

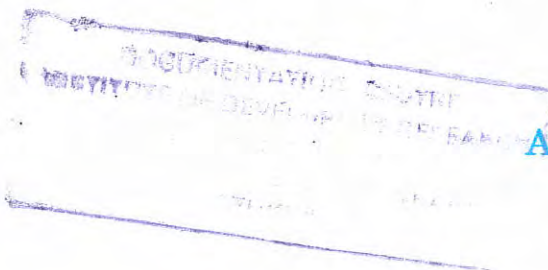
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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

**DECISION MAKING IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND ITS
IMPLICATION TO THE PLACE OF ORIGIN: A CASE STUDY
OF BEGGARS FROM SAMRE, SOUTH TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA.**

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in
Development Studies (Rural Livelihood and Development)**

BY: TAFERE BERHE FIKADU



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ABSTRACT

While embarking their research in rural-urban migration, researchers assume that rural out migrants move with the aim of involving in productive sector or getting better social amenities. However, the issue of migrants, who are involved in unproductive sectors such as begging, is overstated. I have developed curiosity to undertake the research after observing many peasants begging in Addis Ababa. I have emphasized on the beggars coming from Tigray with the intension of getting rapport. The research method is dominantly based on qualitative analysis, where the idea, perception and view of many stakeholders is wisely explored. Different instruments such as in-depth interview (with 25 migrant beggars, who were found through snowball sampling), focused group discussion (with returnee beggars, non-migrants, elders, model farmers and migrants' family), observation, and key informant interview (with Tabia, wereda and regional officials) are widely employed. The data generated from these entities were triangulated and analyzed in descriptive form. The major causes for the out migration of peasants from Samre woreda were mainly resulted due to push factors such as landlessness, small land holding, and credit overdue. Moreover, the social network in Addis Ababa along with the existing channel of information has also expedited migration. The migrants are involved in begging at the expense of psychological pressures (costs), just to solve their immediate problems and diversify income portfolio. They have collected meager amount of money, which they invested in agricultural inputs, paying credits, and buying consumption goods and clothes. The expectation and the actual earning of migrants are incomparable. The results indicate that the existing trend of migration has forced young student to dropout their education and exposed to the life of streets. Furthermore, it is creating suspicion among the rural inhabitants at the place of origin in that returnee migrants can disseminate communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Typhoid. The people have explained their reservation on the religious services given by the returnee clergymen and Dicons. Moreover, there is a growing concern that the migrants may return with new doctrine and beliefs, which progressively may erode the legend religions in the area. Finally yet importantly, the new generation is inheriting the culture of begging.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

In the era of globalization, the improved and sophisticated means of transportation and communication are playing a key role in facilitating the interaction of people around the world. As a result, the rate of migration is alarmingly increasing both at national and international level. In developing countries, internal migration is more persistent, mainly on the trend of rural-urban migration.

In Ethiopia, rural-urban migration is quite common especially in areas where drought is frequent. Historical documents witnessed that rural-urban migration from the drought-prone areas of northern regions to Addis Ababa has been experienced for many years (Kebede, 1994; Lalem, 2002). As most of the migrants lack formal education, training and knowledge, they earn money by being porters, security guards, messengers, lottery vendors, commercial sex workers, beggars and other odd jobs (Gutkind, 1974). For example, during the Wollo twin tragedies of famine (1966 and 1972-3) and rural poverty, large mass of farmers from Lalibela flooded Addis Ababa, where the majority of them earned money through beggary (McCan, 1987:3)

According to Aberra (1987) and Wubishet (2003), beggary as way of livelihood may involve large segment of the society due to social, economic and physical factors such as: low income, high unemployment rates, fast rising cost of living, high rates of population growth, inappropriate public policies, drought, flooding, pest invasion, etc.

Of course, it will be misleading to relate beggary only with push factors of migration. This is because, there are large number of people coming for

begging due to pull factors. Nowadays, the number of beggars coming to the city after leasing, sharecropping and leaving their lands to their relatives, neighbors and other industrious farmers is increasing (www.addistribune.com). Regardless of the variation on the causes of beggary, one can clearly conclude that it is unproductive way of earning income and way of making livelihood.

The Migration of peasants from different parts of the country to Addis Ababa is becoming a trend. Peasants of *Samre Woreda* are not exceptional to this end. They often travel to Addis Ababa to get additional income, which could support their main source of livelihood, i.e. agriculture. When most of them decide to migrate from their villages, beggary as a source of income is their preference (Kinfe, 2003).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There will be nothing surprising with beggary, if it is confined with people incapable of working. But the existing trend includes mass of physically active part of the society including farmers (Aberra, 1987; Kinfe, 2003; Wubishet, 2003). Beggary as coping mechanism to various crises may not also be subjected to criticism, but when it is taken as means of livelihood, its importance and sustainability need to be researched.

There are limited researches done on the area of beggary in the country (MOLSA, 1992). These works are mainly focused in assessing beggary's impact in the place of destination. For example, Wubishet (2003), tried to propagate the voice of this marginalized part of the society (beggars) living around churches in Addis Ababa.; Aberra (1987), on the other hand, underlined the issue of eradicating beggary from the face of Addis Ababa. Knife (2003) has shaded some light on issues related to migrant beggars; however, his work has given more emphasis to quantitative approach, and makes the study more of a survey type. Hence, little is so

far done to explore and assess the insider information related to the reasons of rural-urban migration, migrants' involvement in begging and its impact to the place of origin.

With the background outlined above, this research has attempted to find out the reasons for the out-migration of peasants from Samre and their ultimate involvement in begging. Moreover, the effects of the rural-urban migration to the place of origin are widely discussed.

1.3 Objective of the study

General Objective

This study aims at investigating the major causes of rural-urban migration in the context of migrant beggars from Samre and some of its effects on the place of origin.

Specific Objectives

1. To scrutinize the major determinant factors of rural out migration of beggars from Samre *Woreda*.
2. To discuss the economic, social, political and cultural impacts of rural out migration of beggars to the place of origin.
3. To explore the major reasons for the involvement of migrants in begging at the place of destination (Addis Ababa).
4. To assess the perceptions of migrant beggars, policy makers, non-migrants and alms givers towards begging as a livelihood strategy.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The researches so far done related to rural-urban migration have given greatest weight to migrants, who are involved in productive sectors at the destination areas. However, migrants involved in socially unaccepted activities such as begging are overstated. Thus, this research will contribute to knowledge (fill the gap) concerning migrant beggars.

Moreover, it would create an opportunity for the regional government, as a source of information; hence it would have policy implication related to migrant beggars.

1.5 Organization of the Research Paper

The Research paper consists of Seven Chapters, which are mutually inclusive. Chapter one includes the problem in context, major objectives and significance of the study. Chapter two reviews some theoretical and Empirical findings related to rural-urban migration and begging. The research site and methods employed to generate reliable data are part of the third chapter. The most important part of the research, i.e. Results and discussions is discussed in three chapters. Chapter four highlights the nature of Rural-Urban migration from Samre, Chapter five reflects begging in the framework of livelihood strategy, and chapter six depicts the implication of Rural-out migration to the place of origin. In the last chapter, conclusion and suggestions are included.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The research paper has used the existing outline after passing through limitations. There were financial constraints and data limitations. I could not get credit related data from DECSI. This is due to the manager's unwillingness to give any data related to migrant beggars. The employees of the institution in the *Tabia*, *Woreda* and Regional bureau have also closed their doors, as they are not allowed to leak any information without his consent.

The Regional office of Labor and Social Affairs, which has the mandate to work on the issues related to the migrant beggars, had no information about the migrant beggars. Hence, I could not generate important data from the office. Despite these limitations, every effort has made to come up with sound study.

Chapter Two

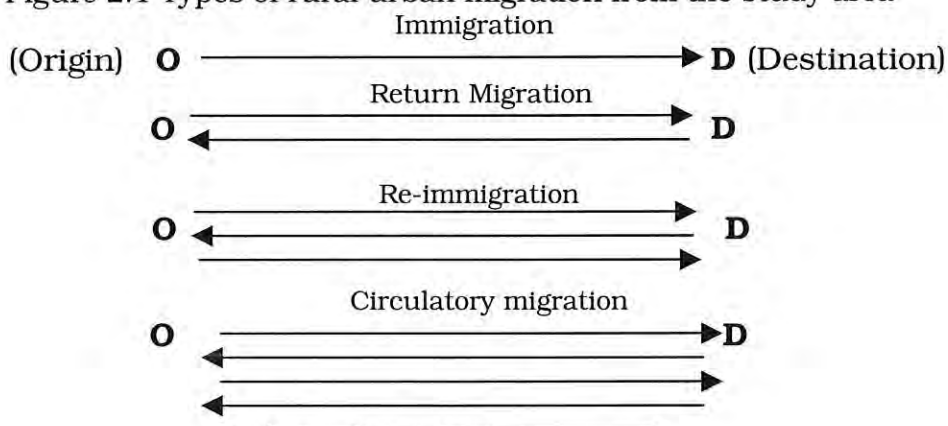
Review of Literature

2.1 Definition of Basic Concepts

Migration: is defined as the movement of people from one locality or country to the other. It often takes place across spaces such as intercontinental (between continents), intra-continental (between countries in a given continent), and interregional (within countries). Temporally, migration can be categorized as (permanent, circular, or seasonal). If crossing a boundary is taken as criterion, then we will have (internal, external). If areal (Spatial) units are involved (communities, countries, states, nations, cultures), and number involved (individuals, groups), social organization of migrants (family, clan, individual, we can also have other terminologies, when considering political climate of migration (voluntary or involuntary); the dominant socioeconomic causes (usually emphasizing economic and non-economic factors); and the major psychological aims (innovative, conservative migration) (Balan, 1981; Byerlee et.al, 1976; De Jong et.al, 1981).

More specifically, the types of rural-urban migration that are commonly taking place in the study area have this diagrammatic structure.

Figure 2.1 Types of rural urban migration from the study area



Source: King, 1986

Immigration: Is the movement of people from the places of origin, where they have been living for long years to the places of destination (new).

Return Migration: When the migrants return to their place of origin after spending significant period of time in the place of destination.

Re-Immigration: It occurs, when people once again go to the place of destination after having returned for the first time to their places of origin.

Circulatory migration: can be defined as the frequent movement of people to the place of origin and destination alternately by their own reasons. If this repeated movement to the two places is regular and follows some seasons, it is called **seasonal migration**. For example, peasant migrants could come back to their place of origin every rainy season to involve in agricultural activities and go during the slack period to cities to get additional income. Others also frequently move to the place of origin for holiday celebration etc (King, 1986)

Push Factors of migration: Reasons for migration emigrating (leaving a place) because of some difficulties (such as a food shortage, war, flood, etc.).

Pull Factors of migration: Reasons for being attracted to the recipient area because of something desirable (such as a nicer climate, better food supply, freedom, etc.) (Lee, 1966 as cited in Hellina, 2006)

Begging: refers to an activity emanated from poverty and destitution. It is a request practiced to obtain from others what one is unable to get by oneself because of like poverty, physical or mental problem etc (MOLSA, 1992).

It is also defined as a vast and complex informal activity whereby an individual asks strangers for money because of being poor or needing charitable donations for health or religious reasons. Beggars may also sell small items, such as broom or flowers, in return for money that may

have little to do with the value of the item for sale. This definition has added one dimension in that selling items like hand tissue, lottery in our case may refer to begging (ILO, 2004)

2.2 Some Theories of migration and their relevance to the research

The major precipitating factors for rural-urban migration are still contentious and many. As different theorists hypothesized their own points related to the characteristics, determinants and impacts of migration.

2.2.1 Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

Ravenstein coined his idea in the 1880s, and is considered as a pioneer work in the field of migration. Ravenstein has stated important points on the causes and nature of migration. According to him, migrants move from places of low opportunity to high opportunity. In this regard, economic reason is taken as a central reason for their migration. Furthermore, the kind of opportunity created in the destination area will determine the volume of migration. For example, the expansion of trade and industry in the city may pull large mass of people from the rural area. The other key concept that this study has come-across is the negative correlation between migration and distance, i.e. the migrants prefer to migrate to short distances and in a staged process to reach to their destination (Oberai, 1987).

The nature of migration in Samre *Woreda* has some clear echoes with Ravenstein's theory. The evidences revealed that migrants from the study area are mostly driven by their economic interest and are taking beggary as one source of income (self-employment). Moreover, step migration is not found to be the case among the majority of the migrants. After reaching a decision to migrate to Addis Ababa, they made their voyage directly to the place of origin than through a staged process (by going

and staying in the regional town of Mekelle and then stepping to major towns of Dessie and Kombolcha then finally to arrive in Addis Ababa).

2.2.2 Lee's Theory of Migration

This theory is built on the basic theories of Ravenstein's principle of migration. According to Lee, migration mainly results due to Push and Pull factors, but he underlined that the push factor is strong to influence migration than the pull factor. Lee has mentioned that there are intervening obstacles such as costs of migration, policies (laws) that influence rural-urban migration. The process of migration is said to be selective in this theory. (Hellina, 2006; Oberai, 1987)

The effect of food insecurity, drought, loss of member of family (orphanage) or widowhood, absence of good governance, etc may force farmers in the study area to migrate. But the role of opportunities in urban areas, including expectations that are often resulted due to information flow, could also have their contribution for their migration process.

2.2.3 The Dual Economy Model of Development and Migration

It is commonly known as Lewis-Fei-Ranis (LFR) model named after the contributors to the theory. The LFR model assumes a dual economy (traditional, modern). According to the model, the traditional agricultural sector is said to have surplus labor with marginal productivity of zero or nearly zero (Getnet, 2005; Todaro, 2003). Besides, the urban manufacturing sector demands labor transfer so as to increase its productivity. In the modern sectors the migrants are thought to be attracted due to better wage. The migration will only stop, if the wage inequality between the traditional and modern sector becomes very low and all the surplus labor from the traditional sector are absorbed in the manufacturing sector (Lall et.al, 2006).

This theory cannot fully explain the migration trend in many developing countries, including the study area. First, let us evaluate the theory from the point of view of labor surplus in rural areas. Most of the evidences in the traditional sector show that there is a demand to involve large number of labour force in the agricultural activity, because the duties are mostly done manually (Todaro, 2003). For these reason, the requirement of labor may even extend to involve children as part of the tasks. Despite the shortage of labor force, there might be a possibility for migration of people to the modern sector. The other point that needs to be questioned is from the point of view of getting employment in the modern sectors. The fact that the migrants lack formal education, experience related to manufacturing industries, and exposure to the urban life, make them less demanded. As a result, most of the migrants are involved in the informal sector (Ibid, 2003). To these end, the migrants from the study area are involved in the non-productive sector of begging. Thus, the potential of modern sector to absorb rural migrants is somehow out of reality. Urbanization rarely correlates with expansion of manufacturing industries and creation of job opportunities. Thus, destination places, mainly of primate cities like Addis Ababa, are experiencing unemployment and underemployment than full employment as it is stated in the theory. The problem is further intensified due to the capitalist interest to invest in labor saving machineries and industrial production.

2.2.4 Sjaastad's Human Investment Theory

According to this theory, decision to migrate is an investment that incurs costs with the expectation of returns over time. Both costs and returns are monetary and non-monetary (psychological) type. The theory revealed that the migrants try to calculate the net-benefit that they earn and they could get in the place of destination. It is after computing that they will reach in the decision (Oberai, 1987).

The theory has a common point that shares with LFR theory. The economic interest of the migrant could lead to the decision of migration, provided that economic return is higher than cost incurred. The theory further considered the non-monetary (psychological) costs and benefits. People with lower status or discrimination, job satisfaction, autonomy etc could migrate for their psychological satisfaction. The Shanty nature (bright light effect) of Addis Ababa has almost no effect on the migrants of Samre, except for the kids, they reflected.

Nevertheless, the question of costs and returns (investment) as a balance sheet is not always a case for migration. What has been planned to collect at the destination area will not always be attainable. Hence, migrants in Addis Ababa might also incur a cost that would not be recovered in short period of time. As far as psychological issue is concerned, peasants, who are destitute at the place of origin, may not also prefer to involve in begging, where they could have get some income during the slack-period. This is mainly because of the psychological cost (negative perception to involve in begging).

2.2.5 Harris-Todaro Model of Migration

Basing their theories on empirical findings in different places of Africa, Harris and Todaro have inferred that rural-urban migration can exist, despite less job opportunity in the major towns. The current high fertility rate and overflowing rural-urban migration towards this city is resulting unemployment, underemployment, and other social problems and ubiquitous. However, the theory underlined that the migrants would reach on the decision to migrate by taking the probability of unemployment in the destination areas. The migrants could migrate, though their current income in place of origin is higher than in place of destination. This is because the migrants' expectation for a better wage

that would be able to compensate past losses in the long run (Todaro and Smith, 2003).

When we see this theory in light of migrants from Samre, it has some similarities and differences. It is true that the migrants are moving with the expectation of getting money through self-employment (beggary). Most of them have also made the decision related to their income source in their place of origin. The problem is that the theory considers the migrants as rationale. But the reality is different. Though there are migrants that expect improvement in their livelihood, if they are able to stay for long period of time in the destination areas, the majority of the beggars are using it as short term solution. They have also said that they don't have the intension to stay in Addis Ababa and plan a long term goal in the city. Thus, they can't be considered as permanent migrants as the theory claims. Rather they are seasonal migrants, who spent their time in agriculture in the peak period at their place of origin and in beggary during the slack season in Addis Ababa. The theory lacks insight to consider the non-monetary factors (Psychological factors)(Essang and Mabawonku, 1974).

