Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

The Livelihood Strategies of Rural-Urban Migrants in Addis Ababa: Case Studies of Amhara and Gurage Migrants

By

Lalem Berhanu

College of Social Sciences

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

June 2002
Addis Ababa

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my sincere gratitude to the rural-urban migrants whose trust and cooperation made this study possible. I hope that their efforts to become successful in each of their endeavors bears fruit. I am also indebted to Pact-Ethiopia for allowing me to use their facilities. Their help allowed me to defray some of the costs of the research. My thanks also go to Dr. Getachew Kassa, my advisor, whose comments and suggestions were invaluable to the progress of the work. And most of all I would like to thank the Social Anthropology department of Addis Ababa University for giving me the opportunity to learn about many of the issues that enabled me to conduct this research.

CONTENTS

Program: MA in Social Anthropology, June, 2002.
Title: The Livelihood Strategies of Rural-Urban Migrants in Addis Ababa: Case Studies of Amhara and Gurage Migrants.
Candidate: Lalem Berhanu

ABSTRACT

Two kinds of approaches have emerged in migration research over the years. One approach takes a "macro" level view of migrants based on statistics and categorizations. The other approach uses "micro" level analysis relying mostly on qualitative methodologies.

The Ethiopian literature on migration shows that researchers usually favor "macro" level approaches. This research is an attempt to redress the imbalance by conducting a "micro" level qualitative analysis of the livelihood strategies of twelve Gurage and Amhara men and women migrants in Addis Ababa. The life histories of the migrants presented in this research have been composed in such a way as to present moving and intimate views of the individuals in relation to their past and present amid the dynamics of socio-economic integration into the urban way of life.

Amid the diverse nature of the life experiences of each of the case studies, attempt has been made to draw generalizations in the concluding section of this thesis regarding patterns of employment, social relationships, living conditions, incomes and institutional relationships. The livelihood strategies show us the sequence of social positions the migrants have occupied throughout their lives and the changing definitions of themselves and their world they have held at various stages.

In analyzing the life histories, attempt has been made draw comparisons with other research findings where relevant. In Addis Ababa, close to a half of the city's population comes from the rural areas. Cities have been the engines of development in the African context, including Ethiopia, and a look at the livelihood strategies of rural-urban migrants in the urban context can help us understand some of the major undercurrents of social change in the country.

GLOSSARY OF AMHARIC TERMS

Tej Bet	House selling mead
Tella bet	House selling the traditional alcoholic beer called Tella
Kebele	Smallest administrative unit in Addis Ababa
Ikub	Rotating credit association
Idir	Burial association
Senbete Mahber	Religious feast association
Araki	Alcoholic spirits
Inset	A herbaceous plant with the scientific name of Enset Ventrcosum that forms the staple diet of many in Southern Ethiopia
Chat	Mild plant stimulant that is chewed

INTRODUCTION

World-wide the movement and contact amongst peoples has historically played an important part in civilization, in the enrichment of cultures and the spread of technology. Thus migration has always been a crucial component of human development. (Bilsborrow et al., 1984:2).

According to the central statistics Authority (C.S.A. 1995), close to a half of Addis Ababa's residents were born outside the city, having resided in the capital for varying lengths of time. This magnetic appeal Addis Ababa has for Ethiopia's rural population, has important developmental implications for the country as a whole.

It is with an appreciation of this importance that the genesis of this research resides. In little over a hundred years since its birth, Addis Ababa has grown to become one of the major cities of Africa, with a population of around two and a half million (Ibid.).

Addis Ababa, as the seat of the government, as the central place of a large country, and as the focus of various economic activities, is constantly under pressure to expand. Amenities such as roads, bridges, water supplies, schools, hospitals, etc., need to be repaired or constructed continually.

All this activity requires a large army of both skilled and unskilled workers, and is the major absorber of migrant labor. Rural-urban migrants may find employment as household servants, in vending and petty trade, as laborers, prostitutes, etc., if they are enterprising. The earnings may not be adequate, and the working conditions

difficult, but they are usually considered preferable to the conditions in the rural homeland.

This research is about the life histories of twelve such migrants in the Shola Market and Megenagna areas of capital. My interest in these areas stemmed from my long period of residence there. Living only a hundred meters from Shola Market, over the last twenty years, I have witnessed the mushrooming of both the population and the economic activities of the area. Hence a deep interest was invoked in me to unravel the untold tales of the migrants there. Passing through the area daily, a large number of questions stirred in me, such as: What motivated the migrants to come to the city? What networks were used in integration? Were ties to the rural homeland maintained or severed? How were the means of livelihood acquired? How were the patterns of relationships transformed? How did migrants relate to state structures?

Much of the literature, based mostly on categorical analyses, fails to accord the questions regarding the livelihoods of migrants their due importance.

It was with such considerations that I embarked on a research process where the inner views of the migrants were given primary considerations. In the profiles selected for this book, the strands emerging from these stories were synthesized, so as to present the regularities and divergencies among the group using the socio-economic history of Ethiopia as a back-drop.

It is hoped that this thesis will encourage similar research that treats rural-urban migrants as individuals with their own identities, rather than looking at them as statistical categories or burdens on urban society.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

More than two decades ago White (1980), noted the divergent emergence of "micro" and "macro" approaches to migration research. The "micro" approach emphasizes the individual as a decision maker over time, while the "macro" approach examines the quantifiable characteristics of migrant's attributes, at a particular moment in history (Cadwallader 1989).

Urban studies on Ethiopia began to appear in the mid 1960's, and most of these early works concentrated either on historical trends and geographical aspects of urbanization (Akalou 1966, 1968; Alula 1974; Comhaire 1968; Horvath 1968, 1969; Mesifn 1965; Pankurst 1965), or on the ethnic dimensions of urbanization with special emphasis on Addis Ababa (Shack 1973; Fekadu 1973).

This interest into the process of urbanization, an important component of which is rural-urban migration, has continued up to the present time. However, since the 1960's and 70's, most studies have chosen to rely on quantitative rather than qualitative analysis (Berhane 1993; Kebede 1991; Yigezue 1997), and hence the "macro" approach predominates in the Ethiopian literature. These researches have painstakingly sought to give extensive breakdowns of the demographic characteristics of rural-urban migrants, using such indicators as age, sex, educational level, occupation, etc., providing analysis based on statistics.

However, migration rates are subject to the constant ebb and flow and intensity of a variety of push and pull factors such as droughts, conflicts, epidemics, etc., hence

the durability of quantitative data is questionable. Moreover, quantitative data usually only tend to give us a "snap-shot" of migrants at a particular moment in time, but rarely do they give us a comprehensive description of the coping mechanisms over time.

Although the qualitative approach cannot be said to be wholly absent in past research on rural-urban migrants in an urban setting, what literature there is fails to analyze fully and qualitatively, the livelihood strategies of rural-urban migrants in an urban setting.

It is this gap that this research attempts to fill by providing a case study based gendered analysis of Amhara and Gurage migrant's livelihood strategies. Utilizing qualitative approaches, it is an attempt to provide an alternative conceptualization of migration which emphasizes situatedness in everyday life.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of this research is to collect and analyze comparative data on the livelihood strategies of Gurage and Amhara men and women rural-urban migrants from the Shola Market and Megenagna areas of Eastern Addis Ababa.

The study was guided by the literature on migrants and their livelihood strategies. These studies have indicated that certain questions need to be addressed in the Ethiopian context, so as to establish the reasons behind the formulation of certain livelihood strategies, as a direct or indirect result of social, cultural and economic factors.

1.2.1 The specific objectives that guided this research included:

1. To document the profile and career development of twelve Amhara and Gurage men and women migrants at the research site.
2. To explore the significance of social relationships as a means of opportunity seeking.
3. To examine the influence of gender in the formulation of certain livelihood strategies.
4. To examine the role of kinship and ethnicity in the formulation of livelihood strategies.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Organization of the fieldwork.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted between the months of August, 2001, and January, 2002. Prior to the fieldwork, an extensive review of the literature on migration, especially rural-urban migration, was carried out, so as to obtain a conceptual understanding of the issues.

In the first two weeks of the fieldwork, the chief researcher canvassed the laborers and traders of Shola Market and Megenagna, so as to identify a potential key informant. Consequently, Demiss, featured in case study one, became both an interviewee and a paid key informant, because his relationships with the other-rural-urban migrants became instrumental in finding subjects for the research.

The strategy used in identifying rural-urban migrants to interview, followed Bernard's (1988:98) method of "snowballing" sampling; i.e., allowing already established networks of blood ties, community and friendship connections to guide choice.

1.3.1 Case Studies of life Histories as a Methodological Tool

According to Miles (1993), life histories form the basic component of oral history, and are increasingly becoming popular in contemporary research, because they are generally seen as a way of uncovering hidden information about the past.

In Africa, the primary use of oral history has been to uncover the past not found in written documents, especially the past of non-literate societies in the pre-colonial era (Ibid.: 31)

The life histories of this research are descriptions of the important events and experiences of each person in his or her own words. However, in constructing the testimonies, I edited the stories in such a way that they captured each persons feelings and outlook in life.

