* may be either minimal or absent in the *shiro* when households' cash resources reduced. As a result, the *shiro* becomes less and less tasty. Beans are almost common in Debre Sina area as most people in the rural and peri-urban areas of Debre Sina mainly produce beans and barley; and *guaya* (vetch) is common in the Wolenchiti area while peas are available in Durame. People consumed specific foods because of socio-cultural factors which also related to the ecological structure of a given place.

### **8.3.3 Ecological Factors**

It is also useful to emphasize that ecological factors influence the frequency of occurrence of certain foodstuffs. Ecological conditions in Durame, for instance, favor production of maize and vegetables thereby influencing the high consumption of maize, fruits, and *qocho*. Most of the time, ecological factors like suitable climate and highly productive soils are responsible for good agricultural production and therefore tend to

encourage the development of home gardens in the compounds of the residents of urban areas like Durame.

In Debre Sina, barley is consumed more frequently than in either one of the other study towns. The residents of Wolenchiti tend to consume less fruits compared to those living in Durame and Debre Sina. The greater dependence of the people of Wollenchiti on foods prepared from either millet or sorghum, in fact, appears to be largely a product of the town's location in a locality that has a semi-arid climate. This environmental description is also considered as one of the factors behind the rather high population density that is observable in the Kembata Zone. Due mainly to the humid climate and the high fertility of the soil of this zone, the residents of Durame and its environs have managed to considerably augment their food supply, by growing plants like *enset* and coffee in home gardens on their small urban holdings. Nonetheless, it is important to bear in mind here the fact that the heavy pressure of population that evolved over the last several decades due mainly to the favorable ecological conditions of Durame and its surroundings has now reached such a tipping point that it has already forced thousands of people to migrate to distant places like South Africa in search of better pastures.

In conclusion, the possible impacts of environmental as well as other politico-economic and socio-cultural factors should be considered to produce political and economic policies that are socially and environmentally just. This analysis of political ecology has presented useful details to complement food consumption pattern results and to improve our understanding of the multifaceted and interrelated processes that drive an uneven food access in urban areas of Ethiopia. Besides, the causes of food insecurity in urban areas are therefore different to those in rural areas and require different policy responses.

Urban food insecurity is usually not caused merely by decrease in the supply or availability of food, but by lack of access to food markets, poor access to employment opportunities and by the spatial configurations of the cities or towns in question. It therefore needs to be viewed through different theoretical lenses and the solutions need to reflect all these realities.

#### **8.4 Seasonality and Food Insecurity**

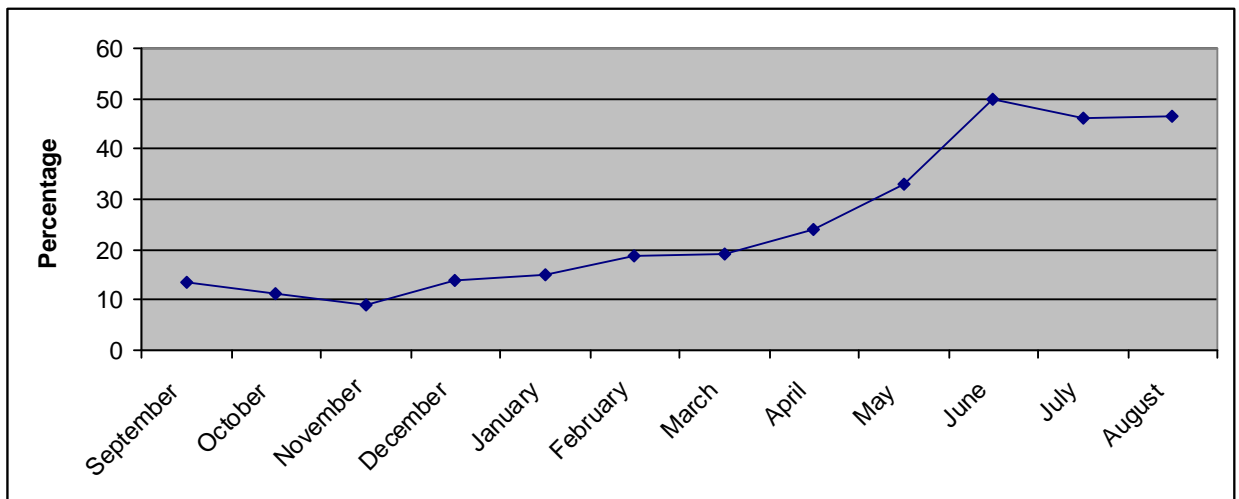
Although low food consumption score demonstrated the nutritional inadequacy of the foodstuffs being consumed by the urban poor, of greater concern to food access was the variability of food supplies within the surveyed households. The Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) was another measures of food insecurity indicator used to collect information on the access dimension of food security. This indicator illustrates how the lack of food at the household level fluctuates seasonally.

Households were asked to identify in which months (during the past 12 months) they did not have access to sufficient food to meet their household needs. In the three surveyed urban centers, 53% of all households had experienced inadequate food supplies during the 12 months preceding the survey. The follow-on question was, “How many months did that occur during that specific year? Based on the responses, the researcher categorized 10-12 months as “often”, 3-9 months as “sometimes” and less than three months as “rarely”. Thus with regard to the duration of shortage for those that responded “Yes”, 60.2% of the total responded that, the shortage had continued for less than three months. While 30.1% had food shortage from three to nine months, about 8% faced the problem almost every month of the year.