2.2.6 The new economics of migration

The pioneer of this approach (Oded Stark) has challenged the neoclassical theory that links migration decision to individuals. According to the new economics of migration decision-making is determined by household, family and community at large. Thus, it widens its focus beyond individual's cost-benefit analysis (Oberai, 1987)

The theory emphasized that migration is largely used as portfolio investment, through which households try to minimize risks rather than a means to maximize cash income alone. Furthermore, the theory speculates the idea that the migrants are intended to channel resources

(investment and consumption goods) back to their place of origin than to advance their economic status on the place of destination (as it is stated by neoclassical and Harris Todaro model of migration).

The theory has some similarities with the actual behavior of migration in the study area. The migrants are highly motivated to channel resources (remittance) to their place of destination. It is a common response from the migrants that they decide to migrate to pay back their debts and send remittance, which could be used to buy agricultural inputs and food for the family in the place of destination. Most of the migrants believe that they couldn't satisfy their livelihood requirements only from agriculture. Thus, they consider migration (beggary) as portfolio, which could supplement their main source of income and thus avert (minimize) risks in their livelihood.

2.2.7 Rural-Urban migration as a system

The perception of rural-urban migration as a unidirectional (Linear), push-pull, cause and effect movement has no space. The model considers migration as circular, interdependent and progressively complex and self-modifying system (Mabogunje, 1970:16). When the migrants depart, they believe that they will be back to assure their land holdings in their place of origin. The migration to urban area is not arbitrary one, rather they have a sort of networks to exchange information and get a hand. Thus, it ties to show the importance of social capital.

This theory ostensibly matches with the existing reality of the migrants of the study area in the point that, the type of migration from Samre is circulatory (seasonal) in nature. They usually come back to cultivate their lands and to secure the use right of their lands. Moreover, there is information flow and sharing of some residential areas with their

neighbors and relatives. But the question is to what extent do they get reliable information, because there are a large number of migrants, who believe that they are misinformed about the extent of benefit that they have expected with the actual one.

2.2.8 Survival migration

This theory of migration rejects the assumption that migration decision is an economic investment, which takes the monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits into account, and considers the individuals as rational (have an information about the economic condition of both ends). It also criticizes Todaro's model of Rural-urban migration for he has considered all migrants as permanent migrants. As it is foreshadowed in the above discussion, Todaro explained that the migrants could migrate with the expectation of improving their income through time. The lion share of the migrant informants said that they took it as a means of survival as it is stated above (Oberai, 1987).

2.3 Causes of Rural- Urban Migration

Despite divergence on the theories of rural-urban migration, the tide is still happening in many developing countries. Under this sub-section some of the common causes of rural-urban migration will briefly assessed in light of empirical findings in different literature.

Economic Cause: As it is stated in the above theories, human beings could migrate to urban areas with the expectation of better wage and living condition. As rural economy in developing counties is characterized by low productivity, fragmentation of land, poor adoption of technology, poor resource management, ill government policy etc, they would prefer to migrate to urban areas wishing to secure a better life. In this case, we could have the push factors, where there are negative effects of the poor economy in the place of

origin or pull factors, where the destination areas are found to be more important in terms of opportunities that could bring towards a better economy and life style (Bjeren, 1985; Dereje, 2003; Kebede, 1994; Todaro, 2003)

Social Cause: Apart from the economic reasons, people could migrate for social reasons. People with better off in their income could migrate to get a better social infrastructure (education, health), driven by urban amenities, urban culture and life style etc. They could also migrate due to unfavorable social conditions and segregation and pressure that they receive from the society in their place of origin (Balan, 1981; Byerlee et.al, 1976; Worku, 2006)

Political Cause: People cannot live with bread alone rather they need political freedom. Nowadays good governance is becoming the concern of many governments at least in principle. In the absence of popular democracy, political security, and rule of law, people may feel insecure. Thus, they would prefer to migrate to urban areas, where the political consciousness might be better in relative terms. Besides, to this Datta (2004) has added that people living in border areas and other political strategic places usually flood to urban areas due to the frequent war and unrest in the area.

Environmental Cause: Drought, pest invasion, flooding and other catastrophes could force people to migrate. In rural areas land degradation and deforestation are directly correlated with their productivity and life condition. When they are not in a position to sustain their life through agriculture, where it is highly affected by environment condition, then they would prefer to migrate to urban areas and engage in non-farm activities (Dereje, 2002; Kinfu, 2003)

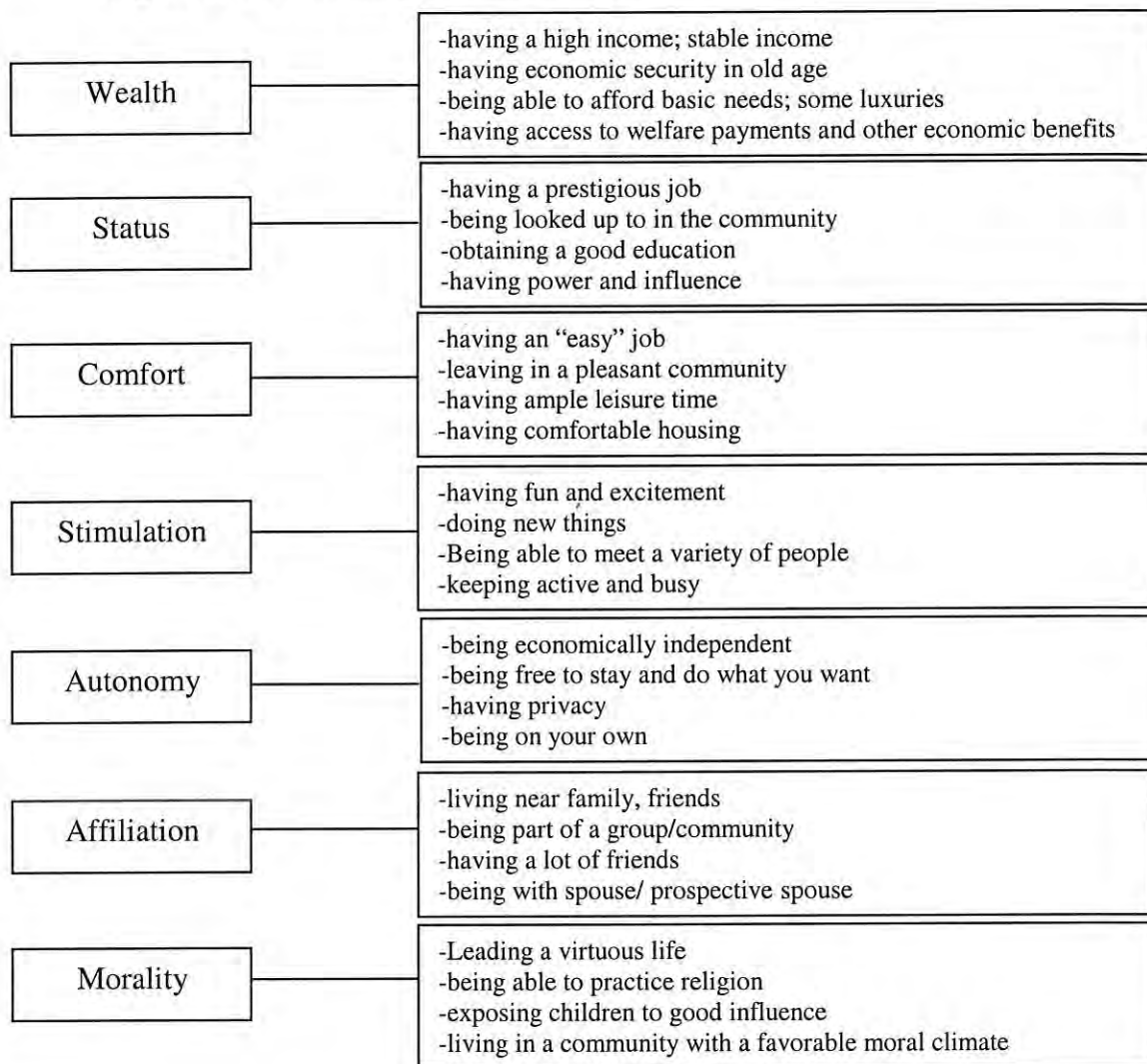
Information Access: The role of information in facilitating rural-urban migration is also worth mentioning. Thus, access of information from relatives in the urban areas, returnee migrants or through

mass medias would play a catalytic role in rural-urban migration (Kinfe, 2003 ;)

2.4 Motivation for Migration

De Jong and Gardner (1981) have identified seven values and goals that people are motivated to attain in their migration.

Figure 2.2 Motivating factors of migration



Source: Adapted from De Jong and Gardner (1981)

2.5 Household Decision-Types related to Migration

Mlay (1998) has classified household decision as

- A. Households which have no choice but to migrate
- B. Households which consciously opt to migrate

- C. Households in which some members are allowed to migrate but who retain strong links with home origins.
- D. Households which though attracted to migrate consciously choose not to migrate
- E. Households which have never seriously considered the need to migrate.

2.6 Impacts of migration to the place of Origin

Once people decided to migrate for any reasons; what kind of impact will they have to the village life is an ongoing debate. The impacts in general are considered as intended effect (positive), unintended effect (negative) and no impact (Caldwell, 1969; Deshingkar, 2004; Essang, 1974; Feleke, 2006; Lalem, 2002; Worku, 2006).

2.6.1 Positive Impact of migration

This type of impact is very important for the household that have sent the migrant and to the whole community.

Remittance: There are large number of people who migrated with the expectation of sending some remittance to the household members in the place of origin. Hence, migration of a family member is used as a means of income diversification against risks (Lall et.al, 2006) The point of debate in this case is that whether the remittance could bring substantial change in the livelihood of the family in the place of origin or not (Worku, 2006). Most of the literatures (see for example Essang and Mabawonku, 1974) indicate that the remittance sent to the place of origin can solve some immediate problems. Nevertheless, it cannot bring a sustainable improvement in the livelihood condition of the migrants' family at the place of origin. For example, 80% of the migrant Kenyans send remittance that accounts for only 21% of their earnings (Ibid, 1974). Moreover, Mlay (1998) also stated that 70% of urban migrants send money regularly to their families in the village, but only 25% of their earnings. Therefore, this amount of money is insignificant when you

consider the low income that the migrants earn at their destination areas (Balan, 1981; Lalem, 2002).

Remittance would also be sent in the form of clothing, urban foodstuff, and durable goods of various sorts such as bicycles, radios, lamps etc. Households with large number of out migrants possess urban goods because the migrants come with the goods in their return (Balan, 1981).

Most of the migrants from the study area are sending remittance to their families or they are coming back to their village with the money that they have collected. Unlike the findings in Kenya, these beggars used to send the lion-share of their earnings to be invested in their villages. However, it is clear that the amount that they are earning through beggary is too small to make a change on the livelihood of their families at the place of origin.

Technological adoption: In urban areas, there is a better access to information, modern technologies, and modern way of thinking (less resistance to favorable change). Accordingly, the migrants would learn how to improve their productivity, use their resources efficiently and could also introduce modern technologies when they come back to their homes.

2.6.2 Negative Impact of migration to the place of Origin

Out migration from rural areas has a conspicuous economic, demographic and social consequence (Mlay, 1998)

Shortage of labor force: The economic activities of rural areas are mainly agriculture related tasks, which are performed manually or with application of old technology. Hence, the nature of their economic activity is labor intensive. Further more, the fast rate of rural-urban migration in developing countries is mainly practiced among the active labour force.

Therefore, these conflicting realities lead to the decrease in total productivity of the households in particular and the place of origin in general (Worku, 2006)

Transmission of communicable diseases: The seasonal nature of migration creates conducive environment for the transmission of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. For example, the migration of Gurage peasants to the urban areas has created the condition of polygamy. The migrants, as they are not interested to separate themselves from the rural life and their assets, they have no interest to separate from their former wives. Thus, this would create a possibility for the transmission of STDS and more specifically HIV/AIDS (Ibid, 2006). The same is also true in my study area (Kinfе, 2003):

Change of culture: The migration of peasants into urban areas means, they are introducing themselves with new environment in terms of physical setup of the area, and the culture as well. Their interaction with the people in the study area would create acculturation or what is called assimilation. Some of the results of this cultural change might be seen as undesirable by the local people, when they return back to their places of origin (Dereje, 2002; Worku, 2006).

2.7 History of beggary in Ethiopia

The issues of begging and beggars are still untapped in social science studies. Despite the long history of beggary in Ethiopia, only finger counted works are available to explain what the sector looks like.

There is no evidence that proves the beginning of beggary in the country. However, historical accounts revealed in around 1520s there were more than 3000 beggars, who received alms from the people in the ancient city

of Axum (Iliffe, 1987). He further explained that the religious teachings were encouraging the people to give alms to get God's forgiveness for sins. The then charities of the people were also extraordinary and with no bound.

The Ministry of Labour has also undertaken research some twenty-five years ago. The types of begging that were highly pronounced during those days had been the following

A, Begging by the destitute related to religious alms giving

This kind of begging is often practiced around religious institutions especially during the saint days and public areas (Wubishet, 2003). The disabled segments of the society are highly involved in this activity as source of their livelihood activity. However, due to their disability, their mobility is restricted only in and around the churches. Observing migrant beggars, who are looking for alms in the previously mentioned places is also becoming in plain sight.

B, Begging by religious students

The 'to be priests of Ethiopian Orthodox church students' (*Yekolo Temari*) have to go to distance places to get their church education. As most of them devote their time in their education, they used beggary as a means of their subsistence. This mostly stayed until their completion of their church education.

C, Begging embedded as a norm among some societies

There are people migrating from the historically famed place of Lalibela to Addis Ababa to be involved in beggary. The Lalibeloch, no matter how rich or poor they are, will involve in begging. They believe that begging is part of their norm, which they have inherited from their ancestors for

long years. Stopping such a trend is believed to bring leprosy on the non-beggars (McCan, 1987).

D, Begging as ritual service for the church

This type of begging is mainly done for the construction of churches, religious festival (saint memorial days) than for personal interest. It is commonly done by group of priests, Sunday students and other followers, who believe that it is a way to get God's grace, mercy and eternal life. It is true that there are some people doing it for their selfish interest in the name of the church (MOLSA, 1992).

2.8 The present Situation of Beggary

The study done in collaboration with the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce, indicated that 15-20 years ago there were no able bodied beggars in Addis Ababa (Desalgn, 2000). However, currently begging is becoming a tradition among different groups of society. The research further illustrates that out of 500 sample beggars taken ten years ago, 53% of them had jobs, 85% illiterate, 53% male, 47% single, 30% widowed and 23% married (Ibid, 2000).

There is controversy on issues like who should beg and who should not, whether begging is an economic activity and whether it should be permitted or prohibited etc. On the one hand, there is popular thinking that people should be able to work (shouldn't depend for alms). On the other hand, the religious educations to give hand-outs for beggars so as to get cleaned of guilt's committed and get grace in front of God are complicating the stance about beggary.

More recently, begging has added some new dimensions apart from the aforementioned once. Observing able-bodied and healthy people including youngsters, adults and migrants, who are involved in beggary,

is becoming our daily experience. Most of the youngsters are not begging in the name of God or saints. Rather they would claim that they are hungry, looking for bread, cigarettes, and for other reasons. The widespread unemployment in the city is taken as the cause for their involvement in beggary. The increase in the number of orphans due to HIV/AIDS, the existence of recurrent drought and poverty in general can be taken as a cause for the increase in the number of beggars in the city.

The demographic reality of the migrants of *Samre Woreda* is a bit different from what has been documented in previous researches (Muluneh, 2003, Worku, 2006). Migration is often considered as selective, especially in terms of age composition. The statusquo is that the youngsters will migrate leaving the elders to remain back home. Nevertheless, the research done by Kiefe (2003) shows that the share of migrant beggars in Addis Ababa is dominated by old men, widowed and divorced women.

2.9 Different forms of Begging

Wubishet (2003) has categorized beggars in Addis Ababa on the basis of their particular attributes as follows.

Itinerant Begging: This is a mechanism whereby the beggars would search for their potential alms givers by moving from one place to the other. For example, bus stations, taxi station, around cinema/theatre houses, traffic lights, churches on ceremonial days etc. The beggars from the study area have such characteristics. They usually wonder from one part of the city to the other, mainly around public areas.

Formalized (Religion Covered) begging: These beggars have license from the religious institution to beg. They don't look beggars and people consider them that they are doing it for the construction and renewal of churches in the country than for their personal interest. It is mostly done by priests, nuns and other elderly people.

Avowal begging: This type of begging is commonly seen among women. Most of them are well dressed and don't look beggars. They used to beg in the name of saints so that they could provide the collected money to the church they have promised. Besides, they could invest the collected money for the memorial day of the saint in their locality.

Silent begging: The beggars will not talk anything; rather they would expose their disabilities, write something that explains their problems or put their former photographs so that people could be able to analyze their current problems. By doing so, they would be able to collect money from their donors.

Song/music accompanied begging: The expressions that could be able to catch the attention of alms givers would be arranged in musical form by the beggars. Some instruments such as flute, local Guitar (*kirar*).

Team begging: As the name refers, there would be more than two beggars in this category. The groups could be friends or members of one family. This kind of begging is also observed among the migrants coming from the study area. The women are often accompanied with their children (often 4 to 5 in number).