As research documents life histories should be constructed to illuminate the socially significant events in a person's career. Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 143) define this as; ***" … the sequence of social positions people occupy through their lives and the changing definitions of themselves and their world they hold at various stages of that sequence".***

This definition shows us that people's identity of themselves follows a systematic pattern in tune with the situations of everyday life. In piecing together the life experiences of the individuals, I identified the critical stages that shaped the careers and outlooks in life. Such an approach necessitated the intimate knowledge of the data. However, some topics or stories were irrelevant to the research question, and were set aside. But all the data that could have influenced the interpretation of the life histories was included.

An important stage in the writing of the life histories for this research was the editing of the testimonies to produce a coherent document. Because the interviewees

varied in their use of words and their abilities to express themselves, the different stories involved different kinds of editing. But in trying to make the life histories readable, great care was made not to put words into the research subject's mouths.

In order to give the inside view of the research subjects the primary focus, I left my own interpretations and comments in the introductory and conclusion sections.

Becker's (1966: vi) suggestions regarding the role of the researcher were helpful to this research. He had said;

> ***" The sociologist who gathers a history takes steps to ensure that it covers everything we want to know, that no important fact or event is slighted, that what purports to be factual squares with available evidence and that the subjects interpretations are honestly given. The sociologists keeps the subject oriented to the questions sociology is interested in, asks him about events that require amplification, tries to make the study jibe with matters of official record and with material furnished by others familiar with the person, event, or place being described. He keeps the game honest for us."***

In the last fifteen years in Africa, there has been a growing body of research conducted using the case studies of life histories approach to study the livelihood strategies of migrants (Keegan 1988; Mirza and Strobel 1989; Miles 1993). For example Bozzoli (1985), has documented the life histories of migrant women from Phokeng, South Africa. Bozzoli (Ibid.: 92) said that the case studies of life histories approach helped her uncover;

". . . what in the lives of the informants, of the processes and factors which our underdeveloped theories have failed to identify, what of the combinations of processes which although we may have previously identified singly, we have never thought of putting together".

This growing body of literature in Africa on migrants illustrates the richness and vitality of information case studies of life histories can uncover, and encouraged a similar approach for this research.

1.3.2 Interview Methods

The means by which this research was conducted was crucial in obtaining accurate data. Interviews were conducted in the work environment and in the local Tella bets (local beer houses) and cafe's of Shola Market and Megenagna.

Great care was made to provide a relaxed atmosphere for the interviewees, so that they may feel comfortable when talking about themselves. Interviewing in the work environment, also helped the chief researcher to observe the individuals while they went about their daily routine.

Moreover, the flexibility of allowing the interviewees to choose the location and time for the interviews, proved advantageous, because it caused the least disruption in their livelihoods.

Initially, the migrants were very sensitive as to the purpose of the research. They often asked if the research was for the police or tax purposes? In the first few weeks of

the fieldwork, the distrust was very prevalent. Therefore, guarantees had to be given that the study was to understand the livelihood strategies of rural-urban migrants only, and that there were no other motives. Guarantees that ensured confidentiality were also given. That is, no names would be used in documents without each interviewees consent. It was finally agreed that either first names only or nicknames would be used.

However, as the interview process progressed, and the migrants became more confident about the researcher's trustworthiness, finding willing subjects to interview became much easier.

The interview methods utilized resembled the "narrative interview technique" as first propounded by Schutze. He had said;

> ***"The narrative interview is . . . one of those data collection techniques which attempt to reconstruct, as immanently as possible, the stock of experience and orientation of the informant, with the researcher largely refraining from exerting any influence . . . and with the informants viewpoint determining what is relevant and what is not"(1978:51).***

Taylor and Bogdan (1984:77), define qualitative narrative interviewing as**; *"…repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words."*** Such interviews are conducted like conversations between equals, rather than question and answer exchanges.

By utilizing this approach, an attempt was made to offset the imbalances in the social, educational and economic backgrounds between the researcher and the research subjects. Something that is lacking in more structured questionnaire methods.

The number of interview sessions for each subject varied. The researcher met from two to five times with each interviewee, depending on the time constraints. Each interview session lasted from one and a half hours to two hours.

Throughout the interview process, field notes were taken not only to record the statements, but also to note non-verbal expressions. All interviews were conducted in Amharic.

As a way of checking the veracity of the statements made, the researcher cross-checked some of the information from each interviewee with the key informant.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The interpretations of life histories have caused much debate and disagreement over the years (Little, 1980; Langess and Frank, 1981; Crapanzano, 1984; Geiger, 1985; Angrosino, 1989). Most of the questions revolve around issues of reliability; i.e., have the research subjects lied? how reliable are the memories? and are the testimonies simply an interpretation of the facts?

Stoller (1986), for example, found that his research subjects had a problem with memory, as they could not remember the chronological sequence of events. As a consequence he had to abandon his research.

Miles (1993), cites the case of Patricia Nhlapo, a Swazi woman who chose to conveniently "forget" information. Although she was willing to be interviewed about her life, she had an unnatural fear of being recorded on tape. Consequently she evaded

certain questions, or even refused to answer them. But, Miles adds, in interviews, it is sometimes what an interviewee does not say, rather than what is said, that yields more information.

It was Miles' (Ibid.) conclusion that in and of themselves, life histories should not be used as sole sources of information, but rather should be put into the context of other research.

Keegan (1988), discussed the ways in which researchers could check on the veracity of oral testimonies. He said that it is possible for researchers to "read between the lines" and judge the quality of information by evaluating the consistencies or inconsistencies of statements. Moreover, Keegan adds, the researcher should also set up a mechanism for cross-checking facts with other independent sources of information. Such sources of information could be key informants, friends, relatives and acquaintances.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 A Survey of the Literature

The case study approach utilized for this research, consists of biographical material collected about particular individuals. Giddens (1986: 696) says that the case study approach, utilizing the compilation of life histories of individuals and the livelihood strategies they employ, has been highly successful and widely utilized in both anthropology and sociology.

One of the earliest and most celebrated studies to make valuable use of this approach was "The Polish peasant in Europe and America" by Thomas and Zaniecki, first published between 1918 and 1920 (Thomas and Zaniecki 1966). Giddens (1989) says that they were able, using the case studies of life histories approach, to provide a more sensitive and insightful account of the experience of Polish migration than would have been possible with other methods.

Pelto and Pelto (1970: 75), also recognized the value of life histories by saying that the richness and personalized nature of such an approach, affords a vividness and integration of cultural information that is immensely useful for understanding the livelihood strategies of groups or individuals.

One of the earliest qualitative works in Ethiopia on rural-urban migrants was Fekadu's analysis of Gurage voluntary associations (1966). He said that Gurage rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa, used voluntary associations to raise their self-image, integrate the traditional methods they left behind with modern methods, as well as improve their material conditions.

In particular, looking at the "Sodo-Gurage Association", Fekadu said that this organization mobilized resources among both the rural and urban Gurage, so as to construct a much needed road in the rural home of its members. Fekadu says that there are important socio-cultural and historical reasons for this success in mobilizing resources for common development. Gurages in both the rural and urban areas, have historically depended to a great extent on voluntary associations such as Ikub, Idir and Senbete Mahber (see appendix for definitions of terms), to solve many of their basic problems. Fekadu asserts that the Gurage have always had different associations to deal with different problems. Fekadu's research is highly informative in that it shows how voluntary associations have been used to assist individuals and groups, especially rural-urban migrants, in their formulation of livelihoods strategies.

Bjeren (1985), using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, tried to show the ethnic and gender stratification of occupations among rural-urban migrants in Shashemene town in Southern Ethiopia. She discovered that there was a definite relationship between a man's ethnic category and the means of earning his livelihood; i.e, she found an ethnic differentiation of occupations, with some groups dominant in occupations entailing a great deal of mobility, such as the Amhara in the military, and others being concentrated in occupations where mobility was not a factor, such as the Woliata in menial labour occupations. Elaborating further on occupation and gender stratification, Bjeren says that relative to men, women have fewer livelihood strategy choices open to them. She found that most women, making their living within marriage, tended to share the occupations of their husbands. The husbands also tended to be of the same ethnic group, hence the tendency towards an ethnic differentiation of occupations was not counteracted, but encouraged by marriage (Ibid.: 162).

The independent women in Bjeren's study, however, tended to support themselves by petty trade and prostitution. One of the most popular petty trades Bjeren discovered in Shasheme, was Tella (local beer) selling. In this trade, an independent woman, if successful, might not even choose to get married at all. And a prostitute, could often have the ultimate goal of opening her own bar, rather than seek security in marriage. But these women, according to Bjeren, always saw marriage as an alternative if their business endeavors failed. Thus to these women, marriage was one of many livelihood strategies they could access (Ibid.).

Shimelis (1997), using archives and oral sources, gives an account of Kistane migration from 1900 to 1974. The Kistane are a section of the Gurage ethnic group, and Shimelis' historical account shows how migration, mainly to Addis Ababa, transformed the community. Elaborating on the push and pull factors, Shimelis says that the Kistane began migrating from their native areas largely as a result of over population and shortage of land. However, they were attracted to the capital because of the employment and business opportunities they wanted to exploit.

The record of Kistane migration (Ibid.) dates back to the late nineteenth century, when Emperor Menelik founded Addis Ababa. The emergence of Addis Ababa as a capital had important implications for Ethiopia because it also lead to the development of a centralized market economy with Addis Ababa as its hub. It was this growing economic centralization that the Kistane migrated to exploit. The seventy four years of history Shimelis relates, shows how the Kistane in the capital have become particularly identified with certain market trades and crafts. The Kistane were able to establish and sustain themselves in these crafts and trades for many decades, through the exploitation of social networks that were largely based on voluntary associations and kinship ties.