If “yes” for food shortage the respondents were also asked, which were the months (in the past 12 months) in which they did not have enough food to meet their family’s needs. Although seasonality is usually considered as an issue only affecting the levels of food security of rural households, the survey results showed that it is also a concern of the small urban centers of Ethiopia. Overall, June, July, and August were the months in which the greatest numbers of households reported were faced food shortages. Thus, the findings of the study indicated that the summer (*kiremt*) season of Ethiopia is the critical period of food shortage. Ironically, a less severe period, beginning in September and peaking in October-November (see Figure 8.4), was also observed.

Figure 8.4 Annual Trends in the Proportion of Households Reporting Inadequate Food

Supplies



Discussions with the focus groups and interview with case study participants revealed that a period spanning September – November, which is the harvest season, is the least worrying time of year for households. Additionally, there are more opportunities for employment (particularly the agricultural labor opportunities which employ many daily

workers), hence income rises, and those that are participated in small business are also able to sell more. The other explanation for the months corresponding to the country's harvest season is that most foods, especially cereals which are related to the agricultural production period, increase in supply as crops are harvested. As a result, food prices (especially prices of cereals) tended to be lower during this time. Furthermore, in a country like Ethiopia where rural-urban linkages are strong (particularly in small town), food flows from rural to urban areas considerably increase food availability in the towns thereby increase households access to food. Paradoxically, the lean period (ranging from May to August) is the most worrying period of the year. During these months, employment opportunities are less, household spending reduces drastically due to low purchasing power, and there is also limited access to agricultural outputs.

In general, the objective of this chapter was to examine household food security levels in the study towns and to identify the factors responsible for increasing vulnerability to food insecurity. The survey findings demonstrate the existence of acute levels of food insecurity among urban households in the study towns, which manifest themselves through severe shortages, consumption of a narrower range of foods, and many months of inadequate food provisioning. Thus, it can be concluded that the severity of food shortage varies with season. And the respondents' food consumption patterns in general and the type of food groups they consumed in particular are also associated with seasons.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Food research is not new to Africa. However, food security research and food policy have focused more on the agricultural and rural issues. The urban food system and how poor and vulnerable urban households strategize their livelihood and cope with food insecurity is still less known. In contrast, the number of people living in urban areas is increasing and so is the number of the urban poor. Food security research is thus becoming an increasingly urban concern. This study, therefore, sought to investigate the nature of poverty, vulnerability, and food insecurity in Durame, Debre Sina and Wolenchiti towns, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The study, in other words, attempted to provide added insights into food security research based on evidence around food in urban areas. Besides, researching food security in various towns and geographical localities can provide new insights into the various nature, magnitude, and patterns of food security and livelihoods, which will help towards the formulation and implementation of food policy.

This chapter contains three parts. The first part consists of the summary of the main findings and a conclusion of the research. The second part of the chapter addresses the policy and program implications as emerging from the research. The final part of this chapter indicates the areas for further research.

## **9.1. Summary of the Findings and Conclusion**

The study has shown that the incidence of food insecurity in Ethiopia is not only a rural problem. Urban food insecurity is a growing concern due to the combination of fluctuating food prices, high levels of urban poverty, high dependency of urban households on food supplied by the market, and reduced purchasing power.

By assuming that most people of Ethiopia are living in rural areas, most policies aiming at poverty reduction and food security are focusing on rural areas. It was since 2005 that the government brought urban poverty and other policies on the table. Thus, the food policy of Ethiopia is mainly focusing on rural poverty reduction and malnutrition because the majority of the population still lives in rural settlements, and thereby the urban population is being neglected. This is due to the idea that urban areas generally have better access to services such as healthcare, education, jobs, etc. Nevertheless, the food security situation of poor urban dwellers, who are the target population of this study, is alarming. Lack of urban safety net is another problem for achieving food security in the study areas. As the entitlement approach clarifies, strong social safety net can reduce the risk for the poor to starve in case of loss of income or an increase in food price. The government has a project which provides subsidized wheat and occasionally low-priced edible oil, but this is done for all income groups of the population.

In Ethiopia, the national food security agenda has an evident rural bias, with little attention given to the specific challenges of feeding the residents of urban areas. This needs to change because various studies (for example, Frayne, et al., 2009; Matuschke, 2009) show that the locus of poverty is shifting to cities, and hence most of the urban

poor are facing food security challenges. The rural bias is characterized by a lack of systematic national and town-centered strategies for reducing food insecurity for the urban poor. That is why, for example, the National Poverty Reduction Strategy of 2002 and other national food security strategies in Ethiopia have a strong rural bias.

The analysis of socio-economic data collected the present study revealed that most of the respondents were young adults, married with a fairly large household size. On average, the households consisted of five people. Males headed the majority of households. In relative terms, households in Wolenchiti and Debre Sina were poorer than those in Durame. The degree of income poverty in the study areas was very high, about 66.8% of the respondents were living below the national poverty line. (The government regards Birr 315 per adult equivalent a month as the National Poverty Line). Food constituted the major expenditure for most of the households. On average, households were found to be spending over half of their income on food items alone, which accounts for 59% of total expenditure and those in the lowest income groups spent the high share of their expenditure on food. With such a high proportion of expenses going to food, any factor that affects either income or expenditure has a major impact on household food security.

The household's status of asset ownership, in the light of livelihood approach, shows that the urban poor in the study towns were characterized by low human capitals and had limited access to financial capital. There was a low level of educational attainment noted across all study areas, with close to three-quarters of respondents either being illiterate or having low educational background and limited access to the training required for jobs in the formal sector of the economy. Therefore, most of them find employment in the informal sectors of the economy, thereby resulting in a lower level of income. This sector

was vulnerable due to the seasonal and low returns in business. Some children did not attend schools because their family's poverty forces them into the workforce. Susceptibility to health risks was accelerated by hazards such as poor housing, and insufficient and intermittent water supply and/or inadequate waste and sewage disposal. The majority the surveyed households live in houses with one or two rooms, and nearly half of them buy water from communal water points located outside their compounds and/or from hand-dug wells and springs. This is particularly constraining for those households whose livelihoods are dependent on selling home-brewed traditional drinks and cooked foods.