Unruly begging: Such kind of begging seems different from the others in that, the beggars would try to make intimidation. Alms givers could give them with the fear not to be insulted in front of the public (Wubishet, 2003)

2.10 The Framework in Explanation

Rural-urban migration is not an instantaneous process that occurs overnight. It is a result of an aggregate effect of several factors. Accordingly, scholars have developed their own frameworks related to rural-urban migration in light of their empirical findings.

For this specific study, Sustainable Livelihood Framework and Harris-Todaro Model of migration are integrated and used for analysis. The

major determinant factors for decision making in rural-urban migration are classified into Rural-Urban income differentials, Cost benefit analysis (Financial and Psychological), Socio-cultural causes and Information (networks).

Rural-Urban Income Differentials: The economic status of the rural people is one of the factors for decision making in rural-urban migration. The availability of assets (Natural, Financial, Physical, Social and Human) are highly correlated to rural income. The existence of these assets can also be mediated by institutions (such as credit institutions, land tenure system, extension service etc). Due to institutional factors, peasants might be better off or worsened. If so, they might end up with migration decision.

Cost-Benefit Analysis: Migration can be seen from the angle of cost benefit analysis. It incurs both financial and psychological costs. For example, the poor segments of the society may have a keen interest to migrate. However, their dreams would be invain due to their inability to cover the costs. They may not also move if the expected income is going to be less than the costs incurred. People, who have financial capacity to cover costs of transportation and other expenses may not also migrate due to psychological costs. They may be in panic to habituate a new environment, hate the type of activity in which they will be involved (begging, prostitution etc). Thus, the analysis of monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits could be a factor to determine rural-urban migration.

The suitability of seasons or periods is one factor for rural-urban migration. For peasants, the rainy season (*kiremt*) is considered as a peak period to undertake agricultural activities. Thus, they would remain in their villages to involve in on-farm and off-farm activities. However, during the slack period (dry season), they would prefer to migrate so that they could support their incomes through non-farm activities, in my case begging. Apart from the seasonality nature of migration, the type of

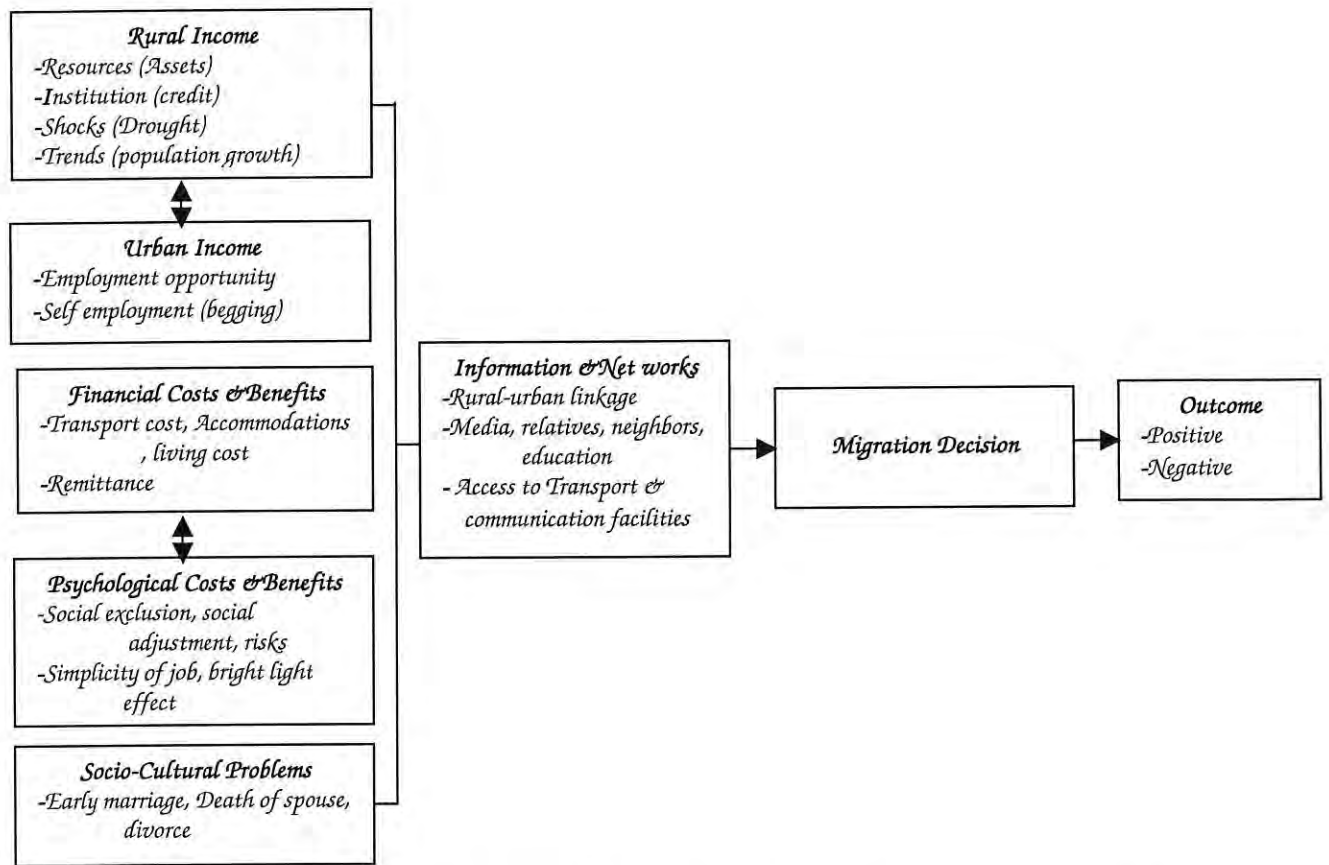
activity in the destination area is also a factor. The migrants would prefer to migrate if they could earn money with less devotion and sacrifices as compared to the jobs in the village.

The socio-cultural factors at the places of origin: This is mostly related to the push factors such as early marriage, widowhood, divorce, etc. They may consider migration as a last resort in their livelihoods.

Information and Networks: This factor mostly plays a catalytic role in the instigation of rural-urban migration along with the aforementioned factors. The access of information about the destination areas, the existence of social networks such as relatives, kinship and fast information exchanges through telephone, Mass Media etc would dictate the direction of migration, the type of activity in which the migrant is possibly to involve and the volume of migration.

The combined effect of the factors could lead to a decision to migrate. However, it is difficult to generalize that all migration will end up with positive or negative outcomes. The success or failure of such migration will be determined through the analysis of empirical findings.

Figure 2.3 Schematic framework for analyzing migration decision and its outcomes



Source: Adapted from livelihoods framework and Harris-Todaro economic model of migration decision (Byerlee et.al, 1976; Ellis, 2000; Todaro, 2003)

Chapter Three

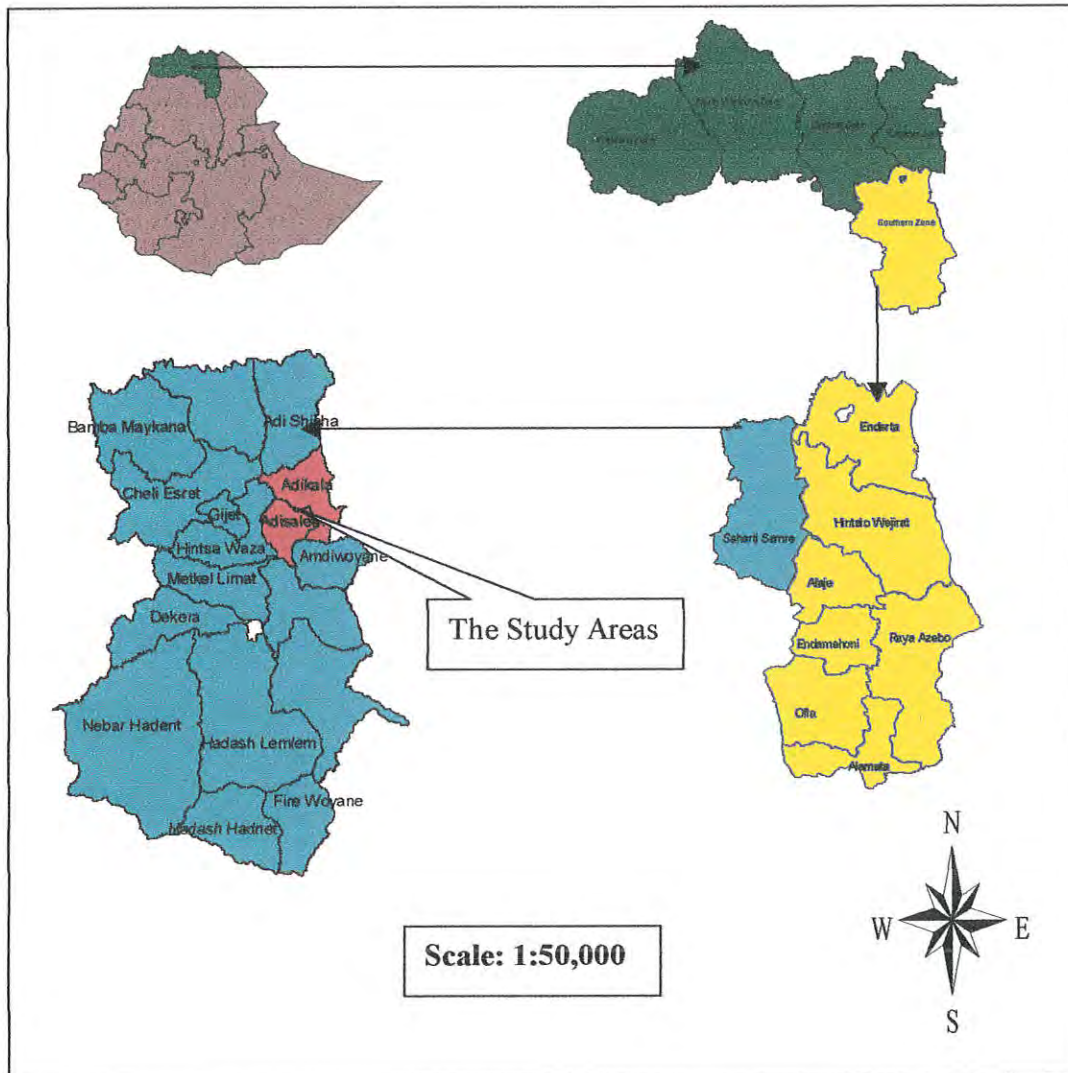
The Study area and Research Methodology

Under this chapter, the different types of assets and resource potentials of the study area are discussed. Moreover, the distribution of social services in the two *Tabias* is also explored in detail. This background information of the study area is believed to substantiate the arguments given by the respondents related to the decision making to rural-urban migration.

3.1 Location and Agro-ecological zone

There is a legend that, the *Felasha* (migrants from Israel) while going to Axum had stayed for some time in Samre. It was after those Samrawian (people in Israel), that the wereda has got a name Samre (Mesele, 2006). Samre is located in the South Zone of Tigray at a distance of 180 km from the zonal capital of Maychew, and 60 Km from the regional capital of Mekelle. The astronomic location of the *Woreda* is 13°02'00" to 12°30'00"N latitude and 38°59'00" to 39°26'00" East longitude. The study areas (*Tabias*) are located within the *Woreda* at a distance of 29 km to Adikala and 36km to Addisalem (Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and rural development office document, unpublished; Fig 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Location of the Study area



The agro-ecological zone of the *Tabias* is dominantly *Woinadega* (87.25%) and *Dega* (12.75%). According to the extension expert of the *Woreda* and the local peasants, this agro-ecological division of the *Tabias* is a merit for agricultural activities. Apart from the climatic condition, the study area is rich in terms of water resources. It is possible to access underground water in not more than 3-4 meters depth. What makes water-harvesting technology in the study area more desirable is that the effect of evaporation in the area is inconsiderable, and thus the peasants

could use the water in the dry season. The *Woreda* agricultural extension expert further explained that the construction of Hayba Dam (One of the biggest dams in Tigray Region, see plate 3.1) has also created opportunity for further agricultural activity through irrigation. Apart from its direct use, seepage from the dam has also increased the underground water potential of these areas. However, the dam is not efficiently utilized yet. Currently there are 357 small water harvesting and 306 Well (*Ella*) in Addisalem and 169 small water harvesting and 599 Well (*Ella*) in Adikala that are individually used by the peasants for agricultural activities during the dry season (Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and rural development office document, Unpublished).

Plate 3.1 Water well (*Ella*) (left) and Hayba Dam (right)



Source: Own photograph

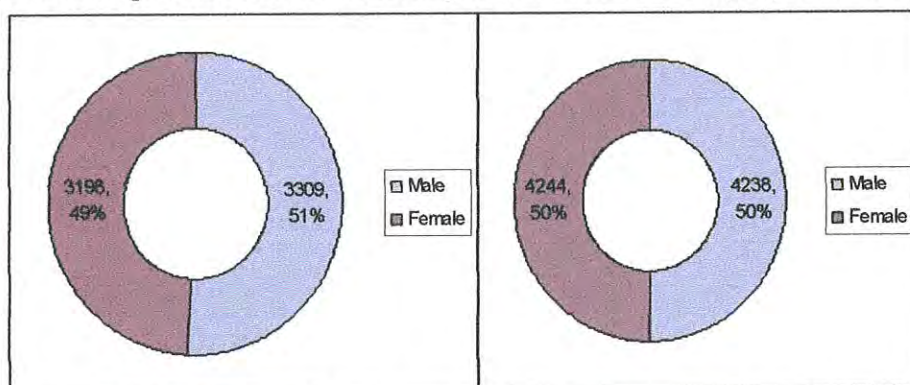
3.2 Socioeconomic and Demographic condition of the study area

3.2.1 Population size by age and sex

The mere availability of natural resource could not alone dictate the growth of the economy. Rather population size needs to be in harmony with the availability of resources to utilize them in sustainable way. The distribution of population by sex in the two *Tabias* is proportional (See fig 3.2). Moreover the demographic data from the *Woreda* depicts that there are 1364 Male-headed and 350 Female-headed households in Adikala and 1113 Male-headed and 349 female-headed households in Addisalem. The number of working labour force in the two *Tabias* is estimated to be

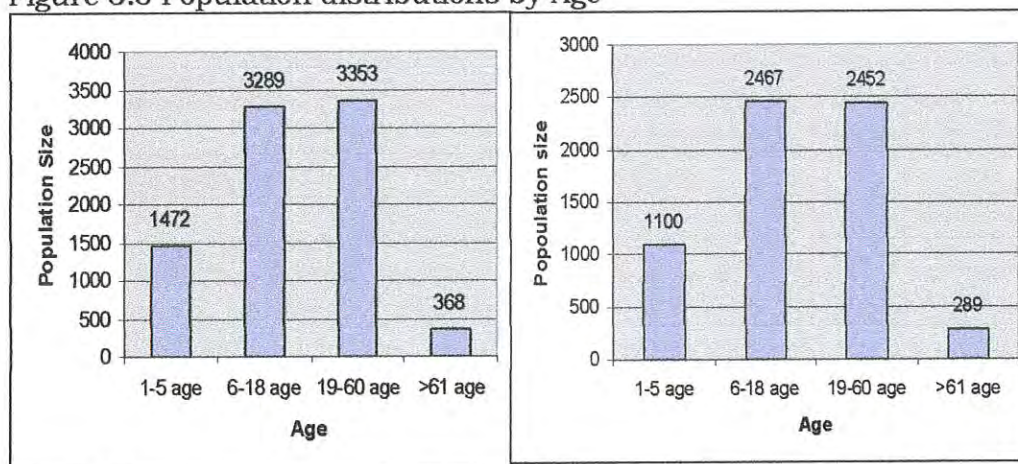
1800 in Womberret Adikala and 2652 in Addisalem (Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and rural development, unpublished).

Figure 3.2 Population distribution by Sex in Addisalem (left) and Adikala (right)



Source: Adikala and Addisalem *Tabia* office document, unpublished

Figure 3.3 Population distributions by Age



Source: Adiakala and Addisalem *Tabia* office document, unpublished

3.2.2 Income generating Sources

The sources of income in the study are is from on farm, off farm* and non-farm activities. The on farm as a source of income accounts for the highest share, i.e. 86.55% for Adikala and 70.83% for Addisalem. The details are given in Table 3.1.

* Off farm as a source of income is not included in Table 3.1, as the data has a limitation to differentiate whether the labour as a source of income is part of the farm economy or not.

