

**Addis Ababa University**  
**College of Social Science**  
**School of Graduate Studies**

**THE MIGRATION OF GOJJAM PEASANTS TO  
EAST WOLLEGA; CAUSES AND IMPCATS**

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# Abstract

The spontaneous rural-rural migration is one of the least investigated subjects in Ethiopia. The aim of the thesis is to add some information on the existing studies so far. Furthermore, the major theme of the thesis is focusing on identifying the factors and outcomes of spontaneous migration both in the area of origin and destination *Dega Damot* and *Gidda Ayana* woredas respectively.

There is a general consensus from the previous studies that spontaneous migration and settlement is usually the outcomes of drought or famine, scarcity of arable land, high population pressure, degradation and fragmentation of land, lack of oxen and other social related problems.

The spontaneous out migration of *Dega Damot* peasants has a similar attributes to its counterparts of the highland parts of northern Ethiopia except drought. Migration experience of *Dega Damot* peasants to the lowland part of *Gidda Ayana* started in 1990. The migrants of *Dega Damot Woreda* flocked one followed by another to the aforementioned Woreda since 1990 due to two main reasons. The first one is the establishment of State Farms in *Anger Gutin*. Even though State Farms particularly those initiated by Foreign aids had been practiced in *Anger Gutin* since 1972, it was the *Derue State Farm* that was implemented after 1984/5 famine became very intensive and able to create employment opportunity for the people of different ethnic background. This created the exposure for peasants of *Gojjam* in particular and *Amhara* in general. Secondly, the resettlement attempt of *Dega Damot* peasants to the lowland part of *Gidda Ayana* in 1990 also created exposure for spontaneous migrants. The peasants voluntarily initiated this resettlement program by having permission from the concerned bodies at both ends. In the same year the resettlement program was started, which in turn paved the way for the wave of the then migration. After that, out migration was initiated by the interplay of push and pull factors.

As the finding reveals, the decision of out migration of *Dega Damot* peasants is the cumulative effect of individuals, families and community in general. As *Castle and Miller (2003:29)* put it as the *Micro, Meso* and *Macro*-structure are intertwined in the migratory process; there is no clear dividing line between them. That means no single cause is sufficient to explain why people decided to leave their origin and settle in another area.

The migration of the peasants of *Amhara* region in general and *Gojjam* in particular to Eastern *Wollega* has both positive and negative results. The positive effects of migration at destination includes intensification of production which in turn created economic relations (Sharecropping, hiring labour and exchange of goods and services); the emergence of social integration through; *Iddir, mahber, Tut matbat* and marriage. The negative outcomes of it at destination encompass deforestation and inter-ethnic conflict mainly due to economic reason. But at the area of origin migration is characterized by only positive outcomes since it gives breathing by easing pressure on land space for the people who stayed behind in addition to remittance. Due to the existence of high population pressure in *Dega Damot Woreda*, still migration does not create shortage of labour.

# Glossary

Amarach Timhrit Bet	a temporary- primary school
Aquaquam	the highest level of church education
Balabat	local Chiefs
Darcha	a demarcation between two individuals' plot
Debtera	ex-priest within the local context of Dega Damot but its meaning is more than this in other societies
Dem memeles	killing someone for retribution
Edaw' mot	giving military service in place of tax
Gendi	trypanosomia
Iddir	self-help association
Injera	traditional food in Ethiopia
Iqqub	traditional money saving mechanism and its societal significance is more than this
Kebele	the smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia below a district
Kifle Hager	equivalent with a region but different in attributes, kifile hager is division of a Country based on location but region considers additional characteristics like ethnicity, religion, culture...etc
Lij	a title which is given to a young individual and who has higher rank or position
Madaberia	inorganic fertilizer
Mahber	a kind of rotating associations performed by a group of persons who eat and drink in the commemoration of Saints
Merigeta	a person who teaches church education

Qine	the third level of church education
Rist	a hereditary land holding system
Serto Masaya	taking someone or something as Model for others
Shema	traditional clothes which is made of cotton
Tabot	arch of the Covenant
Tanqua	a small and engineless boat like object which serve same purpose as boat
Timad	one-fourth of a hectare
Tu'let	a kind of property (in livestock or in money) which is given to children by their parents or relatives while they begin to live an independent life.
Tut'matbat	Sacking from the burst (Tesfaye 2007).but its significance is immense in providing economic, political and religious sentiment between individuals who engage in this practice.
Wodajinet	establishing relationship between two persons that do not have kinship relation.
Woredas	the district which mediated between kebele and zone
Yedem Kasa	indemnity or compensation
Zema	The beginning or the lower level of church education

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Most scholars have tried to define migration only as physical movement of people from one geographical area to another. Therefore, it is taken as “the permanent change of residence by an individual or a group” and identified based on the place of origin and destination. Nevertheless, migration is not simply physical movement of people rather intertwined social process that affects the life of the sending and receiving communities in addition to the migrants themselves. Migration must be viewed as a complex social process that affects many aspects of socio-economic life of the sending and receiving communities. It is related with the daily life of the people such as settlement, economic use of land, productive technology, education and mixing of ethnic groups’ languages and peoples (Berihun, 1996:13). Currently, this social issue is becoming the daily life for many peoples in Ethiopia. As a result, migration, whether it be rural-urban or rural-rural becomes the model rather than the exception. The northern parts of Ethiopia, mostly highlands frequently face soil erosion, environmental degradation, population pressure and infertile soil. The region is also put in the open to recurrent drought and famine. Peasants’ reaction and coping strategies to these natural and man-made problems vary, including migration whether it can be frequent as well as permanent depending on the harshness of the problem (Tesfaye, 2007:1).

Nowadays, migration in rural Ethiopia has mainly been from north to south. People have been moving on their own, some of them to get away from the threat of death and others to further improve their lives depending on information they get from various sources about better opportunities in the south. Decisions to move out are made longer before the practical migration starts and the ‘latter takes long time and several stages’ (Assefa, 2004:1).

I have chosen this topic based on my own previous experience and by consulting different literatures. Thus, this region has experienced high rate of peasant migration in order to escape the natural and manmade disasters.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Internal labour migration is one of the severe socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental problems in many third world countries. In Ethiopia owing to different 'push' and 'pull factors', people including all age, sex and ethnic groups flock from one region to the other. This becomes acute problem in Amhara region mainly in the highlands. As cited by Tesfaye, Corbett (1988) noticed that peasants living of income at recurrent risk develop self-insurance strategies to minimize risks on their food security and livelihoods. From the same citation, Suhrke (1994; 86) also asserted, "For rural people, migration is one of several coping strategies to deal with poverty which in itself reflects a combination of social, economic and political conditions." These may involve rural-rural and rural-urban migration in search of employment and livelihood in distance farmlands and labor markets.

Leaving the actual problem aside, most scholarly researches in Ethiopia mainly give due attention to rural-urban migration than rural-rural one. By following such trend, some scholars consider migration in Ethiopia as only rural-urban. Seleshi, for instance, ascertains this fact. He notices this in his work entitled "*Urban Migration and Labour Movement in Ethiopia (1978:680)*" He tries to ascertain that;

Migration in Ethiopia tends to be one direction that is people migrate from rural to urban. Since the major social and economic services concentrate in the capital city, many people particularly poorly educated rural youth and untrained peasant farmers, migrate from the rural areas to the capital city where they have not been absorbed by the labour market.

From Berihun's citation, Adepoju demonstrates that among the four migration trends rural-rural, rural-urban, urban –urban and urban-rural, migration in Africa is dominated by rural-rural type, which is contrary to the above idea. This fact is ascertained by the following tangible facts. The rural-rural migration constitutes 70% in Kenya, and 60% in Ghana. The same observations have been identified in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. From the same citation, Adepoju noted that the existence of accelerating pattern of rural- rural migration in Africa shows the diversity of ecological features, the varying physical resources and opportunities, the different land tenure managements, the cyclical demand for labour in different parts of the region and the location of agricultural projects (Berihun, 1996:17). By taking the above facts into account, one can understand that the migration trend in Ethiopia is not quite different from this reality, unlike the

assumption that has been forwarded by Seleshi who tried to treat migration as a one way trend that is rural-urban. The fact that the lack of focus on such crucial issue is emanated from the reality that rural-rural migration has been taking place in hidden and spontaneous way.

Although understanding the causes and contextual factors related to out-migration from rural areas is indispensable for policy formulation, our knowledge about migration in Ethiopia is limited. The scanty data available shows that rural-rural migration was the most common pattern prior to the 1990s. Spatial patterns show that movement is generally from northeastern to central and south-west regions and from densely populated highlands and midlands to the sparsely settled, hotter, and drier lowlands. Population movements in Tigray include seasonal as well as more permanent labor migration to Eritrea (that is, prior to the border war of 1998-2000). From the northern province of Wello, laborers migrate to the cotton and other commercial farms in the south. For policymakers in Ethiopia, a knowledge of what types of agroecological areas and communities experienced substantial out-migration in the past decades is important, as is an understanding of which households are susceptible to losing members to out-migration and which individuals are most likely to leave in the future (Ezra, 2001:5).

For this fact, at this moment, in Ethiopia scholars have been becoming more apprehensive about migration issues. However, the studies about migration give more due attention to rural-urban than rural-rural type of migration. The existing few sources about rural-rural type of migration have been treated with displacement, ethnic integration and conflict except the works of Wood (1977, 1982) and that of Assefa (2002). Furthermore, the literature from other disciplines mainly focuses on the effects of migration on the destination rather than the place of origin. As Brettell (2003:1) puts the disciplinary focus of treating migration as such,

Political scientists and economists are largely interested in the flow that exists between two countries and how these flows are shaped by policy or labour markets and trade segments. Sociologists, who have generally focused on the receiving end, took at issue of integration. Anthropologists by contrast have intended to work at both ends of the migration process, beginning in the country of origin and asking what prompts individuals to leave a particular community and what happens to them in their place of destination, including if and how they remain connected to their places of origin.

Thus, due to this fact, I follow the footsteps of Anthropologists and give emphasis at both ends. The main purpose of this study is to fill this gap by assessing and exploring the social, economic, political and ecological factors that forced the migrants to leave their home and how they live in the receiving area. That means the study tries to find out the factors that contribute to the rural-rural migration by giving due attention to both ends (origin and destination) unlike the previous works that gave emphasis mainly at destination put aside Assefa's work of 2002. In addition, the study is different from the previous works in that it limits the study by taking two specific Woredas (*Gidda Ayana* and *Dega Damot*) to investigate the causes and impacts of migration a

both places. Taking *Dega Damot* as a case study from Gojjam (origin) mainly emanated from the assumption that the study may give answer for the question why the people of this Woreda in particular have started spontaneous migration to *Gidda Ayana* Woreda since the early 1990s but not before. Thus, I assume that there may be a difference in the factors and effects of migration in various parts of Amhara region in general, and in Gojjam in particular. Therefore, studying the causes and consequences of migration solely at destination might not point out a significant variation within the region rather than developing generalization. Thus, the study will sort out these variations and similarities across the region. It also tries to find out exposure and coping strategies developed by the migrants before and after their embarkation of migration.

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

### **General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to investigate the causes and impacts of the migration of Gojjam peasants to East Wollega.

### **Specific Objectives**

This research is designed:

- To assess the pull and push factors that have initiated Dega Damot peasants' migration to Gidda Ayana Woreda.
- To identify the impacts that migration has on the sending and receiving communities and the migrants themselves.
- To point out the conveniences those have contributed to the acceleration of migration.
- To examine the adaptation mechanism of the migrants after they settled in the receiving area.
- To identify the relationships that exists between the host community and the migrants.

## 1.4 Research Questions

This study has been guided by the following key research questions:

- What opportunities attract the migrants at the destination?
- What demographic, environmental, economic or political conditions have altered so much that people want to leave their area of origin?
- What preconditions exist for the migrants to choose Wollega rather than other parts of Ethiopia?
- What role has been played by social network; such as peer and kin pressure in the facilitation of migration?
- What is the impact of migration and settlement on the socio-economic condition of the receiving and sending community?

## 1.5. Significance of the Study

This research is intended to point out the intertwined causes and impacts of migration, which has been incompletely and fragmentally addressed by literature. It insights further investigation on how ecological and manmade disasters, facilitate the rural-rural migration.

The fact that few or inadequate researches have been done in the area which this research is done. Thus, there exists an evident knowledge lacuna on the complex issue of migration in the study area. This research, therefore, serves to fill this gap. In this way the study becomes relevant in exploring the implication of migration on the migrants, their relatives left behind and on the receiving communities in its multifold manifestations. Since Ethiopia has followed Agricultural Development Led Industrialization, studying the causes and impacts of rural- rural migration becomes pertinent for the realization of the intended objective. For this case, suggestions are made to put certain relevant outcomes that might have policy implications to the government and other stakeholders who are responsible for such crucial issues.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

In this research, I have critically analyzed and found-out the major causes for peasant out migration of Amhara region particularly by giving due attention to the migration of Gojjam peasants to east Wollega . Besides, I addressed the socio-economic and environmental impacts of migration on the place of origin, destination and the lives of the migrants. As Anthropologists mainly depend on qualitative method of data collection, it is unrealistic to consider the whole region as of the study subject. Thus, I took into account two Woredas as the target of investigation. From the place of origin, *Dega Damot Woreda*, in Gojjam, this is characterized by large number of peasant out migration; and from the area of destination, Gidda Ayana Worda, in which large numbers of Gojjam migrants have been found.

## **1.7. Research Methodology**

For this research, I used qualitative method of data collection and analysis. Different qualitative data collection techniques have been employed to collect both primary and secondary sources for the research purpose. The primary data were collected during fieldwork. I used secondary sources such as books, unpublished MA theses and other relevant materials to analyze the primary sources. Thus, along with the consultation of written sources, I employed a multiple of qualitative data collection methods. The full lists of these methods comprise; interviews, focus group discussion, cases, and participant observation.

I deployed both formal and informal interview techniques in order to investigate detail information about the causes and impacts of migration, at the place of destination, origin and or the migrant themselves. For this purpose I deployed the formal interview after I had adjusted the interview procedure. Formal interview was mainly conducted with key informants. The informal interview was conducted while we had tea and coffee with the migrants and Oromo informants particularly with the officials.

Both the formal and informal in-depth interview helped me to reveal out the real information about the causes and the outcomes of migration at both ends. Using qualitative interviewing enabled me to see the real world or situation from the interviewees' point of view. The flexible nature of qualitative interviewing assisted me in responding to the direction in which the interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphasis in research as the result of significant issues that emerged in the course of the interview.

Since it is too vast to interview every one or to observe every thing, I conducted focus group discussion which helped me for selection of key informants in addition to its informative values for the research. For the realization of the aforementioned purpose, I deployed focus group discussion with eight and four migrant and Oromo informants respectively which was intended and formal. I also deployed focus group discussion informally while we had tea and coffee as well as at the holiday of Epiphany and the commemoration of Saint Michael which paved the opportunity for me to get the informants who came Gutin for the festival.

Concerning the role of the researcher or ethnographer I mainly relied on observer as participant in that my role was mainly as an interviewer with observation but little of involvement in any participation at to and forth movement with the migrants. This method was helpful to develop trust among the migrant as well as Oromo informant, as the researcher was involved in their daily activities like having tea and coffee with them. In addition I used nineteen cases as supporting evidence of other methods of data interpretation and analysis which helped me illustrating the various causes and outcomes of migration.

I used purposive and snowball sampling technique in addition to the above mention methods of informant identification mechanism. I took thirty-six migrant informants from the place of destination and eight informants who are the relatives and families of the migrants at the place of origin in order to understand the causes and consequences of migration at both ends. In addition I took eight Oromo informants to investigate the relationships that have been established as the result of migration between the indigenous Oromo and Amhara settlers in particular and with

other ethnic groups in general in the study area. At the place of origin, I deployed cases by selecting four informants and, I conducted in -depth interview for others.

At the place of destination, the study techniques that I used were; in depth interview, focus group discussion with knowledgeable informants which are mostly used in this study; participant observation on the different circumstances that the migrants have faced on their journey and in their place of destination. Last but not the least, I deployed photographic techniques. But my attempt to use tape recorder was not realized because of the high suspicious and insecure feeling of my informants. I selected nine key informants whom I considered as knowledgeable about the causes, consequences and pattern of migration from the migrant themselves. I implemented focus group discussion with Dega Damot migrants, which helped me to obtain crucial information about the causes and impacts of migration at both ends. In addition, it served me as a means for selecting the key informants.

## **1.8. Field Experience**

I have an idea about migration issue at the place of origin, even if I did not have the knowledge about the area of destination. Due to this fact, I always questioned about the causes and impacts of rural-rural migration of Gojjam peasants to east Wollega. For this fact, I tried to assess the different literatures so as to know the existing reality. Thus, I found this research as informative and significant.

After I coined the topic,I wanted to know the actual place of destination in which more of the migrants of Dega Damot have been found. For this purpose, I consulted my advisor Dr.Assefa Tolera since he has an experience in his previous work entitled **Ethnic integration and conflict** by giving due attention to Gidda Kiramu Woreda. He informed me that ‘Gidda Ayana Woreda particularly the lowland area around Gutin could be one of the major settlement areas for Dega Damot migrants.’

Having such idea in mind, I first proceeded to Dega Damot in order to have the relevant information in the place of origin from the families and relatives of the migrants. So that or

December 26 2008,I started my journey to Dega Damot Woreda which is found in west Gojjam zone that I took it for the case study of the research. On that day,I arrived at Debre Markos and spent the night there because of lack of transport. In the next morning, I went to the aforementioned Woreda. Then, on Monday 28<sup>th</sup> of December, I established a body contact with the Woreda officials in order to get permission for the research. They gave me permission and also helped me in giving the existing sources in the Woreda, even though I could not get a well organized and published sources.So that, I tried to rely on the primary sources which have been collected by the Woreda officials. Within a week, I was able to accomodate in having the existing sources. Besides, to understand the causes and effects of migration at the place of origin,I met the families of the migrants and some migrants who came to Dega Damot to visit their families.