Looking at the variable successes in integration into the urban way of life, Shemelis says that there is an increasing trend toward social and economic stratification in Addis Ababa among the Kistane. This has been largely as a result of differences in income and education, and therefore, according to the author, the urban Kistane are gradually shedding their urban exclusivity and homogeneity, and are starting to mirror the wider society in Addis Ababa (Ibid.).

Kebede (1994), discussed the impact of rural-urban migration on the social welfare and quality of life of people in the cities and towns of Ethiopia. His analysis, largely based on quantitative data, takes a mostly negative stance towards rural-urban migration. He asserts that the growth of urban populations as a result of in-migration, puts pressures on the already inadequate infrastructures, social services, the job markets, etc, of cities. And because of this, some way of limiting the flow of people from the rural areas must be found. Kebede's views, stand in sharp contrast to the earlier cited work by Shimelis (1997). That is, he does not think that rural-urban migrants flock to cities to fulfill the labor demand and take advantage of the business opportunities, but prefers to think of them as merely burdens that must be dealt with.

Worku (1995), looked at the impact of migration on village life among the Gumer of Gurageland. Using qualitative methods, he gives an extensive account of the push and pull factors in migration. Worku found that his informants emphasized poverty, shortage of land and over population, as important push factors in the decision to migrate. In particular, quoting an eighty year old informant, Worku says that given the poverty in Gumer, it would have been impossible for the people to survive had it not been the safety valve of rural-urban migration. This informant told Worku that the money sent by urban relatives to their rural kin, played an immense role in Gumer's rural economy. Describing the cultural influences, the

informant also said that migration had helped " civilize" rural Gumer , in that they adapted to new modes of dress, and realized the value of education and modern healthcare because of the influence of the urban Gumer. Thus the Gumer believed that rural-urban migration was an asset to the people, similar to their farms, cattle, marriage institutions, etc.

However, Worku does not examine in any detail, the livelihood strategies employed by migrants as they try to cope with urban living. Rather, his study is instructive in that it shows how the Gumer utilize rural -urban migration as a livelihood strategy by itself, to perpetuated their culture and society.

Metasebia (1999), studied the economic problems of poor female headed households, a part of whom were rural-urban migrants. She found that such women were largely involved in the informal sector, usually performing the least profitable activities. She concluded that such women had very few livelihood strategy choices available to them, because of the cultural attitudes to women.

Tegene (2000), recognizes the shortage of research material on migration identifying the patterns, causes and consequences of migration in Ethiopia. He says that migration is the main cause of urbanization in Ethiopia, adding that if such trends continue, the prospect of balance urban growth in Ethiopia faces an uncertain future. Tegegne concludes by calling for governmental policies that will reduce the pressure to migrate, along with policies that will encourage acceptable patterns of migration.

Thus as indicated above, much of the literature in Ethiopia on migration fails to accord the livelihood strategies of migrants the attention it deserves. The overriding characteristic of much of the literature, is a preoccupation with " macro" level analysis, where the demographic characteristics and the push and pull factors of migration are analyzed. What

"micro" level or qualitative approaches there are, are overwhelmingly concentrated on just one of the ethnic groups of Ethiopia - the Gurage.

Therefore, much of the methodology and general approach of this research was guided by the material from outside Ethiopia. These works, from widely varying cultures and countries, had appreciated the "macro" and " micro" divide in migration research, and had tried to rectify the imbalance by conducting researches on migration and urbanization based on the life histories or the " micro " approach. In the following pages, some of the works that were influential in guiding this research are presented.

Majumdar and Majumdar (1978), studied rural-urban migrants in a squatters colony in New Delhi, the capital of India. The study was exploratory in character, designed to discover the physical and social environment of the residents. From the start, the authors sought to give the " inside" view of the migrants after they had arrived in the city. Seventeen case studies of life histories are presented by the authors, with the stories movingly presenting many of the features of social life, in particular, the strong drive to survive, even under situations of extreme poverty and deprivation, along with the capacity to adapt. The authors say that immediately after migrating, family and kinship attachments experience a transformation because of effect of the geographical dispersal. However, these kinship bonds rarely completely break, but continue in different forms in the urban context. Because city life is more permissive when compared to the rural areas, the authors say that the marriages of the migrants experience considerable more stress.

Aronson (1978), examined the livelihood strategies of seven Ijebu Yoruba migrant families in the city of Ibadan, Nigeria. He explicitly states that his case studies of life histories approach, was an attempt to counteract the prevailing technique of ethnographic writing to

present a static analysis of society. Thus Aronson sees the need to present a processual account of Yoraba migrant's lives in all its cultural and social complexity.

The seven families Aronosn studied (Ibid.), varied greatly in income, size and domestic arrangements. And this in turn meant that they tended to experience the stresses of urban life differently. But he found that all of his research subjects kept close ties with their rural relatives. They viewed rural-urban migration as part of the way of life in modern Nigeria, and not as an indicator of the breakdown of Ijebu culture and society. In fact, what Aronson observed was a continuation of rural Ijebu traditions in the urban context. Such rural Ijebu traditions as childhood dutifulness, the fostering of children with well-off relatives and friends, along with assuming of obligations for needy kin, were traditions that found expression among urban Ijebu.

The continuance of these traditions, according to Aronson (Ibid.), means that the Ijebu do not see their culture as being negatively impacted by urbanization. Anthropologists have often tended to view culture as containing an unchanging set of roles, but the Ijebu example shows us that this is not so. The fact that there are now Ijebu technicians, builders, printers, etc., as well as rural farmers, does not present the Ijebu with a cultural contradiction, but only means that these new urban roles are an expression of a particular moment in Ijebu cultural history.

Bozzoli (1991), reports on the comprehensive oral documentation project which began in 1982 at the university of Witwatersrand, South Africa. The research examined the life histories of rural black South Africans in the Transvaal region. Bozzoli says that this project helped her to focus on the life experiences of black South African women in particular. She found that the recording of the life histories of individual black South Africans, has furthered

the understanding of South African social change in the twentieth century, in addition to showing how social forces can profoundly affect the individual.

2.1.1 Conceptual approaches to migration research

Gutkind (1974: 62) says that conducting urban research has been particularly challenging for anthropologists because of the fluidity and complexity of relationships, and also because of the size of populations.

Urban society is not only large, but is internally more differentiated, and really is an agglomeration of a series of sub-sections. These sub-sections may include various ethnic groups, occupations, political groups, etc., that may be easily definable or loosely unit. Some may have continuity through time, while others are of short duration. But whatever their individual characteristics, they are designed to serve a multiplicity of purposes for the urbanite (Ibid.)

All cities, regardless of size and location, are composed of types of neighbourhoods, housing estates, courtyards, markets, inner cities, suburbs, slums and many other focal points where people meet to conduct their daily lives. This means that each city has its own particular urban social ecology and diverse distribution of population (Ibid.: 162).

These areas can be defined as units composed of people who willingly live according to shared characteristics like ethnic background, language, religion, wealth, etc. When living in urban environments, people everywhere in the world tend to drift to the areas of their choice based on the above and other criteria. For example the rich may choose to live in poor areas, because it enables them to stay closer to people of their own ethnic group, while others might not desire ethnic homogeneity but choose to live in mixed communities. African towns

are typical of this heterogeneity, and are not the homogenous super slums that some in the West have claimed them to be (Ibid.).

This heterogeneity has important implications for urban anthropology in Africa, because it is in many ways the determinant of social relationships. An analysis of the social relationships in urban neighborhoods can yield information at both the "macro" and "micro" levels. At the "macro" level, relationships may reflect the important characteristics of a city, a region or the nation of which is a part. For example a look at economic activities might indicate the commercial, agricultural, entrepreneurial and industrial levels of development of the nation as a whole. At the "micro" level, we can analyze the unique characteristics of a group and how they relate to the wider society. But most important of all, "micro" level analysis can show us how people have managed there lives through time.

Barth (1967:668) discussed the nature of information yielded by "Micro" level analysis of people lives, he said;

> ***"People make allocations in terms of the payoffs that they hope to obtain, and their most adequate basis for predicting these payoffs are found in their previous experience or in that of others in their community. …. Whatever ideas people may have, only those that constitute a practicable allocation in a concrete situation will be effected. And if you have a system of allocations going - as you always must where you can speak of change - it will be the rates and kinds of payoffs of alternative allocations within the system that determines whether they will be adopted, that is institutionalized."***

However, analyzing the behavior patterns of individuals in cities has become more complex because of the increasing variability of urban values brought about by modernization and social change. But however complex, anthropologists should not shy away from " micro" level analysis of urban society because it may be the key to understanding many of the social changes taking place in society.

The African rural-urban migrant who leaves his peasant lifestyle to go to the city, is thrown into a very competitive system with radically different economic structures. The typical migrant is young, unskilled and has very little formal education. But he is suddenly faced with a society that highly values these very attributes he lacks, does not properly understand and does not control. A small proportion of unskilled workers may find employment as petty traders, but the majority make their livelihoods as porters, security guards, messengers and odd job men

(Gutkind 1974: 82).

In contrast to their peasant lifestyle, new migrants must learn to adapt to the different circumstances by learning to obey orders, work with people not their own kin or ethnic group, and above all learn to budget their meager wages, because much of their earnings will have to be spent on the purchase of food (Ibid.:83).