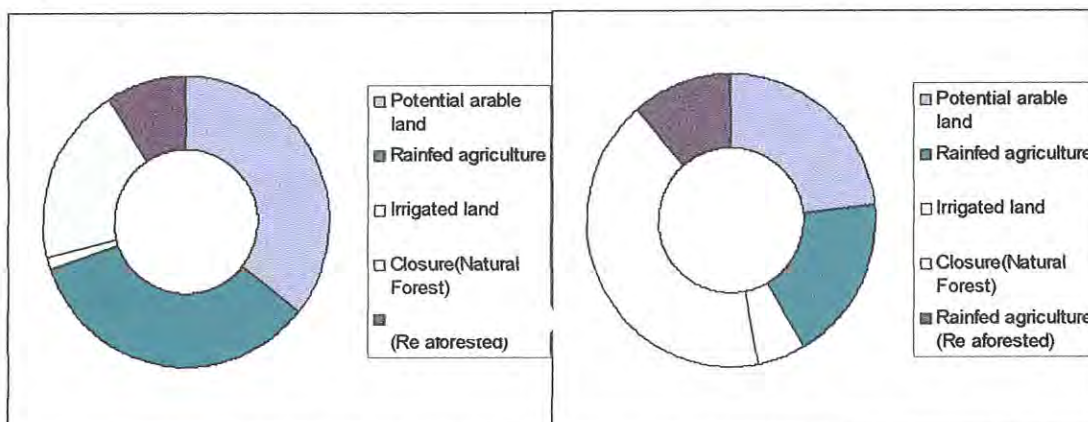
Table 3.1 Income source and amount

Tabia	On farm income						Non farm income			Total
	Crops	Cattle	Poultry	Apiculture	Goat	Sheep	Trade	Handicraft	labor	
Adikala	1278711	29810	11585	6141	3240	14284	56703	41472	110562	1552508
Addisalem	1259948	96367	68941	15069	15493	51802	104280	131003	323475	2066378

Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

Unlike other *Tabias* of Samre, the study areas consist of vast plain areas, which is suitable for agricultural activities. Nevertheless, there are also hills and valleys that are not used for cultivation, but potential areas for apiculture and animal husbandry. The general land use pattern in the two *Tabias* are depicted in Figure 3.4

Figure 3.4 Land use Pattern in Addisalem (left) and Adikala (right)



Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

The average arableland size of a household in Adikala and Addisalem is 0.8 and 0.5 hectare, respectively. The average land holding is therefore relatively better for Adikala than Addisalem. The model farmers, extension expert, DAs and non-migrant peasants have said that even if the land is small and fragmented its soil fertility is better as compared to others. They further stated that the current problem that they are facing is poor water holding capacity of the areas. This has mainly resulted due to the shallowness of soil depths. Thus, they would prefer to have limited

amount of rain for a better output than to get an amount, which is considered as normal in other places.

Plate 3.2 A peasant harvesting Sorghum

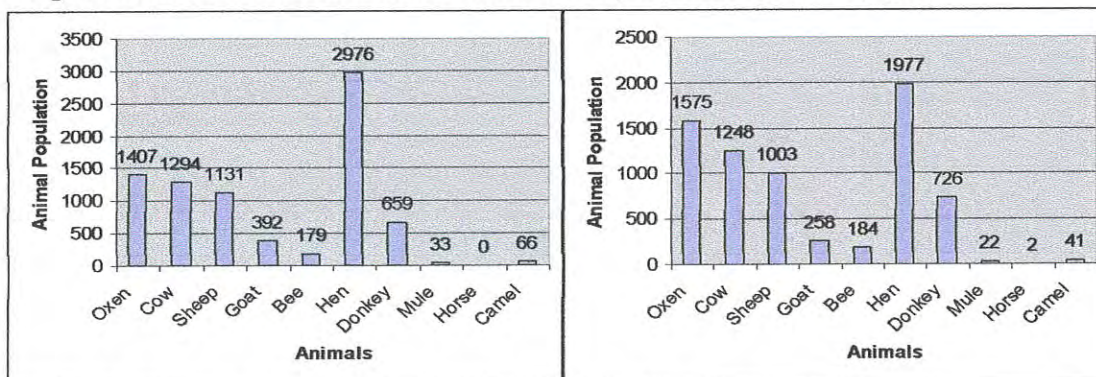


Source: Own photograph

Animal Resource

Animal husbandry is one of the main income sources in the study area. They used to rear animals for sale and small ruminants like sheep and goat for consumption. The pack animals also play a pivotal role in transporting items for trade. Oxen, the most important asset elsewhere in the country, are also used for agricultural activity. Fig 3.5 describes the animal resource in the two *Tabias*. This is helpful to understand the general wellbeing situation of the people in the study area.

Figure 3.5 Animal Resource in Addisalem (left) and Adikala (right)



Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

Plate 3.3 Livestock grazing in the plain areas of Addisalem



Source: Own Photograph

Market accessibility: The accessibility of markets to Addisalem and Adikala seems better. They have different alternatives around them. The nearest of all market places, where they made exchange is Adikala. Every Thursday, merchants would come from the near by towns of Mekelle, Samre, Gijet, and Dongolat to sell their products and buy some agricultural products. The peasants of Addisalem and Adikala also move to these towns in search of a better profit for their products. The peasants in the *Tabias* have frequent contact with the mentioned town as a result there is no information asymmetry related to market prices of products.

Plate 3.4 Thursday Markets of Adikala



Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

3.3 Access to Social services

The expansion of social service in the *Tabias* is relatively in a better condition as compared to the last decades. However, this doesn't mean that it is as per the demand of the people.

Education: The expansion of schools is believed to enhance the enrollment ratio in the *Woreda*. Accordingly, primary schools are constructed at *Tabia* level to satisfy the educational demand of the people. However, the students and their families are worrying for there is no high school, where the students in the *Tabia* would continue their education. The number of teachers has so far satisfactory, officials and parents said. The details are given in Table 3.2

Table 3.2 Number of students enrolled in *Tabias* of Adikala and Addisalem

Name of <i>Tabia</i>	Number of Schools	Grade level	Number of students		
			Male	Female	Total
Adikala	2	1-4	453	499	952
		5-8	208	263	471
Addisalem	1	1-4	546	531	1077
		5-8	158	140	298

Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

Health: The status of health service given in the area is poor. The number of skilled labor is extremely low and inconsiderable. Table 3.3 depicts the number of health infrastructures and skilled labor force in the two *Tabias*.

Table 3.3 Number of health facilities and skilled labour force in the two *Tabias*

Health Institutions						Skilled Labour Force				
<i>Tabia</i>	Health post	Clinic	Health station	Hospital	Nucleus Health station	Doctor	Nurse	Dresser	Health Extension	Others
Adikala	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	2
Addisalem	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-

Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

Telecommunication: As far as telecommunication is concerned, the *Tabias* of Adikala and Addisalem have access of telecommunication. In Adikala there is possibility to use cell phone (mobile), which uses the network of *Mekelle* town as an advantage resulted by its geographic position.

Water supply: The availability and distribution of clean water is the most indispensable one. The percentage coverage of clean water in Adikala and Addisalem is 56% and 44.4% respectively (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Water Resources and Beneficiaries

Type of water source	Number of water sources		Number of Beneficiaries	
	Adikala	Addisalem	Adikala	Addisalem
Shallow well	9	5	1745	955
Hand dug well	13	13	2740	1986
Spring	3	0	315	0
Motorized or Solar	1(solar)	0	400	0
Total	26	18	5200	2941

Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

Food Aid Distribution: The supply of food aid could give some clues about the food security situation of the area. Indirectly we can deduce that there are as much vulnerable groups as it is tabulated below. From the table, we can get that the percentage of vulnerable group of people is

37.5 for Adikala and 35.5% for Addisalem (see Table 3.5). Thus, this segment of the society might use migration as a means of survival.

Table 3.5 Volume of food aid, Safety Net payments and number of beneficiaries

Year	Type	Quantity/Birr		Number of Beneficiaries	
		Adikala	Adsalem	Adikala	Addisalem
2004	Emergency	45864	3321	5096	3690
2005	Emergency	1800	900	2000	1000
2006	Emergency	1062	1035	680	650
	Safety Net	40440 (Birr)	39720	1348	1324
2007	Safety Net	646380 (Birr)	457380	3591	2541

Source: Samre *Woreda* Agricultural and Rural Development office, unpublished

3.2 Research Method

3.2.1 Site selection and Description of the study area

The researcher has been close to the issue of migrant beggars for at least three years. This curiosity has grown to a level of producing research paper. The next step was that how I am going to conduct the study. My observation for the last three years revealed that there are large numbers of migrant beggars coming from different corners of the country. Unless, some groups are taken as a target group it was difficult to deal with all the migrant beggars. Accordingly, I have focused on the migrant beggars coming from Tigray. Why I choose the region is because I knew the language and culture of the people through which I get rapport from my informant. Even then, it was unmanageable to deal with all these beggars in the region. Based on Kiefe's (2003) research findings, I have identified the *Tabias* of Adikala and Addisalem as my study areas in Samre *Woreda*. His work shows that the study areas accounts for 67% of migrant beggars in Tigray Region. Besides Kiefe's (2003) finding, administrator of the *Woreda* have assured me that the *Tabias* are rated as first out of 19 *kebeles* in the Samre *Woreda* in terms of sending migrant beggars to Addis Ababa.

Preliminary (Pre-testing) Study

After the study area was selected, I have moved to the *Tabias* of Adikala and Addisalem, so that I could be able to avoid any illusion at the level of proposal writing. I have stayed for a week in the study areas and conducted my preliminary assessment related to the causes of rural-urban migration, justification to involve in beggary, and the impact (positive and negative) of this migration to the place of origin. On the basis of this pre-testing, methodologies were designed and implemented in collecting and analyzing the data in the research paper.

3.2.2 Data source and Methods of collection

In undertaking the study, the researcher has collected data both from primary and secondary source. My intension was to make the study more qualitative, because I felt that decision making in rural-urban migration and eventually involving in beggary would be better investigated and explained in words than in numbers. Zhang (1999) has also stated the qualitative approach would give a clear insight and intricate details about rural-urban migration. Thus, instruments like focus group discussion, in-depth unstructured interview, structured interview, and observation are used in the collection of primary data.

3.2.2.1 Semi-structured interview

This type of interview is quite important not to contain the response of the interviewee on the researcher's own framework. Accordingly, guidelines (checklist) were designed to direct the points of discussion with the migrant beggars in Addis Ababa. I could not undertake Focus group discussion with those people. This was mainly due to the researcher's fear of getting fixed address of the respondents and their feeling of insecurity (uncertainty) not to be compellingly sent to their places of origin. Hence, I have used semi-structured interview as a means of getting first hand information from my informants.

I have started data collection process in Addis Ababa with migrant beggars who belonged to the *Tabias* of Adikala and Addisalem. In the first week, I have faced difficulty in getting rapport from this people. When I asked them some questions informally, then they have given me the right response. However, they refused to go to the nearby church or other convenient places in which I would also be able to take notes and follow the coherence of my questions.

A week after, I have discussed with a beggar regarding the issue of migrant beggars in Piasa while involved in begging. He told me that I could be able to find those people in their residence located near Teklehaymanot church, located at Kirkos sub city in Addis Ababa. Following his instruction, I went to the area and was able to find many migrant beggars involved in their work. Once I started the interview with an elder migrant peasant from the study area, other beggars from the same place were convinced to be interviewed. The elderly beggar had told him to spend some time with me and he accepted. Afterwards, I have interviewed him and gave the task of picking additional migrant beggars who came from the study area. Through this Snowball sampling method, I have interviewed 10 beggars. Lastly, I have chosen one young beggar to assist me in finding additional informants, other than those who live around Tekelehaymanot area. He told me that he could bring me as much beggars as I needed, including all category of age and sex from Kirkos area, where they live in groups. In the following day, I was able to meet them in the compound of Kirkos church, where I have interviewed each of 15 migrant beggars in detail. Totally, I have interviewed 25 beggars. I have also tried to crosscheck whether those people really belong to the study areas or not. Here, the informants are given freedom to explain and respond to the questions forwarded as much as possible.

In addition to the beggars, 30 alms givers were also selected randomly. This interview is held with the aim of getting their responses related to the perception towards begging, the rationale behind alms giving and their relationship with the migrant beggars. Due to the uniformity in the responses of alms givers, only the response of 30 informants is included. The alms givers were randomly contacted in different parts of Addis Ababa.

3.2.2.2 Focus Group Discussion

This method of data collection is very crucial in triangulating the ideas of different informants and reach in certain consensus. Hence, Focus Group discussion is conducted among the members of different selected groups. These include elderly in the study area, returnee migrants, non-migrants, and model farmers.

Focus group discussion in the study area was conducted on two Thursdays (market day). I preferred this day, because I would have direct transport access from Mekelle to Adikala *Tabia*. Hence, I should not have to go for two hours on foot, like what I was doing during the other days. On the other hand, the informants are also comfortable with the time scheduled; because they are coming not only for the FGD, but also to participate in the transaction made during the market days. The *Tabia* administrator at Adikala has allowed me to use his office for the discussion with the selected groups of people. During the discussion process, there was no one inside other than the informants and I. After getting the permission of the participants, radio recorder is used and simultaneously with taking notes too.

The FGD was carried out with the discussion among 8 returnee beggars. Lucky enough, I had the opportunity to get as many returnee beggars as needed. This is because, large number of them returned home, following

their discussion with an organization named by *Elshaday* in Addis Ababa. The organization had promised them to cancel their credits and rehabilitate them at their places of origin. The discussion was tough and took two hours. Eight of them were participating in the discussion freely. In the group, both men and women were mixed together for they have adapted to discuss together.

On the same day, another discussion with the non-migrants was also held. They have the information about begging, however they didn't migrate. Hence, detailed discussion about their relationship with the migrants family, how they perceive migration and beggary etc were parts of the discussion. After a week, discussion was held with elderly peasants from the two *Tabias*. The group consists of five informants, as three of them failed to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, the group discussion was so nice and participatory. Last but not least, FGD took place with model peasants, who are considered a success stories by the *Woreda*. They have shared the major factors that make them to be successful.

3.2.2.3 Key informant Interview

Interview was conducted with officials from the regional, *Kebele* and *Woreda* administration, agricultural and rural development office of *Samre Woreda* and, Development Agents (DAs) in the study areas, and Individuals selected permanently to work as anti begging committee*. I have also interviewed some Members of a committee, who are assigned by the Regional government to carryout a research paper related to migrant beggars.

* Anti begging Committee is the term used in the *Tabias* to refer two peasants working to raise the awareness of the people about the bad connotations of involving in begging. They are nominated and hired as temporary employees in the *Tabias* by the *Woreda* officials.

3.2.2.4 Questionnaire

On the basis of the procedures shown above, I have filled questionnaires distributed to 95 households. The content of the questionnaire had emphasized on the socioeconomic and demographic situation of the households, their migration histories, attitudes towards migration, etc. It should be noted that the information from the survey are only used to support the entirely used qualitative method of analysis.

3.2.2.5 Observation

Observation was one of the key instruments in study of issues such as migration and beggary. It has been there starting from the outset of the issue as an idea to the end of data collection process. I have observed the way the migrants beg, instruct with alms givers, relationship of the returnee migrants with the non-migrants, the physical and geographical setup of the villages, the market situation etc. My observation was to some extent supported with pictures taken by analogue and digital cameras.

Secondary data were also collected from different office documents, published and unpublished books, magazines, bulletins, research works, websites etc.

3.4 Sampling techniques

As it is stated above, in-depth interviews are held with the migrant beggars in Addis Ababa. I have accessed them in different public concentration areas and Churches, where they spent much of their time in begging. Accessing the first person was a problem for at least a week. But once I found an elderly person around Teklehaymanot church of Kirkos sub city, I was able to get the rest of 24 migrants using snow ball sampling method. In order to assure whether the informants were from

the study area or not, identification card was asked. For those who haven't, cross checking questions about the study are channeled.

In the collection of additional socio-economic and demographic data, questionnaires were distributed to 95 households. The sample is selected based on proportionate simple random sampling from the two *Tabias*. Firstly, the household size of the two *Tabias* (1714 in Adikala and 1462 in Addisalem) was taken into consideration and the size of samples from the two *Tabias* is proportionally specified. Accordingly, 51 households from Adikala and 44 from Addisalem are selected as samples. Then after, I have arranged the list of households to ease the burden of my work in the data collection process. Hence, I have covered all my informants by starting from one corner of *Tabia* Addisalem to the other most tip of Adikala. The selected households were composed of migrant and non-migrant families.

For the Focused group discussion, individuals are selected in collaboration with the *Tabia* officials, DAs and two people working in anti beggary related activities. The groups were made to have a size of 8 peasants.

2.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The intension of this research paper is to include peoples view and perception towards migration and beggary. At the outset, I have equipped myself with data collection tools such as focus group discussion, unstructured interview, structured interview and observation, which are dominantly analyzed using qualitative methods. Different informants have reflected their views on some issues. These ideas of respondents were initially categorized under different topics and triangulation was made in the analysis of the data in descriptive form. Moreover, some survey results were also pertinent in supporting the qualitative analysis.

Chapter Four

Migration: characteristics, causes and importance

Migration has been taken as an integral part of livelihood strategy in rural areas of different countries (Ellis, 2000). Rural households used to diversify income sources through migration as an ex-ante risk management strategy or ex-post coping strategy (Waddington et.al, 2003). As stated by Kinfe (2003), peasants from Samre have also been practicing migration for several years for several purposes. The purpose of their migration varies from one another. Some of them have considered it as a coping strategy in time of shocks and others as portfolio to reduce risks and uncertainties.

The nature of rural-urban migration from Samre is commonly seasonal in type. It, often, takes place during the dry season (slack period), and return to their village during the rainy season, where agricultural works are intensively done. In this regard, Kinfe (2003) and Mlay (1998) have come across with the same finding. The circulatory nature of migration in the study area is mainly related to the migrants' strong desire to secure the land holdings and other assets in their villages. Hence, most of them have maintained their tie with their families and rural homelands. Under this chapter, the major push and pull factors for the rural-urban migration of peasants from Samre is discussed.

4.1 Who are migrating?

Migration studies usually focus on the socio-economic and demographic nature of migrants, who are involved in the mobility. The focus of the studies emphasizes on the selective nature of migration with reference to sex, age, wealth status, educational background etc. Knowing the characteristics of the migrants means inferring the

possible impacts that the rural-urban migration would have to the place of origin and destination. Literature, for example Muluneh (2003), depicted that most of the rural-urban migrants are youngsters, educated, men, and better off households. But, some of these features don't much with the nature of migrants from the study area. According to *Tabia* administrators and Participants of the focus group discussion, the rural-urban migrant beggars from Samre are categorized as poor, illiterate, dominantly the eldest, and partly women.