Household's poor asset ownership typifies the poor's livelihoods and contributes to their adoption of different strategies to enable them earn a livelihood in the town. Social networks play significant support roles in the poor's adaptations to the towns. One-third of the total surveyed households received support in cash or food. Close to two-thirds of the total support takers approached their friends, family members, and relatives for assistance. The formal institutions, such as NGOs, church-based organizations and locally based financial institutions were involved in assistance by providing food aid and advancing loans to small-scale business persons. Another livelihood strategy in the study towns was sending some children of the urban household to relatives in the rural villages, arguably as a response to the increased cost of living in towns, decreased incomes in absolute terms or reduced purchasing power. Regular incomes from formal or informal employment, complemented by other strategies such as participating in farming in rural areas, remittances from international migrants, help poor households to survive and sustain their lives at home. This implies that poor urban households in the study areas

employed different strategies in their daily livelihoods or during times of crisis. It is consistent with the general strategies adopted by poor people in cities (Owuor, 2006; Degefa, 2008).

Incomes were earned from various sources in the study areas. The main livelihood sources of respondents were closely linked with their participation in the service sectors of the economy. The poor were mostly involved in informal activities as they are excluded from the formal sectors of the economy due to lack of education and employment training. Most of the urban poor in the study areas were involved in activities like self-employment and small businesses, daily labor, petty trading and so on. Employment in the informal sector was generally characterized by a low level of income and a high level of vulnerability to risks. Although the negative aspects of the informal sector are unavoidable given the problems faced by the urban poor, the informal sector is proving to be the basis of the livelihoods for most urban households and is responsible for reducing vulnerability to food insecurity in the study towns.

Cultural and structural conditions in the urban areas shape the strategies of the urban households. It is evident that the local context dictates and structures the options available to the urban poor in their strategies to secure food access. In terms of a contextual variation in the livelihood activities and strategies of the poor, it has been learned that there is a disparity among the study towns with regard to income earning activities. Durame has a greater share of households relying on salary/wages for their livelihoods compared to that of the other two towns. However, the households in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti have a much higher share of cases depending on self employment and small business enterprises. This seems to imply that the earning potential of households in

Durame is potentially higher than that in the other two towns. Additionally, the income generating activities differ markedly in line with the sex of heads of households. Men (as head of households) are likely to be involved in skilled or unskilled labor, whereas women(as head of households) are more likely to engage in small businesses and petty trades, where they earn far less than men. What is important here is that, the kind of livelihood activities that women undertake is a factor of their available resources and how they are able to access them. Their lack of access to education and capital base make poor women to engage in small business and petty trade.

The other significant finding relates to factors that posed a threat and risk to the livelihoods of the urban poor and led to their vulnerability. It is argued that poor urban people, because of their low income levels and their lack of access to resources, are exposed to different levels of vulnerability as a result of various shocks in towns. Only one-third of the respondents reported meeting basic needs for food, water, shelter, and healthcare. A significant proportion of respondents were also exposed to several risk factors. The most significant events that ranked in order of importance that lead to vulnerability of households were: high food price, illness of household members or health cost and insufficient and intermittent water supply. Specifically, over three-fourths of the households reported high food price as the shock that the studied urban households perceived as impacting on their incomes and food access. The seasonal variation of income earning jobs was also reflected in the study areas that led to vulnerability of the people.

Poverty is clearly seen in the patterns of income and consumption of the poor urban households. Food price increase in the study areas has been detrimental to the poor who

spend a large budget share on food. In order to reduce high food price risks households in the study towns either adjusted their food consumption and reduced food expenditure (by eating less and shifting to lower quality food or less diverse diets), as a cost cutting measure, or were able to withstand it through increased expenditure on food items by reducing their outlays on non-food items. As a result of high exposure to several risk factors and using destructive types of coping mechanisms, many households were found to be under severe vulnerability situations.

Given the current global economic crisis and local challenges, such as a rapidly increasing food price, reduced purchasing power and seasonal variation of income, it is likely that a growing number of poor urban households in developing countries will experience food insecurity. Based on the Household Food Insecurity Access Prevalence Scale, over-three fourths of households in the survey population were found to be food insecure (with one-half of them moderately or severely insecure). Durame was relatively less poor and food insecure than the other two towns. The mean household income of Durame was more than that of Wolenchiti and Debre Sina. The prevalence and depth of food security was relatively higher in the latter than in Durame. However, even in Durame, the level of food insecurity was extremely high, with 72% of respondents being food insecure. The proportion of food insecure households in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti was 79% and 81%, respectively.

The examination by the socio-economic characteristics of the households, on the other hand, disclosed that food insecurity is higher for those households at the bottom of the income distribution and for those households led by uneducated heads. The food insecure population in the surveyed towns is also characterized by large household size and by

relying heavily on income from agriculture, petty trade, and daily labor to meet household needs. Data from the Household Food Consumption Score indicator, another measure of access, revealed that one-thirds of households were in the poor food consumption. Most diets for the urban poor in the study areas were nutritionally inadequate and would therefore impact negatively on the health and growth of household members. The analysis demonstrated that the combination of socio-economic environmental and political factors affect the poor and lead to their vulnerability in the study areas.