Having such crucial information about the research at the origin, I proceeded my journey to Wollega on 8<sup>th</sup> of January. The journey from Bure to Neqamte was very difficult and exaustive for unexperienced individuals like me, due to the over crowding of the bus in addition to Abbay valley. As I got information from the passengers, the overcroding nature of the bus is the norm rather than the exception. The difficulty of the journey also worsened by the malfunctioning of the bus's tyre twice in the valley of Abbay. After spending the whole day on the difficult journey, we arrived at Gutin at 6:15 pm and I had a bed.

The next day, I spent the whole day visiting the different social institutions of Gutin with the settlement sites of Gojjame, Wolloye, and other ethnic groups with the local Oromo. I found this area as an ideal place for different people to live and work in compctive term.

On Monday 11<sup>th</sup> of January 2009 , I went to Gidda Ayana in order to have permission from the Woreda administrator. Even if my plan was a round trip to Gutin, it was not come to being since the Woreda officials had a meeting with kebele officials. So that, the only alternative that I had was to wait till the meeting was over and I stayed there. Then though I did not get the chairperson of the Woreda, his representative gave me a permission letter.

The next morning, I went to Gutin to deliver the permission letter to a Mayor. As mentioned earlier the Mayor was absent from his office since he had a meeting at Gidda Ayana. So I contacted his representative and he gave me an appointment in the afternoon. The appointment was not realized due to the same reason. Therefore, the representative gave me another appointment for the next morning. On that day (Wednesday) we met and I gave him a research permit letter. But, he became very reluctant to give me permission and asked me different questions about the objective of the research. And he told me that he did not accept my attempt of study in giving due emphasis only to Dega Damot migrants.

I tried to persuade him by telling the aim of the research as an academic one, but he refused me to accept. As an alternative solution, I gave him the phone number of my advisor, Dr. Assefa Tolera, whom the Mayor knows personally, and he ascertained the reality of the research. After that the Mayor admitted the case but he wanted to consult the Woreda's chairperson, and he did it accordingly. Because of this fact, the permission delayed till 16<sup>th</sup> of January.

On that day, the Mayor ordered me to go to the Woreda administrators office again. Therefore, the only alternative that I had was to ask the case again. I went there and asked the chairperson in order to tell me the mystery behind. His reply was short and clear. He told me that 'the suspicion of me as a political agent that comes to agitate it among the people of Dega Damot'. In order to know my political stand, he asked me 'in what political party that I have been involved in?' I bluntly affirm the fact of the research as an academic one and as I do not have any agenda beyond it. After he realized the intended aim, he allowed me to do research. Thus, on Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> the establishment of personal relation with the study subject began to be gone ahead.

I was lucky by the time of my arrival. The holiday of Epiphany and the commemoration of Saint Michael paved the opportunity for me to get the informants who came to Gutin for the festival. The church of Saint Michael is found at the town of Gutin and the holiday is celebrated on 20<sup>th</sup> of January. In fact, the migrants who came from Gojjam are ardent supporters of Orthodox Christianity.

The seasonal and return migrants of Gojjam in particular and Amhara in general have visited their families at least once a year, mostly in January that most of the holiday celebrated and at the same time it is the slack season for the migrants at the place of destination. However, most of the early migrants who established a permanent family base at Gutin and its surroundings instead of returning to their place of origin to see their relatives, they commemorate the holiday in the area of destination with similar cultural practice with that of their origin.

Before the holiday, I had had intimate relation with three individuals of Dega Damot migrants who have rural land for their cultivation and at the same time, they constructed a house at the town of Gutin for the reason of health and social service access. Therefore, at the holiday, the peasants who came from different settlement sites came to visit their relatives at Gutin. I used such opportunity to have a preliminary contact with many informants who came from different settlements. On that occasion, I spent the whole day celebrating the holiday with them by visiting many houses.

Thus, I established harmonious relation with them and then I had their specific location for further contact. So, I could get the necessary information about the causes and consequences of their migration to the area. Even if the scattered nature of settlement and the distribution of Dega Damot migrants among other ethnic groups became uneven for me, through the ceaseless effort of Ato Matebe, one of the key informants whom I knew before in his place of origin, the task of collecting the data came to be accomplished.

The other fascinating experience that I have got in the time of my field stay was that the high return migrant of the Gojjame. The first and the main reason as I mentioned above, in the season of January there have been the celebration of Saint; Michael, Giorgis, Mary on 20<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of January respectively. The second one is the return migrants who came to the east Wollega in general and Gidda Ayana in particular and return to their origin by having a certain amount of money that serves them in giving temporary relief for their problems like in paying government loan, tax and fertilizer debt in addition to their own daily consumption. During my stay in Gidda Ayana Woreda, return migrants over crowded the town of Gutin. Therefore, the buses which have

been assigned to transport the people were unable to accommodate. The traffic polices who are assigned to regulate the rules and regulations of the traffic allow the drivers to have many people as they desired. The overcrowded tendency of the buses is similar to the city bus of Addis Ababa. The only difference is that the long journey in the hot desert of Abbay and a double or sometimes the triple tariff that was imposed on the passengers.

## **1.9. Limitation of the Study**

The first limitation of the study is that the impacts of migration at both ends is vast, complex and intertwined since it is the social reality. However, the study tries to treat selectively which are assumed very pertinent. In fact, every social phenomenon has to be treated as equally significant as the study out comes. For instance, the consequences have been various social realities, which are not included in the research like treating gender, and HIV in relation to migration.

My inability to speak Oromo language hindered me to get the real information from the emigrant point of view of the Oromo about the consequences of migration in the aforementioned Woreda. So that, I only used Amharic language, since it is not as such difficult to them to exchange information with me.

Inter-ethnic conflict is the main out come of the spontaneous out-migration of rural Amharic peasants in general and the Gojjames in particular to East Wollega. However, due to limitation of time and resources I treated it as a passing reference depending on the secondary sources as well as the primary data that I acquired with in this short period.

## **1.10. Organization of the thesis**

This thesis is structured into six interrelated chapters. The first chapter introduces the problem of the study, its objectives, the methodology and significance of the study. The epicenter of the second chapter is to discuss key concept of migration, theoretical frameworks and the findings of previous empirical research works. Accordingly, this particular chapter presents the

aforementioned issue along the thematic line. In chapter three, the causes of migration are treated. First, the push factors like population pressure, land fragmentation, land degradation and social problems such as blood feud, failure in educational achievement, early marriage are explored. Moreover, pull factors like the availability of fertile land; the establishments of social networks, the attitudinal change of the sending society about the concept of migration unlike the previous trend and the opening of Bure-Naqamte road are also included as the theme of the thesis.

In the fourth chapter, the process of settlement and adaptation, land acquisition and livelihood improvement are examined. In the last chapter, the consequences of migration concerning remittance, intensification of production at destination, deforestation and its aftermath, inter-ethnic integration and conflict are discussed in the same length. The last chapter recapitulates the whole discussion by way of giving succinct summary and conclusion.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 The Concept of Migration

Among the terms, which exist most repeatedly in the literature, the three “M’s-mobility, movement and migration” are the main concepts. It is usually brought into being that these terms are used otherwise, in reality there are some subtle differences between them (Rahwa, 2004:21).

Mobility may be well thought-out to be the capability of being mobile, which permit some people to move from one area to another, the deficiency of mobility or its deterrent nature may impede others from doing so. Mobility thus restricted by physical constraints, more typically it may be predisposed by an individual’s inability to afford the cost (‘psychological as well as financial’) of poignant or to make the necessary provision which may make easy the move (Rahwa, 2004:21). The term mobility is an all-embracing one and includes both circulation and migration. Circulation has been defined as ‘a great variety of movement usually short- term cyclical in nature but usually having in common the lack of any acknowledged intention of a permanent or long-standing change of residence (Hornby and Jones, 1980:83).

When we come to the notion of migration, it is often not applied to moves made by people without a predetermined place of residences. Thus, for instance, transients and nomads are not well thought-out as migrants. Besides migration does not take an account of short trips, which involves no change of accustomed place of residences. Short term movements, including commuting such as taking place between homes and one’s place of work or education, and oscillation, where people move commonly to variety of places but usually return to the place of origin (Shrivava, 1994:56). Migration is a more constrained term than circulation and it is used only to describe movements from one administrative unit to another that requires an enduring

change of residence. There is, however, no general conformity about the lowest level of administrative unit that should be well thought-out for the purpose of migration studies (Hornby and Jones, 1980:83).

Migration involves crossing point between people and displacement of population and there is a whole host of terms correlated to these characteristics. Persons inspiring across international boundaries are either in-migrants or out-migrants. The term immigrants and emigrants refer to persons who pass through international boundaries. Migrations are embarked up on from an area of origin and are completed at area of destination. Migrants allocate a common origin and destination from migration stream or migration current. As a rule, wherever there is a stream there is a counter stream, which is the overturn of stream at lower Volume. The difference between in-migration and out-migration (immigration and emigration) is the net migration or balance of migration (Hornby and Jones, 1980:83-84).

There is little more than a semantic distinction between the term “migration” and “movement”. The first is taken to symbolize to a large amount more constrained range of activities and of the three determinant of population size (fertility, mortality and migration); whereas migration is more complicated to define and measure. The difficulty arises from the fact that contrasting birth and death, which come about only in the life of individual migration, could take place endlessly. An unambiguous migration is a special form of geographic mobility of human population relating five input elements;

*Movement*

*A change of residence*

*A change of physical environment*

*Distance and Time*

The dilemma, however, is that there is no set of criteria as to what constitute any one of the above especially time and distance. In spite of the difficulties concerned, the term migration connotes form of population movement that takes place when changes his /her place of residence either temporarily or on permanent basis between clearly defined administrations (Rahwa 2004:22)

There are a considerable number of people on the move in the third world, which could not have need of an everlasting change of residence. Thus in order to avoid any mystification Parnell (1993), as cited by Rahwa, pointed out the following five types of migration;

- The term **permanent migration** is used where the mover does not intend to return to the place of origin, when a lot of migrants' energy is put into becoming established in the new location.
- **Step migration** refers to instances where the mover arrives at a destination after series of short-term moves to other locations typically moving up the urban hierarchy from village to capital city.
- "**Circulation**" or **circular migration** is generally used to refer to the long-term movements between place of origin and destinations, which may involve one or more cycles of out and return movements.
- **Return migration** refers to the stage in the migration cycle when the migrant leaves the destination to return to his or her area of birth.
- And a **counter stream migration** constitutes movement in the opposite direction to the prevailing stream of migration (Typically from city to village or from centre of economically active to economically depressed regions), and may consist primarily of return movements ( Rahwa, 2004;22-23 ).

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

Migration is difficult to define and measure, multifaceted and multiform, and resistant to theory building. This difficulty arises from the complex human behavior, influenced by various interrelated variables. In addition, the greatest difficulty of studying migration is attributed to its extreme diversity, in terms of forms, type, motivations, socio-economic and cultural context (Rahwa, 2004:24). Different types of explanations are forwarded that takes the form of separate and generally unconnected theories, models, frameworks that are not built up on the previous blocks (Arango, 1985:283). A glimpse through which, this section reveals that the focal point of explanation is at explaining why people move, including other dimensions of migration such as

process and consequence of migration. The contribution of explanations to a specific feature, dimensions or their applicability to a certain type of migration in a certain context can be seen (Rahwa, 2004:23). Arango (1985) clearly described the importance of theory building and its difficulties that emanated from its very nature of migration as indicated here under:

Many theories describe the push and pull factors that are the driving forces behind migration that is, what pushes people away from an area and what pulls people to another area. People move for different reasons. These differences determine the general migration process. The situation under which a migrant joins a receiver population can have broad manifestation for all parties involved. The implication of migration experience refers to the fact that different causes for migration will produce different outcomes observable from a sociological and anthropological perspective. The psychological trauma of fleeing their homeland and leaving family members behind can also complicate migrants' adjustment to their new environment. Considering that a migrant can be a slave, refugee, or job-seeker, or have some other reason for moving, no single theory can provide a comprehensive explanation for the migration process. Even though a comprehensive theory is unattainable, it remains a crucial task of anthropologists and other social scientists to explain why people migrate. Theories of migration are important because they can help us understand population movements within their wider political and economic contexts (283-84).

As indicated above, the need for a more general, and comprehensive theoretical approach to the study of migration is widely recognized by sociologists and other behavioral scientists. Now there is no major synthesizing effort directly relevant to the concern of anthropologists and sociologists. Attempts at model building to study various aspects of migration and the numerous effort to construct classification of migration indicates an existing need for a more general, and systematic approach. Indeed, there is a reasonable agreement among scholars that the persistent progress in migration study hampered by serious inadequacies in the theory of migration. Migration theory tends to be time, cultural and discipline bounded. That means migration as a social phenomenon can not be understood in meaningful or practical terms without a comprehensive take hold of the dynamic interaction among demographic, economic, social psychological and other relevant factors, and dimensions that occur in the process of migration and in the act of migration (Rahwa, 2004:23-24).

I tried to discuss the different theories of migration in order to elucidate its dynamic, time bound and area specific nature. This might also help me to see it from different circumstances of cause and effect relationships that vary across time, situation and place. Due to this, some of migration theories, which have been discussed here under, are important for the study in giving elaboration and analysis of the primary sources. Even if it is impossible to develop a theoretical model c

migration that enable me to analysis it comprehensively, attempting to illustrate the different theoretical models that have directly and indirect relation with the study becomes pertinent. There fore, I have tried to rely on some of the theories of migration which have a direct significant to the study by illustrating the intertwined causes and consequences of migration in its different manifestations.

### **2.2.1 The Neo-classic Explanation**

The neo-classical explanation is dependent on the idea that rational choice, utility maximization, wage differentials and expected net return. In the 19<sup>th</sup> c geographer Ravestien formulated this law of migration. These theories emphasis tendencies of people to move from densely populated to sparsely populated areas; from low to high income areas, or link migration to the fluctuation in the business cycle. This approach is often known as “pull-push” theory (Castle and Miller, 2003:22-23). Lee’s (1970) theory (pull-push) concept takes into consideration areas, which are believed to be desirable for either economic or non-economic gain through interplay of push factors at the place of origin and pull factors at the place of destination.

Empirical studies cast doubt on the value of neoclassical theory. The strongest and the general criticism of this microeconomic approach emanates from anthropologists, who understand that individuals do not always leave for economic reasons and that the decision making process is often more not obvious and far reaching, shaped and reshaped by particular social and cultural context. So one of its limitations is its failure to explain why so few people move given a huge difference in wage, income, and level of welfare that exist among countries. The other limitation is its inability to explain why some countries have relatively high out migration rate and others structurally similar, are not. Similarly, pull-push model predicts movement from densely populated areas to sparsely populated region, yet in fact, countries of immigration like Netherlands and Germany are the world’s densely populated. Neo-Classical theory excludes the political dimension from the illustration. It is usually criticized because it downplays non economic factors particularly cultural determinants and society as homogeneous, and that its perspective is stagnant (Arango, 1983; Castle and Miller, 2003:23-24).

## **2.2.4. The Dual Labour Market Theory**

The dual market theory showed the importance of institutional factors as well as race and gender factors in bringing about labor-market segmentation (Piore, 1979). It argues that market rarely function in the ideal way, which is suggested by neo-classicists. Migration need to be explained not only by income between two countries but also by other factors such as chance of securing employment, accessibility of investment capital, and the need to handle risk over a long period. Similarly, the role of remittance in migration can not be understood simply by studying the behavior of migrants themselves, rather it is necessary to examine the long-term effects of remittance on investment, work and social relationship rights across the community (Castle and Miller). As Zolberg suggests, analyzing labour migration as a movement of workers initiated by the dynamics of the global capitalist economy that at the same time determines both the “pull-push” factors. That means the push-pull theory is the part and parcel of the dual labour market theory (Solberg, Sverke and Aguao, 1989:404). This ascertains that migrations are collective phenomena, which should be examined as the subsystem of an increasingly global economic and political system (Castle and Miller, 2003:24-25).

## **2.2.5. Migration Network**

As cited by Rahwa, Massey (1998) defines migration network as “sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or return migrants with relatives, friends or fellow country men at home.” They pass on information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment, accommodation and give support in various forms. In doing so, they reduce the costs and uncertainty of migration and therefore facilitate it. Networks can also induce migration through demonstration of effects.

Massey also explained that migration networks are social relations that permit other goods of economic significance, such as employment or higher wage, which can be seen as a form of social capitals. Nowadays, the capital role of networks has played a great role for migrants in a world in which circulation is widely restricted. That means even if migration is restricted to only legal means, networks facilitate both the legal and illegal ways of crossing borders. Networks

tend to grow larger and denser, as every move constitutes a resource for those who stay back and facilitate further moves, which in turn widen the networks and the probability of their further expansion. It also constitutes an intermediate relational level that stands between the micro-level of individual decision-making and the macro-level of structural determinants (Rahwa, 2004:27).

Macro, Meso and Micro-structures are intertwined in the migratory process, and there are no clear dividing lines between them. No single cause is ever to explain why people decided to leave their country and settle in another. It is necessary to try to understand all aspects of migratory process (Castle and Miller, 2003:29).

## **2.3. Rural-Rural Migration Studies in Ethiopia**

### **2.3.1 Causes of migration**

There are some studies that deal about rural-rural migration in Ethiopia. For instance, Tesfaye (2008:57-60) find out the causes of migration in Ethiopia as push factors at the place of origin and pull factors at the receiving end. He illustrated recurrent drought as one among main factors of migration. The other push factors for migration are land scarcity which is accompanied by infertile soil emanated from 'land and soil degradation'. Other possible push factors were identified as 'entitlement decline', 'inappropriate government policy', 'landlessness' and inability to pay taxes'. The centripetal force that attract potential migrants to east Wollega are the availability of fertile land, the quest for better life, the suitability of climatic condition, the presence of relatives and friends and the opening of Bure- Nekemt in the early 1990s.