The average landholding size of migrants ranges from 0.3 to 0.5 hectares. Most of the migrants do not have oxen, one of the basic resources used as draught power during land cultivation. According to Kinfe (2003), 90% of migrants do not have oxen. The implication is that they would be forced to give their lands for sharecropping through which they would only receive half of the yield from that small plot of land. Furthermore, the migrants have common characteristics in that most of them have arrears that would be paid to the Dedebit Credit and Saving Institution (DECSI), which is operating in Tigray region.

4.2 Cause of rural-urban migration

As it is stated elsewhere in the paper, the causes of rural-urban migration vary from place to place and household to household. However, most of them are broadly categorized into push and pull factors. The following are the common factors responsible for the out migration of peasants of *Samre Woreda*.

4.2.1 Landlessness- the most visible but unsettled problem

The livelihood of the rural people is highly dependent in the availability of and access to land. It can be regarded as the 'blood vessel' of peasants through which they obtain the basic necessities for their life. Land related issues have been a core of discussion among

academicians, politicians and the public at large for long years. Some of the hot issues related to land include land tenure, land fragmentation and marginalization, landlessness etc.

Land redistribution in Tigray was undertaken for the last time some 25 years ago. It is stopped mainly due to the difficulty of further split of the existing small size land holdings. Currently, landholding in most of the country and *Samre* in particular is at its peak point. Further redistribution would mean denying the peasants' rights for survival and access to land as an economic resource. Currently, most peasants aged 18 to 33 don't have access to land. Of course, there was some attempt to resettle some of the landless peasants. However, it has only involved insignificant number of them. The rest of them are still depending in the land and resources of their parents (families), thereby, causing unpredictable pressure to their families land holding (tenure) and resources. In contrast, others are engaged in petty trading, migration, collecting and selling firewood, share cropping, etc (Dessaiegn, 1994).

The landless peasants in the study area found it difficult to anticipate sustainable livelihood with out land. Even if they are supposed to be the engines of rural development and main actors in the struggle against food insecurity, most of them are remained passive. The extent of food insecurity is worst among the married landless and those with children. According to the migrant beggars in Addis Ababa and returnee migrants, the problem of landlessness is a fundamental reason for their out migration. They find it difficult to depend on the scarce resources and small land holdings of their parents. Moreover, the labor market in the place of origin lacks consistency and hence, it can't be a base for their survival. For this reason, most of them have migrated to different rural and urban parts of the country, where they

are engaged in different activities to support themselves and families. Some of the activities performed by the migrants in Addis Ababa include selling materials like broom, exchanging used glasses, old shoe and clothes for new house equipment with proportional price (bartering). Moreover, the number of youngsters involved in begging is also significant. A young migrant beggar said the following about begging and other alternatives

It is difficult to get charity from the people as we look strong enough to involve in productive activities. But no one recognizes our difficulties in getting jobs. After all we can't get work sooner as what the alms givers think. Moreover, those senior porters and other daily laborers also make life difficult to us due to their fear of competition.

The young beggars claimed that their out migration and eventual involvement in begging is a last resort in their livelihood. They wish they would quit begging sooner, but they found it hard to do so. They believe that they should have to search for better destination area, where labor is highly demanded. However, most of them did not decide to return to their village until they recover the cost that they have incurred so far.

Contrary to the vulnerable landless peasants, I have also come across with better-off landless peasants, though their number is finger counted. Such peasants are successful to raise their annual incomes and named as model farmers. One of the participants in the FGD with model farmers has stated the following in explaining how he has been able to lead sustainable livelihood with out land.

Some years ago, I was living with my families in a poor living condition. Because I was young and strong enough, I was undertaking most of the agricultural activities to help my old parents. some years later, I was married and started to lead independent life. I have no land, but I know that if I could work hard, I would get much income that enables me to lead a settled life. The role of my wife in managing our resources and incomes has played a key role to our success. Last year, I have cultivated the lands of different farmers in sharecropping. As a result, I have harvested 19 quintals of grain. This year I have raised it to 29 quintals. Apart from the perennial crops, I am using the land of my parents , one small rain water harvesting and two wells to grow vegetables and fruits both for our consumption and market. The major constraint that I have is not land, but time.

4.2.2 Migration as a response to land fragmentation and Smallholdings

Boserup cited in de Hannan (1999) has explained that the increase in population size will not be a trouble for countries development. She said that people would device their own mechanism by advancing the level of technological status to produce more output and improve the food security situation. However, the findings in the study area depict that the extent of land fragmentation is increasingly becoming an obstacle for rural development. The problem is further intensified due to the low level of technological innovation and adoption, as well as the less capacity to invest in the major agricultural inputs. In the absence of agricultural intensification, agricultural out put are mainly dictated by the size of the land. However, the average land holding size per household in the study area is around 0.5 hectare. According to the survey, the average yield per household is 6 quintals, which is not enough to feed them through out the year. A migrant beggar in Addis Ababa has explained the following about the effects of smallholdings on the condition of food security:

You can see that a family size of 6 or 7 members are struggling to survive from the output of this small size plot. The reality is that the land can give a yield, which could support us for only 4 to 5 months. This situation force us to probe other means of survival.

Migrants and non-migrant peasants share the point that off-farm and non-farm source of incomes are very crucial to support agricultural incomes. Some of the income sources include agricultural diversification, migration, and involving in Productive Safety Net Program etc.

Migration is predominantly used as a source of additional income among the small and fragmented landholders of the study areas. From June to December, the peasants used to engage in agricultural activities at their place of origin, and after that, they migrate to Addis Ababa to spend the rest months (slack period) engaging themselves in begging and other activities. Thus, the peasants perceive migration as a strategy of their livelihoods.

The Model farmers in the study area hold the same size of land as the rest of the people in the *Tabias*. But, they explained that their success to raise total incomes was related to hardworking. They were able to integrate their indigenous knowledge with scientific knowledge provided by the Development Agents. According to the response collected from the survey, 90% of the respondents produce once a year.

Plate4.1 Land covered with sorghum & barely (left) partly cultivated bare land (right)



Contrasting to this, all model farmers used to engage in agricultural activities through out the year. The summer season is mostly devoted in the production of grains; while the winter season will be obsessed in the growing of vegetables and market oriented fruits. Most of the model farmers have two to three rainwater harvesting ponds and wells, which are used in the dry season for the horticulture production. Besides, the model farmers also work in the lands of other peasants as sharecroppers. They used to devote their labour and oxen from the stage of cultivation up to harvesting. This contract is commonly made between them and poor peasants, who do not own oxen. Moreover, the model farmers have also demonstrated their tremendous efforts in the preparation of compost, use of improved seeds and fertilizers and adoption of some agricultural technologies etc.

4.2.3 The unintended impact of Credit

Financial capital is one of the basic factors of production. The poor people need to have access to credit service that enables them to invest on farm equipments, machineries, fertilizer, new and improved seeds, insecticides, pesticides, etc. Hence, access to Microfinance institution in the study area is an opportunity, provided that it is

delivering the right service. Supporting this view Waddington et.al, (2003) contended that migration could take place in places where access to credit is limited. They used this migration as a way to accumulate human and physical capitals.

However, the existing trend of out migration from Samre is not due to lack of access to credit scheme. Rather, it is a response by the peasants to repay back debts and escape from the measures that would be taken against them, the migrants said. The peasants in other rural areas of Ethiopia have also faced the same problem of credit burdens, which are given in the form of fertilizer, and other agricultural inputs and cash. Hence, they are forced to sell some of the basic assets like oxen, corrugated iron sheets and soon (Senait, 2002).

The name of Dedebit Credit and Saving Institution (DECSI) is currently linked with the out migration of peasants from Samre *Woreda*. The migrant beggars strongly claim that credit is one of the pushing factors for their out migration, though DECSI is not the only source of credit for the peasants. The offices of food Security in the *Woreda* and Agricultural and Rural Development also give peasants credit in the form of package (fertilizer, Modern beehives, poultry, Hybrid cow etc). Since these all credits are collected and channeled through DECSI they attribute all evil to the name of DECSI, but not the other offices.

It is factual that level of out reach is one of the strong sides of the institution. Moreover, there are households, who have shown improvement in their income due to the credit access from DECSI. However, the number of such success stories should be compared with the total beneficiaries to show the impact of the institution. At this point, the study is aimed to explore how credit appeared to be a cause

for migration. Otherwise, Impact assessment of DECSI on the livelihood of the people in the *Woreda* is beyond its scope.

The major problem that creates confusion is the fact that DECSI often elucidates its success in terms of outreach. Of course, it is a necessary indicator but not sufficient to reflect the change in the status of beneficiaries and can not alone verify the success of credit institutions (Bisrat, 1982). Unless there is technical follow up, training and monitoring of the credit and saving service, Success will not be possible to attain. It is difficult to break the cycle of poverty through a mere provision of credit and saving service. The outreach data also need to be supported by figures that depict percentage of repayment, change in the extent of savings, and aggregate effect in the livelihood condition of the clients.

As it is stated in the objectives of the DECSI, the institution aims in reducing the poverty condition of the people. It was expected to be a vehicle towards desirable development. Researches done by Gebrehiwet (2005) and Muluwork (1997) on the impact of DECSI disclosed that the institution has brought commendable results in improving the living conditions of the rural poor beneficiaries. However, the migrant beggars and returnees have categorized it as a reason for their impoverishment and widespread poverty. They have stated that their out migration has two connotations. Firstly, they migrated to access a better income through which they will be able to repay their debts. Secondly, their out migration is used as a means to escape from prison, which can be resulted from their failure to pay their debts.

The existence of extreme poverty condition, natural problems, and technical failures and institutional obstacles are some of the common reasons for the incompatibility of the credit service. The following three cases could overtly explain how credit can be a reason for the out migration of the people in the study area.

Case1.

I am one of the poorest in the *Tabia*. I had the interest to involve in Productive Safety Net program to support my living condition. But I have been informed that unless I take agricultural package (credit in the form of items), they would never consider my endeavor to participate on the program. Subsequently, I took the credit estimated around 2000 birr, which finally lead me to fall in debt and choose the route to Addis Ababa.

Case2.

After discussing with my relatives about food deficit situation in my household, they advised me to take credit from DECSI. They told me that I can repay it next year, when I get better income through any means. Accordingly, I have collected the money and bought it crops and other food staffs to sustain the life of my family. When the repayment period approaches, I have decided to migrate.

Case3.

I am one of the victims of past civil war against the Derg regime. I have lost one of my legs. But I have a strong passion, and believe in my capability to secure a better livelihood. Thus, I have borrowed some amount of money through which I have involved in livestock production. Within a short period of time, my stock becomes five heads of cattle. At that time the Woreda administrators named me as an industrious, successful and exemplary peasant in the *Tabia*. Now all these things become history. For the reason that I do not know (he meant natural death), all of my cattle have died. I was really worried how I could repay the credit back to the institution. I knew that if I could not pay it back on time, I would be taken to jail. Then the only option that came into my mind was to escape to Addis Ababa so that I could get money through beggary. Even then, I was trying to send money to the family to pay it for the lenders. With lots of suffering, I had collected some amount of money that I have sent with someone, who belongs to the village. But he has escaped to Sudan with all the money that I and other beggars have given him. When I was in such a difficult time; Elshaday organization had arranged a meeting with us in Addis Ababa. After discussing and mentioning all our problems, we got the promise to cancel our debts. Moreover, they also said that money would be given to rehabilitate the beggars, who didn't take credits. With this promise, the majority of us have argued to return to our village. But the existing condition after returning was not like what we have agreed. We have suffered during our journey to our place of origin for there were no foods supplied. Moreover, the *Tabia* administrators are waiting for appointments to put us in jail. I am in a big problem along with my 7 children and wife

From the above three cases, it can be depicted that the failure of the credit scheme is resulted due to non-responsiveness of the employees of the institution, carelessness of the beneficiaries and natural problem (beyond human scope) and existing poverty. From the client justification, natural problem was frequently raised as a major reason for debts. Here, I would like to raise a question. In such circumstances who should be risk taker? What is so far undertaking is that the peasants would pay even in such natural catastrophes and problems i.e. there is no insurance by the institution. Supporting this argument, Muluwork (1997) has also stated that peasants of Samre *Woreda* are forced to pay their credits even at times of drought and any other accidents.

According to the administrator for Adikala, there are around 440,000 birr arrears. He also said that there was time, when the DECSI has discussed with the officials in the *Tabia* to stop its service. This was due to the increasing number of complains related to worsening in the livelihood condition of the peasant involved in the credit scheme and agricultural packages. Nevertheless, they have reached on consensus that the claim is mainly from "unconcerned and poorly planned peasants". Lastly, they have agreed in the continuation of the Credit service given by DECSI.

4.3 Views of peasants towards Productive Safety Net Program

The implementation of the program is aimed to secure the asset depletion of peasants at household level due to temporary shocks and enhance the level of resources at community level. According to the survey and FGD with all the participants, Productive Safety Net Program is considered as a better option of supporting the existing income sources. There is a selection criteria to participate in the program. First, the peasants should be from poor segments of society. Next, they have to participate for one-month in the work without payment. The schedule for this work is just before the actual Productive Safety Net Program is started. Once the Productive Safety Net Program is commenced, the peasants would receive a payment of six Birr per day in return to their work. The number of participants from a household varies depending on existing circumstances such as number of people on working age, and their wealth status.

In spite of this advantage, the participants have stated some limitation of the program. One of this complains is related to the absence of impartiality in selecting the participants. Some of the returnee migrants said that they are not benefited from the program mainly due to the *Tabia* administrators' indifference to involve them in the

Productive Safety Net Program. They added that their absence from the lists of participants has no any legal basis as long as they satisfy the selection criteria of the program. Some of the returnee migrants and beggars in Addis Ababa have also linked this problem as one reason for their out migration.

Plate 4.2 Peasants participating in Safety Net Program



Source: Own Photograph

For the *Tabia* administrators, the above complain is unacceptable and perceive it as pretext for their migration and further involvement in begging. They asserted that some beggars are not selected to involve in the program for they are relatively better off. This situation was also reflected during the discussion with the returnee beggars. Most of the participants agreed that there are few better off migrants with a keen to participate in the program. According to the participants, it is legal and unobjectionable to exclude such migrants from the program. For the same reason, they have criticized the claim of one participant, who had raised his prohibition from the programs as a reason for out migration.

The administrators further stated that the majority of the migrants are not considered in the program because they used to be in Addis Ababa, when the program was launched each year. The beggars usually apply to participate as soon as they are returned to their village. But, The program might be already kicked off, hence it is difficult to entertain such claims. The administrators of the two *Tabias* added that the beggars are acting as a lobby group, which tries to influence their decision-makings. They know that the *Tabia* officials are under continuous pressure and criticism from the *Woreda* and Regional officials, for their *Tabias* become origins of a number of beggars. As a result, they said, migrants used to warn them to include their names in the lists of participants of Productive Safety Net Program, no matter what the rules and regulations of the programs refer. According to the officials, there is still an opportunity for the migrants, who fulfill the criteria, to benefit from the program. The migrants will not be allowed to enjoy extra advantage, even though they are warning to go back for begging. Because, giving special treatment for beggars will encourage the trend of begging among others.

The second problem of the program, according to the migrant beggars in Addis Ababa, returnees, and non-migrants is the amount of payment. They believe that six birr is insignificant as compared to the market price of goods and services. It is difficult to cover the food deficit through the stated amount of money. It might be decided based on market assessment done some years ago. However, the existing inflation on prices of goods and services need to be considered. This problem would further be scaled up due to untimely payment of wages. The fact that the participants are poor would be enough reason to pay them on time. This is because they have no savings and assets that enable them to sustain their life. As a result, the Productive

Safety Net Program as an option is unable to stop the asset depletion of migrant beggars' households.

The model farmers, who are not participating in the program for they have a better income, have also stated that very low and late payment of wages as a cause for the out migration of peasants. Further more, the alternative payment implemented both in cash and kind has aggravated the problem. They said that the payment would be done in kind, when the market price of crops is cheap, and in cash, if the market price for grain is expensive. The implication is that in the payment (compensation) system, the interest of peasants doesn't considered.

Apart from the aforementioned problems, the question of sustainability can be raised here. It is true that the program can play a major role in environmental conservation and to some extent asset preservation of households. However, its effectiveness in achieving its main targets as far as the participants are concerned need to be evaluated. There is a rule that after five years participants would be replaced by others (graduation), but at the end of the day there is a need to check whether the program have brought the needed change or not. Moreover, one should be sure if participants have developed a sense of dependency on the program or not.

4.4 Should Migration be sanctioned or condemned?

There are divergence views related to rural-urban migration. Research findings have come across with different results about the impacts of rural-urban migration in poverty reduction. For example, Aschalew (2006), who have conducted his research on rural-urban migration has come with conclusion that it is stressful means of livelihood. Contrary to this Devereux et.al (2003) stated that migration has a

great contribution in the livelihood of Wollo peasants, who are mainly disadvantaged due to the continuous drought and land degradation. At country level for instance, in PASSDEP (2005), there is no clear policy, which either promotes migration as a livelihood strategy or demote the rate of rural-urban migration.

It is frequently stated that migration has a very long history in the study area. According to the elderly participants, internal and international migration has been undertaken for long years. However, most of them have developed a negative perception towards internal migration. They said that it is often practiced by destitute peasants, who are unable to stay in their home villages due to push factors. Hence, it is an indication of deprivation.