The desire to obtain a living wage introduces the new migrant to new social relationships and institutions. The work environment increase social contacts, and membership of a trade union or an occupational group may end up becoming more valuable that kinship or ethnic relationships (Ibid.: 84).

Steady urban employment for the migrant often brings with it the potential for social and economic mobility. But with increasing aspirations also come increasing demands at the "macro" level where questions such as better wages, living conditions, security of

employment and workers rights begin to be aired. Thus the " micro" level analysis of urban livelihoods may reveal the nature of social and economic transformation at the national level (Ibid.).

In the African context, urban life, social change and modernization have come uniquely together, because cities have been the engines of development. In urban Africa, certain lifestyles have been developing that are being adopted by many, and are becoming the basis for values and aspirations. Thus rates of migration and the lives of migrants can be considered as sensitive barometers of social change, and the types of social organizations created by the migrant reflect the major undercurrents of social change in African society (Ibid.: 34).

Rollowagen (1980: 371), says that anthropology has for too long looked at the world using the isolationist perceptive, i.e., it treats societies as untouched integrated wholes.

What is needed says Rollowagen (Ibid.), is a recognition of the world as evolutionary and interdependent. This approach is particularly necessary when conducting research in cities. The major challenges faced by anthropology in the urban context, are conceptual rather than methodological, i.e., how to identify the context in which to put particular observations.

At the core of an interdependent and evolutionary approach is the idea of process, because all cultures are in a processes of continual adaptation with each other. The evolution of today's cites must be looked at thorough the concept of a world system of cultural systems in adaptive interaction. This world system then, incorporates different cultures within it, and this enables the explanation of the global forces that have shaped and are shaping our world. For example the industrial revolution, colonialism, development and under development, may be productively analyzed by using this approach, and cities provide much of the roles necessary to keep these global forces functioning (Ibid.).

Manger (2002) studied the history of the migration of the Hadrami from their homes in Hadramut, South Yemen, to areas around the Indian Ocean. His approach to migration was uniquely historical, but it has brought with it a number of challenges; the first of which is how to handle comparisons in space and time. The migration of the Hadrami to Africa, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, to India and South East Asia, has brought them into highly varied local conditions, economies, political systems and socio-cultural frameworks. Moreover, the spatial extension of the community must be understood in the context of time, because the Hadrami are a people for whom migration has been a fact of life for many centuries.

But Manger's (Ibid.) work goes beyond an analysis of the extent, persistence and continuity of links between migrant communities. He believes that the Hadrami migration history poses important conceptual challenges to anthropology. The fact that people in much earlier historical periods took part in a continuous process of movement, cultural contact and interdependencies, brings new light into our understanding of the contemporary processes globalization. Manger says that at the conceptual level, it shows the futility of looking at societies, culture and even the nation-state as relatively isolated integrated wholes.

Mann (1986: 1-2), takes a similar view by saying;

> ***"Societies are not unitary. …. they are not totalities. We can never find a single bounded society in geographical or social space. ….Because there is no whole, social relations cannot be reduced……to some systemic property. ….There is no one master concept or basic unit of society. ….Conceiving of societies as multiple, overlapping and intersecting power***

networks gives us the best available entry to the issues of what is ultimately …. determining in societies".

Manger (2002), also discusses the argument in anthropology between the "top down" and "bottom up" approaches. The former analyses the structural and systemic forces in society, while the later emphasizes the actors who shape these forces. Researchers have often regarded these two approaches as irreconcilable, but they do not represent a dualism to Manger. He says that; ***"Society is a process constructed historically by individuals who are constructed historically by society, i.e., in a dialectic between historical actors and the structure of society" (P 41).***

Thus people are not single passive reactors and enactors of a system, but are also active agents who make their own history through contestation, borrowing and reconstructing. And this in turn means that society and the individual are not separate entities, but that individual histories can also be regarded as social histories (Ibid.).

Manger's (Ibid.) pragmatic approach can be amply observed in his cross-cultural studies of the Hadrami. His account of their transnational migratory history, leads to a re-evaluation of earlier debates regarding identities of ethnicity, race, class, etc., as fixed.

Pratt (1992: 6-7) takes a similar conceptual view by saying that;

"… the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish on going relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict," emphasizes, "how subjects are constituted in their relations

to each other," stressing, "copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices…within radically asymmetrical relations of power".

Abrahams (1982: 195), looked at the relationship between actors and events in terms of their significance to sociological investigation. He said that events should not be chosen for investigation because of their historical reality, but that their significance should lie as markers of transition. Thus to Abrahams, the analysis of events is an attempt to understand the experience of individuals vis a vis social organization, with time as a common denominator. The events to be studied could be chosen from many different contexts, such as;

"….in personal biographies, in the rise and fall of whole civilizations, in the setting of particular events such as a revolution or an election, or of particular developments such as the making of the welfare state or the formation of the working class"(Ibid.: p6-7).

Manger (2002) amplifies Abrahams' views by saying that researchers should recognize the relationship between events and acts, and focus their analysis from the point at which an event occurs, to its preconditions and consequences. Manger also believes that because human behavior occurs within a cultural context, the theories and other abstract conceptualizations that emerge from research must be balanced by empirical evidence.

Manger's thinking is exemplified in his approach to the Hadrami migration history (Ibid.), because he has studied them as both structural social systems that span the Indian

Ocean region, as well as individual or community biographies. Thus according to Manger, the "macro" or structural approach is complimentary with the "micro' approach which looks at individual or community biographies.

Roosens (2000), discussed the relationship between migration and ethnicity. He said that in situations of inter-ethnic interaction over many years, as exemplified by the mixed urban areas of Belgium, the relationship between the concept of ethnic "boundary" as put forward by Barth (1969), and ethnic identity, poses serious theoretical problems for anthropology. Their fieldwork among migrant Moroccan and Turkish populations in Brussels, Belgium, led them to conclude that ethnic identities are closely tied with kinship and family genealogies. They say that;

> ***"The backbone of immigrant ethnic networks and groups established in Brussels among whom the members of our… team conducted their research seems to be kinship and family, and the feeling of continuity over the generations which goes with it. ..… The overwhelming majority of immigrants…all keep their "home" family network and local community as their first and most important social space of reference. They left their folks behind, often a painful experience. As migration very soon developed into chain migration, family relations or local community relations in the country of origin and in the country of immigration became vital and instrumental." (Ibid.:88)***

2.1.2 Informal social networks as coping mechanisms

Mitchell (1969), giving one of the earliest definitions of social networks, said that they were a specific set of linkages between a set of persons, and that the characteristics of these

linkages could be used to interpret the behavior of the individuals involved. Social networks emerge from the existence of recognized rights and responsibilities between individuals. The primary raison de etre for social networks, is for resource mobilization to climb the social and economic ladder of success.

The "micro" level analysis of specific ethnic groups, social networks, elite groups, occupations, etc., in the urban context, can be used as the entry point in documenting the characteristics of the structure and organization of a society. Similarly, one can also study events that on the surface seem of minor significance, but in many ways reflect the characteristics of an urban totality (Ibid.).

Informal networks are important in the formulation of livelihood strategies in the Ethiopian context. Miles (2001), says that Africans have a long history of organizing themselves through informal or formal channels to overcome the problems they face.

But due to their low degree of formalization, social networks have been difficult to identify by outsiders like researchers and policy markers. Moreover, social network analysts have been criticized for being too rigid in their methodologies. Their over concentration with accuracy, has led them to rely too much on the statistical manipulation of network ties, with the result that, as Ottenberg (1980: 185) put it ***"…the individual as a human being disappears in the network calculation."*** Thus, because of this, the literature shows that social networks have been much less studied than other formal institutions.

Lourenco-Lindell (2001), studied household strategies for food provisioning in Bissau, Guinea-Bissau. She says that the residents of many African cities like Bissau face many challenges, because they have witnessed unprecedented urban growth, faced increasing competition for resources, and have had governments fail to provide basic services as well as jobs. And in recent years, structural adjustment polices have reduced real incomes and made

education and healthcare increasingly unaffordable. But urban populations have fought back in a variety of ways. They have organized in new ways to make up for the lack of services and jobs by increasingly becoming engaged in networks of mutual exchange of goods and services. Because of this, Lourenco-Lindell maintains that the informalizaton of the economic life of African cites has reached phenomenal heights.

Lourenco-Lindell (Ibid.), says that researchers must remind themselves that there are informal institutions operating in urban Africa that sustain the livelihoods of the poor which afford a measure of social and economic security. Individuals are embedded in webs of relationships that ensure access to resources such as jobs, places to live, and sustain them though crises.

Lourenco-Lindell (Ibid.), conducted her fieldwork in Bissau in 1992 and 1995. The social networks she observed were motivated by ***"…a combination of shared norms and individual self-interest, of collective goals and instrumentality, of egalitarian and exploitative relationships, of conflictual and co-operative relationships" (p. 43).***

The author (Ibid.) distinguishes between the roles and functions of social networks and associations. She regards social networks as more flexible and responsive to individual needs than associations. And the fact that the poorest may find it unaffordable to gain entry into associations, makes the operation of personal relationships for support all the more important.