As the study highlights, income from employment is just a part of the complex set of socio-cultural, environmental, and other politico-economic factors which relate to shape urban diet. At a household level multiple interacting factors influence the decision making around household's daily meals. These include food price and household income, access to and availability of food, food pricing strategies, and preference. For instance, cultural practices affect food security by influencing which foods are preferred. Indeed, due to the importance of maize to each meal, access to and availability of maize is a central to defining food security and hunger in Durame. However, in Debre Sina and Wolenchiti, people considered food in terms of access to *teff* and other cereals. People chose foods because of cultural preferences for specific foods. These differences should have implications for thinking about food security policies. Thus, understanding perceptions of nutrition and a healthy diet at the local level is important to understanding and addressing food insecurity. In terms of economic factors, the urban poor usually buy cheap cereals like maize, wheat, millet, and sorghum at low costs rather than other costly foodstuffs like *teff* and they generally avoid costly items like meat and egg in their daily

meals. In addition, information collected on seasonal patterns of food security suggests that the situation worsens considerably during the summer months (June, July and August) during when both food and employment are scarce. It indicated that seasonal variation of food access is one of the factors that affect the level of food security of the studied small urban centers of Ethiopia.

## **9.2 Recommendations for Policy and Program**

The study has highlighted the following important findings that have policy and programming implications in Ethiopia.

### **A. Developing an urban food security strategy**

Although policy specifically on urban development in Ethiopia was launched in 2005, food insecurity as an urban development concern in Ethiopia has received only limited political attention. However, the study has revealed that a significant proportion of households in the studied small towns are living in conditions of extreme poverty where they are unable to meet their basic needs and other food needs. Also, the food insecurity level among poor urban households is comparable to the conditions of their rural counterparts. It is important, therefore, for the government to target urban households specifically, in addition to the focus on rural areas, in addressing the food requirements of the urban poor and to incorporate an urban food security strategy in the subsequent poverty reduction strategies.

## **B. Initiating an Urban Safety Net Program**

The absence of formal safety nets for the urban poor is stressful and as such, it reveals that inadequate attention is paid by both the government and municipal authorities to issues of poverty and the subsequent food insecurity in the urban areas of the country. Therefore, there is a need to set up urban safety net programs that target the most vulnerable urban households whose incomes do not allow them to meet their food needs and that help the poor cope with shocks.

## **B. Enhancing Income Generating Activities**

Lack of income generating activities or low incomes were considered important causes of poverty in the study towns. Thus, in the long run, the prime emphasis should be placed on expanding the bases of economic sectors (especially those that create labour intensive jobs) so as to be able to generate alternative income earning activities to labor markets that are characterized by irregularity and great seasonal variance. Most notably, the informal sector is found to be the backbone of survival of a greater segment of the urban poor; and thus, in the short-term, support should be extended to help the growth of the informal sector which absorbs the majority of the poor. It can be done by strengthen small and micro enterprises, especially mitigating the problem associated with financial access.

## **D. Improving Market Stabilizing Mechanisms**

High food price and ill health were the major shocks faced by many households in this study. It was found out that decreasing food consumption, buying less prefer and cheap

food were some of the coping strategies regardless of their health impact. Market stabilizing mechanisms that the government is undertaking should be strengthened; particularly subsidization of common food commodities is important to improve access to the urban poor. Besides, the introduction of mechanisms to target the most vulnerable households for grain sales can be another way of maximizing the benefit of them.

In sum, the development of policies aimed at increasing households' income, through improved employment opportunities, coupled with adequate attention given to the risks of inflation, would result in enhanced food access in the urban areas. Also, it was demonstrated in the analysis that the combination of environmental, economic and social factors affects the urban households consumption patterns. Thus, understanding perceptions of nutrition and a healthy diet at the local level is crucial to understanding and addressing food insecurity.

### **9.3 Opportunities for Future Research**

Given the limited research on urban food security in Ethiopia, this work contributes to the knowledge creation about the urban poor and also to the existing body of literature on urban food issues and livelihoods. Then, in addition to providing valuable insights in to the survival of the urban poor, the results of the study would also point towards areas for future research.

- A more in-depth understanding of food insecurity of this group of people is still needed in the other towns and cities of Ethiopia in order to find out whether the trends and practices observed in Durame, Debre Sina and Wollenchiti are common to other urban centres, and generate more information on the various

livelihood strategies the urban poor are adopting and how they are connected to broader socioeconomic and political factors.

- Longitudinal studies that aim to study the urban poor for a long period of time would shed light on the viability and long-term sustainability of their existing livelihood strategies. Such a longitudinal study will also enable to assess seasonality in food insecurity in an urban context and to better understand the relationship between the rising food prices and food insecurity.

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# Appendices

## Appendix – I Questionnaire for Structured Household Survey

Name of enumerator	
Date of interview	
Town	
Kebele	

Survey Household number

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### **Introduction and consent**

We are conducting a survey of the livelihood and food security situation of households in (Town name). Your household has been randomly selected to participate in this survey. We would like to ask you some questions about your household. The survey will take about 45 minutes to complete. Any information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shown to other people. The information will be used only for the purposes of this study whose findings will be used in the PhD thesis. This is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any or all of the questions if you want. However we hope that you will participate since your views are important. Do you have any questions to ask before we begin? May we begin now?