The elderly are talking in general their perception both for migrants involved in productive and non-productive sectors like begging. The administrator of *Adikala* also stated that the government should have to search an alternative means to check the out migration of peasants from their villages. According to him, some procedures to get license should be there (let-pass paper). In clear terms, he is to mean that those migrants, who are moving with the intension of becoming a beggar, should not be allowed to migrate.

Unlike the already mentioned ideas, model farmers have different view related to rural urban migration. They said migration is a good option for those vulnerable peasants, who are unable to lead sustainable livelihood due to different circumstances. They said that migration should be promoted to reduce the risk of computation over resources.

In the nutshell, Rural-urban migration from Samre is not a new phenomenon. However, the purpose of migration has shifted from trade to begging. Most of the informants revealed that such out-migration are mostly caused by push factors. These include landlessness, small and fragmented land holdings, and credit burdens. Hence, the destitute peasants constitute the highest share of the migrant peasants as the result of which the rural-urban migration has dominantly been given a negative implication. Most of the participants believe that migration will never be a sign of wellbeing. Hence, there are participant, who would recommend for policy intervention to restrict migration.

Chapter Five

Begging as a livelihood strategy

5.1 Maxims on the beginning of begging in the study area

There are different myths that reflect how begging started in the study area. However, most of them are with some points in common. Two of them are widely narrated as follows:

The peasants from Samre had had a trade link with the peasants of Jimma. They used to sell teff to Jimma and in return bring coffee to Samre. On their way from and to, the peasants used to spend at least one day in Addis Ababa. During those days a trader, while returning to his place of origin was stolen all his money in Addis Ababa. He was left with no money to cover his daily consumption including his transportation cost to homeland. Consequently, he has decided to involve in begging. Surprisingly enough, the man has collected money, which was beyond his expectation of covering his demands. This situation has instigated him further to base his livelihood in begging. Moreover, he has brought some of his families to accompany him and involve in begging, which tend to be more lucrative. After spending some months of begging in Addis Ababa, he returned to his place of origin. Then, he has invested his money to buy agricultural inputs, oxen, and corrugated sheets of iron. Such noticeable investments were unbelievable in the eyes of most inhabitants of his village. Hence, information about the ways of getting money through beggary was disseminated through out the village and its environs.

The second narration has some similarity with the preceding myth. It goes back to the regime of Emperor Hailesilassie (r.1917-1974). A man, who was unsatisfied with the decision of the court in the region, footed to re-appeal to Supreme Court in Addis Ababa. He was warranted with long appointment that he had exhaustively used his foods and his money. Despite all this, he

has decided to stay until the end of the case. Hence, the only option that he thought was to engage in begging. Through this way he listened the end of the litigation. However, he turned to be a beggar. Furthermore, he has invited his relatives to come to Addis Ababa, where they could be engaged in begging. The overall effect of begging on the livelihood of these people was encouraging that others have followed their footsteps.

5.2 Who makes the decision to migrate and become a beggar?

Different scholars such as Economists, Sociologists, Geographers and Demographers view the course of decision making in rural-urban migration from different angles (De Hannen, 1999). For example, Economists perceive it as a rational decision made by the individual migrants mainly in response to income differentials, while sociologists go beyond that to include the household members and the community at large in the course of decision making.

There are divergent ways of decision-making process among migrant beggars of Samre *Woreda*. Thus, either the migrants themselves, other third person, who are involved in the host town or at the place of origin without the consent of the migrants, can make the decisions; or else after reaching on certain consensus all members of the household or community could make it jointly. To the best understanding of the situation related to decision-making in the study area, let us consider the following three cases and the response of migrant beggars.

Case1

The decision to migrate and involve in begging was not simple. I have made continuous discussion with my wife. Finally, we have reached on consensus to migrate and involve in begging in a sort of rotation. Currently, I am already in Addis Ababa involved in begging, and she is taking care of our children and the livestock we have. Of course, she has the work burdens, however I will go to replace her so that she will be involved in begging along with our children, while I am looking after the livestock in my village.

Here, the decision was on the basis of an agreement and wasn't made by the individual migrant alone. We can also infer that, begging is integrated into the livelihood of the people as a complementary source of income to agriculture, where every member of the household is supposed to involve. Furthermore, it indicates rotational division of labour between the father and the mother along side with their offspring.

Case2.

I was not intending to become a beggar. But my husband, who observed the wives of our neighbors involved in begging and returned back with better clothing and some agricultural tools, decided to bring me along with our two children to Addis Ababa. He told me that I have to contribute to the well being of the family through begging in Addis Ababa. He has also told me that he would return to Addis Ababa to take us back home.

The second case explicitly illustrates that decision-making is solely based on the husband. The woman was with implicit interest to quit begging, however it is to be decided by her husband. So far, they have no communication for the last five months after her migration to Addis Ababa.

I have also interviewed a woman beggar along with a child from the same place of origin. She has narrated the way how she gets the consent to use the child for begging as follows:

Case3.

Some three years ago, I migrated to become a beggar on my own interest. During my stay in Addis Ababa, I have realized that the more children you involve in begging, the more you will get benefited. Unfortunately, I do not have any. However, I heard that there is a possibility to involve someone-else's child in begging with some contractual arrangements. Hence, when I returned to my village, I discussed this with my neighbors to take one of their son, who will be supposed to beg under my supervision. Indeed, we have agreed to share the incomes generated by the child.

From the preceding case study, it can be depicted that the kid had no decision-making role in becoming a beggar. It is exclusively made based on the dual agreement of his parents and the informant. According to the interviewee, such deals are common especially with families, who have retarded or handicapped children. The preference of such disabled people is to get a better charity from alms givers. Resistance is more unlikely to come from parents as they need the remittance and minimize some of the burdens of their children. Most of such negotiations are commonly made with out formal written agreements. As a result, the human right of the migrant might be easily eroded and his hope and futurity could be vanished.

5.3 Begging a 'necessity' or a 'choice'

This is one of the most frequently asked questions among people concerned with the issue. It is natural to see people migrating from place to place to satisfy their demands. For example, places with better natural resources and job opportunity will attract more people from other areas or people could be forced to migrate due to natural calamities, ecological degradation, political instability and other pushing factors. The trend of migration among most of the migrants from Adikala and Addisalem is directed to Addis Ababa than the near by town of Mekelle and Humera, where most migrants from Tigray are attracted. Hence, this research paper has intended to answer the question of why the migrants prefer to go to Addis Ababa and why primacy is accorded to begging venerating it than any other productive activities.

After observing some of the uniformity of jobs adhered by group of people, who belong to the same place of origin, in Addis Ababa, I have developed a keen interest to answer the aforementioned questions. For Example, the Gurage people have dominated shoe shining as self-employment in Addis Ababa (Muluneh, 2003; Worku, 2006), the youngsters from Merhawe and Gaint located in Amhara regional state have also employed as lottery vendors. There are also large number of migrants from Eastern Tigray, who

are involved in selling broom and mob. The residents of Lalibela were known for their involvement in begging in Addis Ababa, though their number is currently reduced (McCan, 1987, MOLSA, 1992). Likewise, people coming from Adikala and Addis Alem are also increasingly establishing their means of livelihood in begging. Of course, there are considerable number of migrant beggars, from other regions like Amhara, Oromia, and Somali etc.

According to the migrant beggars from Samre, begging is not a preference to them. Rather, it is a trend in which people from the same area have commenced some years ago and continued by their descendents. Early migrants were relatively effective and beneficiaries in solving some of their economic problems through beggary. Thus, the current beggars are migrated with the hope of solving their economic problems. Had the first migrants were headed to other areas and proved successful, then, there might not have been a probability to see as many beggars from the study area as there are now. Hence, the existing network between migrants and non-migrants will dictate the destination area and the type of activity that the migrants will be engaged in. They further contend that there may not be a possibility to see them involved in begging if the early migrants were involved in other productive sectors than in begging. This idea of the informants exactly reflects what the social network theory claims (Aschalew, 2006)

As far as other alternatives are concerned, the returnee beggars do not have the interest to go to Humera and other rural areas where they could secure better job opportunity. They said that Humera is not comfortable to them because of the hardships, disease like malaria, *Kalazar*, and the harsh climate would make life difficult to them. Thus, most of them are with negative feeling towards such labor demanding areas.

5.4 Cost-Benefit analysis of begging; Psychological and Financial Balance sheet

According to Todaro (2003), migrants usually migrate incurring some financial and psychological costs with the expectation of better income and psychological satisfaction in the urban centers.

The fact that migration is desirable may not be followed by out migration of the person. Unless the migrant has enough money to incur, he could not realize his dream to migrate. Contrary to this, a migrant with enough amount of money to be incurred for migration may not also achieve his dreams due to the fear of psychological costs.

The possible costs that migrants of Samre takes into account, while deciding to migrate, are transportation cost and house rent. The average financial cost spent for transportation and other traveling expenses (food and pension) to reach Addis Ababa ranges from 100 to 150 birr per individual migrant. After reaching Addis Ababa, the cost of living is dominated by house rent. It ranges from 7 to 12 birr per month. The mechanism that they use to lower the payment for house rent is to rent poor quality room in groups of 7 to 10 people. Most of them are dwelled in the sub cities of Cherkos, Teklehaymanot, and Piasa (Talyan Sefer), where such rooms are available. The renters themselves are mostly among the poor segments of the society in Addis Ababa. They are not only getting house rent fee from the beggars, but also the left over foods that the beggars get from alms givers. Indeed, the migrants are with out expense to food.

The financial benefit from begging ranges from three to fifteen birr per day. Religious ceremonies or saint days are the sources of highest daily incomes. The income portrays fluctuates based on individual difference. According to Wubishet (2003) categorization of beggars, the migrants from Samre are regarded as Itinerant Beggars, those who are able to cover long distance to

search potentially sound alms givers. They used to go to different districts of the city like Piasa, Aratkillo, Amistkillo, Ambassador, Biherawi, Urael, Teklehaymanot, Kirkos etc and around traffic lights in different parts of downtown.

According to the migrant beggars in Addis Ababa and returnee beggars, the financial benefit is not equivocal with their expectation. Firstly, there is increment in the number of beggars, which resulted in competition among themselves. Secondly, the alms givers are also losing their interest of giving money for the rising of living condition in the city. For example, transportation cost, price of bread, and other consumption goods have escalated their prices and hence 10 cents by now has a big value for the alms givers, said the beggars. The beggars complain that the daily income from begging is insignificant; however, they do not opt to quit it right away. They said that they have the wish at least to recover the transport costs that they have incurred initially. It is also evident that there are beggars, who are able to buy oxen using their income from begging. The following interview is taken from an old migrant beggar, who has successfully sustained his dreams of collecting money.

I lost my ox, which I bought using credit from DECSI. I told my family that I am going to Humera to get daily labour so as to earn money to repay the credit. They were not convinced, as I am not strong enough to resist the harsh climate and the tropical diseases there. But it was a pretext. The next day, I along with a peasant in our *Tabia* migrated to Addis Ababa. I have stayed for five months in Addis Ababa, and I have already earned the money that enables me to pay back the credit. Thanks God, I do not want to stay here, and I wish I would not be a beggar again.

From this interview, we can infer that the beggar has accumulated the expected cash through begging. So that, he does not dare to stay in begging as long as the psychological cost has gone beyond his tolerance. However, I have reservation that he might not be able to quit his begging as he has

stated in the aforementioned interview. The money that he has accumulated is supposed to be paid for the DECSI. He still neither have an ox nor the money to buy the ox. Thus, this condition might force him to keep on begging.

The psychological cost of migrant beggars from Samre can be seen from the perspective of their place of origin and destination. The migrant beggars are aware that the culture of the people at the place of origin does not accept begging as a means of livelihood strategy. Hence, they did not feel happy, while they involve in begging. They are further exposed to several criticisms from the non-migrant peasants and administrators, while they return to their village. There were attempts by the officials and hence by the people to stigmatize them. Now, the extent of such psychological attack has decreased after a discussion with the concerned body was hosted.

At the place of destination, the cost might even worth than at the origin. Alms givers, taxi drivers and their assistants, street children, and other beggars used to insult them. The accusation is aroused for they are looking the hands of people (begging) than involving themselves in productive works. They used to quarrel with taxi drivers or their assistants, while begging standing at the gates of the taxi. The taxi driver or the assistants might tell them to be away from the gate, but they may not listen to them for they are eagerly looking for the generous hands of passengers. Hence, they might insult the beggars using taboo words or shouting on them to express their anger.

Compared to the above costs, the psychological gain is insignificant. The beggars are dissatisfied with their begging activity. They asserted that there is nothing to gain in begging, but they tolerate all the costs for the sake of their economic benefits.

Apart from begging, the migrants also depend on informal business like selling hand tissue and exchanging of cents with Birr to receive commission of 10 to 15 cents from a Birr. Such business will be done with the taxi assistants, who demand the coins to repay changes back for the passengers.

5.5 The Perceptions towards Beggary

5.5.1 Migrant beggars construction of begging

The perspective of the beggars towards begging has two different dimensions. The first and most dominant reflection of the beggars on begging is that, it is shameful and difficult means of livelihood. According to their view, looking after the hands of people is so cruel. The problem would be serious, if the alms givers knew that the beggars are physically able and mentally healthy. Apart from this, there are people, who used to offend them on the reference of their ethnicity. They blame them by saying "you are in the leadership position and in the bottom as well (beggars), so we are just sandwiched in between", "you are not real beggars, but spies" and others. The blame also comes from people belonging to the same ethnic group with beggars. They used to point their finger on them by saying "we are ashamed of our identity because of you (beggars)".

The negative perception of beggars towards begging was not only resulted due to the influence of people around them, but there are times, when they disagree among them selves. One of the returnee migrant has said the following about begging from the insiders' perspective

When I was involved in begging at Teklehaymanot Church in Addis Ababa, I have seen a person With no hands, repairing chairs and other wood products through his legs. He hammers, saws and put things together with his legs. I was shocked and ashamed for I am able bodied, but expecting the hands of people. From this time onwards, I have decided to quit begging and returned to my place of origin.

The second group of beggars does not feel that they are going against the culture. They knew that the culture forbids begging in times of security. However, in time of crisis Ethiopian culture also promotes getting aid and social support in time of crisis. According to them, they are involved in begging for the reasons of debts, rampant poverty, health problem, and other factors. Therefore, they believe that begging is not shameful as long as the aforementioned factors are sufficed to involve oneself in the sector. They believe that begging in Addis Ababa has allowed them relatively to secure better life as compare to their lives in rural areas. They also further stated that most of the people in Addis Ababa are so kind, and are providing them food and money. So far, they are comfortable with begging as the means of livelihood and do not decided to quite yet.

When we compare the two groups of migrants, the old aged beggars are getting good income due to the donors' perception of helping people, who are not able to work. On the other hand, the youngsters usually are insulted for they are involved in begging, despite their ability to involve in any type of job. Furthermore, the alms givers stated that young beggars the dominant causes of donor fatigue.

The majority of the beggars have a plan to quite their 'job'. This is mainly due to the psychological cost incurring from their stay in the sector. They said that they are sacrificing their entire moral values at the expense of their survival. They don't dare tolerate this and live along with all problems related to societal inferiority and disrespect due to their activity of begging.

5.5.2 Policy makers and their perception towards begging

The issue of migrant beggars of *Samre Woreda* was a point of discussion among the Regional, *Woreda* and *Tabia* official. The officials at different levels are with negative perception on begging. Hence, they want to reverse the statusquo. They have discussed with the beggars on the bad

connotation of begging in defaming the image of the region in general and the *Woreda* in particular. But, it is not yet stopped. I have watched a recorded video on the discussion session between the *Woreda* officials and the peasants (both migrants and non-migrants) in the *Tabia*. The officials and a man, who has spent several times in begging with the purpose of getting information about the beggars, have said a lot about disadvantages of begging. They have asked the peasants to stop begging. However, most of the beggars were kept silent. One of them has said the following and broke the silence.

You (officials) have already secured your salary. Nothing will happen to it whether there is drought, flooding, hail etc. But we are suffering from poverty. Our entire livelihood is full of uncertainties. I know, you may have planned to take measures against us. But, I would tell you that I will never quit begging today or tomorrow.

The beggar has putted his stand to keep begging in front of the officials. He has reflected the hesitation related to the measures to be taken against him in more crude form. He has also regarded the uncertainties that agriculture has possibly to face in their places of origin. Hence, begging is taken as a means of diversification against risks.

The following motto is posted in the office of agricultural and rural development office of Samre *Woreda*.

" አብ አስፋልት አዲስአበባ ካብ ምንቡሃቕ አብ አፍ ደገ ገዛና ልምዓት ነሳልጥ"

Literarily this means,

It is better to hasten development activities in our home village than to yawn in the streets of Addis Ababa.

The motto clearly reflects the negative perception of officials towards migrant beggars. They have considered the migrants as people wasting their time just wondering. Hence, they are recommending them to return back to their village and involve in rural development.

The regional government of Tigray has re-transported beggars from Addis Ababa to Samre and other related *Woredas* covering their transportation fees. However, this did not end the chapter of migration of beggars to Addis Ababa. Besides, the government has named a committee from the regional office and Mekelle University to undertake research work in 2003. But, the result of the research has proved to be in vain.

In general, policy makers have been opposing migration of the beggars to Addis Ababa. The key informants from these elite believe that such migration is not instigated due to push factors. Rather, they said that such migrants are relatively better off and wish to generate more money through beggary. They also consider them as slimmer, who have no interest to devote their labour in the agricultural activity.