Migration is an essential demographic reply to the condition of poverty and environmental trauma in Ethiopia. Even though migration research in Ethiopia hindered by lack of adequate data, various forms of population movement in response to political chaos, economic crisis, war famine and security condition have been recorded ( Ezera,2004:749). From Tesfaye's citation Corbett's (1988) view of migration as the last stage in a sequence of responses to famine conditions and a clear indication that many other responses have failed. As the author's observations in many parts of Ethiopia put up with witness, peasants and pastoralists often us

various coping strategies in the time of stress such as borrowing grains, reducing consumption, changing dietary habits and receiving emergency food supply. Yet they embark on seasonal migration to rural or urban areas at the same time or sequentially. As cited by Tesfaye Desalegn, called them as “anticipatory and crisis survival strategies the former being those adopted during the period of normalcy and the latter used in the time of stress” (2007:22).

### **2.3.2. Historical View of Migration**

Historical evidences in Ethiopia strongly suggest that there are large interregional movement of people from areas of relatively dense population and low economic opportunity to areas of less density and greater opportunity (Ezera, 2001:749). In African context, Ethiopia is comparatively densely populated country; yet the population has been and remained intense in the highlands, for the most part for geographical, historical and social reasons. In the climatic environmental condition, the highlands have advantage from rainfall that is more balanced and the plateaus have been favorable to the development of intensive agricultural production. In the highlands ox-plough technology date back to the first millennium BC has resulted in intensification of production; uninterrupted spreading out of the areas under cultivation with relatively high population pressure resulted in soil degradation. In the case of the lowlands, hoe cultivation and shifting cultivation or agro-pastoralist organization with seasonal migration; have enabled livelihoods to be continued within the existing environment constraints leading to scattered population (Pankhurst, 2004:2-3).

As Alula Pankhurst (1992) illustrates, the expansion of the Ethiopian Empire to the south by Menelik II in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> c, which was further supported by the development of bureaucracy and the growth of administration and communication in the 20<sup>th</sup> c, became a stimulus for migration. Starting from the 1940s, migration from the northern parts of Ethiopia to southern and southwestern parts of the country was frequent. In fact migration was the norm rather than exception in the north parts of Ethiopia; an essential element in the population livelihood. Certainly, migration is one of the natural responses by man to population growth

environmental change and degradation, other changes, which have led to alterations in the relationship of people and land (Tesfaye, 2007: 38).

During the period of 1950-74, spontaneous rural settlement was a main phenomenon. Much of the resettlement occurred within the areas previously unutilized or little used by cultivators came to deployment (Wood, 1982:157). During this period, spontaneous agricultural resettlement was subjected by traditional subsistence farmers, although starting from the mid 1960s resettlement was also initiated by commercial agricultural production (Ibid).

Chronologically, Tesfaye (2007: 45-47) has made regime wise classification of migration trend to Wollega; the imperial era, the Dergue era and the post 1991 period. During the imperial era, the local 'Oromo chieftains' and 'hereditary landlords' ('Qoros') attracted Amhara settlers from the northern parts of Ethiopia in order to have a large base for candidacy in the imperial parliament, to increase their tax base and to have a greater labor force for agriculture and production in otherwise vacant and underutilized land. During the Dergue era, three circumstances were created for potential migrants to arrive in the area; the 1975 land reform in Wollega, as other parts of the country, that expelled the feudal lords left a lot of vacant land. This attracted greater numbers of migrants to the area. The settlement prototype of east Wollega by which, the local people lived uphill in the highlands enabled potential migrants to get vacant and unoccupied land in the lowlands. Tesfaye's argument with regard to the 1975 land proclamation outcome contradicts with the idea of Aynalem and Kloos as cited in Berihun (1996:25) who explained the 1975 land reform proclamation as hindering force for migration as follows:

Even though, spontaneous migration has been observed for a long period in Ethiopia, it is almost not at continuation as a phenomenon since the 1975 proclamation for many reasons. The majority are hiring wage labors was prohibited by the land reform proclamation; discouraging potential migrant settlers; security reasons also taken as deterrent factors; the periodic land distribution system became a disincentive for migration as the potential migrants were afraid of losing the pieces of land "owned" in their peasant associations; social and economical environment which made migration and resettlement easily break down; and the potential benefits from migration were no longer attractive"(Ibid).

### 2.3.3. **Land Right and Tenure system as factor for Migration**

The present trend in rural Ethiopia depicts a prevailing dissonance between natural resource base and the population to be sustained. The rural population in Ethiopia, as in many developing countries totally rely on access to land; land being the most imperative and crucial economy. The customary tenure system allows newly formed households to maintain small farm plots. Land is state owned and has to be fragmented into smaller plots occasionally and redistributed to households including those, which are newly formed. Presently, the average landholding size in the highland parts of Ethiopia is below one hectare (Holt and Lawrence, 1993; Ezera, 1992).

The Amhara transferable landholding and possessions systems promoted the breaking up of the family land and property estates up on the death of the household head or economic collapses of the household unit. As Berihun puts from McCann citation, “in natural or expected developmental cycle of rural household, young men and women left their natal households and sought to establish their own independent production unit through marriage, procreation, and labour recruitment. In addition, the nature of *rist* land tenure arrangement encouraged new land claimants to move away from the farmstead and parish of their parents to activate land claims in other area not yet exploited by their cognatic descent group.

Pausewang, as cited in Berihun, elaborates the cultural context of northern Ethiopia, distribution of resources like land is usually intertwined with other rights. Due to his finding, “land is not a right in itself but the function of membership in kinship group, a community, a religious fellowship”. This fact is clearly seen in the *rist* system by the reality that Muslims were restricted from land holding rights except in urban areas. Thus, in the Muslim community of Amhara society the pull factors seem to be unseen since they were deprived of land holding rights. Complementary factors, majority of weavers in most parts of the north were enthusiast followers of Islam, which also further facilitate spontaneous migration (1996; 23-24). Assefa (2002:124) supports this argument as here under;

The rist system excludes Muslim from rist land entitlement, because the Ethiopian Orthodox church was part and parcel of the Imperial regime akin to what Gramsci (1991) refer to as State or church 'when the church has become an integral part of the state of a political society monopolized by a specific privileged group'. The Muslims who were debarred from holding land were the first to emigrate and settle outside of Wallo at least in the northern Wollega. Muslim settler in Matakka, Gojjam, who originally migrated from Wallo and south Gondar, claimed that they migrate because of 'landlessness which resulted from the then land tenure system and the inability of Muslims to own rist land.

Thus the land tenure system in northern part of Ethiopia is taken as the main factor in determining not only the direction of migration and magnitude but also the social and religious groups to own land or not. As such, land right considered as pull factors for some groups and push factor for others (Berihun 1996:25). As stated by Assefa, currently, settlers are coming from Gojjam the major reason for their migration was scarcity of arable land. He clearly elucidates the 1997 land redistribution policy as the one factor of migration. The Amhara land redistribution of 1997 is the only published source we have to date for this study. For instant in Northern Showa the reform stigmatized certain groups, those who had official position during the Dergue regime and those who escaped the 1975 land reform. These people were allowed to keep having only one hectare while other peasants could possess up to three hectares. As he illustrates the reform had its own drawback due to its contradiction with the official declaration of equal distribution based on household size. Unlike the principle favoritism ('mainly kinship and political loyalty') and irregular practices were prominent feature in some areas. The out come of the reform reform caused social disorder it has generally reduced the peasants coping mechanism from the impact of natural disaster at least for the moment (Assefa 2002:130).

#### **2.3.4. Migrants Attribute**

When we try to examine the age structure of the migrants, Mesfin (1986: 58-59) depending on his research in Wollo, ascertains that the dominant migrants have been usually young men who left their farms for the weak or the dependant (children and the old) together with females. Tesfaye (2007:49) support this idea in that the age of his respondent is ranging from 15 to 65 and of these half of the interviewees were under age of thirty when they left their origin. He further put evidence as almost all elderly migrants moved to their destination with their adult children. He also examined the gender aspect of the migrants, as the pronouncement to migrate is almost

absolutely made by male migrants. Then their wives and children followed their tail. Concerning the socio-economic status of migrants Tesfaye (2007:52) illustrated clearly here under:

In rural Ethiopia land and livestock are the two most important assets. However it will be misleading to present the mere size of these assets with out qualifying them on the basis of quality. For example if one considers the size of landholdings in the original places of domicile and if one assumes land scarcity to be a major push factor, no one would expect such a large population influx from the north parts of Ethiopia. The root of the problem lies somewhere else, most of the land that has been tilled for generations had lost its fertility and hence became less productive. This is ascertained by almost all of the respondents who had access to land stated that size become immaterial in the face of declining soil fertility and productivity, as well as lack of moisture.

The above idea is supported by McCann as he illustrated it from Berihun's citation, the agricultural labour in Ethiopia is mainly depending on oxen and the lack of it is considered as a serious problem. Based on the figure given by the Ministry of Agriculture, Dessalegn stated that in 1974, 30% of all households in the country had no oxen at all and only 29% had a pair of oxen. As the result, he argued that a great many peasants were not strong enough to "stand on their own feet". Rather they were dependant on other farm animals and implements. Such assistant was offered usually in the substitute for their labour or a portion of their harvest. Dessalegn concludes, "those without means of cultivation" which included both owner cultivators and tenants constitute the poorest section of the peasantry. These were the ones, who were easily upset by adverse natural conditions and those often were forced to abandon their farm and migrate to urban areas looking for employment and to resettle in the area where land and opportunities were better. Thus, until the 1970s and 1980s, migration had been selectively depending on migrants' socio-economic status, and "only the very poor peasants, craftsmen, and others in the low socio-economic group used to migrate" (Berihun, 1996: 22).

#### **2.3.4. Pull factors**

The existence of vast, fertile and unoccupied area of land in the region paved the way for the migrants to seize land easily in the receiver area. In the post 1991 period, the opening of the Bure-Nekamte road is documented as pull factor. Other factors such as kin and peer pressure' the presence of fertile land and the pursuit for a better life weighed more in attracting the settlers (Tsfaye, 2007: 25).

Pankhurst and Piguet (2004a; 7) complemented additional factor that facilitated migration in the context of Ethiopia that is migration network- and gave explanation to the role of peer and kin pressure as such, “the sharing of experiences, knowledge of opportunities and conditions elsewhere could influence relatives and friends in the area they came from and thereby migratory flows”. By giving due attention to the study area, Gidda KIRAMU, Tesfaye (2007), ascertained acceleration of migration due to the presence of kin and peer pressure as such. “Early arrival to Gidda KIRAMU Woreda played a considerable role in encouraging their extended family members, other relatives and friends to leave their homes and join them”. He also tried to see the local (Woreda) variation of kin and peer pressure by taking the percentage ratio of respondents. As such, 90% of sampled migrants who had relatives in the destination area came from *Semeda, Este, Saint Ajbar and Goncha, Siso Ense Woredas*. On the other hand, the rest four-origin areas namely; *Gaint, Dega Damot, Dembecha and Motta* accounted 10%. The given explanations for this variation are the time span and intensity of ‘migration network’. According to him “the influx of the Gojjame to the area is therefore connected more with the stressful and compelling situation, the peasants in the region encountered at the time of the 1996/97 land redistribution scheme and the relative proximity of Gojjam to Wollega than the presence of migratory network”(Ibid, 64-65).

Marriage is taken as the main and major cause for migration. As stated by Ezra (2001:757-758) overwhelming majority of the migrants illustrated marriage as the cause for their departure from their domicile for both sexes. Of this the higher proportion of migrants (79 percent migrates) for marriage. This fact is consistent with in Ethiopia context where marriage is considered as the main factor for departure from the parents’ house.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 1.7 An Overview of the Study Areas

#### 1.7.1. Dega Damot Woreda

##### 1.7.1.1. Location

*Dega Damot* is one of the thirteen Woredas in Western Gojjam Zone that is located 400 kilometers northwest of Addis Ababa; 271 kilometers south of *Bahir Dar*, and 51 kilometres from the main road of *Dembecha*. The Woreda is surrounded by four woredas; to the northwest, *Bibugn*; to the west, *Jabitehnan*; to the north, *Quarit* and to the south, *Dembecha*. For administrative purpose, it is divided into four subdistricts: *Fersbet*, *Arefa*, *Berkegn* and *Enamora* (Hobben, 1973:34). Now each of the subdistricts are further divided for the same purpose into thirty two *Kebeles* (see the map on appendix I).

##### 1.7.1.2. Historical View of the Woreda

As one of the legendary historical view illustrates, *Dega Damot Woreda* was known as one of the six part of *Damot* and represents the remnants of a larger, rather little known kingdom of *Damot*. As the first existing source indicates, *Damot* was found west of the kingdom of *Shewa*. As the result of the Oromo expansion and invasion, *Damot* as political unit was not persisted and moved to the north of the Blue Nile to its present mountain-backed positions (Hobben, 1973;35).

As other historical evidences of the Woreda testifies, it was known as one of the six parts of *Damot* during the reign of Emperor Susenyus. During that time, since there was no permanent military training and administrative center, the aforementioned Woreda served as a place of military organization. The name *Damot* was coined from the analogy of '*Edawmot*' that means the peasants of the Woreda were exempted from government tax due to the fact that they served the government as militia or soldier at the time of war. To illustrate their exemption from the government tax, in lieu of their military service, they coined the name '*Edawmot*' which literally

means their tax payment was substituted by their dying or blood. In due course, this name has been modified and acquired *Damot* ( News Addis Lisan, November30,2000E.C)

In 1943, for the sake of administration convenience, Damot was divided into two administrative units that is *Kolla Damot* and *Dega Damot* .However, *Dembecha* became the administrative center for both Woredas between the year 1943-1947 which was followed by *Fenote Selam* until 1965. After that time on ward, *Dega Damot* acquired self administration and the two Woredas (*Kolla Damot* and *Dega Damot*) became independent and established their own self administrative center at *Fenote Selame* and *Fersbet* respectively (Ibid).

### **1.7.1.3. Population Size and the Economy of the Society**

According to the 2007National Population and Housing Census Agency report, the total population of the Woreda is 151,121. Out of this, people live in the rural parts of the Woreda, the number of males are 74,383 while femals are 76,738. In the town of the Woreda 6693 population are found. Of these 3491 are males while the remaining are females.

As the result of high population density, the land holding system is very fragmented and exposed to soil erosion. The largest land holding in the Woreda is limited to three hectares. Due to this fact, the adults who have such fragmented peices of land are unable to share the land with their offsprings. As a result there is an excess force in the woreda. The only alternative to the youth is moving to some where else and trying to search better opportunities in other rural or urban parts of the country( News Addis Lisan, November30,2000E.C)

Like any other agrarian society the people of the woreda predominantly secure their livelihood from agriculture. Various products of cereals and vegetables are found. The most dominant and staple foods for the people in the woreda are potatos and sorghum. In Dega Damot three altitude zones are recognized; lowland(qolla), midlands(woyna dega) and high lands( dega). In the lowland zone, the staple crops are maize, pearl millet and sorghum . In the midlands, wheat and te'ff are predominantely produced; while in the highlands barley and potatos take the lead. The

most important type of livestock concentration and relevance of the livestock are varied depending on the altitudinal zone in the Woreda( Hobben,1973:51, News Addis Lisan, November30,2000E.C)).

### **1.7.1.4. Religion**

The people of the Woreda practice three types of religion. These are Orthodox Christianity, Protestant and Islam which constitute 98% ,1.8% and 0.2% respectively. Orthodox Christianity is the dominant and widely accepted religion for many centuries. The practice of this religion is generally associated with the cultural value of the people( NewsLisan, November,36:2000E.C)

## **1.7.2. Gidda KIRAMU Woreda**

### **1.7.2.1. The General Description of the**

#### **Woreda**

The former Gidda KIRAMU Woreda is now divided into two woredas. That is Gidda Ayana and KIRAMU. The main purpose of such division, according to the Woreda officials, is for administrative convenience. Since the area coverage of the Woreda is very vast, it was not convenient for administration. To avoid such difficulties, in 2008 the aforementioned Woreda is further divided into Gidda Ayana and KIRAMU.

But due to limitation of written sources about the general characteristics of the new Woreda (Gidda Ayana), I was forced to take Gidda KIRAMU to forward the general overview of population distribution, ethnic composition, and the economic base of the Woreda, even if my focus of study gives due attention to the lowland parts of Gidda Ayana where most of the Gojjam peasant migrants are found.

Gidda KIRAMU Woreda is surrounded by five Woredas namely: Amaru Jarte to the east; Abe Dongoro to south east; Ebantu and Limmu to the west and Guto Gidda to the south. To the north, Gidda KIRAMU Woreda is bounded by West Gojjam Zone. In terms of physical size, the Woreda

covers 2505 km<sup>2</sup> and is found northeast of Neqamte town which is roughly five hundred kilometers away from Addis Ababa. The topography is distinguished by a combination of highlands, midlands and lowlands that are to some extent covered with forest. The area also encompasses a combination of tropical, subtropical and temperate climate depend on altitudinal variation (Tesfaye,2007:10-11) ( see the map of the woreda appendix II).

### **1.7.2.1. Population Characteristics and Economic Activities**

The main source of economic activities is cultivation and animal husbandry. The livestock, the people of the Woreda breed include cattle, sheep and goats. The community of Gidda Kiramu do not breed horse due to climatic inconvenience. The agricultural products are te'ff( Eragrositis) ,barley, wheat, maize, finger millet, surghum, beans and peas. The people of the woreda nowadays use chemical fertilizers for different reasons. The high land settlers use it in place of organic manure due to the decrease in cattle population. But in the lowlands the fertility of the land is very high. However, the peasants of this area sometimes use inorganic fertilizer to have more production particularly for maize (Assefa,1999;9).

According to the National Population and Housing Census report of 2007, the total population size of the Woreda is 159,861. In terms of sex, the males account 80,463; while 79,398 are females. The rural population constitutes 131,944 and the rest are the urban dwellers. The ethnic composition of the Woreda according to the 1994 National Population and Housing Census report is 68% Oromo, 29% Amhara, and others constitute 3% of the population

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **3. THE CAUSES OF MIGRATION**

Various factors cause the migration of people. These causes are varied from place to place and over time. So, in this chapter of the paper I try to explore the different push factors at the place of origin and pull factors at the place of destination. Under push factors are included, population pressure, land degradation, land fragmentation and different kind of social problems, some of which are directly or indirectly emanated from problem of land shortage. The pull factors, on the other hand, encompass factors such as, availability of fertile land; kin and peer pressure and expectation of better life are examined in some detail.