### I. Basic Information Regarding Household Head

1.Name of household head		
2. Relationship of the respondents with head		
3. Age of household head		
4. Sex of household head	1. Male 2. Female	
5. Religion	1. Ortodox Christian 2. Muslim 3. Protestant Christian 4.other, specify	
6. Ethnicity	1. Kembata 2. Oromo 3. Amhara 4. Other, specify	
7. Marital status	1. Single / Never married 2.Married 3. Divorced/Separated 4. Widowed	
8.Place of birth		
9. Continuous duration of stay at current place of residence(year)		
10. Educational status	1. Illiterate 2. Read and Write 3. Elementary (1-8) 4. High school (9-12) 5. College +	
11. Is the head capable to work/ economically active	1. Yes 2. No	
12. If inactive, why?	1. Sick 2. Aged 3 . Disable 4. other, specify	
13. Number of permanent household members at the time of survey	Female _____ Male _____ Total _____	
14. Type of occupation:	Primary occupation	Secondary occupation

15. Nature of employment

1. Permanent 2.short-term/seasonal/

3. Worked on daily or weekly basis

16. If "unemployed "how do you get your means of livelihood?

1. Pensioned 2. Support from relatives (dependent)

3. Rent part of house 4.Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Total net monthly income (birr) of the household \_\_\_\_\_

**II. Some Characteristics of Other Permanent Members of Households.**

S. No	1.Name of household members	2. Relationship with head  CODE I	3.Sex M 1 F 2	4.Age in years (if< 1 yr in months)	5.Marital status  CODE II	6.Highest level of education completed  CODE III	7.For all members < 25 years Is the hh member currently attending school? Yes= 1 No =2	8.Reason for not attending school  CODE IV	9.Have special skill of training
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
		1.Spouse 2.Son/Daughter 3. Father/Mother 4.Grandchild 5. Other relative			1. Single 2.Married 3.Divorced /Separated/ 4.Widowed	1.under school age 2.primary education 3.Secondary education 4.Collage Diploma/Vocational training 5.Completed bachelors degree 6. Completed Masters or PhD		1.Cannot afford school fees/tuition  2.Did not want to go  3.Needs to work  4. Too young  5. Completed needed schooling  6.Other (specify)	

### III. Migration

1. Do any of the household members of the household live outside the town? <b>If no, skip to next part</b>		1. Yes 0. No			
2. If yes, use the Table below to list the person(s) migrated, place migration, when, whether the person returned.					
No	Name of a Person	(Q-1) Place (Where did the hh member move from?)	(Q-2) Reason ( primary reason for moving)	(Q-3) Since when	(Q-4) Coming back
<i>Reason: 1= search of job, 2= in search of food, 3= job transfer, 4= visit, 5= family transfer, 6= marriage 7= recruited in to the army, 8= for education 9= other, specify</i>					

### IV. Housing, Electricity, Water, and Toilet Facilities

1. What is the ownership status of housing <b>If own, skip to question 1.2</b>		1. Own 2. Rent	
1.1. If house rent, monthly rent of the house			
1.2. Number of rooms in the house			
1.3. Location of housing, distance from market			
1.4.The building material of your house		1. Wood and mud 2. Stone 3. Blocket 4. Brick 5. Other (specify) _____	
2. Does the dwelling have electricity?		1. Yes .2.No	
2.1. What is the mode of accessing electricity in the household		1. Electric light (private) 2. Electric light (shared)	
3. Do you have private piped water? <b>If yes, skip to Q 3.3</b>		1. Yes 2. N0	
3.1. <b>If No:</b> what is the most important source of drinking water?		1. Piped Water Elsewhere 2. Walls/Boreholes 3.Rever/Lake	
3.2.What is your primary source of water for washing and bathing		4. Public Water Service 5. Public Bath House 6. Other Specify_____	
3.3 Number of hours piped water is available per day			

3.4 Number of hours piped water is available per week		
3.5. Average Monthly water fee		
4. What toilet facilities are used by the household?	1.Private flush toilet 2.Private pit toilet 3.Public flush toilet 4.Public pit toilet 5.Use field	
5.Means of dry waste disposal	1. by burning 2.by burying 3. Throw in to open space in the area 4. Throw in to near by lake /river 5. Use trucks 6.other	
6. What type of energy do you use for cooking and heating foods?	1.wood/charcoal 2. dung 3. kerosene 4. Electric power 5. Other	

#### V. Asset ownership

Ask whether the household owns each asset and how many/much? If they own an asset but it is broken, record a “no” response.

Asset	Yes= 1 No=0	Number of Items	Asset	Yes= 1 No=0	Number of Items
1. Radio/Tap			12. DVD/CD player		
2. Washing Matchin			13. Satellite Dish		
3. Cell Phone/Mobile			14. Jewelry		
4. Bicycle			15. Land(for Agriculture)		
5. Motorbike			16. Home/Residence		
6. Car			17. Cattle/Cows		
7. Refrigerator			18. Goats/Sheep		
8. Stove			19. Poultry/Chickens		
9. Sofas			20. Chair and Table		
10. Television			21. Oven		
11. Sideboards			22. Others		

#### VI. Savings

1. Have any adult household members had any savings in the past year? Yes = 1 No = 0
2. If yes, ask how many accounts each person has and list them separately.

Number	Name	. Where do you save? <i>CODE 1</i>	How do you plan to use the savings? <i>CODE 2</i>	Total amount currently saved in this place?
<i>1</i>				
<i>2</i>				
<i>3</i>				
<i>4</i>				
		1. Bank 2. Savings and Loan Cooperative 3. In the house 4. Other (Specify) 5. Other (specify)	1. For education purpose 2. house building/ to buy land 3. Purchasing car/motorcycle 4. for emergency purpose 5. Other (Specify)	

### VII. Access to Credit

1. Have you (any member of your household) received credit in the last three years?				0. No 1. Yes	
2. If your answer to the above question is yes, please give the following information?					
Source of credit	Used for	Amount in		<b>Code: Source:</b>	<b>Code: Used</b>
		Cash	In kind		
				1= Banks 2= Saving and loan cooperative 3= Friend, Relative 4= Town trader, 5= Neighbor, 6= Private lender 7= Other, Specify	1= Start or expand a business 2= buy land or housing 3= household furniture 4= School fees 7= Repair the house 8= loan repayment, 9= Healthcare costs 10= family events 11= others, specify