In what she sees as the widening context of material poverty in Bissau (Ibid.: 35), urban dwellers have developed a variety of informal rights that are not properly understood by formal economics, cannot be enforced in courts of law, but seem to be sustaining people's livelihoods. Thus the "moral economy," too often associated with only traditional pre-capitalist societies, is not disappearing, but flourishing in non-market forms of exchange in

urban Africa. The author concludes by calling for more research regarding intra-network politics and their relationship to the wider processes in society, so that there could be an understanding of why different groups and individuals vary in their abilities to mobilize support.

Simone (2001: 46-61), focuses on what he calls the "invisible" ways in which resources are mobilized in Dakar, Senegal, and Johannesburg, South Africa. In Dakar, Senegal, Simone says that the cohesion of social networks has its roots in the traditions of the people, in their ethnic affiliations and religion. But in Johannesburg, South Africa, however, the networks are not based on religion or tradition. With the fall of the apartheid regime and the repeal of the laws governing migration, great numbers of people have moved into Johannesburg, not only from other areas of South Africa, but also from the Sub-region and Africa at large. And Simone finds that the social networks are generally based on these migratory patterns.

Simone's (Ibid.) study shows the great fluidity of social networks which defies identification. But he argues that it is their very fluidity and ad hoc nature, that turns them into valuable tools for responding to changing environments. An understanding of such processes, can lead policy makers to incorporate many of the practices into formal economic and social planning fora.

Miles (2001), discusses the informal networks utilized by poor women in Swaziland. These vulnerable groups are forced to create and draw on social networks to survive. These networks are reciprocal in nature, and originate form old and tried rural traditions of communal work parties, which are re-established in the urban environment to help in the integration into the urban way of life. Miles (Ibid.: 66) identifies three important coping

mechanisms. These are; burial and church societies, rotating credit systems, and land and housing acquisition schemes. But these support groups, in the face of urban economic adversities, have gone beyond their traditional roles to provide moral support, jobs and other basic needs. This has been because Swazi migrant women, with no education and marketable skills, have always faced marginalization in the urban labor market. Unless these women know somebody in the city who knows somebody else, the search for a job and a place to stay will have limited chances of success. Thus it is Mile's assertion that Swazi women have adopted strategies to overcome the obstacles to their ambitions.

Membership in voluntary associations have always been ways in which rural-urban migrants in Ethiopia have adapted to urban ways. Alemayehu (1969), studied the influence of Idirs and Ikubs in Addis Ababa. He found that migrants often face dislocation and disorientation when first confronted by urban realities, but by joining voluntary associations like Ikubs and Idirs, they come into contact with migrants who have stayed longer in towns, and through them learn new modes of behavior and establish contacts to help them along in securing jobs, places to live, etc.

CHAPTER THREE

Background to migration and Addis Ababa

3.1 A brief history of Addis Ababa's development

The beginnings of Addis Ababa go back to the late 1870s, when the Emperor Menelik marched from the old Shoan capital of Ankober, to establish the seat of government at Mt. Entoto, on the northern section of the present site (Garretson 2000).

In 1881, the ruins of an old settlement thought to have been the capital of the sixteenth century monarch Lebna Dengel, was discovered at Entoto. Menelik on visiting the site, declared that he would resurrect the old capital, and ordered that a new city be built at the location. Entoto had much in common with other past Ethiopian capitals, in that is stood on an easily defensible mountain, which was surrounded by a deep trench. Moreover, Entoto was attractive as a site for the new capital, because it was situated on the watershed between the Blue Nile Basin and the Awash river valley, and hence provided easy access to most of central Ethiopia (Ibid.).

Initially being a military camp, the new capital consisted of just tents, but within a short period of time the tents were replaced by permanent buildings. Though Entoto had considerable advantages as a military camp, it soon become apparent that it did not have the necessary amenities to serve as a peace time capital with a rapidly expanding population. Located on a rugged mountain, it lacked the necessary supply of wood for cooking and house construction . Water was in short supply. It could only be reached by an arduous climb, and the climate tended to be cold and windy (Ibid.).

Thus before long, the Emperor was convinced of the necessity for moving the capital to the lower and flatter countryside to the south, where the land was better watered and the climate milder (Addis Ababa city council 1989).

The original site of Addis Ababa used to be called Finfine, due to the hot springs to be found there. Menelik and his entourage used to make their way down to take the waters. During one such visit, Menelik's wife, Queen Taytu, asked for land on which to build a house near the springs. By 1887, Taytu's house was complete, and the principal officials of the state were allotted land around it. The Queen, struck by the beauty of the surrounding shrubs, christened the new settlement "New Flower" or Addis Ababa. (Ibid.).

Early in 1889, work on Menelik's palace and other important buildings of state was begun. However, because these early buildings were primarily made of wood, they were destroyed by a fire which broke out in 1892. But by 1894, all the destroyed buildings were replaced by sturdier stone structures (Garretson 2000).

During this period, some important innovations were introduced to Ethiopia, the most noteworthy of which was the installation of piped running water for the palace. As was the custom in past capitals of Ethiopia, the Emperor's palace was surrounded at various distances by the residences of the principal officials of the state. These officials, who had themselves numerous followers, were spread out in a large area around the palace. The main market was situated west of the palace, next to the present municipality building. It dealt with both local produce and a wide variety of imported goods (Ibid.).

After Menlik's victory at the battle of Adwa in 1896, in-migration led the city grow to such an extent that it started facing serious shortages of timber, and Menelik began to seriously consider moving his capital west, to the town of Addis Alem, near the great forest of Menagesha. But Addis Ababa had become too deeply entrenched to be abandoned so easily.

Many prominent officials and foreign legations who had invested heavily in buildings, resisted any relocation. Moreover, arrangements for the construction of the Ethio- Djboutian rail way had been made, and any diversion of the line to a new capital would have entailed complicated negotiations.

However, the introduction of the fast growing eucalyptus tree in the 1890, brought about a change for the better in the supply of timber, and by 1905, Menelik formally abandoned the idea of moving the capital (Addis Ababa City council 1898).

With Addis Ababa's future as a capital now firmly secured, efforts were made to improve the city's water supply by digging more wells and building the first reservoirs (Ibid). By 1910, it was estimated that the city's population stood at 60,000, but this population sometimes increased to 100,000 or even 200,000, when important chiefs congregated in the capital. In the early years of the twentieth century, Addis Ababa was the center of many innovations. In 1905 the nation's first bank, Abyssinia Bank, was opened. In 1905 the first hotel was established by Queen Taytu, in 1907, the first modern school, and in 1911, the first state printing press were opened. By 1917 the Ethio- Djiboutian railway line, long under construction, finally reached Addis Ababa (Ibid.).

Addis Ababa also witnessed considerable growth the during the long reign of Haile Sellassie (1939-1974). During this time, the pace of the construction of modern buildings, bridges and asphalt roads increased rapidly, and the multiplication of modern hospitals, schools as well as better urban amenities, was most striking.

Many observers have pointed out that Addis Ababa occupies a unique place among Africa's major cities. It has few centralized characteristics, and is a place of contrasts, where the traditional and the modern intermingle, mud huts and skyscrapers, donkeys and motorized vehicles, tourists and peasants, all come together to make up Addis Ababa.

3.2 Migration and its implications for the development of Ethiopia

Kebede Mammo (1994), says that Ethiopia has not been without its urban episodes in its long history. Axum, Lalibella, Yeha and Gonder all had flourished at various times in the past. However, with few exceptions, history shows us that following Axum, Ethiopia never developed fixed urban centers because of the political nomadism that prevailed in the country until Emperor Menelik II established a permanent seat of government at Addis Ababa at the end of the nineteenth century .

Menelik's step had important consequences for the country as a whole because the new capital also brought with it economic centralization with Addis Ababa as the focal point. It is this process of centralization that has and continues to be a magnet for the migration of rural people to the capital (Ibid).

At the time of Addis Ababa's establishment, only two other urban centers, Harar and Mekelle, could boast of populations in excess of 10,000 (Ibid: 26). The emergence of an urban system with Addis Ababa at its focal point was facilitated by four important factors, these were;

> ***" ……the establishment of a central government; ……the introduction of modernization elements such as transport and communication networks, schools, hospitals, modern businesses, etc.; ……The emergence and development of such towns as Dire Dawa and Nazreth as a result of the Addis Ababa Djibouti railway line; ……and Ethiopia's exposure to the outside world which for centuries had been closed" (Ibid).***

In Ethiopia, the process of urbanization has resulted in the domination of one primate city, Addis Ababa, over all the other urban centers of the country. The statistics reveal the great

disparities. The capital's population accounted for about one third of the country's total urban population in 1994. But this domination was not only in terms of size, the capital also took the lion's share of all the modern facilities in terms of modern schools, hospitals, roads, etc. These huge differences has meant that Addis Ababa has over the years become the main attraction for rural people who want to escape poverty (Ibid).

In 1995, the Central Statistics Authority estimated that at six percent growth, Addis Ababa's population should reach 3.1 million by the year 2002. While it is true that natural birth rates are high for urban as well as rural Ethiopians, half of the increase in the urban population will be as a result of in-migration from the rural areas. Thus rural-urban migration is an important indicator of the social and economic developments that have been occurring in Ethiopia.

But this huge influx of people has brought problems for Addis Ababa as well as for the other urban centers of the country. According to a study conducted by Unicef (1983), 90% percent of the urban population of Ethiopia lives in sub-standard housing. This means that 57.5% have no toilet facilities, 39.4% are without proper kitchens, 92.5% have no bathing facilities and 39.1% use non-electric sources of power for lighting.