#### **3.1. Push Factors**

##### **3.1.1 Population Pressure**

There is a theoretical debate on the contrasting views on how environment is affected by the change in population characteristics. To begin with, let me treat Thomas Robert Malthus's explanations on population growth theories. In his two known works "On Principle of Population" (1789) and "The Principle of Political Economy" (1816), he illustrated that food supplies tend to increase arithmetically and the populations tend to grow at a geometric rate. As Malthus explains it in "An essay on population" (1914), when land becomes scarce, people will keep on finding a new land at last till no land is suitable for cultivation. As a result, the growing population will be obliged to use infertile land. The main idea of this theory is that agricultural production does not keep pace with fast population growth (Ibid; 10)

As cited in Perimaver, Boserup (1981) contrary to Malthus's idea regards population increase as independent variable, which is a major determinant factor in agricultural development. This is a different idea on the relationship of population growth and agriculture in relation to the

Malthusian theory. She treats population growth as stimuli, which will initiate people to think for more efficient way of implementing agriculture. To support her view, she tried to see historical perspective in which people have had to be very innovative, thinking of the primitive innovation of the wheel, for instance. The example illustrates the creativity of the people to make easier their life and to demonstrate why the world population is still growing and ways of life improving. According to this view, the reason why large parts of the world still live in poverty is that, they do not have the expensive materials and machines, unlike people in the west. According to Boserupian view (1981), unless people depend on imported food, crowdedly populated areas have applied the system of intensive agriculture. That means there is a correlation between the intensity of food supply system and population density (Perimavera, 2005: 11).

When one critically examines the work of Boserup, it may work for a certain group of society (the developed world), but not for others (the third world). Therefore, it is not necessarily the density of population that stimulates innovation but also other factors like climate, location of the area and the financial capital that people have in order to be innovative. In the west, the availability of financial capital leads people to implement highly mechanized agriculture, which does not always work for others (Primavera, 2005:12).

As the 1994 National Population and Housing Census Agency report indicates the total population of the Woreda is 130,939. As the same evidence shows the total population of the Woreda in 2007 is increased by 20,182 and reached 151,121. Out of 144,428 people who live in the rural parts of the Woreda, the number of males constitute 74,383 while females are 76,738. In the town of the Woreda 6693 population are found. Of these 3491 are males while the remaining are females

In Dega Damot Woreda still there is high population density more than the carrying capacity of the land. Even though the crude and agricultural densities of the Woreda are not as such considered to be high, which is 230 and 572 persons/km<sup>2</sup> respectively, the carrying capacity of the woreda is eminently constrained by the low fertility of the land, inconsistent weather condition, unavailability of inputs (technology, fertilizer, improved seed etc), ragged landscape etc. Therefore, migration has given a breathing space for those who stayed behind, even if there is still a persisting high unemployment rate. As I ascertained it from the Woreda's Documentation

and Information Centre Bureau, the unemployed manpower in the Woreda is very high in both rural and town. Unlike the previous trend which had been practiced for a long period, the young offspring does not have the chance of getting pieces of land from their parents due to lack of it.

In the aforementioned Woreda, population growth has led to fragmentation and degradation of land. During the period of the Dergue and EPRDF (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front), land is State owned and has to be redistributed to the households. To equalize the size of land with family size, a frequent land distribution policy was implemented occasionally during the Dergue regime. In addition, the government of EPRDF implemented land redistribution policy 1996/7 in Gojjam that targeted people who have been called ‘bureaucrats’ (people who had an office during the Dergue regime). Assefa (2002) supports the above idea in his investigation that it was also applied in other areas like northern Shoa. As a rule, during this land distribution program, any bureaucrats’ who had more than a hectare of land were snatched and left only with one hectare. Then the land was redistributed to other individuals with in a very fragmented term. Assefa (2002; 130) vividly puts the effects of 1997 land redistribution policy as below;

Ege’s study in Yefat, Northern Shoa, shows that the reform stigmatized a certain groups, those who had been elected to qabale offices as birokrasi and those who held much land before the 1975 reform as feudal remnants. These groups were permitted to keep one hectare, while other peasants could hold up to three hectares.

Therefore, in addition to population pressure, in fact it is the main cause, the land policy of different regimes further facilitated the fragmentation and degradation of land in Dega Damot in particular and Gojjam in general. My informants ascertain this idea as a cause for their migration. Migration can not be seen as the outcome of a single factor at a time rather it is the result of intertwined and inter-connected factors. However, in real fact, one factor may be more significant at elaborating it at one instant than others. From Assefa’s citation, Wood (1977) illustrated population growth and land degradation in Africa as follows;

Over recent decades in several parts of Africa, population growth has led to increasing pressure upon land resources. In some cases, the introductions of new crops, changing in agricultural technology, and the development of seasonal migration and off farm employment have helped to support the growing numbers within additional areas of settlement (Assefa, 1999; 43).

The above case, to some extent supports the idea of Boserup's innovation in relation to population. Unlike Malthus theory that takes people as a passive agent for change, I think migration is taken as the last alternative for survival strategy. People try to overcome the existing problems by different means like applying organic and inorganic fertilizer in order to increase production; having government loans for different purpose (like cattle and sheep breeding ) and participating in petty trading that support their income in addition to reducing consumption and changing dietary habits. This idea is clearly indicated by Tesfaye (2007). The case studies here under illustrate the above idea clearly.

### Case I

Sixty-five years old informant Ato Yigremew Adalu, whose residence is in Andode kebele, remembers his life history as follows:

*I was born in Arfa Debtera kebele in 1944. At the age of seventeen, I got married with my first wife, and I stayed there for five years. During the reign of Haile Sellassie, I was recruited as a soldier and served in the military until the Dergue over threw the emperor. I gave my duty during the whole time of the Dergue. In addition, I gave two years service for the present government (EPRDF). However, in 1993, I was hurt and retired. Since then I did not have any alternative but to come back to my birthplace Arefa Selassie kebele.*

*When I arrived in my birthplace, I did not get piece of land from my previous holding and for me it sounds irrational to raise the question of land since I had departed from the area for many years. My brothers who had stayed in our birth place for a long time did not have sufficient amount of land that sustained them let alone to share it with me.*

*When I was a soldier, I had the information about land availability in East Wollega. Then, I sent my brothers in order to assess the real situation. After they had the real information about land size, fertility and the opportunity to own land, they returned and gave me feedback. Before our departure, we did not have any relatives in Wollega that could assist us in every aspect. Then in 1994, in the same year, I came with my brothers and settled in the lowland parts of Gidda Ayana. Now, we have seven to ten hectares of land individually at the place called Andodie.*

According to this informant, 'the Gojjam migrants started to come to *Wollega* during the reign of Haile Sellassie and that of the *Dergue*. During that period the migrants who came to east Wollega

had the profession of church education and intended to expand Orthodox Christianity in the region and served here as ‘*Merigeta*’, priesthood and church education teachers. Moreover, the migrants settled in the highland parts of Wollega where high population density and relatively many churches have been found there in the past. However, during the time of the *Haile Sellassie* and partly to early period of the *Dergue*, he does not know anybody who came here due to lack of land from *Dega Damot Woreda* and settled in the low land part of *Gidda Ayana* for the sake of land acquisition’.

Similar to the above case study, a consensus is reached by my focus group discussants, and key informants, that during the time of the *Dergue*, there was an attempt to resettle the people of *Dega Damot* that was initiated by Abuna Tewoflos, who was born in *Dega Damot* and had a church administrative position in Wollega. Abune Tewoflos knew the existing contrast between the two places (*Gidda KIRAMU* and *Dega Damot Woreda*), regarding availability and fertility of land. Therefore, in 1983, he initiated the resettlement program by persuading the officials of *Dega Damot Woreda*. Since the people did not know the existing opportunity and leaving place of birth at that time was taken as disgrace due to the long-lived persistent attachment of the people with their land and kinship. Due to this, the people of the *Woreda* were resistant to accept the resettlement program. Therefore, instead of the people of *Dega Damot*, the *Dergue* resettled the *Wolloye* during the famine of 84/85.

But later, when the people of *Dega Damot*, *Quarit* and *Sekela* knew the existence of fertile land with sufficient amount of size, they flocked one followed by another and occupied the low land part of *Gida Ayana* more than what the *Wolloye* settlers did. Hence, the people of *Dega Damot* and the adjacent *Woredas* came and controlled the very fertile land but which is mostly characterized by harsh climate.

According to the informants, the main causes for the acceleration of migration of Gojjam Peasants in general and *Dega Damot* in particular were the establishment of the *Dergue* resettlement program and the expansion of State Farms around Anger Gutin. The Gojjame were the employee for the State Farms. Due to that they realized the fertility and the vastness of the area and made aware of the existing opportunities for their relatives. It was after the

dissemination of information that the *Gojjame* and other Amhara people experienced such continuous and uncontrolled migration trend one after the other.

An individual may face various challenges at the time that can be considered as the causes for his departure. Assefa (1991; 45) illustrates the issue as follows: population increase is accompanied by the inability of the land to produce grain. At the same time, as the amount of harvest was declining by years, it created frustration on people and forced them to leave their area of birth. And it was also supported by the news that explains about the existing opportunity at the place of destination further facilitated the migration of people by leaving behind their birth place. This idea is clearly elucidated by my informants as the two cases illustrate it as follows:

## Case II

Thirty-eight years of age informant, Ato Sewalemu, was born in Arfa Debertera kebele in 1970 and now he is living in Leli kebele, illustrated the challenges he encountered and compelled him to leave his place birth as such:

*In 1989, without my consent, I got married and my parents let me to live with my wife. When I opposed their idea, they bought me a sewing machine, which was very expensive and was taken as an honor in that time, in order to hinder my educational interest which I had had it before. Due to this situation, I totally left the intended educational aim and started to exert my effort at sewing besides agricultural task. Since I could not manage the two tasks, I hired laborer by paying 100 Eth. Birr per year. However, the land we had was not sufficient enough. To avoid such problem, I rented land or practiced sharecropping methods from those who did not have oxen or those who were not able to work due to illness or old age. However, since the land was not as such fertile, this attempt was not satisfactory. Then, I used another alternative that is using inorganic fertilizer in order to increase the productivity of the land. The government could lend it in terms of loan. Initially we could produce enough amount of production more than our daily subsistence. Therefore, it served us not only survival strategy, but also enabled us to pay the loan that we incurred from the government.*

As my focus group discussant and key informants affirmed, initially, for at least three-four years, using fertilizer was very effective due to the following two reasons. First, fertilizer was very cheap and at the same time government subsidized them for encouragement of more production in the name 'Serto Massaya' (model farmer). Second, using it as a new input for the land enabled them to get more production. But through time, it exacerbated the infertility of land and using it

has become not as effective as before. On the other hand, using it became compulsory since without it the land could not produce any thing.

Thus, through time using inorganic fertilizer becomes ineffective. What they produced was not more than the cost of the fertilizer. So they left with no option to overcome the existing problem at home. When the above two options failed, they decided to leave their birth place and search for a better alternative. For the last option they migrated to Wollega.

### Case III

Forty five years of age informant, Ato Kebede who is now living in Leli, clarifies his life experience as follows:

*I was born in Chewane Mariam kebele in Dega Damot Woreda in 1963. I got education opportunity only until grade three. I interrupted it because of my ignorance and my parents bought me a sewing machine that was considered as precious and served as a measure of status in terms of wealth. It was in 1980, that I got married. As the customary rule dictates, my parents gave me one hectare of land with a cow and two sheep as 'tu' let' in addition to a sewing machine that they had bought for me. As the number of family increased, the land became very fragmented. My elder brothers also shared my parents' land and it became difficult for survival. Due to this, I decided to come to Wollega. Before a year or two, there had been individuals who had come from Wollega. And I had information about the area. Therefore, in 1991 I came to Wollega leaving my families behind. Soon I came here, I became a sharecropper. Before I came here, I had sold the sewing machine and bought oxen in Wollega. Since I have oxen, I could get half of the crop production, unlike one- fourth of production which is accustomed by those who give human labour service to the owner of the land. Here, I have only one hectare of land that I bought from previous migrants but most of my income depended on sharecropping.*

*I did not have the chance of returning to my birthplace since my land was given to other individuals during the 1996/7 land redistribution. In fact, it is better to have sharecropping in Gidda Ayana than having land in Degadamot because of the difference that exists between the two areas in terms of production which is emanated from the fertility difference. Now, we have many relatives here, some of them came for temporary in order to accumulate money and return to their homeland, and others have land through purchasing or clearing the forest.*

If one assesses the case in relation to Dega Damot Woreda, population pressure does not initiate people to overcome the existing problem through innovation as what Boserup thought. And also unlike Malthus theory, the peasants could not see the exiting challenge passively rather they embarked different coping strategies to the existing constraints. Among these coping strategies, migration is taken as the last option for the peasants of Dega Damot in particular and Amhara in general. Thus, both ideas that are forwarded by Malthus and Boserup have a certain truth in a certain case, but with different constraints. Malthus does not consider the intensification of production as the result of population increase, and concludes as a negative trait. While Boserup enthusiastically takes population growth as a means of innovation but she did not actually realize the problems that people have faced in developing country. Innovation is difficult to be realized in financially and environmentally poor countries (Primavera, 2005:12).

### **3.1.2. Land Degradation**

Assefa (2002: 123) vividly elucidates that land degradation is taken as the main cause for the north south movement. The long inhabited areas of the north experienced ecological degradation due to over population, which is related with neo-Malthusian population-environment explanation and a long-standing use by traditional farmers, which had resulted in deforestation, soil erosion and biological deterioration

According to my key informants, when the land was unable to produce the expected yield, the peasants of Dega Damot Woreda applied different mechanisms to tackle the problem. The first and decisive measure that they took was using '*madaberia*' (inorganic fertilizer) in order to produce high yields from existing fragmented and degraded land. Their attempt was successful during the first two to three years. Nevertheless, due to the repetitive use of fertilizer, the amount of production decreases through time. So using it was not as effective as before because of environmental adaptation to the new input (fertilizer).Furthermore, the price of fertilizer is now increasing to the amount that it could not be covered by surplus agricultural production. Consequently, the attempt to overcome the problem of land degradation was applied only for short-term. The consequence becomes the worst when the land could not produce anything

without fertilizer, and as the price of fertilizer could not be covered by the production that is considered surplus from daily consumption. To pay fertilizer debt, (that the peasants can get fertilizer from government without direct cash but due to the agreement of a year of return), one must sell the whole production and is forced to remain empty hand. Therefore, using inorganic fertilizer becomes meaningless and it rather aggravated poverty. It exposes the peasant to additional burden in paying government debt. As we can see it later, it also initiated seasonal migration in order to pay it. The agricultural experts of the Woreda preferred organic fertilizer to the peasants. Nevertheless, it is unrealistic assumption since the peasants do not have enough cattle. This idea is clearly supported by my informants from the following case study.

#### Case IV

Forty-seven years old informant, Ato Alayu, who is living in *Andode kebele* after he came to East *Wollega* in 1992, recalls what forced him to leave his birthplace like below.

*I was born in Dega Damot Woreda, in Chatworka kebele. As the rule and customs of the society dictate, as soon as youths marry, their parents are obliged to give them land in addition to cattle and sheep as 'tulet'. However, for me that was not done, but it was one- third of production. At that time, my parents had relatively better size of land. The problem was the infertility of the soil which emanated from the over use of the land for a long period and the cold weather condition that prohibited us from yielding sufficient production. The cold weather condition which is accompanied by heavy rainfall suddenly exposed our crop production to snow, which some times left us with empty hand.*

*As the informant said 'benqirt lay jero degf' which means the existing problem is accompanied by others', the heavy rain that accompanied by snow, not only eroded the land fertility and threshing the cereals in its infancy stage, but it became the cause for the loss of my ox (died by thunder), that had been given for me as 'tulet' by my parents. As the case became worst for me, and when I saw my family starving, I felt as an inferior from my colleagues.*

*The last option that I had was to go to Wollega. Initially, when I decided to come to Wollega, my intention was to return to my locality, after I had sufficient amount of money that I thought enable us to overcome the existing problems for that moment. Nevertheless, when I saw the available opportunity here, my intended aim was changed. Therefore, having land as much as possible became my priority.*

### 3.1.3. Land Fragmentation

Different factors are responsible for agricultural land fragmentation. The main factors that have direct or indirect impact for the subdivision and fragmentation of land have been the implementation of inheritance of land. According to this traditional system of land inheritance, a family's land has to be divided among the sons, pledge that as the population increases not only the size of holdings decline but they are increasingly fragmented into smaller plots, dispersed over a wider area. The consequences of this problem include the fact that fragmentation created difficulty for protection and supervision; as it entails travelling long distance, loss of work hours, the problem of transporting, agricultural implements and products; and results small and uneconomic size of operation holding (Gebeyehu, 1995:248).

The different land holding systems implemented in Ethiopia in different regime exacerbated the fragmentation of land. Prior to the coming of Dergue to power, the *rist* /communal land holding system had prevailed for a long period. "In much restricted sense, the term *rist* may be used to refer to descent corporation estates where any of individuals' lineal ancestors in recent generation are known to have held land as a *rist* "(Hobben, 1973; 31). From this, one can infer that, the *rist* land that becomes to a certain group/ further divided repeatedly as the new offspring began to live as independent from his family. In due course, such system led to scarcity of land and the individuals share holding became very small (Hobben ,1973;130-36).

The frequent land redistribution policy in Ethiopia also created tenure insecurity. The farmers do not have the confidence for their holding. So that, they do not want to give care of their plot. Farmers with short- term leased land show little propensity to invest in a long-term strategy for land improvement. Tenure certainty is measured through farmers' judgment as to what extent they fill assured of their long-term tenure. Tenure self-assurance is expected to be positively related to the area operated given that farmers are more likely to correlation over which they have a long-term interest in terms of their rights to cultivate the land on a continuous basis, to make and enforce a lease or sale contract, and to dispose of land in the ways that provide adequate compensation for the value of any improvement (like adding organic fertilizer, construction of terracing for soil protection...etc). Insecurity of tenure emerges as a prominent explanatory factor (Gebeyehu, 1995; 254).