### VIII. Urban Agriculture

1. Does the household have access to land that can be used for growing fruits and vegetables, coffee, or raising animals?		Yes = 1 No = 0 ( <b>skip to next part</b> )		
1a. What is the size of this land?				
2. In the last 6 months has the household grown any fruits or vegetables on this land?		Yes = 1 No = 0 ( <b>skip to Q6</b> )		
3. What types of fruits or vegetables have you grown? (mark up to 3, if more than 3 types are raised, list 3 with highest numbers)		Potatoes 'Godere'	1 2	

		Cabbage	3	
		Onion	4	
		Carrot	5	
		' Enset'	6	
		Other (specify	7	
4. What proportion of the fruit or vegetable production is given away or sold?		None	1	
		Very little.....	2	
		Less than half.....	3	
		About half.....	4	
		More than half.....	5	
		All/almost all.....	6	
<b>*5. The total number of coffee tree in the land</b>				
5a. What proportion of coffee production is sold?		None	1	
		Very little.....	2	
		Less than half.....	3	
		About half.....	4	
		More than half.....	5	
		All/almost all.....	6	
5b. Income from coffee product				
6. In the last 6 months has the household raised any livestock on this land?		Yes = 1		
		No = 0		
7. What kind of animals? (mark up to 3, if more than 3 types are raised, list 3 with highest numbers)		Cattle.....	1	
		Sheep.....	2	
		Goats.....	3	
		Camels.....	4	
		Horses.....	5	
		Chickens/Poultry.	6	
		Other...(specify	7	
8. How many of the animals or animal production is sold or given away?		None.....	1	
		Very little.....	2	
		Less than half....	3	
		About half.....	4	
		More than half..	5	
		All/almost all.....	6	
9. What is the household's total <b>net</b> income from urban agriculture over the last month? (sale of fruits, vegetables, coffee , livestock)				

\* for Durame town survey

### IX. Health Facilities (Health Seeking Behavior during Different Illnesses)

1. Were any household members with bad health condition last year? Yes =1 No = 0

No	Name of diseased person	Health complaints ( Illness or injury)	Medical help sought (where this person receive medical care?)	Medical spending over last year

### X. Transfers and Social Assistance

Now we would like to talk about money and goods you have received in the last one year from sources other than employment or any assistance given to anyone living outside the households.

1. Does the hh support anyone living outside the home with money or food? 1. Yes 2. No

2. If yes, who?

- a. children in school elsewhere
- b. other family living in rural areas
- c. other family living in urban areas
- d. other specify-----

3. Does the hh receive support from anyone outside the household? 1. Yes 2. No

4. If yes, from whom, how often and how much?

- a. previous hh member, who now lives by his /her own(in Ethiopia)
- b. previous hh member , who is now living abroad(outside Ethiopia)
- c. close relative
- d. friends
- e. Government programs
- f. NGOs, charity groups
- g. other specify

Amount\_\_\_\_\_

Regularly\_\_\_\_\_

Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_

### XI. Expenditure Information

1. What are your major expenses? What is the total hh expense in a month time?

Code	In the last month how much did your HH spend on :	Amount(Birr)	Rank the three most expenditure
01	Food items		
02	Energy (cooking , heating , lighting)		
03	Clothing		
04	Health		

05	Rent		
06	<i>Education</i>		
07	<i>Transport</i>		
08	Entertainment		
09	<i>Other specify 1</i>		
10	<i>Other specify 2</i>		

2. Do you think that there is inflation? 1. Yes 2. No

3. How do you characterize the recent escalation of food price?

- a. significant that it affected our dietary program
- b. significant, but we were able to withstand it through increased expenditure on food items
- c. not significant
- d. other

4. What strategies do you using to cope with inflation? \_\_\_\_\_

## **XII. Shocks Impacting Households**

1. In the last one year, what difficulties have negatively impacted your household's ability to meet your food & nonfood needs?

Shocks/unexpected events	Code: circle all difficulties identified by hh	Rank top 3 difficulties
Loss of employment of hh member	01	
bad weather /Lack of rain fall or flooding	02	
Sickness/ health expenditures	03	
Unexpected pregnancy	04	
Death of hh family/ funeral	05	
High food prices	06	
High fuel /transport cost	07	
Increasing house rental price	08	
Irregular /unsafe drinking water	09	
Insecurity/ thefts	10	
Loss of livestock(disease , death, natural Disaster etc)	11	
Divorce/separation	12	
Failure of a small business	13	
Other1 specify	14	
Other2 specify	15	

### XIII. Coping Strategies, In Case Of Food Insecurity

1. Did you encounter food shortage in the last 12 months? 1. Yes 2. No
2. If yes, how many days \_\_\_\_\_ Weeks \_\_\_\_\_ Months \_\_\_\_\_
3. If yes, what are the livelihood coping mechanisms that your household applied during food shortage (decline in food availability or income insecurity)?

Coping strategies	1=yes 2=no
a. Migrate hh member to the near by town for wage labour	
b. Receiving donation from relatives or fiends	
c. Borrowing many to buy food	
d. Buy food on credit basis	
e. Selling household assets	
f. Selling household livestock	
g. Petty trading	
h. Selling wood	
i. Selling charcoal	
j. Send children to work	
k. Begging	
l. Other (spacify)	

3. Which of the following types of consumption related coping strategy did you use during food shortage?

Strategy	1.Yes 2.No
a. Reduce the number of meals consumed in a day	
b. Reducing consumption during each meal	
c. Eat less preferred, lower quality or less expensive foods	
d. Increase consumption of street food (e.g. prepared foods)	
e. Not eating for whole days sometimes	

### Part II – FOOD SECURITY – Access

#### I. Food Consumption and Source Information

1. I would like to ask you about all the different foods that your household members have eaten in the last 7 days. Could you please tell me how many days in the past week your household has eaten the following foods and what was the main source of each food item consumed?