But urbanization and migration, despite the problems mentioned, have brought about profound changes to Ethiopia as a whole. They can be seen as processes whereby the country has been gradually freeing itself form rural life and dependence on subsistence agriculture.

3.3 A general description of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa is situated on the country's central plateau, at an altitude of about 2500 meters above sea level, on 9¾ degrees North Latitude and 38¾ degrees East longitude (Horvath 1966).

The capital has a large and growing population estimated in 1995 to be around 2.5 million. The growth of the capital is largely as a result of rural to urban migration, and such migrants account for about one half of the city's population (CSA 1995).

In terms of climate, the days in Addis Ababa tend to be warm but not usually hot, with the maximum temperatures prevailing from March to May. The nights are usually cool, and sometimes cold. The main rainy reason extends from July to September Addis Ababa has on average of 136.9 days of rainfall, with the amount of precipitation approximating 50 inches (Horvath 1966).

Addis Ababa is the cultural, economic and administrative capital of Ethiopia. It is the hub of business activity, and is the center of the nations civil aviation. The Ethio-Djibouti railway has its inland terminal in the city, and the nations highway system spreads from the capital in all directions. (Addis Ababa city council 1989).

Most of the present growth of the city is to the south, where industrial and residential areas are expanding rapidly. In the Northern section of Addis Ababa lies Addis Ababa University, where there is also located the ethnographic museum of the Institute of Ethiopian studies. Just to the south is located the National Museum. Towards the center of the capital lie the palaces of the Emperors Menelik and Haile Sellassie (Ibid).

Addis Ababa cannot be said to have a centralized commercial area, but Merkato, to the west, is one of the largest market places in Africa. In the central section, lie the areas of Piazza and Churchill road, the sites of many popular shops and restaurants that run down from the municipality building to the railway station. (Ibid).

In the Eastern part of the city are located the secondary market centers of Shola Market and Megenagna. These areas are only second to Merkato in terms of volume of trade. They

feature traditional open markets selling perishable good as well as modern shops, delivering goods at retail and wholesale in large scale (M.P.R.P 2001).

The literature regarding the activities and demographic characteristics of Shola market and Megenagna is limited, but it is known that the commercial activities are largely informal in nature. Much of the trade in perishable goods is conducted by peasant farmers from the area just outside the city limits, and this regular influx of rural people creates a severe congestion in the open market areas. The actual area of Shola market is said to measure around 0.77 hectares, but on the market days of Wednsday, Friday and Saturday, the market expands greatly (Ibid).

The Woreda 16 city administration area in which Shola Market and Megenagna are located is said to have a population of around 74,632, of which 34,453 are women, and 40,179 men. To the North the Woreda borders the Oromia Regional State, to the West it borders the Kebena river, to the South the Haile Gebresellassie road and to the East Woreda 25. Most of the people in the area are considered among the poorest in Addis Ababa, and live in crowded sub-standard tenements that lack proper roads and basic utilities. Because of the crowded nature of the houses and the uneven topography of the land, much of the population is subjected to periodic flooding of both rain water and excess sewage (AddisAbaba City Administration 2002).

In little over a hundred years from its inception, Addis Ababa has grown from a military comp to an important international diplomatic center. The headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa was established in Addis Ababa in 1958. In 1963 the city hosted the African Heads of States conference, and was selected as the site of the organization of African Unity Secretariat. Numerous other international agencies and embassies have their offices in the capital. (Addis Ababa City Council 1989).

To the North and East of Addis Ababa lie the major grain producing areas of the country, while Ethiopia's main export, coffee, is produced in the regions to the south and west.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Life Histories

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the life histories of a series of individual rural-urban migrants. Utilizing Manger's (2002) approach, each profile is presented in such a way as to provide an intimate view of a rural-urban migrant in relation to his or her past and present, amid the dynamics of socio-economic integration into the urban way of life. These individuals come from different ethnic groups, occupations and genders, and each inhabits his or her own particular world. As such, on the surface, one might find it difficult to attempt at any generalizations, but amid the diversities, there are regularities. Generalizations might be drawn regarding causes, patterns of employment and income, living conditions, institutional relationships, etc. However, in seeing such parallels, one must be careful not to impose pre-colored conceptualizations and frameworks, but let the focus wander unencumbered through the aspirations, apprehensions, successes and failures of each individual.

4.1.1 The Amhara male migrants

Case Study no. 1

Demiss was born about 50 years ago in a small farm near the town of Debre Markos, Gojjam. He says that his parents supported him and his six other siblings through what they produced on the farm, and through the produce of the many heads of cattle which they raized on nearby rented land. It is their cattle, that make Demiss' family some what better off than the other peasant families in the neighbourhood.

Demiss' father died when he was only three years old, but because of the cattle wealth of the family, the mother was able to raise and educate at nearby church schools, all her seven children. Demiss remembers these years as the best of his life. At his mothers insistence, Demiss married at the age of eighteen, and over the next two years became the father of two children. However, his new family increased the pressures on the hand, and Demiss decided to seek another way of supporting his family.

Demiss had heard that the Ethiopian police were seeking new recruits in Addis Ababa, and decided to try to enlist there. The minimum requirement was an ability to read and write in Amharic, and so Demiss' Church schooling enabled him to enter the Ethiopian police academy at Kolfe near Addis Ababa. There he received military training, which led to his eventually becoming a member of the country's elite police rapid deployment force, charged with dealing with violent crime.

Over the years, Demiss served in many areas of the country such as Assab in Eritrea, Bahir Dar in Gojjam, and Ambo near Addis Ababa. It was while he was working in Harar, that Demiss decided to go back to school and complete sixth grade. Throughout the time he was with the police, Demiss would take every opportunity to return home to invest in cattle to support his family. But his children had increased over the years to seven, their land was becoming over

crowded, and his family and children were becoming increasingly dependent on his remittances for their survival.

Demiss says that he enjoyed life in the police. During the Dergue era (1974-91), the government was deeply involved in fighting various anti-government rebels around the country, but Demiss says that he was not much affected by the conflicts even though he was a part of the country's armed services. He says that because of his friendly and agreeable character, his superiors like him so much that he was always kept as a secretary at headquarters. Thus while many of his colleagues saw much fighting and even died, he spent much of the civil war years quietly. By 1991 Demiss had served for fourteen years in the police and had risen to the rank of lieutenant.

But at this time something happened that was to affect his life drastically; and this was the fall of the Dergue regime in 1991. The new government in Ethiopia told Demiss that his services were no longer required, effectively sacking him without any compensation. This was something he had not expected, and found himself with only 250 Birr in savings and on the streets of Addis Ababa with nowhere to live.

Throughout his time with the police, Demiss had often visited Addis Ababa and become familiar with its business climate, and hence decided to start a new carrier as a trader. He approached a cousin who lived in the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa, and with a 500 Birr loan from him began trading between Debre Markos in Gojjam, and Addis Ababa. In Debre Markos, Demiss would buy honey or Ethiopian butter, and would bring it to the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa to sell, and with the proceeds, he would buy special cloths to sell in Debre Markos. However, Demiss says that because all of his profits were taken up with the support of his poor wife and children, his business could not become self-sustaining, and he soon became bankrupt after only a year of trading.

Then with a friend, Demiss decided to work for a while as a laborer in the coffee plantations of Jimma, in South-Western Ethiopia. After two years of work picking coffee in Jimma, Demiss and his friend, who was originally from Gondar, decided that they had saved enough money to return home to establish cattle herds. The two had saved two thousand seven hundred birr each, and because of the closeness that had developed between them, they decided to keep the money together in a bag until they reached Addis Ababa. On the trip to the capital the bus had to stay overnight in the small town of Meki, and there they rented lodgings for the night. In the middle of the night, Demiss says that he arose to go to the toilet, but when he returned, he found that his friend had disappeared taking all the money with him. Neither searching for the man nor contacting the police or alerting the neighborhood was to no avail, because the thief, being a migrant, had no identification documents or any known address, so Demiss had to give up any hope of ever recovering his money. But he still continued his journey to Addis Ababa, and for the second time in three years, found himself almost destitute on the streets of the capital.

A woman he used to trade with in the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa, gave him 14 Birr to survive on, and with this Demiss started the life of a full-time laborer in the Shola Market and Megenagna areas of Addis Ababa. Initially, Demiss rented floor space to sleep on in a hut in the market area for 0.50 Eth. cents a night, but in time, he met with a well-of benefactor who hails form his area of Gojjam, and this new friend decided to give him free lodgings bcause he took pity on his predicament. Thus for the last five years, Demiss has been living in a two meter by three meter corrugated iron room in the Shola Market area at no expense.

Demiss goes to work at about eight in the morning dressed in an old and patched up suit. His shoes are made from strips of old tyres sewn together. He first visits the traders and shops in the area that he usually carries things for, to see if they will be needing him for the day.

Much of the portering Demiss does, is done on a contractual basis. That is, there are businesses that regularly need things, and they have an agreement with Demiss that he should supply them with certain items on certain days. For example, a bakery might want grain bought, milled and brought to its premises on certain days, and it is Demiss' job to do it. He buys the grain from a wholesaler, carries it to a mill with the money for the job, and takes the flour to the bakery with any remaining money. The job requires trust, and is conducted as if one is among friends. Demiss has a very open and friendly character, and as is observable when one walks with him through the market, he as many friends. Demiss is well aware that his livelihood depends on trust and good-will, and goes out of his way to be nice to everyone.