As my informants ascertained this fact, the land redistribution policy of EPRDF which was implemented in 1996/97 targeted at some people who were considered as bureaucrats. The policy designed to reduce the land size of those bureaucrats to not more than one hectare. As a result, when their children reached at the age of newly formed household head, they abandoned their land to their newly formed household and migrate or they allowed their newly formed household to move to elsewhere in search of land or other opportunities.

#### *Case V*

Eighty four years old informant, Ato Alemneh, who came to Gidda Ayana Woreda in 1990 and settled in Andode kebele, remembers what intimidated him to abandon his birthplace of Arefa Debtera Kebele which is located in Daga Damot Woreda as follows;

*When I had left Dega Damot Woreda in the 1950s due to social related problem and stayed in Sidamo Kifle Hager until the Red terror forced me to return to my birth place in 1978. As soon as I came to Dega Damot, I requested the officials of the kebele (Arefa Debtera) for land. Then, they gave me three 'timad' (3/4<sup>th</sup> a hectare) of land that was not enough to support my need. Besides the smallness of the size, the land was infertile, due to frequent soil erosion and the overuse of the land for many years. Thus, the land could not give survival means for my family.*

*To escape from such difficult life, I devised a means, that is to migrate to Wollega where plenty of land available during that time. Even though I did not ascertain it personally, I had heard information about the existence of sufficient land here in Wollega, particularly in the lowland parts of Gidda Ayana Woreda. So, to achieve my intended objective, I cooperated with five household heads such as Alem Belay and Alemu Tegegne and requested the officials of our Woreda to get the release paper for resettlement in the aforementioned Woreda. During that time, Dega Damot Woreda was administrated by Lij Mulate who wrote a permission letter in March 1990 to East Wollega Zone, which was found in Neqamte. In Naqamte, we found a man whose name was Niggussie Fenta (Amhara) who was a party secretary of Wollega, helped us by having the permission of resettlement. The settlers who could get permission during that time were around six hundred household heads.*

*When we arrived in Gidda kiramu Woreda in 1990, it was the time of unrest in the area due to the prevalence of the civil war. After we had arrived there, the officials of the Woreda welcomed us enthusiastically and gave order to the people in order to construct a house which served as a temporary shelter. However, the Dergue regime was collapsed and the attempt of resettlement that was supported by the Dergue official was not fully realized. Even though, the attempt was not successfully accomplished officially, it served as the base for most of us to come to Wollega and to*

*have enough amount of land for us. Later, in time, most of the settlers brought their relatives. In such way, Gidda kiramu woreda now Gidda Ayana particularly the low lands was predominantly settled by Amahra migrants who came here during the Dergue resettlement program and after that during EPRDF due to spontaneous migration mainly from Gojjam as the result of land fragmentation and infertility.*

The above informant had experienced social problems that had induced his migration to the different parts of the country before he embarked migration to east Wollega due to land degradation and fragmentation.

#### Case VI

*Forty-one years old informant recalled land fragmentation as the main cause for his migration. After I got married in 1990, I wanted to have my own share of land as a means for survival. However, since my elder brothers had already occupied the land, my attempt to get it was just futile. To overcome existing problem, I decided to go to Wollega. For this fact, I departed from my birthplace and came to Wollega in order to have land in 1993. After I arrived here, since I did not have initial capital and relatives here, I entered as sharecropper that is one-fourth of the products. After a year, I could identify the area in which plenty of land available and I had enough land by clearing the forest. Then, I brought my family and relatives here. Now I have ten hectares of land in village (Mender) Twenty-One.*

### **3.1.4. Social Problems**

Different kinds of social problems have induced migration. Such as blood feud, family dispute to have land, lack of oxen, entitlement decline, and others. As Hobben (1973) illustrated, the idea of conflict that emanated from the conceptual and the actual system of land acquisition. He states that 'rist' should be recognized in two meanings. One is as the right a person has to acquire land that first held by any of his relatives or ancestors in any line of descent (father or mother). In its narrower sense, by virtue of such a recognized right. According to him, it is the dual nature of *rist*, which guides to the basic terms of *rist* system that simultaneously creates conflict within it and pledge to it (Hobben, 1973, 12- 13). The social problems that have occurred in *Dega Damot* directly or indirectly have been related with land problems (degradation, fragmentation and scarcity). Land claim is a complicated concept which needs a thorough investigation. Thus, the

complex social problems that triggered the peasants of *Dega Damot* to leave the area of origin have to be clearly outlined here under from different case studies.

## Blood Feud as a cause for migration

My group discussants and key informants took blood feud as the one cause for certain group of migrants from *Dega Damot*. Blood feud in *Dega Damot* Woreda is a common phenomenon. The causes for such occurrence are varied. It has mainly emanated from shortage of land. As land is considered to be the livelihood of the peasants as in other rural parts of the country, its shortage and system of acquisition led people to competition. When their attempt of acquisition failed, people resorted to the use of force as a means to acquire it. Thus, blood feud in the society even within the relatives is frequent. Whatever the causes for the blood feud, it is considered as the cause for the migration of *Dega Damot* peasants to east *Wollega* particularly to *Gidda Ayan* Woreda. The two case studies forwarded here under clearly explain this fact.

### Case VII

Thirty years of age informant, Ato Melkamu, who was born in *Feresbet* Michael and now, is working as a hotel servant at Ato Ayele Bezabih's hotel at Gutin, outlined his life history as follows:

*My parents died when I was kid. Nevertheless, before my parents died, I had had a wife from our neighborhood, when I was eight. The marriage tie between us had its own intended purpose. Since the family of my wife and mine were very rich, they wanted to get support from one another for further economic cooperation. When my parents died, the task of upbringing me relied on the shoulder of my mother-in-law and father-in-law who initiated me to continue the traditional church education, which I had already started before. Then after, I accomplished it and became a deacon. Soon after according to the dogma of Ethiopian Orthodox Church, we had our marriage through communion.*

*However, in 2003 unexpected and sudden situation happened in our family. That was my wife's father was killed by his brother (blood feud between brothers). It became bitter and sorrow for us. Due to that, my wife became frustrated and lost any further hope. Therefore, she decided not to continue her modern education. Nevertheless, through the ceaseless effort of her mother and me, she recovered from that situation to some extent and continued her education a year later. She took the National Exam in 2004 and joined Addis Ababa University the following year. Then, she successfully accomplished her education 2007 with Bachelor of Arts Degree in Geography.*

*In terms of property, we can live without difficulty but due to blood feud, my wife could not lead stable life with me. When she has begun to live in her family homestead, the situation became very complicated for her. She does not want to see her uncle as well as his family. Quarreling with him and his family has become her day-to-day task. She has begun to force me to kill her uncle, which is the norm rather than the exception in our culture what we call 'dem memeles' (killing some one as revenge). Since I could not accept her decision accordingly, our life has become full of liability rather than asset. When her uncle has realized her intention, he has watched me in suspiciously and even he wanted to kill me.*

*When my brothers knew the intention of my wife that is aggravating blood feud, they forced me to divorce her. I do not want to divorce her due to my love and I could not marry other wife due to communion marriage. On the other hand even if I love her so much, I do not have the intention to kill her uncle. The reason is due to the fear of the extension of blood feud to my family. In addition, since I am a deacon, I know the wrong deeds of killing a person. I faced two contradictory situations; the one that encouraged me to immerse in blood feud and the other that forced me to divorce my wife rather than blood feud. To escape from such difficulty, I came to Gutine and now I have been searching for better job that can support my life.*

Due to the above case study, blood feud is a cause of migration. Blood feud in Dega Damot Woreda is emanated from different but intertwined social problems.

### Case VIII

*An informant of forty-six years of age elaborates his history as follows. I was born in Gendeweha kebele in 1963. At age of seven, I joined church education nearby our village. In 1985, our neighbor who quarreled with my uncle land demarcation ('Darcha') killed him. It created sorrow in our family. There fore, we began to strive in order to kill our neighbor as revenge. Failure to take revenge against the one, who kills his relatives, considered as coward and feels humiliated. Therefore, blood feud between two enemies is a common occurrence in Daga Damot in particular and the adjacent Woredas in general.*

*This case, our elder brother took the revenge by killing the murderer. As expected, by their own turn, they came to take revenge. So, there was exchanging of skirmish between us. On the process of it, we had a better position since we had fort that we prepared it for defense purpose. As the result, we took the upper hand and killed other two individuals.*

*After that was happened, many individuals attempted to hinder the blood feud. For this purpose, we asked to pay 'yedem kassa' (indemnity). Since we killed three persons for one, the indemnity become very high than we could offer. So, we did not realize the attempt of reconciliation. In place of it, the*

*four brothers left our parish (mender) and migrated to Wollega in the year of 1994. Since we left our birthplace they did not want to take revenge on our relatives who stay there.*

*As soon as we came here, we entered in the forest, cleared it and could gain enough amount of land for us. On average, we have eight timad of land for each. Since we have been considered illegal due to the blood feud, the land we had in our birthplace was given to other individuals. Therefore, we do not have the chance of return to our birthplace. If we face the worst, we will change our destination to other area rather than our place of origin*

### Early Marriage as a social problem induce migration

As all of my key informants and interviewees reached consensus, the marriage tradition of *Dega Damot* became the cause for migration mostly for females. According to them in *Dega Damot* Woreda, particularly in the rural part, the marriage practice has been exclusively determined by the parents. That means, without the knowledge of the husband and the wife the marriage practice has been accomplished by their parents. Thus, divorce is a common happening in the society. In addition, the parents forced their children for marriage at their teenager particularly the girls. To escape from such situation, the youth particularly females have embarked migration particularly to the urban area even some times they migrate to other rural parts of the country as the cases here below illustrates:

#### Case IX

Thirty two years of age female informant, Woyzero Mulu, who was born in *Dengay Ber Sellasie* and now is helping her brothers in their farms at *Leli Mariam* illustrates her case as follows:

*Without my knowledge at age of thirteen, my family let me marry my first husband. Since I was a child, I did not stay with him. After two years of divorce, I got married to my second husband. Unfortunately, he did not have any personality to the extent that he spent his time in drinking. He has become extravagant for money. Since he was rude and the so-called, he said, himself brave, so that he always disturbed me as well as my family. He controlled me by force than interest. Since I have only one elder brother, I did not tell the reality due to fear of quarrel with my husband. My father and mother are too old, so that they could not challenge him for divorce. Due to that I could withstand whatever challenge I faced. Even his personality extended to the extent that he spent day and night in the town by having alcoholic drink. Not only he spent the money but also he became intoxicated until he lost his balance. When we lost, whatever property we had, he joined the National defence force. He served in the*

*defence for three years and then returned when the government implements army demobilization programme.*

*I have a brother in Wollega who had come here before and established a strong economic base. When he came to see us, I used such opportunity and suddenly took one bold decision. The decision was that, instead of living with my husband, who always made life complicated for my family, and me, it was better to go to Wollega with my brother. When I shared the idea to my brother, he became happy and he ascertained me that he shares my idea. To accomplish our target, my brother and I devised a means of escaping from our family and my husband. Our parents were not willing to leave us together since they needed our assistance. We left our birthplace at night on foot from our kebele (Bizuhan Mariam) until Tame Giorgis. Then, from Tame to Bure we went by bus. The next day, we arrived at Gutin from Bure by bus.*

*After a year of my stay in Wollega, I married another man who had lost his wife due to malaria. The marriage was accomplished after we had clearly analyzed and assessed our previous life history. Now we have three children. We have also enough wealth. Like my brother, we have two houses; one at Gutin and the other at Leli. Our land is more than enough. Approximately, we have ten hectares. In addition to this, we also bought a house at Bure at the cost of fifty thousand Eth. Birr. Now this house can cost not less than one hundred fifty thousand Eth. Birr.*

*My previous husband knows where I am now. However, due to the combined effort of verbal threat from my husband and brother, he does not disturb me. The only thing that I can not do is to visit my family, including my daughter that I had.*

## Case X

*Thirty years old female informant remembers what forced her to abandon her place of birth. I was born in Dega Damot Woreda in 1978. At age of eight, I began to attend modern education. However, at age of eleven, I was forced to marry a priest. Since it was a communion marriage, I could not divorce him. So I withdrew from education for two years. When he went to advance education (aquaquam and qine), I was also allowed to continue my education until his return. When he accomplished his education as expected, I was also forced to leave it for the second time. At that time, we could have a child (baby).*

*Nevertheless, during that time, some thing that surprised me happened. While he was at Gonder for further education my husband had an affair with other woman, which is prohibited by the Orthodox Church doctrine. Due to this I divorced him. Since I had an educated brother in Bahir Dar, when he knew the case, he took me immediately and encouraged me to continue my education. However,*

*during that time, I was pregnant for the second time. Therefore, I returned to my parents' home to have the second baby. After a year of nursing the baby, I went to Bahir Dar to continue my education again. Then I continued it and took the National Exam in 1999. Nevertheless, I could not score a good point that enabled me to join university. As a result, for the time being, I taught in amarach' (temporarily) Primary School, in Demebecha Woreda, which is very hot and harsh climate. There, I faced different challenges in addition to the weather condition. The area has been the place for snake breeding which threatens our life. The other problem that I faced was that, the divorced husband of mine wanted to take me forcefully.*

*Thus, for these reasons I began to search different alternatives. However, the last option for me was to come to Wollega. Before I came here, I had two brothers who had come to Wollega due to lack of land at the place of origin. After they came here, the elder brother became a merchant and the other one became a farmer here in Gutin. Now I do not have my own house here. Therefore, to secure myself, I do two jobs alternatively. The first one is helping my brothers during the seeding and harvest season in order to get money for the return. The other one is practicing prostitution during off- farm season. I did it side by side with the Hotel service. The owner of the hotel paid me only seventy Eth. Birr per month. Nevertheless, it creates opportunity for me to have prostitution, which helps me in earning one hundred Eth. Birr per day.*

*It is after a long time of struggle for educational achievement that I have been immersed in such type of task and it becomes the last alternative for me. At this moment, my children are with their father and I am helping them by sending money to him. However, since I do not want to expose what I am doing for them, I prefer them to stay there*

From the above case studies, there are different social problems that are inter-connected or intertwined and at the same time a complex process of human reality. So that seeing only one factor by letting others aside becomes unrealistic assumption. However, for the sake of understanding and treating separately, one factor becomes more significant than others at one instant. From the above four case studies, many factors are outlined for initiation of migration. For example; early marriage, blood feud, being unsuccessful in educational achievement, inappropriate behavior of the husband, conflicts arise from land shortage and other related interrelated factors. All these factors at the same time are accompanied by the presence of relatives at destination. There fore, not only the different push factors coincided but also the pull and push factors at a time. From Assefa (2002;118) citation, McCann (1987) puts migration as mechanism of escaping for the criminals and their relatives and even for those who had suffered due to loss of prestige in the northern community.

Criminals, those falsely accused of crimes, and even those who had suffered the loss of prestige in the north community often resorted to flight rather than face the consequences of their deeds locally. Since relatives up to the fourth collateral line could be held liable for fines, close kin often accompanied the escapee to a new life in the frontier where a man's or woman's past mattered less than his or her adaptability to a new situation.

## **3.2. Pull factors**

Tesfaye (2007) tries to indicate the factors that initiate people to leave their area of birth and settle somewhere else. These include; land availability at destination, kin and peer pressure, the quest for better life and geographical proximity or easy access to the destination area. According to him

the four most important factors that attracted the migrants into Gidda Kiramu Woreda in terms of relative importance are; the availability of fertile land at destination, particularly in the areas that had been unoccupied and vacant; the presence of relatives and friends(kin and peer pressure); the quest for better life and the suitability of climatic condition. Although less significant, compared to the aforementioned factors the opening of Bure-Neqemte road in the early 1990s which made traveling to the host area relatively easier, was considered as a pull factor in its own right( 2007:60).

### **3.2.1. Availability of Fertile Land**

The ever-diminishing fertility of farm land at the place of origin and the presence of fertile land at the place of destination is taken as a primary pull factor for the migrants, after they have been informed about the easy availability in *Wollega* (Tesfaye,2007;61). According to my informants explanation about the availability of land in *Wollega* is illustrated with the problem of land at origin. Their expression is the same analogy to the two sides of a coin. That is insufficient or lack of land and availability of fertile land can be taken as intertwined which accelerates rural-rural migration particularly to the aforementioned area. As ascertained by the informants, when the people of *Dega Damot*, *Quarit* and *Sekela* have known the existence of fertile land with relatively sufficient amount, they have migrated one followed by others and occupied the low land part of Gida Ayana.

### 3.2.2. The Presence of Relatives (Kin and Peer Pressure)

Before giving a detail account to explain the significance of peer and kin effect in attracting migrants, it is essential to explain the idea of 'migration network' which can be explained as "set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in the origin and destination areas through tie of kinship and friendship and shared community origins". This is also seen as 'network-mediated migration' or chain migration' (Tesfaye, 2007; 61). As clearly put by my informants and also corroborated by Tesfaye (2007), the 'migratory network' could assist in the system that families, relatives and friends who had previously migrated and generated important information about the opportunities and challenges that persists in destination area. In addition, they would provide food lodge, initial capital including land to the new arrivals to get survival in the new areas; and they could provide social transition with out difficulty (Ibid; 62-63).

By giving due attention to the study area, *Gidda KIRAMU*, Tesfaye (2007), ascertained acceleration of migration due to the presence of kin and peer pressure.

Early arrival to *Gidda KIRAMU Woreda* played a considerable role in encouraging their extended family members, other relatives and friends to leave their homes and join them". He also tried to see the local (Woreda) variation of kin and peer pressure by taking the percentage ratio of respondents. As such, 90% of sampled migrants who had relatives in the destination area came from *Semeda, Este, Saint Ajbar* and *Goncha Siso Ense Woredas*. On the other hand, the rest four-origin areas namely; *Gaint, Dega Damot, Dembecha* and *Motta* accounted 10%. The given explanations for this variation are the time span and intensity of 'migration network'. According to him, "the influx of the *Gojjame* to the area is, therefore, connected more with the stressful and compelling situation, the peasants in the region encountered at the time of the 1996/97 land redistribution scheme and the relative proximity of *Gojjam* to *Wollega* than the presence of migratory net work (Ibid, 64-65).