No	Food groups /items	Was it consumed in the last 7 days? Yes = 1 No = 0	If yes, how many times	Main sources			
				Purchase		Own production	Government/ NGO charity
				Main Market	Small Shop		
1.	Any flour, bread, <i>injera</i> , or any other foods made from ' <i>teff</i> ' millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat,						

	or barley						
2.	Any potatoes, or any other foods made from roots or tubers?						
3.	Any vegetables (cabbage, tomato, etc)?						
4.	Any fruits( orange, papaya, mango, etc)						
5.	Any meet( beef, , chicken, or other organ meats)						
6.	Any eggs?						
7.	Any foods( <i>wat</i> ) made from beans, peas, vetch, lentils, or nuts						
8.	Any cheese, yogurt, milk or other milk products?						
9	Oil/butter						
10	Sugar						
11	Others						

2. Which of these statements best describes the food eaten in your hh in the last 12 months?

- we always have enough to eat and the kinds of food we want
- there is enough food , but not the kinds we want
- sometimes we don't have enough to eat
- often we don't have enough to eat

3. On average, how many meals did the adults in this hh eat yesterday? No of meals-----

4. How many meals did the children (age 6-18) in this hh eat in the past 24 hrs? No of meals-----

5. What is the combination of the most common food? How often do you eat this food in your hh?

The most common food is \_\_\_\_\_ we consume it \_\_\_\_\_ times a week.

5 What type(s) of cereal do you use to bake *injera* or *kita*(bread)? \_\_\_\_\_

## II. Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS)

NO	Question	Response options	Code
1	In the past four weeks, did you <i>worry</i> that your HH would not have enough food?	0 = No (skip to Q2) 1=Yes	
1.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice in the last 4 weeks ) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
2	In the past four weeks, were you or any HH member <i>not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred</i> because of a lack of resources?	0 = No (skip to Q3) 1=Yes	
2.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
3	In the past four weeks, did you or any HH member have to eat <i>a limited variety of foods</i> due to a lack of resources?	0 = No (skip to Q4) 1 = Yes	
3.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
4	In the past four weeks, did you or any HH member	0 = No (skip to Q5)	

	have to <i>eat some foods that you really did not want to eat</i> because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food?	1 = Yes	
4.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
5	In the past four weeks, did you or any HH member have to <i>eat a smaller meal than you felt</i> you needed because there was not enough food?	0 = No (skip to Q6) 1 = Yes	1
5.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times ) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
6	In the past four weeks, did you or any other HH member have to eat <i>fewer meals in a day</i> because there was not enough food?	0 = No (skip to Q7) 1 = Yes	
6.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
7	In the past four weeks, was there <i>ever no food to eat of any kind</i> in your HH because of lack of resources to get food?	0 = No (skip to Q8) 1 = Yes	
7.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
8	In the past four weeks, did you or any HH member <i>go to sleep at night hungry</i> because there was not enough food?	0 = No (skip to Q9) 1 = Yes	
8.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	
9	In the past four weeks, did you or any HH member <i>go a whole day and night without eating anything</i> because there was not enough food?	0 = No (part finished) 1 = Yes	
9.a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (once or twice) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than ten times)	

### III. Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP)

1. In the past 12 months, were there months in which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs?

1. Yes 2.No

2. If yes, which were the months (in the past 12 months) in which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs?

January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December

### IV General Information

- Which month is the most difficult in terms of daily life? \_\_\_\_\_
- What makes this month the most difficult?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which month is the easiest in terms of daily life? \_\_\_\_\_

**4.** What makes this month the easiest?

---

**5.** Does this household generally meet its basic needs of food, water, shelter, and health care?

1. Yes      2.No

**6.** As compared to five years ago, is the number of income earning member of household increased?

1. Yes    2.No

**7.** As compared to five years ago, is the income of the household raised? 1. Yes    2.No

## **Appendix II: Checklists for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

### **Section I: Food Security Information**

- What are the major agricultural crops produced locally (cash crops and food crops)? When are they harvested? Livestock?
- Do you think that households in the town have a problem with food security? How would you characterize the extent of the problem?
- How food secure are households now as compared to the past? changes over time?
- Changing pattern of food security through different months (agricultural calendar). Seasonality of food security.
- Which months are the leanest times in terms of food and income?
- Do people plan for eventual food shortages? How and where is food stored? Who is responsible for food storage in the home?
- What are the main foods that are preferred by households in this area? What substitute foods are available when food is in short supply?
- Do people rely on other households to help them cope with income and food shortages? What type of support?
- Do people have problems accessing markets (e.g., in terms of time, distance, or transportation available)? Describe.
- Do people have problems purchasing food or basic necessities?
- Do you think that food items are accessible, available, and affordable in this town? Explain how it is or is not
- What challenges do people face that limits their ability to maintain food security for the households? (Discuss in detail).
- How do people cope if there is food shortage in the households? What strategies do households use to meet family food needs?
- Do households in this area grow urban gardens?(Discuss)

### **Section II: Economic Information**

- What do most people do for income and work in this town?
- What opportunities exist for earning additional income?
- Involvement of women in income-earning activities.
- Do people leave the town to find work? Has this changed recently?
  - What type of work do people migrate for? Where do they go?
  - Which household members migrate? Why? How long are they gone?
  - Do migrants remit? How important are remittances to household income?
- What are the major expenses for households? Rent? Food? Transportation?
- Have people had to use their savings to meet these expenses? If so, where did these savings come from?
- From whom can people borrow money? (List sources of credit, savings, and welfare funds) Who can access these sources (e.g., men, women, particular social groups)? Describe the terms of borrowing and repayment.