Demiss claims that with the money he makes, he sends about one hundred birr every month to his wife and children back home in general support, and about seven hundred birr every year to buy seed during the planting season. He sends about the same amount to buy fertilizer because the land has become so degraded it cannot be farmed without fertilizer. Four of his children are now married with children, but they are still unable to support themselves fully, and hence they still depend on him. With all that, Demiss says that he can pay for his expenses in Addis Ababa, help his family, and save around four hundred birr a month. He plans eventually to save enough money to establish a flour mill of his own in his home town in Gojjam. This is because it is a business he knows best, and he wants to retire helped and surrounded by his children.

Demiss says that over the years, he has tried to formalize his residence in Addis Ababa by taking out a Kebele identity card. However, he has been barred from doing so by the Kebele authorities because he cannot present a letter from his original locality stating that he has relocated for good. In Ethiopia the government owns all land, and such a letter would entail

with it the loss of any land rights in his native land. Hence Demiss has no choice but to live in Addis Ababa without any proper documents.

Even through he thinks that the opportunities in Addis Ababa are better, Demiss does not want any of his children to migrate to the capital to join him. This is because the work, even through lucrative, exacts a heavy toll on ones physique, and thus he would rather they stayed in Gojjam to keep an eye on their land until he can return with enough money tom establish his flour mill.

Case Study no. 2

Tessema is a broad shouldered, short man in his early fifties. He was born to a peasant family not far from the city of Gondar in Northern Ethiopia. I had wanted to interview him about some of the unique challenges and achievements of life, because my key informant had suggested that he would be a good subject for a case study. However, Tessema rebuffed all my approaches to talk to him, and because of that I had to rely on my key informant for information about his life.

Tessema's parents died when he was about ten years old. Being thus left an orphan with no one to take care of him, he was given over to another peasant family to work as a servant. The arrangement was that he would live and eat with the family, and for his services would be paid in grain every year which he would be able to sell to cover his other expenses.

But the arrangement never worked out smoothly. The family he was with treated him harshly. They made him work very hard and paid him poorly or sometimes not at all. There were times when he would even face physical abuse. After five or six years of this, Tessemma decided to leave Gondar and come to Addis Ababa to try his luck. He initially worked in various parts of the city as a laborer, doing what came his way, and sleeping on veranda floors

that he rented for a few cents a day. He eventually found a regular job loading and unloading trucks of the government Grain Marketing Enterprise during the Dergue regime. The job was not a salaried one, but because he was a registered laborer with the enterprise, he had regular work, being paid according to the amount he carried at the going market rate. After about six or seven years of this, Tessema decided to leave the enterprise and work as a free lance laborer in the Shola Market area. He had been known by now as a long serving, trust worthy laborer, and because of this reputation had no trouble finding work.

The life of a successful laborer is dependent on trust, and Tessema filled it admirably. For example, a customer would go to the market and notice an assortment of vegetables she might want, but had forgotten to bring enough cash for the purchase. The customer and the proprietor would then agree on a credit sale, with the money to be collected at the customer's house on delivery. Then Tessema would negotiate his carrying fees and follow the customer to her house carrying the goods. When reaching the house, Tessema would hand over the goods, collect the money for the proprietor to deliver it as per his instructions. Thus Tessemma was trusted with the goods and with the cash. This continued trust over a long time had made him popular in the Shola Market area, and he was much in demand.

This role Tessema fulfils must be understood with the general nature of migrant labor in mind. Most rural-urban migrant laborers in the Shola Market area, do not have proper identification documents, nor do they have fixed addresses. Their livelihoods depend on transitory work, so they may never stay in one place for a long time. Thus because of this, laborers must prove their trustworthiness if they want work to come their way. My informant tells me that there are those in the market area who have disappeared with the goods or money entrusted them, but because they have no identification papers or addresses, they are rarely caught. Hence the premium on reliability.

The goods Tessema often carries are sheep, pepper, charcoal and vegetables. His popularity in the market area has meant that he has been able to save money in excess of 50,000 Birr. Tessema is regarded as a kind of hero to many of the laborers in the Shola Market area because of the amount of money he has been able to earrn from portering, and many of his colleagues want to emulate him.

However, it has not just been hard work that has enabled Tessema to save so much money from manual labor, he is also very disciplined about spending money. Most laborers in the area, after a hard days work, often go to the local beer and spirits shops to drink and dance the night away. But Tessema rarely goes out to drink, and stays away from people who like to go to such establishments. My key informant has pointed out many laborers in the market area, who have worked hard all their lives, but because of alcohol addiction, have destroyed their health and been reduced to begging. Thus, one of the major social problems facing the rural-urban migrant laborers of the Shola and Megenagna area is alcoholism.

However, despite his accomplishments, Tessema is not without his problems. Being in his early fifties, he often thinks about how he is going to retire. His closest friends advise him to start a flour mill business either in Addis Ababa or Gondar, his native home, because that is a business he is most familiar with. But Tessema is illiterate and does not know how to manage a business. He is even more reluctant to form a business partnership with others, because bankruptcy would mean that he would have to start all over again, and that would be difficult to do in middle age.

Currently, Tessema lives with a lady friend of his, who has been kind enough to give him lodgings in her home in return for doing chores around the house. She hails from his area of Gondar, and their relationship seems to be one full of mutual respect and kindness. But

throughout his life, Tessema has been single, and has not fathered any children. Thus retirement by being taken care of ones children, is out of the question for him.

Tessema, like many other rural-urban migrant laborers, does not have any proper identification documents, and therefore is not registered as a resident of the capital. This makes it very difficult for him to open a proper bank account, because banks require proper identification documents for account holders. Thus Tessema is forced to keep his money at home and among people he trusts. And this was the reason why he rejected my overtures to talk to him in the first place. He was afraid that I would know about his money at home, and this would be a security risk. In fact, what to do with his money, and how to progress in life, is a major preoccupation of Tesema's. His illiteracy and childlessness means that he has very few options. At present, his plans are to continue working as a laborer, and when he is too old to work, to start living off his savings until they run out. Tesema's dilemmas are by no means unique. The question of how to improve ones livelihood, seems to be a perennial question among rural-urban migrants.

Case Study 3

Workeneh was born near the town of Yirgalem, in Southern Ethiopia, to farmer Amhara parents forty years ago. During the imperial regime his parents were landowners who lived by renting land to peasant farmers, and by raising cattle. Hence they could afforded to send Workeneh and his ten brothers and sisters to school.

However, the family’s economic situation changed drastically after the fall of the imperial government in 1974. The new socialist Dergue regime nationalized all land, and

Workeneh's family was left with only a small plot of land to subsist on. But despite all the difficulties, Worekenh struggled on in school to complete the eleventh grade.

The Dergue regime, says Workeneh , had embarked on a great expansion of the army and security forces of the country, and Workeneh came to Addis Ababa to enlist in the police force in 1984. On completion of basic training in the police, Workeneh's superiors were so impressed by his abilities that they made him a plain clothes policeman. Workenh is reluctant to talk about his work in the security services, but says that he enjoyed his work very much, and looked foreword to rising through the ranks.

But things changed drastically when the Derge regime was overthrown in 1991. The new government, says Workeneh, instituted massive layoffs in the security services, and Workeneh became one of its victims. He says that he never thought that he would be thrown out like that by an organization he had served so diligently for many years. His savings were meager, and the prospect of being unable to feed his wife and two children loomed large.

In desperation, Worekeneh started working as a daily laborer on building sites around Addis Ababa. The job involved carrying stones, sand and cement, and was physically very exacting. In 1993, Workeneh was hired as a laborer on a major construction site involving an Italian contractor. The Italian engineers noticed that he spoke English and that he was a quick learner, so they appointed him as a building assistant in change of laborers. Workeneh says that he used this position to learn every thing he could about the techniques of building. He was inquisitive, and the engineers obliged by giving him more and more responsibilities. On completion of the construction project, Worekeneh felt that he knew enough about building to embark on a career as a freelance builder in his own right.

Worekeneh credits his high school education as being instrumental in helping him earn a living, both in the police force and as a builder. Hence, he is expending great efforts to have his

children educated, because he understands that the road to respect and prosperity in today's world is through education.

Workeneh says that the life of a builder has its ups and downs. Work is not always available, but when he does work he is satisfied with the amount of money he makes. He has been a builder for several years, and has become known as a good and trustworthy man in many parts of the capital, especially in the Shola and Megenega areas, where he was observed and interviewed for this case study. He charges around eight birr per square meter plus expenses to build. Workeneh does not advertise his services, but relies on his network of friends and professional colleagues to find work. He is not a licensed builder and does not pay any taxes, so he is part of what might be called the informal economy.

Worekeneh lives in a Kebele house with his family, because, he says, that is the only affordable accommodation available in the capital. His house has its own electricity, water and telephone lines, and he is proud of the fact that he can afforded these utilities as many of his professional colleagues lack them. Workeneh says that he does not want to remain a builder for the rest of his working life. The work is physically demanding, and he believes that as he grows old, he will be unable to cope with the stress. Ultimately, Worekeneh hopes to save enough money to be able to operate his own kiosk .