Unlike the idea, the existence of peer and kin pressure is one of the main factors that co-existed with push factors at the origin and other pull factors at destination. As I discovered it from my informants one who faced land scarcity and other factors also initiated by the presence of relatives in east *Wollega*. In addition, it is the absence of the dissemination of information until

1990 that the wave of spontaneous migration was not recognized from *Dega Damot Woreda* to the low land part of *Gidda Ayana*. The spontaneous migration trend was established since 1990 as mentioned earlier. Moreover the land redistribution of 1996/97 adds a fuel on the already persistent spontaneous migration. Nevertheless, once the 'network established', it disseminates information about the actual situation of the area in addition to giving technical and material support for the new arrival at destination. Thus, its significance in accelerating migration within this short period from *Dega Damot* to *Gidda Ayana* is more than what Tesfaye tried to illustrate in his studies. Particularly migratory networks have played a great role for those temporary (return) migrants and for those who have early family migrants who could have enough amount of land that enable them to share it to their relatives and family members. To support the above idea let me put three case studies here under.

#### Case XI

A man of 20 years old informant, Habtamu Atnafu who is now living in *Leli Kebele* with his uncle, remembers what initiated him to come to *Gidda Ayana Woreda* as follows.

*I was born in Hana Mariam kebele from a very poor peasant family. So I have experienced to hire my labour since the age of seven. First, my aunt as herdsman hired me and I received one hundred Birr per year. However, the money was not given to me rather it was served for my family consumption. In the following year, my aunt's daughter also employed me with same amount of money but it was also given to my parents.*

*Since the above task was not relevant for me, I preferred to take another alternative. That was attending church education. I preferred it because any body who does not have money could accomplish it with out difficulty by having the daily consumption from the society through begging, which is the norm for those who attend church education rather than the exception. I finished it with in eight years. At this point, I also faced another challenge that is the absence of money for transportation to Debre Markos the place where The Eastern Gojjam Zone Church Authority is found and it is from here that one who has accomplish church education can acquire legality of priesthood. Due to this, my effort of attending church education had become fruitless.*

*For the third alternative, I also tried to attend modern education. To do this, I consulted a teacher who is our nieghbour. He encouraged me to have it and I joined grade two since I had church education. However, my father was not willing for my intended purpose since he wanted me toengage in income*

*generating activities to complement the family's economy. When I refused to accept his decision, he forced me to leave our home.*

*The last decision that I took was to come to Wollega. My decision was also encouraged by the presence of my uncle in Wollega. Since I did not have the money for transport, I borrowed it from migrants who came to our locality to visit their relatives. They have known him personally in Wollega as well as in his birthplace so that they lent the money for me. After I reached there, he paid the money and motivated me to work with him.*

*Then I have been working in his agricultural task. In return for this, he pays me enough amount of money. For instance in the previous years I earned four thousand Eth Birr per year. For this year, the amount that I can earn is not known since it is determined by the market price of the agricultural products.*

*My future aim after having enough amount of money is to return to my birthplace and become a merchant. If my uncle had not come to Wollega, I would not have come here. Since I was very young, I could not know where the opportunities have been found. My uncle not only served as a springboard for my arrival but also for his younger brother, sister and my elder brother. He shared his land for his younger brother. His sister married an early migrant. But my elder brother and I came here to have money as seasonal laborer. We can not get land here in Wollega since it is occupied by others who had come earlier than us.*

### **3.2.2. Expectation of better life**

As some of my informants clearly outlined, the expectation of better life for the future is always associated with the existence of constraints that will hinder their advancement. Therefore, it is the lack of future hope in their area of origin that creates frustration. To escape from such threat, people decide to migrate to the area that they assumed to be convenient for their advancement. These types of migrants relatively have better economic base at origin, so that they can withstand any challenge at the destination. For instance, they can buy land from the Oromo and the early migrants without any difficulty or experiencing sharecropping and hired as a laborer. As a result, within a short period, they could accumulate more wealth than their counterparts even some times from the earlier migrants. This fact is clearly illustrated by my informant as below.

Forty five years of age informant, Ato Matebe Gete outlined what initiated him to migrate to *Wollega* by leaving his birthplace and relatives behind.

*I was born in Bizuan Kebele in 1964. In 1981, I got married and had land in addition to 'Tulet' and began to lead independent life. I lived in my birthplace until 2000. Relatively to my neighbors, I had a better living standard. Besides agricultural activities, I bought sewing machine and grinding mill that supported me in generating income. At that time, I also saved 6000 Eth. Birr from sewing, grinding and agricultural productions.*

*When I got enough money for my family survival, my future aspiration to be rich accelerated. As the intention increased, I realized that the existing situation in my birthplace did not allow me to achieve the intended objective. Due to this, I designed other alternatives to escape from such limitation. Thus, I decided to migrate to *Wollega* where enough amount of land is available with its fertility. I came here with out the knowledge of my parents since they did not allow me to do so.*

*As soon as I arrived at Gutin, I got the early migrants that I had known in our neighborhood. I spent few weeks with them. With their help, I bought ten hectares of land for five thousand Eth. Birr without much difficulty. In this case I had my own land and was able to produce enough production. When I came here, I left the sewing and grinding mill for my parents. Now I realize that it is better to participate in agricultural investment than having sewing machine and grinding mill as before. Therefore, together with my sister, we have rented seventy hectares of land at price of 50,000 Eth. Birr. Since the area is totally covered with forest, we are preparing it for cultivation for this year. By hiring daily labourers, we are working day and night for the intended aim.*

### **3.2.4. Other Pull Factors**

In addition to the aforementioned factors, there are other pull factors that have been accelerating migration. These are the relative proximity of the *Woredas*, (the origin and destination), the opening of *Bure-Naqqamte* road, and the attitudinal change of the sending society about migration. As explained by my informants, the opening of *Bure-Naqqamte* road makes their journey much easier. The harsh weather condition that faced the migrants in addition to the *Abay* gorge on foot has been substituted by road transport. One informant recalls his experience as such. 'When I came here for the first time, it was on foot and it took me four days to arrive at Gutin. However, the construction of *Bure-Naqqamte* road, made it a one-day travel. As a result, at

present I can visit my relatives two to three times a year with out difficulty. And it is the presence of this road that has accelerated seasonal migrants to come here in order to work in their free time at home village’.

I also support the idea of my informant from my own field experience. During the time of my fieldwork (in January and February 2009), I saw large number of return migrants (the seasonal as well as those who visit their families). That means the migrants flocked to their region to visit their parents and relatives. Seasonal migrants also return to their birthplace to pay the debt they borrowed from the government while they had been in their home village in addition to remit the money to their relatives besides visiting. During my April fieldwork, the other round movement of migration was intensified. From this, I could realize that the construction of *Bure-Naqamte* road has intensified the migration trend in both its volume and rate. Similarly Zelalem (2004), Assefa (1999) and Tesfaye (2007), ascertained the post 1991-migration trend as the outcome of the opening of *Bure-Naqamte* road considered as the most significant pull factor to the area.

The proximity of the area is considered as another pull factor for migration. No adjacent area that has enough land to attract the migrants than east *Wollega*. Even though, the south-western part of Ethiopia is relatively sparsely populated, it is only east *Wollega* found in near by for *Gojjam*. As Olijira (1994) and Tesema (1980) try to elucidate it, in addition to the adjacent location of these areas, they have historically relations that went to many centuries, especially in trade. It is this historical contact, in addition to the physical proximity that increases the rate of migration in these two regions (*Gojjam* and *Wollega*).

The last but not the least, the people’s attitude towards migration has changed through time. In the past as ascertained by Hobben (1973), the people of *Dega Damot* in particular and Amhara in general were culturally bound to their land right. As a result, they were confined to their locality. Now such trend has been gradually changed and people take migration as a means for survival strategy rather than as threat for their identity. By sending their family members, the people of *Dega Damot* are able to tackle the existing problem through remittance from both permanent and seasonal migrants. It is also taken as a positive force since it relieves further fragmentation of

their landholdings. Therefore, the people of the aforementioned *Woreda* express positive attitude towards migration in proverbs. For instance:

*Tatibo sayqeql ayibelam guaya;*  
*Guarown ayileqim jil sew ena ahya.*

Lit. "*Vetch could not be eaten before washed and cooked;*  
*A donkey and a foolish would rather die than leaving their homestead.*"

The above proverb clearly shows the acceptance of migration by the society unlike staying at home. The one who stays in the locality by facing the existing challenge rather than embarking migration is considered as foolish and lazy. Since donkey is the symbol of laziness in the aforementioned society's attitude.

The above assertion is clearly supported by Assefa (1999) from his finding of Ethnic integration and conflict. His *Wolloye* informants illustrated the same proverb in order to express their feelings during the time of economic and social stresses like:

Samay sidemamin bare yalalaw saw;  
Irabsha sinasa biret yalalaw saw;  
Aywardim way Jimma min alkasakasaw.

"Someone who does not have an ox when the sky is cloudy;  
And one who does not have a gun when there is unrest;  
Shouldn't he descent to Jimma than loitering here."

Jimma is known for its high production of coffee to which poor men flock during the coffee-picking season, accumulating considerable amount of money within a short period. When they return after about a couple of years, they manage to buy a pair of oxen and some cows on which they rely to become independent farmers (Assefa, 1999; 48-49).

In general the *Gojjame* farmers have changed their previously had negative outlook about migration. This attitudinal change influences their decision of migration. So the stated farmers opted migration than shouldering all the challenges they faced at home.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. THE PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION

#### 4.1. Settlement Process

The process of settlement and adaptation of the migrants varies depending on the period of their arrival and the establishment of migratory network. For instance, most of the early arrival of *Dega Damot* Woreda migrants did not have the exposure to practice sharecropping. Since the area was not well settled by the early arrival, they simply entered into the forest and faced the actual challenge there. They adapted the harsh natural environment by different mechanism. They constructed a temporary and simple house by combining of the existing trees in the forest with out cutting or displacing their natural holding. They also protected themselves from wild animals by using different means. For instance, they used fire and weapons (which they brought it from their place of origin); and by spending the night in-group for defense. They also ate wild fruits that had been found in the forest. Two of my informants illustrated what they faced in the area during their arrival. They told me that they ate not only wild fruit that grew in the forest but also the roots of bamboo.

As stated by my informants, the resettlers who came to *Gidda Ayana Woreda* during the *Dergue* regime were welcomed by the officials of the *Dergue*. In addition, the attempt of resettlement was established for the moment. Nevertheless, when the power of the *Dergue* was taken over by the EPRDF, the attempt of resettlement was interrupted. But, by getting some support for a short period, the settlers withstood the existing problems by themselves as illustrated above.

Initially the migrants arrived at *Gutin* on foot. They used small engineless boat called '*Tanqua*' to cross *Abay* River. When they came, it was only the male members of the household who constituted such resettlement trend. The possessions & accommodation of goods assumed to be relied on the government support. So the resettlers did not bring any thing except food that served them not more than a week. When the attempt of resettlement failed, the settlers were put hard to keep their body and soul together and the problem compelled them to depend on what nature provides.

After these early migrants had arrived, the establishment of the migratory network has come to being (the presence of kin and peer pressures) which in turn accelerates the process of migration and settlement. The difficulties that the migrant have experienced vary in degree and intensity. The migrants have been initiated by their relatives and begun to get financial assistance as well as procedural supports. In due course, the process of migration and adaptation to the new environment become easier for the later migrants due to the improvement of transportation system in addition to the presence of migratory network. As illustrated by Tesfaye (2007; 68), when the migrants arrived at a new area, the process of re- establishment begins with the construction of goods and possessions in the new area. He also adds that the migratory route normally took the following stages. First, the male household heads migrated to *Gidda kiramu Woreda*, most of them taking their cattle (even if my informant failed to ascertain the practice of cattle bringing to their settlement area). Then, they used their migratory networks for their transition period. This was followed by the expansion of the migratory networks through the attraction of other family members and close friends.

### Case XIII

A forty- seven years old informant, to Abebe Mekuriaw, who is living now at *Gutin* demonstrates his life experience at the place of destination as follows:

*As a survival strategy at the beginning, I became a sharecropper and I had received one fourth of it. When I got sharecropping was not satisfactory for me, I decided to have my own land in any possible means. When I was searching for the means of land acquisition, I was informed that there were Amhara settlers around Anger River. Soon, I went there and asked them to have land for me. They showed me the area in which land was not occupied by the people and has accessibility to water. Then, I cleared the forest and made possible for cultivation. We used hoe for cultivation for at least four years until we had sufficient amount of money to have oxen. To have oxen was also impossible during that time due to the presence of persistent disease called 'Gendi' (trypanosomia). So the problem was not only confined to lack of money but also the presence of disease. Since the land has been so fertile and unused for a long period, it was easier for us to cultivate by hoe. As you actually see now, I have two house; one at the town of Gutin and the other in rural area of Leli. We preferred the town because of the relatively better social service that we have had in addition to the educational value for our children. For our income, we have also secured our land and property by employing sharecroppers who also take care of whatever property we have there.*

## 4.2. Ways of Farmland Acquisition

As aptly discussed in the immediate preceding chapter the problems associated with land at home and the positive prospect of it at destination served as a cardinal push-pull factors for the migration of peasants from *Dega Damot*. As the study revealed for the migrants the task of land acquisition has never been plain or has far from being easy. For them there is no a simple and immediate one way strategy that warranted the migrants land they aspire to possess. But rather migrants have used different often sequential mechanisms to have their own personal farm land.

Apart from some earlier migrants who acquired land merely through clearing the forest land, it is a common trend for most of the migrants to be sharecropper. The migrants after working as sharecroppers and saved some amount of many in their coffer, they bought a pieces of land either from the local Oromo or early migrants. At this juncture it should be known that as per the constitutional provision of the country, land is state property and hence the act of selling and buying is deemed illegally. Not oblivious of the provision the peasant of *Gutin* and its environs carried out informal land selling under the cover / name of land renting. Once the migrants acquired the land, if particularly their farm plot is bounded by the forest, they mostly expand the size of their possession by clearing the forest. Let me have one case study from an individual who had experienced both sharecropping and then have land by clearing the forest in the remote and unoccupied land.

### Case IVX

Forty-six years of age informant, Ato Abebaw, who is now living at the town of *Gutin*, in kebele 02, clearly illustrated his life experience at destination as follows:

*As soon as I arrived at Gutin, I did not get any body that gave assistance for me. Nevertheless, I found a man from Tigray who had come in the area before me and had enough land. I entered as sharecropper and could get one- fourth of the production. During that time, the owner of the land did not have oxen due to persistent disease gendi (trypanosomia). So, we cultivated the land by hoe. Later, I found that sharecropping was not a good means to attain my objective. Then, I began to search other possible means to acquire land. After a year, I found my relatives around Anger area that had come earlier. They showed me the area where land was easily accessible. I chose the area in which water is*

*available in the near by. Then I cleared and burned the forest and made ready for activation. In such way, I have now fifteen hectares of land.*

The above case study clearly discerns the intertwined nature of the system of land acquisition that was practiced by the migrants. Buying is another way of land acquisition. This way of land acquisition technique is mostly used by those migrants who have better economic background at their place of origin. Moreover, their main cause of migration is emanated from the presence of different constraints that could hinder their improvement in economy. The migrants who have come with relatively enough money to the destination area and could buy land with the relative of low price compared with the land price at their origin with the help of their earlier migrant relatives and friends.

In the study areas, except the resettlers who had been given land through legal background, there is no any informant that ascertained their land acquisition as legal. The legal way of land acquisition was implemented during the period of Emperor *Haile Sellassie* and *Dergue* in the high land part of *Gidda Ayana*. This is clearly illustrated by Tesfaye (2007; 45-46) as all settlers who had been financially unable to purchase land during the imperial era were given farmland by the local chieftains (*Balabats*) on a tenancy basis. Later, however, when the military government (*Derg*) in 1975 nationalized land, all of the settlers obtained usufructury rights over their plots of land.

The other means of land acquisition is from the relatives who had migrated earlier or from the local Oromo who could establish personal relation with the migrants through different means. For instance, God parenthood (Godfather and God mother) and '*Tuetmetbat*', this was not implemented before the arrival of the Gojjame. Since then, it is implemented for the establishment of social relations. The land, which is acquired in such way, is extended by clearing the forest, if it is found beside the forest. Tesfaye (2007;46) supports this idea "since most of vacant land that had been secured by the settlers was found in the forested land of the Woreda, the settlers who obtained land using any of the above mechanism also extend by clearing the forest areas and converted it to farm plots".

The recent migrants could not get farmland by using easier means like before except those who have relatives. Those migrants who have brothers, sisters, and parents can get land from them.

Most of these early migrants can share land with their relatives since they have enough land that accounts up to twenty hectares. Sharecropping and rendering daily labour service to the owner of land is another mechanism of survival for recent migrants. At the moment, the land, which is already occupied by migrants, has been legalized regardless of the consideration of the acquisition mechanism.

### **4.3. Livelihood Improvement**

Before discussing about the livelihood of the study population, it is important to elucidate what it means as general terminology or framework. As defined by Chambers and Conway (1992, Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998) livelihood improvement is a continuing process in which assets or capital, access and activities change over time and people adapt to it for establishing new livelihood strategies. To change in livelihood, a household largely rely on the interplay between access to various forms of assets, the existing assets, the existing contexts (history, trends and shock), the mediating process (institutions, organizations), the activities and the resulting livelihood strategies that a household pursues (Gemechu, 2008: 34-35).

The livelihood of an individual or a house is influenced by trends and shocks. The idea of trends in relative aspects constituted biophysical resources, migration population, technical changes in production practices, and the economy of the people. While shocks are external sources of susceptibility such as recurrent drought, flooding and crop pests and the like that negatively affect livelihood activities (Ibid: 35).

The ability to pursue different livelihood strategies depends on the livelihood resource people have. Livelihood resources are categorized under five types of capital: natural, physical, human, financial, and social. Natural capital means land, water, and biological resources that are used by people to produce their means of survival. Physical capital includes the basic infrastructure like transport, shelter; production equipment as well as irrigation works that make possible people to pursue their livelihoods. Human capital refers to the skills, knowledge to labour, good health and physical capability. Financial capital refers to the financial resources available to people and which give them with different livelihood strategies. Keeping livestock is considered as financial capital when the financial market is not well developed. And social capital refers to resources

(involving networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations) up on which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies and it plays significant role in restricting or facilitating access to livelihood resources (Ibid:36-37).