### **Section III. Social Information**

- What are the characteristics of the most vulnerable people to food shortages in this area? (Describe these characteristics in detail.)
- What are the different types of organizations (e.g., nongovernmental organizations, religious groups, government groups) that work in this community? What are their activities? Who benefits? Describe
- Do households rely on other households when they run out of food or income?
- Do some groups have more social support than others? If so, who? Why?
- Do poor households have a safety net (support system) to survive? Which?
- Do households maintain rural–urban ties in this area?

## **Appendix III: Checklist for Case Study Interview**

### **I. Personal characteristics and Socio-economic data**

- Name:
- Age :
- Level of education:
- Marital status: Yes No
- If yes, what is your spouse doing for living?
- What is the size of your household? And what are the ages of them?
- How do you earn a living? (Discuss)
- What is the household's monthly income? What are the sources?
- Numbers of household's member contribute for this income.
- Seasonality of the income. If there is a variation, which season or months are good for income and which months have less? Why.
- What are the main household expenditures? (e.g. food, school)
- Ownership of the house. Use of the house, if there is any use. (explain)
- If you rent, how much do you pay per month? Is this rent affordable?
- Other assets ownership (List all).
- Do you save from your earning? If yes, what amount are you able to save?
- Have you (any member of your household) received credit. Discuss

### **II: Food security Access - consumption and source**

- Did this household encounter food shortage? Give details about your household food situation).
- What are the most common foods for this household? How often do you eat this food in your household? Why? Tell me about what the main meals usually contain. (list all food items)
- How many meals does this household commonly eat per day?
- What foods would you prefer to have if you have the ability to acquire food? Why these foods?
- Who decides what food to buy or prepare in this household? Why?
- Is the food on average enough for everybody? Tell me about the last time you or someone in your house had to skip a meal because there wasn't enough.
- When food is in short supply, are some household members fed before others? Who and why?
- What challenges do you face that limit your ability to maintain food security for this household? (Discuss in detail).
- How do you cope if there is food shortage in the household? What strategies do you use to meet the family food needs?
- Which are the major sources of foods for this household? Why?
- Have you ever failed to access food from these sources when you have money?
- Do you think that food availability and affordability vary with season? Explain how it is or is not, which months are more difficult or not
- How do you describe the effect of the recent escalation of food price? Explain

### **III: Transfer and social assistance**

- Have you ever received food from any of friends, relatives, or neighbors? From rural or urban? Please explain.
- What kind of food do you receive? How much? Frequency? Who sends this food? Why do they send it?
- Does your household ever receive any aid? (NGO, Government, religious institution, etc.). Discuss
- What kind of aid do you receive? How much? Frequency? From whom do you receive this aid?
- During which time of the year does this household receive more food? Why during that time?
- Do you ever borrow food from other households? From whom? What kind of food? Do you manage to pay back?
- How important is this food for the food security of this household? Please explain.
- Do you have members of this household who are living abroad? Did you receive any support? How frequently? How important are these remittances to the survival of this household?
- Have you ever supported anyone living outside the home with money or food? For whom? Why?

**Appendix IV:** Checklists for Key informant interview

1. What is your general assessment on hunger and food insecurity level in the town?
2. What kind of aid does this kebele provide for poor? Why that kind of aid?
3. If it provides food, what kinds of food do you give? How much? How frequently?  
How do you select your beneficiaries?
4. From your experiences with working in urban communities, what are the major challenges faced by poor households in acquiring food?
5. How do food insecure households in these communities cope with food shortages?
6. Do you have any current project related to food insecurity in the town?
7. What kind of planning do you have for urban food insecurity? Especially in slum areas?

## Appendix –V Measurement

### Food Consumption Score

Household food consumption can be measured by a food consumption score (FCS), which is based on a recall of food groups eaten in the seven days preceding the moment of interview. The dietary diversity (number of different foods or food groups consumed by households over a given period of time) and frequency (number of days per week) have been demonstrated as good proxy measures of the access dimension of food security at household level. Variety and frequency were thus used to calculate a weighted Food Consumption Score (FCS). Eight food groups and their corresponding weight were classified. It ultimately allows for categorization of food intake levels by distinguishing the three different food consumption patterns of “poor”, “borderline,” and “acceptable”.

#### Food Groups and Weights

	Food Items	Food Group	Weight
1	Cereals: <i>Teff</i> , maize, sorghum, millet, other cereals	Staples	2
	Tubers: Cassava, potatoes and sweet potatoes		
2	Pulses: Beans, Peas, Vetch,	Pulses	3
3	Vegetables	Vegetables	1
4	Fruits	Fruits	1
5	Animal proteins: Meat and Egg	Meat and Egg	4
6	Milk/dairy product	Milk	4
7	Oil/fat	Oil	0.5
8	Sugar	Sugar	0.5

Source: WFP, 2008c

$$FCS = a_{staple}x_{staple} + a_{pulse}x_{pulse} + a_{veg}x_{veg} + a_{fruit}x_{fruit} + a_{meat}x_{meat} + a_{sugar}x_{sugar} + a_{dairy}x_{dairy} + a_{oil}x_{oil}$$

Where,

FCS	Food consumption score
$X_i$	Frequencies of food consumption = number of days for which each food group was consumed during the past 7 days
$a_i$	Weight of each food group