5.5.3 Alms givers and their perception towards begging and beggars

As the nature of migrant beggars is different, so is also the nature of alms givers. But with in this diversity we could be able to identify some similarities in the perceptions towards migrant beggars among alms givers. Generally, they can be categorized as all time donors who did not discriminate one from the other, and alms givers, whose charity goes to those disabled and beggars with other problems only.

As it is stated under the literature part, most alms givers have grown the sense of helping and giving charity since their childhood time. They have internalized it due to the religious dogmas that they are acquainted with.

According to some of my informants, identifying the needy people is hard. You might be in hurry and may only listen to solicit than looking the beggars. Besides, it is 'immoral' to stigmatize one from another. They said that the one who looks healthy might have immediate problems, which he cannot solve right away. But, he/she still needs to survive on

the basis of the social capital. One day, the man might become alms giver. Hence, a beggar, who looks good, may really be a victim. Thus, you could not identify one from the other.

As far as the migrant beggars are concerned, most of them look heart breaking. They would tell you that they are migrated due to natural problems and you would feel sorry for them. Especially, the previous famine and drought histories of the country have already created a bad image in the minds of people. So giving them some cents seems a moral obligation.

Unlike to the above concepts of morality, there are alms givers, who offer to get relieved from the loud and continuous sounds of the beggars. I have also observed migrant beggars insulting the people for they did not gave them alms.

The other group of people said that they would only give alms for disabled people, old aged and mentally retarded ones. They said that humanity is to help the weak ones. God would also repay for the good things some one did on earth. They used to inform able-bodied beggars to work. Some of the alms givers also feel bad about the able-bodied migrant beggars for they are blowing the image of the country to the outside world. I used to listen conversations and word exchanges between migrant beggars and alms givers. The most frequently heard took place with migrant people belonging to the same region or *Woreda*, but involved in productive sectors in Addis Ababa. The following is a case in point example.

Alms giver		why do you come here?
Beggar	(1)	Because I am destitute or indebted
Beggar	(2)	Why do you think you are here too?

- Alms giver you should have to go and beg there than blowing the name of the region
- Beggar (1) No one is going to give us there
- Beggar (2) I would not go. Why don't you do that? After all it is none of your business. It is time gap that makes a difference in the economic status between you and I, other wise You might be as poor as I am in your first migration to Addis Ababa.

5.5.4 Non-migrants perception towards begging

According to the model farmers, elders and non-migrants, there are no major grounds for the involvement of such people in begging. They said that there was poverty and destitution in the early years and remains the same still now. We have to see for opportunities than flooding for begging. They said that majority of the peasant might be food insecure, but the gap could be filled with hard work.

The non-migrants have also said that they are filling a sense of dishonor due to the migrant beggars. People are forgetting the social contribution of the people of Samre and the good images of the *Woreda*. Others are considering the *Woreda* only as a source of beggars. Hence, they need to abounded begging and recover their good names.

Summary

The issue of begging among the migrant peasants can be seen as a shift from productive sector to the non-productive one. It is found that most of the migration from Adikala and Addisalem are obsessed of information about Addis Ababa. The distorted information about the city and the actual problems that they have at their place of origin have instigated them to carry out migration. The activity in which the migrants are engaged is also predefined. They know that they would not sacrifice any time in search of jobs. Decision-making of becoming a beggar is not solely made by the

migrant. There are migrants, who are involved in begging beyond their judgment. Women and child fall under this category. Generally, there is a negative perception towards begging. The migrants even have a negative attitude towards begging; however, they consider it as a last resort to sustain their livelihood.

Chapter Six

Implication of migrant beggars to the rural origin

Most researches done in the area of migration have extensively researched the impact of migration to the place of destination (Bjeren, 1985; Dereje, 2002; Kebede, 1994; Lalem, 2002). Nevertheless, its impact to the place of origin hasn't been widely assessed. Hence, under this sub topic the implication of the out migration of peasants to the place of origin will be dealt. In general, the impacts of the out migration of peasants, who are involved in begging, are categorized as economic, social (Cultural, Religious) and psychological, and political implication.

6.1 Economic Impact

Economic factor is one of the major reasons for the instigation of rural-urban migration. As it is stated by survival theory of migration and Harris-Todaro model of migration Todaro (2003), and shown in the framework (figure 2.3), People in the study area are migrating for survival reason in time of livelihood insecurity. Still others could move with the expectation of a better income in the destination areas. Furthermore, there are peasants, who use it as a means of diversification against risks.

Under chapter two, much has been said as to how theories interlink migration with an economic motive. The rural-urban income difference is believed to attract rural out migrants (Todaro, 2003). Likewise migrants from Samre has also attracted to Addis Ababa with the expectation of a better income through begging.

According to the information collected from the administrator, returnee beggars, migrant beggars and Elders, the economic background of the migrant beggars fall into medium and lower income groups. Most of them

have migrated to send remittance to their families at the place of origin. This remittance is commonly used to pay credits, buy agricultural materials, oxen, corrugated sheet of iron, food items, house equipments and other consumption goods. The beggars have also stated that their out-migration is contributing its role in solving some of their immediate problems. They are able to reduce those days, when they were sleeping hungry. Though it has poor quality, they are getting enough amounts of leftover foods. The alms that they receive in the form of food would help the migrants to reduce the possible costs that would be incurred for consumption purpose. Hence, they are able send or return with almost all the money that they have collected except for the transport and house rent.

Contrary to the beggars view, the non-migrants said that the negative impact outweighs the aforementioned advantages of begging. It is obvious that the beggars are collecting some amount of money during their stay in Addis Ababa. However, they did not notice any difference in the livelihood condition of the migrants' family. They added that people might have improved their incomes through beggary some years ago, but the existing beggars are hardly to solve their problems and better than the non-migrants. What the non-migrants have recognized as a change so far is the relatively new clothes of the migrants and their families, which might be bought at lower cost in Addis Ababa. The beggars are also return with plough and some house equipments such as frying pan (*Mekulo*), pan (*Dist*), etc.

One participant in the discussion with the non-migrants have said the following in explaining the economic status of this migrants before and after their migration

ቅድሚያ ሕጂ ቡን ብዘይሸኮር ይሰጉዩ ተኔሮም ሕጂ ለሚኖሩ ብሽኮር
ተሰጉዩም ኣነ ተለዊጦም ኣይብሎን እየ

Literary meaning of this is

*If they were drinking coffee with out sugar and start to drink
With sugar just post begging, I would not call it change.*

The intension of the preceding idea of the non-migrants is to show how insignificant their economic benefit is. The remittance is unable to bring any further improvement in the living condition of the migrant beggars' families.

The non-migrants have also discussed on the negative economic impacts of the out migration to their village and migrants' household. First of all the migrants' farmland did pass through the necessary land preparations especially cultivation of their land just before rainy season comes. The implication is that the output per the size of their land would be less than the land can give if it is efficiently utilized.

More over, there are times when the migrants' family give their land for share croppers due to labor shortage. As a result, they would get only half of the yield collected from their land. Hence, they could not compensate what they have given to the sharecropper through beggary. They also added that the migrants might go in search of money to raise their assets, but in doing so, some of them are losing the assets that they have already have in their village due to poor management resulted by their out-migration.

6.2 Social impact

Many scholars have depicted that the rural-urban migration might be undergone to get urban amenities (social services such as education, health etc.). Nevertheless, the migrants from the study area do not migrate with the intension of getting such services. The migrants said that they are satisfied

with the social infrastructures in their places of origin. Ofcourse what the statistics shows in Table3.3 is contradictory. You can depict that the health sector is almost with out skilled labour force. In areas where up to 8000 people are residing, it is difficult to get satisfied with the existing service given by less than three semi-skilled individuals. Of course, the migrants did not prioritize such question, as most of them are primarily migrated to get their daily bread. Indeed, the out migration of peasants from Samre is not to get better social service, however the migrants are creating some social burdens to their village.

According to the anti beggary committee, officials of the *Tabia*, non-migrants, DA's, Teachers and other informants, the out migration of beggars from their village has brought a wider influence in the education and health sectors.

6.2.1 Migration to loss educational opportunity

It has been repeatedly said that Education is the means to get out of poverty. Hence, Ethiopia like other developing country is trying to raise the educational enrollment with especial emphasis to primary education. Accordingly, schools are constructed in the two *Tabias*, where the existing enrollment in both sexes is considerable.

Despite such promising starts, the out migration of peasants from Adikala and Addisalem is negatively influencing the efforts so far done. The peasants usually migrate between the months of January to May to Addis Ababa along with their children. Hence, the students are forced to cease their education at the middle of the academic year. The *Tabia* administrator and teachers said that school dropouts are increasing from time to time due to the existing trend of migration to Addis Ababa. Thus, the migration could have a negative influence to the current efforts shown to enhance the school enrollment ratio in the *Tabia*, *Woreda* and the region.

The *Tabia* and *Woreda* administration office as well as teachers in the study area have tried to convince migrants on the possible ways through which the students could carry on their education until the end of the academic year. However, the migrants did not agree to leave their children at the place of origin. According to them, their low income would not allow them to cover the costs to feed their children in the place of origin. The teachers and administrators of the *Tabias* have considered the migrants' reason as a pretext. According to them, the migrants are using their children (students) as a source of additional income. They used to involve them in begging and selling hand tissue to generate better income for the household. They knew that a migrant accompanied with more children generate a better income as compared to the single one. Therefore, they do not have the intention to leave their children in the place of origin.

The impact on education further goes beyond school dropouts. According to the members of anti begging committee, the returned children are losing their interest in education. They have explained some of the behavioral changes as follows:

We have observed some undesirable changes on the returnee kids. They are losing their interest to learn. Most of them are keen to go back to Addis Ababa. They used to tell their friends (peers) about the bright light effects of Addis Ababa. Some of them have developed the habit of smoking. The young women have changed to some extent in their dressing styles. Most of them have bought ear-ring, necklace, and other related ornaments, which have created a great ambition on the non migrant class mates to practice out migration on the same trend. We have also realized all this problems while discussing with their teachers.

Hence, the existing nature of rural-urban migration among the beggars of *Samre Woreda* will continue to be a bottleneck to the educational sector in the study area.

6.2.2 Putting the health sector in danger

It is well discussed that the nature of rural-urban migration by the peasants of Samre is seasonal type. This is because; migrants have also based their livelihood on the on the agricultural sector at their places of origin. According to the *Tabia* administrator, there is a law that a total absent of the migrant peasants along with his/her families for more than two years could lead them to loss the use right of their lands. Hence, the migrant peasants of Samre have maintained their relation ship with their village.

Of course, the seasonality of the rural-urban migration has enabled them to secure the use rights of their lands. However, the frequent link of such people with the people at the place of origin has aggravated health related problems of the sending areas. According to the *Tabia* administrator, the non-migrants and members of anti beggary committee, there is a big frustration that the migrants could spread communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, typhoid, typhus, Tuberculosis etc. to the *Tabias* under discussion.

The issue of HIV/AIDS is considered as number one Agenda among different Governmental and non-governmental organizations. Likewise, the *Tabia* officials, religious leaders, and non-migrants are giving priority to lessen the potential intimidation of HIV/AIDS in their village. They said that the migrants could be potential means of disseminating the disease from the urban center of Addis Ababa to rural *Tabias* of Addisalem and Adikala. The suspicion of the respondents is attributable to the susceptibility of the beggars to the diseases. They could be vulnerable to HIV/AIDS due to the lack of awareness about the diseases and or due to the low status of their economy.

It is easy to guess that the continuous education and awareness creation about HIV/AIDS has not yet performed in rural parts of Ethiopia, as it is demanded. However, there are some efforts undertaking to minimize the spread of the diseases in the *Tabias*. I have also observed billboard with the idea of fighting against HIV/AIDS. The salient feature rural urban migration from samre is that the male household head usually migrates alone, while the rest of the families are left behind in the village. In other time, the female most often migrate along with children, while the husband in turn will remain behind in the rural area. Hence, the husband and wife are separating themselves for at least half of the year. During this time, there is a possibility for the couples to be unfaithful at both places of origin and destination. A woman migrant beggar in Addis Ababa added that she and other female migrant beggars are highly exposed sexual harassments, which slowly but surely force them to be victims of HIV/AIDS.

The second group of migrants can be exposed to the disease for economic reasons. Apart from begging, the young female beggars with their little knowledge about the disease could involve in prostitution. Hence, the result could be disastrous as long as unsafe sex is the major means of transmitting the disease from the patient to the healthy person. The young male migrant beggars could also returnee back to their place of origin with the purpose of marriage. Unless, voluntary testing and counseling is undertaken before wedding and sexual relationship, there would be probability for the dissemination of the disease.

To sum up, the above conditions will make the migrant beggars more exposed to the disease and hence to be potential transmitters of HIV/AIDS in the rural places of origin.

The congested residences of the migrants at the destination area, the poor personal hygiene of the migrants along with the lack of access to health facilities can be worth mentioning as a cause for the hosting of diseases like

typhoid, typhus, cough, and Tuberculosis. The migrants are sharing a single room for 10 to 12 people with the purpose of lowering the unit cost for house rent. This poor quality rooms are found in the crowded areas of Teklehaymanot and Kirkos and Arada sub cities of Addis Ababa.

An individual beggar will pay 7 to 12 Birr per month for the house rent. There is no bed and other house equipments inside the room, but only *yemadabeya* or *kesha mintaf* (mattress). Hence, it is not difficult to expect how such communicable disease could easily disseminate within the people residing in the room. On top of this, the common diet of migrant beggars is leftover food, with poor quality and served with poor sanitation.

In the documented discussions of the officials and beggars in the *Woreda*, I have observed the witness of one participant, who had been begging for the purpose of study, that he gets condom along with the food prepared to dine. Therefore, there is a wider possibility to be infected of diseases like diarrhea, typhoid etc. Timely treatments are unlikely to happen, for most of the migrants are not permanent residents of the kebele at the destination areas. Therefore, the migrants would return to their place of origin along with the aforementioned disease. Such condition would also be a challenge to the rural health sectors, which are hardly equipped with medical facilities and skilled labour force.

The challenges that the beggars have raised also goes beyond this. They said that Traffic light is an ideal place to get money from car owners passing through and taxi passengers. They used to focus on the money that they would collect, but cars with high speed have killed if not wounded them. The participants are eyewitnesses for the death of a young boy and disability of many beggars in Addis Ababa. This is to mean that the family of the migrant would suffer more due to his handicap or death.

6.3 Cultural and Religious impacts

6.3.1 Cultural Impact

I have raised a question to my respondents as to how they view it in accordance with their culture. Their response was that beggary as a culture is the most forbidden one. When the elders are trying to mention whether or not beggary is a tradition (culture) in their *Woreda*, they put it as follows:

Problem and challenges were there for years, they are not new phenomena. I would say there is good opportunity than before. With those all challenges we prefer to pass the bad times by sharing some crops or lending crops that you will return it back in the next year. We do not even migrate. We prefer to be tenants working in the lands of rich farmer. Begging is forbidden specially for some one, who is healthy. In the early times, people will try to irritate you by saying 'son of a beggar'. For sure, you will be insulted even if you are not. Nowadays, we are watching people from our village actually engaging in begging. We would say that it is a shame and hard to accept.

This reflection of the elders overtly shows that the culture of the people at the place of origin forbids begging. The elders have also stated that the current rural-urban migration to involve in begging is becoming a habit. When some one is exposed to risk, the first solution that comes to his/her mind is to beg in Addis Ababa. Hence, the culture of the people to condemn begging is slightly eroded.

The elders also further explained that the migrants are teaching their children that beggary is one means of livelihood, no matter what the culture refers about it. The kids are inheriting the motto, which says “ስጋ ጥዕም ብዘይ ዋጋ” “Meat is sweet provided that it is for free”.

A participant in the group discussion with the non-migrant has emphasized that it is begging not migration that is affecting their culture. Otherwise out migration to involve in begging has little or no repercussion to the existing culture of the people.

6.3.2 Religious Impact

Almost all of the residents of the two *Tabias* are followers of Orthodox Christians. The number of churches in the *Tabias* is also numerous. Besides, there are large number of clergy men in the study areas. During the field visit, I have seen the people participating in the renewal of the church buildings and they were talking about the contribution of migrants abroad, for the construction of these churches. Hence, they look more fanatic and concerned about their religions.

Recently, the people in the study area have started to worry about their religions. The uncertainty is directly related with the existing rural-urban migration of beggars from the study area. There are many clergy and Dicon (future clergy) involved in begging at the place of destination. According to the elderly peasants, non-migrants, model farmers and anti begging committee, there is a growing suspicion on the religious service given by the returnee clergy and Dicons. According to the religion dogma, the clergy would serve the church only if he is faithful to his wife. Furthermore, the Dicon would also serve the church as long as they remain abstain until his wedding day.

The people in the study area are hesitating for the fact that a number of clergymen are migrating for long time away from their wives, and thus the clergymen may not remain faithful to their spouse. Besides the Dicons could also perform sexual relation ship in the town, as the conditions may expose them to do so. Hence, there is a fear that these people might have discredited their blessings of serving the church in the destination area. Based on this the people in the study area have declared that a migrant beggar, who is returning from Addis Ababa after staying for extended period of time, Shouldn't have to give any religious services in the church.

The other uncertainty is related to the introduction of new doctrines and religious beliefs in the study area. The elderly and non-migrants revealed that there might be a possibility that migrant beggars could learn a new religious Dogma for their materialistic needs in Addis Ababa, where there are plenty doctrines and churches. Therefore, they want to stop this new introduction of religions by giving an orientation to the beggars before their migration*.