According to Gemechu (2008:38) sustainable livelihood framework makes out three broad categorization of livelihood strategies. These are agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification, and migration. These strategies are often done by the rural people to uphold livelihood. These broad strategies entails to gain a livelihood which is generated either from agriculture through the process of intensification or diversification to a range of off-farm income earning activities or moving away and seek livelihood, either temporarily or permanently, elsewhere or a combination of strategies together or in sequence.

As the above argument shows the people of Amhara region in general and that of Gojjam in particular embarked migration to uphold their livelihood. Almost all migrants whether they have their own land or practice a sharecropping system have improved their way of life. Most of early migrants have land by far more than from their previous holding in their homeland. So they could produce enough amount of production that has helped to cover the cost of production besides consumption. In addition, by yielding more production, they can accumulate enough wealth that enhances their life. Most of my informants have two houses at different locations, one at *Gutin* and the other is around their plots. The main purpose of the presence of a house at *Gutin* is to secure better social services like electricity, water supply, transportation, education and other social values.

Some of my informants have begun to participate in agricultural investment activities after having enough amount of wealth. Such opportunity is encouraged by the government in the country in general and in the study area in particular. Since the area is sparsely populated, it is convenient to get such opportunities.

The peasants could improve their living situation to the extent that they hire laborers for whatever agricultural activities. They employed loyal relatives around their plot. By having their own motorcycle, they easily manage and control the way of living at these different places. After they collect the production from remote local area, they store it at *Gutin* to get better market opportunity. It is to this extent that the life of the migrants has improved.

Those who do not have enough land can support their life through sharecropping. In addition, all of my informants ascertained that being a sharecropper in Wollega is better than having land at their origin due to fertility difference. The recent group of migrants also support themselves by participating in petty trade, sewing, and engaging as daily laborer at the town during slack season. I support the above idea from Tesfaye's finding of (2007:72-73) as follows:

The lives of the migrants changed dramatically after they came to *Gidda Kiramu Woreda*. The livelihood improvement of the settlers can be seen from different viewpoints. That is in terms of cattle ownership and crop production. They also diversified their income generating mechanisms. Beyond fulfilling their subsistence needs, they could store grain reserves for the next harvest season.

### Case XV

Fifty-three years of age informant, Ato Semegnew Atalel, who is now living at *Leli Mariam* clearly elucidates about the migrants life improvement in east *Wollega* in general and in *Gidda Ayana* in particular as follows;

*The land in Wollega particularly the low land part of Gidda Ayana and other adjacent Woredas is so fertile that we can produce as much amount of production. Now, we live in Gutin municipality for the sake of better life by getting different social services like market, water, electricity, and modern education for our children. Since agriculture is our main means of survival, we have a house near our plots. In addition, we have cattle and sheep that support our life besides agriculture. And for agricultural task, we hire the recent migrants mostly seasonal migrants through sharecropping or paying in cash. Those who came later benefited us since they can not get land at this moment, the only alternative they have is to become sharecroppers.*

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5. THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION**

#### **5.1 Remittance**

The remittance sent by the migrants can be used for different purposes. Different authors suggest that most migrants' remittance goes towards consumption and some of the savings may be applied to the productive investment. Taylor (1999) supports this idea by analyzing the effects of migration as follows. He argues that the range of remittance and migration effects separated by two extremes. That is what initiate people to leave their origin and what the outcomes are in the sending areas. The first can be seen as the 'developmentalists' associated with the new economy of labour migration and it is a positive view on migration that migration is characterized as economic creator at origin through remittance. The second view is usually called 'migrant syndrome' perspective, which is the negative counter part of the first extreme. Taylor suggests that the reality exists somewhere else depending on the research location. That means impacts of migration on sending area vary across regions (Primavera, 2009; 18).

Concerning the outcome of the research, the consequence of migration has laid only to the idea of development or the positive outcome of migration. This is because in Dega Damot Woreda still there is high population density more than the carrying capacity of the land. As mentioned earlier even though the crude and agricultural densities of the woreda are not as such considered to be high, which is 230 and 572 persons/km<sup>2</sup> respectively, the land could not satisfy the basic need of the people. Therefore, migration has given a breathing space for those who stayed behind, even if there is still a persisting high unemployment rate. As I affirmed it from the Woreda's Documentation and Information Centre Bureau, the unemployed manpower in the Woreda is very high in both rural and town.

As Taylor (1999) argues, migration outcomes differ across regions. The migration outcome of the study area has remittance nature in addition to creating job opportunities for the migrants at their destination. As a result, remittances are considered to be the major link between migration and development at place of origin.

Remittance is sent in two forms that means in kind and cash. Since the origin and destination areas are not far, there is a high probability to send remittance in-kind to their origin. And the migrants have done such type of remittance to some extent but not as expected. The reason is that whatever types of products produced in Wollega also exist at origin except pepper and nut. Therefore, people have remitted money to their relatives at origin that enable them to buy different types of cereals, vegetables and other goods for their daily consumption.

There is also remittance that spent on long-term investment that is on education, housing and trade. The most dominant type of long-term investment in study area is spent on education. Most of the migrants left their children with either their mother or their grand parents at place of origin. At this moment, education is the only alternative to lead a sustained life in the aforementioned Woreda since there is no other option. Therefore, the migrants invest to educate their relatives and children who stayed behind.

Generally, remittances in the research area are mainly used for long-term investment and short-term consumption. The remittances are used for different purposes. These include health, consumer goods, construction material (houses), petty trading, to pay off government loans and debts.

Remittance may be relatively permanent or temporary depending on the staying time variability of the migrants at place of destination. Permanent migrants have been sending remittances for a longer period than seasonal migrants. Seasonal migrants have returned to their origin after they accumulate certain amount of money. So that this type of remittance is short and periodic which enables the migrants to pay off government loans, debts and help them to sustain their life temporary.

#### Case XVI

One of my informants from the place of origin, Ato Gete Gelaw who is living in Awred kebele of *Dega Damot Woreda* clearly ascertains the above fact as illustrated here under;

*At first, our eldest son went to Wollega with out our knowledge in 2000. In 2001, he came to visit us and he clearly told us the existing good opportunity in Wollega. In addition, he also told us that he had more than ten hectares of land, which is unthinkable in our Woreda. By persuading us, he first took his*

wife and children leaving his eldest son with us. His eldest son lives with us for education opportunity. In 2002, he took his sister. Then, in 2008, he also took his younger brother. So now, I have three children in Wollega.

My eldest son had relatively enough property, when he had been here. He had sewing machine, grinding mill, in addition to land, cattle and sheep. He left all his property for us and his son who is attending his education at the moment. Now, we do not have any problem here since our children send money, green pepper and teff at different times. Our grand children are attending modern education without any difficulties since whatever expense including their food is covered by their parents, aunts and uncle from Wollega. Now, they employed a laborer who can support us in every aspect of our life.

### Case XVII

Seventy-two years of age informant, Ato Workie, from the place of origin ( *Dega Damot Woreda* in *Wobeyign kebele*) vividly explains the different factors that induced the people of Dega Damot to leave their home area and the aftermath of it as follows:

*Before the coming of the Dergue to power, I had six hectares of land and lived a good life. However, in 1975 due to the Dergue land redistribution programme, I lost two hectares of land and it was given to other peasants who did not have enough land. Even if it happened to me, I could withstand the problem until my sons got married and claimed land for their independent life. When I shared the land from what I had for two of my sons, it could support neither of us. As a result, my sons decided to migrate to Wollega. They also consulted me about their decision. Even if I did not want to depart from them, the existing situation forced me to accept their decision. By leaving the land for their younger brothers and me, they went to Wollega in 1995.*

*They got sufficient amount of land in Wollega and became wealthier. Although I could not get them in near by, they helped not only me but also their brothers and sisters who are now attending their education at High School and Elementary level. In addition, the third son of mine, whose name is Ato Anteneh Workie, left his wife and children here and went to Wollega. The upbringing of their children has been relied on her shoulder. In his turn, he assists her by sending money. In Wollega, he married another wife to get assistance for whatever agricultural activities. He left his second wife here because of two main reasons. The first one is not to loss the land that he has at his birthplace. The other one is for opportunity of getting health and educational survice. For agricultural activities, we are assisting her and during the slack season in Wollega, he always comes to visit and support his family at his birthplace.*

Mendola (2006; 3) clearly points out the impact of rural-rural migration as follows

Like other institutions in rural areas that lack of perfect markets, migration may play a complex role in developmental achievements and poverty alleviation in local communities. Spatially diversified families represent an institution arising from difficulties of self-insurance in low-income settings and specially influenced by the risky nature of rural production. Moreover, subsequent remittances from migrant members' may increase house hold liquidity and contribute to alleviate binding credit constraints. Households may use migrant remittances primarily to supplement income or conversely to invest in productive activities.

Similarly, the dual labour theory vividly illustrates the complex manifestation of remittance. The role of remittance in migration can not be understood simply by studying the behavior of migrants themselves, rather it is necessary to examine the long-term effects of remittance on investment, work and social relationship rights across the community (Castle and Miller, 2003; 24-25).

## **5.2. The Intensification of Production at Destination**

As I got information from my group discussants and key informants, the other positive outcome of rural migration that is between aforementioned Woredas is the intensification of production at destination. In the low land part of *Gidda Ayana*, the agricultural production was not intensified until the beginning of the *Dergue* resettlement program. Some section of this area has become productive starting from the settlement program of 1984/85. But it is the spontaneous migration and settlement intensified agricultural production. The settler farmers can produce more production that exceeds their daily consumption. This enables them to access enough amounts of products to the market. This idea is clearly elucidated by Geremew (2008; 73) in the early periods of settlements, crop production was only used for household food consumption. However, now there is intensification and diversification of production in the lowland part of *Gidda Ayana*. The intensification of production is related with high population size provoked by high influx migration. Currently, crop production is used for household food consumption and market supply. Due to this, during harvesting season, the town of *Gutin* has been overcrowded with lorry or truck in order to transport the agricultural products to other areas. People have begun to improve their life and few are constructing grinding mills and shop in the area.

Now, the area not only attracts the settler farmers but also agricultural investors from inland and abroad. Investors have participated in the production of cereals, oil seeds, cattle breeding, fruits

and others. Therefore, one can deduce that migration has changed the area from unused resources to production area. The land, which was covered by forest, is changed to farmland. In addition, the intensity of production is increasing from time to time until its carrying capacity reaches a proportion with the population to be sustained. Two of my Oromo informants support the above idea as illustrated below:

Before the coming of the settler of Wolloye and Tigre, the area had only been settled by few pockets of Oromo particularly the area of Ofata. And it was this limited area that had been used by the local Oromo. The resettlement of the Wolloye and that of Tigre changed some portion of the low land part of Gidda Ayana into settlement sites or villages and the area into cultivation. Moreover, it is the coming of self-migrant *Gojjame* that the whole area has been changed into farmlands. The *Gojjame* came at different time and hid them in the forest by having axe and weapons to defend themselves from wild animals in the area. As the time gone, they cleared the forest and made suitable for agricultural production and settlement site. Indeed, we consider the *Gojjame* as a model farmer who have the capacity to use the existing resources in practical term.

### **5.3. Deforestation and Its Aftermath**

The negative outcome of spontaneous migration and the state sponsored resettlement program is deforestation. Before this happened, the lowland parts of *Gidda Ayana* had been covered by forest for many centuries. Since the environment was very hostile for native Oromo, they had refrained from using it for many years. This idea is fully supported by my Oromo and migrant Amhara informants who have lived in the area. According to them, the area has rapidly lost its forest coverage mainly due to the coming of the *Gojjame* spontaneous migrants. As the result, the wild animals that had lived for many centuries in the area are now left it. Some of them migrated to elsewhere to escape from human threat. The wild animals that had been found in the area before settlement were Elephant, Lion, Pigs, Buffalo, Zebra, Deer and others. As stated by Tesfaye (2007: 81):

Before the arrival of the migrants, the local people were using slash and burn type of cultivation in the lowland to plant crops such as maize. The land was also left fallow on the periodic basis. The migrant settlers followed the same trend at the beginning but later due to the increasing size of settler population and the accelerating demand by grown up youth in the host community a change in the land use system occurred. The change has in reality accelerated the vegetation lost in the remote lowlands of the Woreda.

The deforestation in *Gidda Ayana Woreda* is mainly the outcome of the coming of the *Amhara* people to the Area. A sizeable portion of original forest cover had been lost as the result of the persisting process of migration and settlement in *Gidda Ayana Woreda*. In fact the farmlands that the settlers got in the area by using different means (rent, purchase or lease basis) which used to be vacant but forested, was devegetated due to the incoming of migrant population all together and eagerly needed land. In the way of arranging preliminary preparations for giving settlement spots suitable for domiciles and productive undertakings, mostly farmland, the avoidance of vegetation cover would be a real fact (Tesfaye, 2007;82).

Assefa (1999;100) ascertains the consequence of migration at destination as follows: "Population pressure, mainly as a result of spontaneous migration or state sponsored resettlement aggravated the problem resulting in irreparable damage. Roughly for decades (since 1972) the sending regions were *Wollo* and *Tigray*. However, the fall of the *Derg* and the coming to power of EPRDF brought in its path mass migration from Gojjam, especially from *QollaDega Damot Awraja* from *Woredas* called *Jiga, Quarit, Feresbet* and *Damot*".

Geremew (2007:60) clearly illustrates the effects of migration on the system of land use and method of production as follows:

Before 1990, not all arable lands around inhabited areas were put under farming. This is mainly due to the main way of producing major crops such as maize, sorghum and wheat was through shifting cultivation. The coming of the settlers in large numbers and the process which inherently pursue settling into the area created displacement effect. The local community access to these resources declined. The process of settlement enabled the resettlers access land. On the other hand, the local community losses the economic and non- economic benefits that they had had enjoyed before. Whatever the case, increase in population size combined with the effects of resettlement obliged the host population to cultivate around their residential areas which through time led to expanding farmlands to their grazing lands and, thus squeezing pastureland for livestock.

## **5.4. Migration and Ethnic Interaction**

Assefa (1999) has explored this by taking Aroo Addis Alem as the case study. In addition, Tesfaye (2007) tried to assess it by taking into account Gidda KIRAMU Woreda. Since it is relevant for the finding of this research, I am interested to treat it by depending mainly on the above findings in addition to primary sources that were collected during my field work. This was because the evidence that I got from the first hand information is most of the time corroborated the works of these two authors.

To elucidate ethnic interaction and conflict, it is important to point out some of the mechanisms that facilitate it. For unavoidable fact, different societies have different socio-cultural interaction mechanisms that help them to live together, to share ideas, to support each other and the like. These are religious, education whether it may be church or modern education; economic relations (sharecropping, hiring labour, exchange of goods and services) and social interaction mechanisms (*Iddir, Iqqub, Mahber, Tut Matbat, God Parenthood*). Some of these interaction mechanisms, as ascertained by my informant, have been home-grown with the local people while others are disseminated by the spontaneous migrants and state sponsored resettlers. Gutin and its environs is an ideal place, like the city of Addis Ababa, where people live together by sharing their culture, social organization and language. The different social interaction mechanisms are illustrated here below.

### **5.4.1. Education**

#### **5.4.1.1. Education as a means of social**

#### **Integration**

In Gutin and its environs, education is taken as the binding factor for social integration. As clearly elucidated by my migrant and Oromo informants, church (religious) education was not the practical issue of the people of Oromo in the lowlands until the coming of the Amhara settlers. The introduction of church education through Amharic and Geez as the medium of instruction

enabled the Oromo who have inhabited the low land part of Gidda Ayana, to get exposure to Amharic. Then the people who have different ethnic background are able to share a common religion by sharing Amharic language as the working language of the church, even if different religious institutions are able to translate the bible to Afaan Oromo

### **5.4.1.2. Education as a means of co-existence**

As ascertained by the Mayor of Gutin and my key migrant and Oromo informants, modern education to the level of grade eight is delivered by using two languages Afan Oromo and Amharic alternatively at different shifts. As the Mayor reaffirmed since the people of Gutin is a heterogeneous society, by considering the interest of the people, unlike the educational policy of the government, which declares the regional language as medium of instruction, they use Amharic as a medium of instruction alternatively with Afaan Oromo. The presence of such educational opportunity helps them to implement a successful educational service for both the Oromo and the Amhara migrant settlers.

### **5.4.2. Religion**

As illustrated by spontaneous migrant settlers and indigenous Oromo informants, the expansion of Orthodox Christianity to the area is mainly the outcome of the coming of government sponsored settlers and spontaneous migrants. Before their arrival in the area, there had only been one Orthodox Church that is the church of Saint Michael. Its expansion is mainly related to the coming of Amhara and Tigre settlers.

After they had settled in the new area, the Tigrians faced identity crisis resulting from the absence of Orthodox Church in which their religion has been revealed since they accustomed it for many centuries. When they lack a church to pray and cemetery, they presented the case to Abune Zena, who then was the administrator of Orthodox Church of Eastern Wollega. For the response of their request, he permitted them to have four Tabot (arch of covenant) to the settlers of the lowland area of Gidda Ayana. These Tabots were given to the people with respect to the settlement sites. For instance, the church of Saint Marry was built at *Mender Amist* (Village Five), the church of Saint Gabriel was built at *Mender Hulet* (Village Two), the church of Saint Tsion Mary was built

at *Mender Sost* (Village Three and the church of Saint *Gebre Tsehay* was implemented at *Mender Arat* (Village Four). This raised the total number of orthodox churches around Gutin to five.

Furthermore, the spontaneous migrants particularly the Gojjame have expanded more churches in the area. The Gojjame came with priests, clergy and deacon that enabled them to expand church education in the area. The presence of such ecclesiastically trained people, with the migrants helps them to integrate themselves with the local people who followed the same religion. The migrants could incorporate their religious tradition to the local and other peoples who have lived in the low land area of Gidda Ayana. Now the number of churches in the surrounding area is twenty-five. So that one can realize that spontaneous migration, not only increased the number of churches in the area but also integrated their religion which is clearly associated with their cultural tradition. The above fact is also supported by Tesfaye (2007; 93). The new settlers have been much more interested in establishing new church and attending it with their own ecclesiastical associations, which in turn initiated the expansion of churches rapidly. The churches that had been built helped the people to share common belief and pray together in addition to other church oriented legal practices.

Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the southern parts of the present day Ethiopia with the conquering forces of Imperial Ethiopia by Manlike II during the last quarter of nineteenth century. Because of the long standing relationship between the Oromo of Horro Guduru and the Amhara (from Gojjam) there would have been a great influence on the Oromo to adopt Orthodox Christianity some decades before Menelik II's conquest" (Assefa, 1999;108).

The above idea shows that the expansion of Orthodox Christianity like other religions was before the arrival of the spontaneous as well as state sponsored settlers. But its extent was confined to the highland parts of eastern Wollega, which has been densely populated mainly by the local Oromo and few other ethnic groups. In addition, it is the later stages of self initiated migration and settlement in addition to government sponsored resettlement of *Wolloye* and *Tigre* played a great role in the expansion of Orthodox Christianity in the lowland area of *Gidda Ayana*.

### **5.4.3. Marriage.**

Through a long historical contact between the Oromo and the Amhara of Gojjam, inter- ethnic marriage is a common phenomenon between them than other Amhara settlers in the region.

However, the marriage practice is not a balanced ratio that exists in terms of sex. That means the male Oromo can marry more females than their Amhara counter parts due to different reasons. The first one is the Oromo females' demand of high bridewealth. To marry an Oromo wife, one has to pay a bridewealth including eight Shema ( a traditional cloth which is made from cotton) with other necessary cloths for her mother and father in addition to the money which is up to 6000 Eth. Birr to the maximum. On her part, she is also expected to fulfill all the house utensils in addition to an ox and a cow. Besides to this, there is a believe that Oromo females remain loyal to their husbands whatever situation they face. As the result of this, they have a high demand in the society.

On the other hand, the Amhara females are hard workers and do not need high bridewealth to marry someone. For this hardworking quality of Amhara women particularly the *Gojjame*, many Oromo males have married them. As all my informants agreed, the main cause for their affiliation that has Amhara women to marry Oromo men is economic factors. Since the Oromo have enough land, they have the chance to marry Amhara (*Gojjame*) women for the reason that marriage is considered as a guarantee to share (acquire) the land. The above idea is clearly supported by Tesfaye (2007;77) as "due to the high bride price demanded by the Oromo families, which can reach up to 1500 Birr, male settler rarely married Oromo women. Oromo men on the other hand, could, if they wished, easily marry Amhara women because of little or no bride wealth obligation". As illustrated by Assefa (1999;66), in the earlier days bride wealth that paid in case was not as such high, a maximum of 400 birr and the average expectation was between 200 and 300. Nevertheless, nowadays it is rising between 800 to 1000 birr. In addition, to some extent, it is depended on the family economic background concern". Even if the amount that the Oromo females demanded as bridewealth showed numerical variation among Assefa's (1999), Tesfaye's (2007) and my findings, there is an agreement on the idea that Oromo females demanded high bride wealth than their Amhara counterparts.

The marriage practice between the settlers and the local Oromo is restricted by ethnic background. All of my migrant informants as well as that of the Oromo clearly revealed that their marriage preference is within their own ethnic groups. Their argument does not directly relate with ethnic background but rather with the different in working habit and the trustworthiness of

these ethnic groups. For instance, the Amhara do not consider the Oromo as hard worker while the Oromo do not believe the Amhara as honest.

There are few cases of interethnic marriage between the host population and the migrant settlers. In the rural part of Gidda Ayana inter-ethnic marriage is a rare occurrence. The local people do not marry with the migrants since they consider them as “too mobile and heart hidden” (Gemechu, 2008: 78-79). From my field work, I only found two Amhara women who married Oromo husbands. But I could not come up with the evidence that the Oromo woman married Amhara husband.

## **5.5. Migration and Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

The interaction between the migrant and the host communities has been marked by amicable and hostile interactions. The friendly relation they have is discussed about in this section devote few pages for the discussion of the other face of their relations that is interethnic conflicts as the result of migration. As Conteth et al succinctly put it human interaction or interdependence makes conflict inevitable phenomena in the society (1999:107).As rightly expected the interaction between Gojjame migrant farmers and the Oromo is not spared conflict. Nevertheless, a balanced analysis of inter ethnic conflict demands a rational analysis of the divergent views coming from the disputants. But the sensitivity of the issue made it difficult to glean a necessary primary data. Thus, rather than presenting a kind of monolithic view, I preferred to integrate secondary sources done in the study area and yet presenting it as a passing reference.

Accordingly scholars identified multifold causes for the Amhara versus Oromo conflict. As Tesfaye (2007) identified the different causes of conflict between Amhara and Oromo by investigating the 2000 inter-ethnic conflict in *Gidda Kiramu* Woreda as illustrated here under. First, he put political case as the source of conflict. Politics like Ethnic Federalism, anti settler agitations by ethnic elites, the quest for self-administration of the settlers, and the leaving out of non-Oromo from peasant association leadership. Secondly, he also assessed it from the socio-cultural perspectives such as the ‘Christening’ or ‘renaming of place names in the Woreda, the spreading out of Ethiopian Orthodox churches, ‘jealousy of local people over settlers enhancement of living’, and the prejudiced attitude of the settlers towards the local population,

swiftness or acceleration of migration. The other cause of conflict is legal. These are breaching of contractual agreements over land, denial by the settlers to meet the terms with firearm regulations, disobedience by the post-1996 settlers to register in local offices, refusal to give over criminals, cattle rustling on both sides, and police and court ineffective. The last but the main source of conflict is economic. Since land is the livelihood mechanism in rural Ethiopia, competition for it triggered conflict not only work in inter-ethnic but also in intra-ethnic conflict (81-106).

According to my migrant informants, as I mentioned it in unit three having a certain administration right to a certain settlers (case of Arkumbie) by denying others different settlement sites develop a grievance for the settlers of Gidda Ayana for the sake of securing such rights similar to their counterpart became the cause for developing negative attitude towards the local administrators.

They illustrate the above point clearly as such. The lowland part of Gidda Ayana, and Limmu Woreda at Arkumbie and its environs is predominantly settled by Gojjame migrants. Village one to village seven which is also collectively known as Arkumbe is settled by the Amhara particularly the Gojjame. In Gidda Ayana Woreda places such as Andode, Shasho, Waja and Leli are mainly settled by the Gojjame particularly those from Quarit and Dega Damot. Unlike the Amhara settlers in Gidda Ayana Woreda, the Amhara settlers in Limmu Woreda at Arkumbi have got self-administration at local level. Nevertheless, in Gidda Ayana Woreda, the areas which are dominantly settled by Amhara as mentioned above the administrative power is exclusively in the hands of the Oromo, even if there is more Amhara settler in addition to other ethnic groups at kebele level.

My Oromo informants do not support the idea of my migrant informants about the practical implementation of the migrants' self-administration at kebele level in the aforementioned areas. They argue that anybody, who can speak Afaan Oromo, has the right to participate in any administration task of the kebele. Nevertheless, since the existing population does not fulfill the rules and regulation of the present trend of self-administration, the Amhara migrants do not get such opportunity as they wished. In addition, everywhere in the lowland of Gidda Ayana Woreda

at kebele level, a committee that encompasses peoples from different ethnic group has been established to implement effective administrative strategies without prejudice.

Most of my informants reached consensus on economic factors and maladministration as the main sources of conflict in the area. There has been some skirmish between the Oromo and Amhara settlers based on land resources. This is clearly manifested from the case studies here under from the settlers point of view even if I could not cross check the arguments from the Oromo point of view owing to my inability to get Oromo informants who could remember the events related to it.

### Case XVIII

An informant who settled in *Wollega* in 1992 recalls what triggered the 1996 conflict between the Amhara settlers and the Oromo at *Leli Kebele* as follows:

*After four years of our stay here at Gidda Kiramu Woreda, the kebele officials knew our presence in the forest fringe. As the result, they accused us as illegal and ordered us to leave the area. When the case became bitter, we reported it to the Woreda officials. After assessing and analyzing the reality, they allowed us to have the land. However, suddenly enough, on June 29, 1996 the Oromo peasants together with the local officials who knew our wealth and money wanted to evict us for the second time stood against us. As the case became the worst and when we realized the quarrel with them was unwise, since they outnumbered us, we took the case to Naqamte officials. Thus, they gave us the same response as the Woreda officials had done before. By trusting the Zone officials order, we came back to our homestead. However, what the zone official told us and the actual situation that we faced was different. The Oromo peasants supported by the local police came to attack us as soon as they recognized our arrival in our village from Naqamte. After they did whatever they intended to do (beating, snatching the our money), they imprisoned us. Then, they changed the previous prison and detained us in the dark place at Gutin. After they had detained us for three days, they brought our families from our homestead and obliged us to leave our homes and return to our birthplace. Even if we did not know what circumstance changed or forced them, the police officials forgiven us to have our homestead. So we became happy and did it accordingly. In August 1996, the representative of Amhara people whose name I do not remember came and settled the dispute by dealing with the Oromo officials. When we arrived at our homestead, we found that the Oromo looted our property. The season was not a time for crop cultivation that means it was delayed and the crops were destroyed by the Oromo Cattle. It was only sesame that we produced for survival during that difficult year.*

Another informant also recalls that land became the sources of conflict. Initially the migrants had lived without the knowledge of the local Oromo. Later until they knew the advantages the migrants got from the area, the Oromo recognized their presence in peaceful way. However, when they realized the advantage of the settlers, they stood against the settlers in order to displace them and to have the land for themselves.

### Case IXX

Forty six years of age whose name is Ato Admasu who came to Wollega in 1992 recalls what he faced in Leli kebele from the local Oromo people as follows:

*In 1994, the unexpected and sudden situation faced me. The local Oromo wanted to take over the land that we had. To do that, the first step they took against us was burning our houses and looting our property. In response to this, there was a clash between Oromo and us. However, the Oromo were very large in number and armed with weapons but we were few in number and only had stick. In the process of the clash, we were the victims. We were only six and when my friends realized the situation, they ran away with out my knowledge. Nevertheless, it was me who left behind and injured badly due to the fighting with them. Then, the Oromo left me when they assumed me as died from wound. Approximately, after staying for four hours, I recovered and began to realize what happened to me. Then, through ceaseless try, I could get my relatives and they took me to the health centre at Gutin. After I had stayed here for a month, to fully recover from it, I went to my birthplace and stayed there for two months.*

*While I was in my birthplace, the clash was sparked off for the second time in 1994 and during this time, there was no much loss from settlers' side, since they were aware and watched them consciously to defend themselves. During this time, the problem was resolved by intervention of the representatives of the Amhara and Oromo officials. Then when the situation was changed, we returned and had our land, even though we did not get our property.*

*Due to the damage that occurred on my hand and leg, I could not engage in agricultural activities. Therefore, I bought sewing machine and it is the only task that I can do now. As the result, for agricultural labor task, I have hired a sharecropper and it is in this way now, I can support my family.*

According to my group discussants maladministration (taking their land without tangible evidence when the Oromo claim it as their own, demanding bribe to see the case, accusing the settlers as opposer of the present( EPRDF) and others) is another political problem that becomes the sources of conflict as expressed by my informants. The challenges that have existed at the

moment are inter ethnic tension and maladministration of the Oromo officials which are intended and targeted at the settlers mainly on those who have become more productive in the extensive and fertile low land. Due to these cases, many settlers abandoned the area and established their home in other towns particularly at Bahir Dar, after they had accumulated sufficient capital for their survival in the competitive city life. They have now participated in different economic sectors like trading, hotel and agricultural and other investment strategies. This idea is clearly indicated by Geremew (2007:73) both the migrant settler could improve their life and few are constructing grinding mills and small shops in the area of destination. But the controversies exist in relation to local investments in that the Oromo complain about the *Gojjame* who do not invest their money in Oromia rather in Amhara region.

As my migrant informant ascertains many of them have remained in their settlement area by accepting the existing political system since they do not have economic power as well as the efficiency to engage in other tasks in the city similar to some of our friends and relatives. The Oromo officials do not take the above idea as rational and acceptable truth. They argued as they give equal services for both the Oromo and the settlers. They give equal justice. According to Ato Gemechu a deputy Mayor of Gutin, 'what the problem lays on the system of land acquisition. They got the land with a certain agreement with the native Oromo. When such agreement failed they brought the case to us. Since buying and selling land is illegal we give legal decision to the owner of the land. It is due to this and other similar situations that the settlers accused us.

## CHAPTER SIX

# 6. Summary and Conclusion

## 6.1. Summary

After I consulted different literature about rural-rural migration in Ethiopia, it becomes invaluable issue for my research as the existing sources concerning it in Ethiopia in general and in the study area in particular is scanty. Even the existing sources, save Wood's and Assefa's work, regarding this issue have emphasized on ethnic integration and conflict. In addition, the pervious researches only give due attention at place of destination except Assefa's work of 2002 which gives due emphasis at both ends. This research differs in that, it takes a specific Woreda ( Dega Damot) from the destination as the subject of inquiry unlike Assefa's work of 2002, which takes into account the Amhara region as the subject of investigation. I found the research so relevant in filling and revealing out such issues in appropriate terms.

Thus, to find out the causes and impacts of migration at both ends, I deployed a qualitative method of data collection and analysis. Owing to the limitation of time, I could not investigate in-detail the outcomes of migration from the native (Oromo) point of view, since it requires participant observation to know the language and immerse myself in their social setting to get trustworthy from them. The research mainly depends on the information gathered from migrant interviewees and some Oromo officials which help to crosscheck the collected information one against the other in addition to implementing secondary sources for the purpose of analysis.

Even if the migration trend of Gojjam to Wollega has a long historical record, the spontaneous out migration of *Dega Damot* to *Gidda Ayana* Woreda is taken as two decades phenomenon. The factors that have contributed for the migration of the people of *Dega Damot* vary over time. In *Dega Damot* Woreda, population growth, land tenure system, and land distribution policy at different regime has led to the fragmentation and degradation of land. The lack of land or its insufficiency at origin and the availability of fertile land at the destination can be taken as some of the integrated factors for the acceleration of rural-rural migration.

Various social and economic related problems induced migration from *Dega Damot* to *Gidda Ayana* Woreda. Even if the various social problems are directly or indirectly related with landholding and its scarcity, there are other social and economic dictated problems like early marriage, the inability to pay government loans and tax, and failure to succeed in educational achievements are considered as the contributing factors for migration

Two causes are taken into consideration for the migration of *Dega Damot* Peasants to *Gidda Ayana* Woreda since 1990. The first one is the establishment of State Farms in *Anger Gutin*. Even though State Farms particularly those initiated by Foreign aids had been practiced in the aforementioned area since 1972, it was the *Dergue* initiative State Farm that was implemented after 1984/5 famine became very intensive and able to create employment opportunity for the people of different ethnic groups. The Gojjame were among the employees. This situation created exposure and helped them to know the existing opportunity. So the employees have disseminated information about the existing reality to their relatives and it became the starting point of their migration. Secondly, the attempt of resettlement that was initiated by the volunteer peasants of *Dega Damot* is taken as the starting point for the spontaneous migration of the peasants from the aforementioned Woreda. Their request for resettlement in *Gidda Ayana* Woreda got recognition by the administrator of East *Wollega* Zone and the officials of *Gidda Kiremu* at that time. The attempt of resettlement was not effected due to the collapse of the *Dergue* regime. Nevertheless, the people who had reached *Gidda Ayana* could settle themselves in the low land part of the Woreda. After the volunteer settlers had established their base in the area, they brought their families and relatives.

Furthermore, after early migrants had established their base in the low land parts of *Gidda Ayana*, the people of *Dega Damot* and the adjacent Woredas have followed their footsteps. In due course, migration has become a day today activity of the people and served as a means of survival that generally facilitated for the emergence of chain migration between Gojjam and *Wollega*.

There are migrants who left their place of origin in order to get better opportunities for their future life. These migrants depart from their place of origin by anticipating the future constraints. In order to escape from such future threats, people could embark migration and establish a stable economic base at destination. Besides, the relative proximity of the place of origin and destination, the opening of Bure-Naqamte road are taken as pull factors for the migration.

The process of settlement and adaptation of the migrants vary depending on the time of their arrival and the presence of kin and peer pressure (the establishment of migratory network). In the study area, except government sponsored resettlers, who had been given land through legal means (Wolloye and Tigre resettlers), the spontaneous migrants acquired land through purchasing, renting, sharecropping and clearing the forest. The outcome of migration mainly includes; remittance, economic improvement, deforestation, inter-ethnic integration and conflict.

## **6.2. Conclusion**

I took the assumption that as there is significant variation cornering the out come of research with relation to local variations since the previous researches took the whole region as the subject of investigation. But the finding reveals similarity put aside drought which is not considered as push factor for Dega Damot Woreda peasants' migration.

Even though population pressure is considered as the one main push factor, its seriousness is not as such when we see the crude and agricultural population index which is 230 and 572 persons/km<sup>2</sup> respectively. Nevertheless, the carrying capacity of the Woreda is eminently constrained by the low fertility of the land, inconsistent weather condition, unavailability of inputs (technology, fertilizer, improved seed etc), ragged landscape etc. Therefore, it is difficult to take migration as solution for population pressure before revealing out other possible alternatives that help to tackle the persisting problems.

As the finding of the research reveals migration has positive outcomes at the place of origin unlike its aftermath at the receiving end which is both positive and negative. As such policy

implication based on the finding is essential .But due to the complex, dynamics and intertwined nature of migration together with the delimitation of the research to specific area make difficult for generalization and recommendation of future prospects. Thus, to overcome such drawback further researches are essential concerning the social, economic and political impact of migration both at the place of origin and destination.

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# MAP OF DEGA DAMOT WEREDA

## Legend

 WOREDA BOUNDARY



Source : CSA



## Declaration

I, here undersigned, declared that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials are used dully acknowledged.

Name of candidate \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of the candidate \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Confirmation

This has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor

Name of Advisor \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_