6.4 Political Impact:

The administrators of the *Tabias* said that there is a continuous pressure coming from the wereda and region to stop the existing trend of migration for begging. There are also some frustrations in that the land is supposed to be taken a way from such migrant beggars to stop the existing nature of migration. Some of the non-migrants have also supported this measure as the only means stop beggary. The model farmers, migrant beggars and *Tabia* administrators contradict such claims. They believe that taking a way the use right of the migrant beggars' land would be against the constitution and will question the issue of land security through out the country.

Summary

In general, the rural-urban migration has solved some immediate problems of the migrants. However, what is so far achieved is extremely low as compared to the expected benefits. Contrary to this, the rural-urban migration has brought a negative impact at the places of origin. Students are forced to cease their education in order to migrate and involve in begging. There is also a growing frustration of rural residents towards Health problems. The migrants are thought to transmit diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Typhoid. The introduction of new religions

* During the first stages of my interview with migrant beggars in Addis Ababa, one beggar has refused to discuss with me. His reason was that religious leaders at the place of origin had oriented him not to talk with people approaching systematically for they might be in a position to preach a new doctrine and religious ideology.

(doctrines) is also found to be a concern by the rural people of Adikala and Addisalem. Above all, there is a fear that the practice of begging would become persistent and hence followed by the next generation of the study area.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion and Suggestions

7.1 Conclusion

From the very nature of human beings, mobility seems to be natural and intrinsic. However, government policies, which are informed by theories and paradigms, has been encouraging and discouraging migration in light of their countries circumstances. The study revealed that, the migrant peasants have been using migration to Addis Ababa as a component of their livelihood strategy since the regime of Hailessiliassie. They were migrating at times of war and peace, starvation and abundance, drought and optimal climatic conditions etc. Some of them have considered it as a coping strategy and others as a portfolio to minimize risks. Therefore, it is healthy to consider migration as a livelihood strategy; provided that migrants are involved in productive sectors at the destination areas.

The coming into being of many peasants in to the world of begging would never be a sign of livelihood security and development. Rather it is an indication of someone's inability to win daily bread. In the world context, and more specifically in Ethiopian context, begging among active labor forces is the most dishonorable and hated sector. The peasants, as a component of this culture are also dissatisfied with the activity that they are involved. However, survival is better for them that sense of humiliation.

Of course, the migrants are dominantly migrated due to push factors. The fact that the income that they get from on-farm is not enough has made them to diversify to other income generating sources. In this sense, the peasants have used migration and begging as a component of livelihood strategy. Still, the simple attempt used to reduce the level of

poverty through credit provision has its own contribution for their out migration. The beneficiaries, who are unable to pay the credit back are supposed to be taken into prison. So migration in this case is used as a way to escape from the roads taking to jail. In every business, there is a risk, but who would be responsible for it depends on situations. Here, the problem of debt is resulted either by the borrowers or by the lending institution. This requires further detailed investigation. But, the fact that the peasants are unable to repay their credits should not lead them to prison.

The access to information has also dictated the destination areas and types of activities to which the migrants will be engaged. As a result, the peasants have decided to migrate to Addis Ababa and involve in begging just before starting their journey. This was so, because they have readymade information. This information is beyond the reality. What has been told about the income opportunities that the migrants would get through begging was unreliable. The presence of people from the same place of origin, i.e. existing social networks at place of destination have given them the confidence to migrate to Addis Ababa.

The bright light effect, simplicity of the job and their idleness during the dry season has made them to stick on begging as part of their livelihood strategy during the slack seasons. They know that begging is forbidden and unproductive sector, however, majority of them did not try to break this existing trend of migration to Addis Ababa. The experience of these peasants in begging has also created a sense of indolence and dependency syndrome. Most of them are not in a position to search for other off-farm and non-farm means of livelihood that can be used as an integral part of their livelihood strategy. The fact that they are vulnerable and insecure cannot be justifiable reasons for them to be beggars.

Moreover, begging so far hasn't brought any significant achievement in livelihood of the migrants and their families at the place of origin.

Begging, which was supposed to minimize risks and problems of migrants and their families have further deteriorated their economic status. It has negatively influenced the health condition of the rural people in the place of origin, questioned the educational hope and future progress of the study area, and it is becoming potential problem acting against the organic solidarity of the people (due to treats in religion). Above all, there is a growing concern that begging might be becoming part of the culture in the study area.

7.2 Suggestions

The issue of migrant beggars is very complex. The characteristics of migrants vary from one to other. Moreover, the perception of stakeholders on begging is also divergent. The absence of similar studies in Ethiopia and other developing countries is also a bottleneck to draw suggestions. However, it is possible to infer from this research and show some directions and scenarios that could be applicable to the wider policy context related to the migrant beggars.

It is found that the study areas have the potential to agricultural activities both rain-fed and irrigation. The climate, water potential, and market accessibility of the two *Tabias* can be mentioned as a strong advantage to the livelihood security of the people in the study area. Contrary to this reality, most of the peasants are producing grain once a year. The dry season is either devoted to migration, Productive Safety Net program or simply idle. Hence, Development Agents along with the *Tabia* administrators and model farmers should take part to give continuous education about irrigation, water harvesting, and planting of market-oriented horticulture, through which the peasants can gain a better

income. Development in this regard can minimize the number of out-migrants from the study area.

The existing perception of the people about migration is found to be negative. However, it should be noted that migration can be used as a livelihood strategy. Migration as a source of income could help the on-farm sector through direct investment in agricultural inputs, asset buildings and technology adoption and soon. This would be only true if the migrants are involved in productive sources of income generating activities. Hence, accessing information about the potential labor demanding areas and curbing the existing trend of Addis Ababa and begging is critical issue. The regional Mass-medias, the government officials and Non-governmental organization are supposed to take-part their role to this end.

The growing number of landlessness and tiny holdings are among the causes for the out-migration of beggars. In this regard, voluntary resettlement can be suggested as a possible solution. Moreover, a lot should be done to reduce the fertility rate in a joint way. Investing in education would also ease the burden over the land. Hence, parents need to be aware that sending their children to school is like accessing them vast arable land.

There is a better access (outreach) of credit in the two *Tabias*. Nevertheless, it is not supported with training, monitoring and other prerequisites to wards successful achievements. Let alone the beneficiary peasants, some of the employee of DECSI have no formal training or knowledge specifically related to microfinance. Hence, it is difficult to attain the objectives of the institution unless some reforms are undertaken. The agricultural packages that are given to the peasants are based on imposition than preference. Unless motivation and appropriate

training is given to the peasant, burdens of credits are channeled along with the agricultural packages. Therefore, credit institutions and Agricultural and Rural development bureau has to devote some time in giving trainings related to the loans (packages and cash), Continuous follow-up and monitoring need to be their every day activities. Beneficiaries' interest and Indigenous knowledge need also be considered in the selection of packages.

The existing measure (Putting them in jail) taken against the peasants, who are unable to repay the credit could not be a solution towards best achievement of microfinance. Rather it would create a kind of phobia towards microfinance and would remain to be a tailback to the development efforts

The issue of begging is usually a one-time concern among the officials of the regional government. They did not consistently work to solve the problem. Rather, what is so far done is pressurizing the *Tabia* officials to restrict the out migration of beggars. They have arranged transportation access to return the migrants, but this alone can't be last-longing solution. Hence, there should be a kind of initiative, which would work together with the migrant beggars to solve the root causes of the problem.

Everyone has the right for Education, but migrant children are denied this right. This is resulted due to the greedy nature of some parents and due to the problem emanated from destitution and widespread poverty. Continuous teachings about the connotation of begging, the importance of education in bringing sustainable development, the rights of children and other related issues should be given to the migrant and non-migrant peasants in the study area. There are also times, when some migrants have nothing to eat. Hence, they might prefer to migrate along with their

children, who were in the middle of their education. In this case, NGOs, especially those targeted on children are expected to invest in the feeding program through which the children would complete their schooling.

The alarming spread of HIV/AIDS from urban to rural areas is becoming a chronic headache among the peasants of Samre. Hence, such hesitation of people in the study area can be settled by enhancing the awareness of the people towards the diseases and developing the habit of Voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) before sexual relationship and/or marriage.

The Regional Educational bureau should also include the issue of begging as a bad practice in the curriculum at lower grades. The children need to grow with such moral teachings through which they could able to differentiate (sort) the culturally accepted values and practices from the non-accepted and immoral activities. However, this does not mean to break the existing social capital. In countries like Ethiopia, where social security funds are not yet developed, social capital plays a pivotal role to help the disabled, old aged and other vulnerable parts of society. Hence, the existing support system needs to be appreciated. However, who should be supported and who should stand-alone need to be differentiated. Therefore, the curriculum would also inform the almsgivers to identify the needy people. The Religious and other traditional institutions should also teach the people about the ethics of work and the negative implication of begging.

7.3 Further Research areas

The issue of beggary is still gray area for many research works. This study is not exhaustive as far as migrant beggars are concerned. Hence, the following issues are recommended as further research issues

- ▣ The impact of DECSI on the livelihood condition of the peasants of the Study areas,
- ▣ The nature and impact of child beggary to the overall socio-economic condition of the study areas,
- ▣ The opportunities and constraints of Productive Safety Net Program in the Study areas, and
- ▣ The impact of Hayba Dam and Small water harvesting technologies in food security condition of the peasants in the study area

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Questionnaire

Greetings Dear informants

The purpose of this study is to collect relevant data that could be used to tackle the problems indicated in the research proposal. Your personal information and secrets will be confidential and will only be used for this academic purpose. Have a nice time!

Section 1 Household Survey

Household resource and means of livelihood

1. Name of the head of the household _____
2. Sex _____
3. Family Size Male _____ Female _____ Total _____
4. What is/ are your sources of income?
 1. Crop cultivation
 2. Animal husbandry
 3. Trade
 4. Daily laborer
 5. Government employee
 6. Food aid beneficiaries
 7. Beggary
 8. If any _____
5. Do you have arable land?
 1. Yes
 2. No
6. If yes, what is the size of your land in "Tsmdi"?
 1. Less than 2
 2. 2-4
 3. 4-6
 4. More than 6
7. How much total production do you produce annually?
1995 _____ 1996 _____ 1997 _____
1998 _____ 1999 _____
8. How many times do you produce annually?
 1. Once
 2. Twice
 3. Whole year
9. In what kind of agriculture are you basing your livelihood?
 1. Rain fed
 2. Irrigation
 3. Both

21. If your answer is 'yes', mention the problems

22. If you don't have migration history, what do you think is the reason?

1. We are good in the place of origin
2. Migration is Taboo
3. We have no many to cover costs of migration
4. Fearing risks of migration
5. If any, _____

23. Do you have any plan to migrate in the future?

1. Yes
2. No

24. If your answer is 'yes', where do you want to go?

25. In the destination area that you have proposed, what do you plan to do? _____

Access to Social Services

26. How long does it take you to get educational service in near by area?

1. Up to 30 minutes
2. 30 minutes to 1 hr
3. 1 to 1:30 hrs
4. 1:30 to 2 hrs
5. More than 2 hrs

27. How long does it take you to get health service in near by area?

1. Up to 30 minutes
2. 30 minutes to 1 hr
3. 1 to 1:30 hrs
4. 1:30 to 2 hrs
5. More than 2 hrs

28. How long does it take you to get telecommunication service in near by area?

1. Up to 30 minutes
2. 30 minutes to 1 hr
3. 1 to 1:30 hrs
4. 1:30 to 2 hrs
5. More than 2 hrs

29. Do you have the access to electricity service?

1. Yes
2. No

30. How long does it take you to reach marketing place?

1. Up to 30 minutes
2. 30 minutes to 1 hr
3. 1 to 1:30 hrs
4. 1:30 to 2 hrs
5. More than 2 hrs

Section 2 Semi-Structured Interview

To: Migrant Beggars in Addis Ababa

1. Name of the informant _____
2. Sex 1. Male 2. Female
3. Age _____
4. Marital Status: 1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widowed
5. Member of your family: 1. Male _____ 2. Female _____
6. Educational background:
 1. Writing and Reading 2. Primary school 3. Secondary school
 4. If any _____
7. Place of origin 1. Womberet Adikala 2. Addisalem mayweyni
8. When did you migrate? _____
9. Do you have land in your place of origin 1. Yes 2. No
10. If yes, what is the size of your land _____
11. List down the assets that you have in your village?

12. How much cost do you incur for migration?
13. How do you reach on the decision to migrate?
14. Have you decided to engage in beggary before starting your journey or made your decision here in the place of origin?
15. Narrate your decision of becoming a beggar?
16. Currently do you have any member of your family accompanied you to engage in beggary?
17. During your stay in Addis Ababa, what benefits and challenges have you encountered?
18. If you have any contact with your family in your village, what can you say about your contribution to your families in the place of origin?
19. Explain if there is any problem that your families encounter due to your absence.

20. Do you have a plan to quit/continue earning money by way of beggary? Why?
21. Is there any difference in your living condition before entering to beggary and after? If yes mention it.
22. Some years ago, the government has brought migrants to their homeland. Thus where you been there? If yes why do you come back again? If no how do you view this decision

To Migrant Family in the place of Origin

1. Who is migrated from your family?
2. Who made the decision to migrate?
3. What are the basis for the decision to migrate?
4. Have you got any benefit from the migration of the member of the household?
 1. Yes
 2. No
5. If 'Yes', what are the benefits?
6. If 'No', why don't you get an advantage?
7. Is there any difficulty that you have faced due the migration of a member of your family?
8. Do you know in what kind of activity the member/s of your family is/are involved?
9. Do you have a plan to send additional member of your family for migration?

To Alms Givers

1. Do you give alms to beggars?
2. What is the justification behind to give alms to beggars?
3. Do you differentiate the needy beggars from others?
4. What can you say about your relationship with beggars?
5. How do you view the trend and composition of beggars comparing the previous with the present?

6. Do you have the plan to quite or continue giving alms?
7. How do you view migrant beggars in comparison with the non-migrant beggars?
8. What solutions do you propose to reduce the number of migrant beggars in Addis Ababa?

Section 3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

The FGD will be held among the selected members of groups listed below. For the purpose of discussion, the following general questions are designed to be used as a checklist.

To Returnee migrants

1. For how long have you been staying in the place of destination?
2. What were the reasons for your migration?
3. How do you decide to involve in beggary?
4. During your stay in the place of destination, how much was your average daily earning?
5. What challenges and opportunities do you face in the place of destination?
6. Because of your migration was there any impact positive/negative happening in your village (to your families)?
7. Why do you return back to your village?
8. Do you have the plan to go back for begging?

To Non-Migrants

1. You might have been informed about migration of people from your village to Addis Ababa to involve in beggary. How do you view this migration?
2. How do you compare your livelihood condition with the migrants' family?
3. Have you ever planned to migrate to Addis Ababa for begging? If yes, what were your reasons?
4. How is your relationship and social tie with the migrants family and returnees

To Honored Elders

1. What can you say about the potential of your *kebeles* as compared to the neighboring *kebeles* that you know?
2. What are the major problems of your *kebeles*?
3. As respected and knowledgeable members of the society, how do you perceive migration and beggary in relation to your culture?
4. Why do you think that your *kebeles* have the lion-share of beggars in Addis Ababa than others?

To Model Farmers

1. Is there any difference in the size of your land and household size as compared to the majority peasants in the study area?
2. What is your average annual production?
3. How many times do you produce in a year?
4. Have you ever decided to migrate? Why
5. What are the factors that make you to be model farmers?
6. What is your view about migration of peasants to involve in beggary from your village?
7. What factors do you think instigated the migrants to move to Addis Ababa and involve in beggary?
8. What can you say about the livelihood condition of the migrants' family?

Section 4 Key Informant Interview

To Regional, Wereda, Kebele Officials

1. How does your office perceive migration in relation to development?
2. What about migration of peasants to engage in beggary?
3. Why do the migrant peasants are mostly from Samre *wereda*?
4. What is your office's stand in relation to migrant beggars?
5. There were an attempt to stop migrant beggars through some interventions like bringing them back home and warning to deny the use right of their lands. Is it viable?
6. Despite the negative punishment, is there any attempt implemented to rehabilitate and fascinate the migrants so as to stay on their villages?

To Agricultural and Rural Development Office

1. How do you rate the resource potential of your *wereda* as compared to others in the zone, region?
2. How about the potential of kebeles womberet adikala and Addisalem as compared to others in the *wereda*?
3. What can you say about the food security condition of your *wereda*?
4. What can you say about the livelihood condition of the migrants' family in comparison with the non-migrants?
5. Which categories of the society have dominantly migrated in terms of age and sex?
6. Why are people from your *wereda* migrating so as to involve in beggary?
7. What impacts (positive and negative) does migration has to the place that the migration has created in the kebeles?

Table: General Socio-economic condition of the respondents

Ave. HH Size	Ave. size of Arable land (Timad)				Ave. annual Production (quintal)	Type of Agriculture (%)			Number of Production seasons		
	<2	2-4	4-6	>6		Rain fed	Irrigation	Both	Once	Twice	Whole year
	5.25	12.5	75	12.5		-	4-5	100	-	-	100

Table: Migration History of the respondents

Migration history		Reasons for migration		% Decision made						Future Plan to Migrate	
Yes	No	Push	Pull	HH head	Migrant	Whole family	Relatives	Friends	Government Policy	Yes	No
75	25	100	-	-	34	50	-	-	16	50	50

Declaration

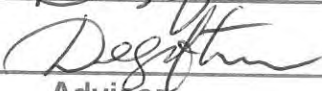
I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Declared by:

Tafere Berhe


Candidate

Confirmed by:

Degefa Tolossa

Advisor