Case Study 4

Kassa is not sure how old he is exactly, this is because he is illiterate, but estimates that he is some where in his mid-seventies, born to a peasant couple near Gondar in Northern Ethiopia. His childhood was spent tending the family cattle and helping his father to plow.

In the early years of the 1936-41 Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia, Kassa's father decided to join the Italian army as a soldier. He was enticed to join because of the

attractive wages being offered by the Italians, and was not much perturbed by the fact that he was assisting in the colonization of his country because as a peasant, he felt that he did not have much of a stake in the contemporary social order of Ethiopia. Towards the end of the occupation period, Kassa's father died of illness in Addis Ababa, and Kassa came to the capital with his relatives for the funeral, and decided to stay in the capital for good.

At the beginning, Kassa found that there were very few jobs he could do in the capital, his illiteracy and newness to the urban way of life being the major hindrances. The only jobs he found were those involving menial labor. Thus in the first few years after his father's death, Kassa worked as a laborer in many of the market areas and construction sites of Addis Ababa. Kassa says that in those days (early 1940s), despite the work being hard, life was good because the cost of living was much lower and a hard worker could accomplish much with the meager wages of a laborer.

After about three years as a laborer, Kassa says that he became much more acclimatized to urban living, and started seeking better employment. Thus towards the mid-1940s, Kassa became a security guard at an expatriate's house. The work was easy, as all he had to do was to sit at the gate opening and closing the door for his employer. The job came with free uniforms, food and board, and Kassa was able to save some money. But most valuable of all, Kassa learned how to cook in his spare time by assisting the cook at the expatriate's house. In Ethiopian culture cooking is almost always left to the womenfolk, but Kassa wanted to learn about cooking because he wanted to learn about " ferenji" cooking (i.e western food). After about three years of this, Kassa was confident enough to work as a cook at another " ferenji's"

(i.e westerner’s) house. The job meant more pay, and Kassa felt that he was moving up in the social scale of the capital, because expatriates paid their staff considerably more than locals.

He did this type of work for about seven years, working in different " ferenji" homes. But in the early 1950's, Kassa became increasingly unable to find jobs at expatriate's homes paying the wages he had grown accustomed to, so Kassa says that he was forced to return to working as a menial laborer in the market areas of the capital, including Shola Market. He does not remember exactly how long this episode in his life lasted, but says that in must have been over twenty years.

In 1974, the new socialist revolutionary government of Ethiopia jailed Kassa for a year on a weapons possession charge. On being released, Kassa resolved to become a builder by trade. He did this by being employed on construction sites around the capital and observing the process of construction. This training period only lasted a year, and afterwards Kassa started working as a freelance builder on his own. Even though he was unlicensed, Kassa says that he found much work through his social networks, and did this job for about thirteen years.

But because the work was physically hard and demanding, and because he was growing old, Kassa then decided to find another, easier occupation. Thus in the late 1980s, he became a painter. Painting homes was similar to the building trade in that Kassa found work through word of mouth, the work being part of the informal economy. Throughout his long career as a builder and painter, Kassa has never paid any taxes or sought trade licenses.

Kassa says that he worked as a painter until three years ago when he became the victim of an automobile accident which injured his back. After the accident, Kassa says that he has had to seek treatment constantly at his own expense, as the driver of the car which hit him was poor and did not have any insurance.

Kassa has been married since the early 1960s to a local girl, and is the father of four children - two boys and two girls. He says that he has had a hard life, a life where he was unable to earn enough money to even own his own home or save much money. His current

dwelling is a modest rented Kebele house which he shares with his wife and one adult son. Kassa says has he has been poor all his life, but despite that, he has made enormous sacrifices to have his children educated and brought up without any deprivations. And this he believes, is his greatest accomplishment in life. All of his children have finished high school, and Kassa is proud of the fact that he has been able to send one of his daughters to computer school. Most important of all, he has been able to send three of his children to Sweden, where they are working and studying. Kassa says that it is their remittances that is keeping him alive in old age. He believes that migrating to Addis Ababa all those years ago, only enabled him to eek out a meager living, but today's generation has the chance of going aboard for a much greater economically secure life.

Kassa is a slim man of average height, and despite all the years of hard work, looks younger than his age. When I first met him for an interview, he was very suspicions of my motives, thinking that my real purpose was to ask him about his political beliefs. But as he answered my questions in a café in Shola Market, he realized that the information I wanted had no real political significance, and he relaxed considerably.

I met Kassa through Workeneh,, one of the case study subjects of this research. Workeneh introduced me to Kassa because he had been his neighbour and mentor when Workeneh lost his job in the police force in 1991. Kassa had advised him to work as a laborer on construction sites, so as to learn how to become a builder. Thus Workeneh's career paths after 1991, were guided by the advice of Kassa, his neighbor.

Kassa's life is instructive in that despite all the professions he has attempted in his life, it were his children that were able to provide him with any measure of economic security. And the fact that he had to send his children abroad, shows how rural-urban migrants are

broadening their gaze to horizons beyond the seas as away of attaining the livelihood security that has been elusive at home.

4.1.2 The Amhara female migrants

Case Study 1

Aynalem was born 34 years ago to a young Amhara peasant couple near the town of Debre Birhan, just north of Addis Ababa. While Aynalem was an infant, her father joined the army. This meant that there was now no one to plow their farm any more, so Anyalem and her mother decided to move to Addis Ababa. The father who was away on military duty around the country, was able to send money home to support his wife and child. An additional reason why the family decided to relocate to the capital was that they thought that young Aynalem would stand a better chance of a good education in Addis Ababa.

Thus soon after their arrival in the Shola Market area of the city, Aynalem was enrolled in a traditional school teaching Amharic. On completion, she joined the Kokebe Tsibha state school to being her formal education. Aynalem recalls that she was very keen on her education, hoping someday to become a teacher or a nurse. Her parents were also very supportive, because they realized that education was the only ticket to social and economic respectability in the modern world.

However, it was at this juncture that something happened to Aynalem to alter inexorably the course of her life. One day, at the age of seven, while playing with friends outside her house, a seventeen year old neighbor of hers called her in to his house saying that he had something for her to take to her mother. Aynalem thought nothing of this because they boy was a family friend, and went into the house to see what he wanted. The boy then sized her, locked

the door, tore off her clothes and violently raped her. Her screams, meanwhile, had alerted the neighbors, who forced open the door of the house and seized the rapist. The boy was then taken to the police station where he was charged with assault and rape. Eventually he was handed a ten year jail sentence for the crime.

But the damage to Aynalem proved too difficult to erase. She says that she quickly overcame the physical injuries of the rape, but the psychological problems persisted and even grew worse. Aynalem found that she could no longer concentrate in the classroom, and on her learning in general. Moreover, she started suffering from fits of fainting, which had the tendency of occurring anywhere at any time. Describing her struggle with this illness, Aynalem says that once, while helping her mother cook, she fainted, falling into the fire used for cooking. Fortunately she suffered only minor burns, which she quickly recovered from. On another occasion, while on an errand for her mother, she says that she fainted on a deserted road just a couple of kilometers from her house. She lay there unconscious for several minutes, until some strangers noticed her, carried her to a nearby house, and made inquiries as to who she was. Her mother eventually came and collected her.

Thus Aynalems psychological state was such that she had to quit school, practically giving up all her dreams. Obtaining modern medical care for Aynalem was difficult because of the expenses involved. Her father had died in 1979, and her mother was barely able to subsist by selling vegetables on the roadside in Shola market.

Aynalem visited many traditional healers and doctors in Addis Ababa over the years, but to no avail. As a last resort it was decided to send Aynalem to a traditional doctor in Debre Birhan, near their old home. This man treated her for about four years. Because Aynalem did not have much money, she paid him by doing domestic work in his house. At the end of four

years, Aynalem returned back to Addis Ababa, not wholly cured, but in a much better state of mind, with the fainting spells much reduced.

There was no question of going back to school now. Her widowed mother was to poor to pay for an education. Thus Aynalem had now to work to support herself and her mother in the kebele house they rent from the state. Lacking any skills, the only jobs that Aynalem could do were those involving manual labor.

Her first job was washing clothes by hand for paying customers in Shola Market. She did this for a couple of years, but had to find another job because the work made her hands ache. While working as a clothes washer, Aynalem had made many friends among the laborers of Shola Market, and these friends advised her to change to portering as a better way of earning a living. She followed their advice, and has been working as a porter ever since.

Aynalem's work-day starts from around eight in the morning. She goes to one of the several flour mills in the Shola Market area, and waits until she is called by the mill's proprietor or one of the customers to carry a sack of grain or flour. She negotiates her fee for carrying the load according to the weight and the distance to be carried. Her busiest days are the market days of Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. She likes the job because she can set her hours of work, and can make a lot of money if she chooses to work hard.

Aynalem is the only woman laborer in the Shola Market and Megenagna areas, but only her friends know this. She cuts her hair short and wears men's clothes. She is even addressed by the masculine nickname "Kebe". So people hire her services thinking that she is a man. Aynalem says that being disguised as man, is the only way she can overcome people's perception of portering being a "man's work".

Aynalem often gets generous help from her friends at work. If a load is too heavy, they help her with tying and loading the sack on her back. They even make sure that

enough work comes her way so that she does not go home with empty pockets. This generosity, according to my key informant Demiss, is because of sympathy regarding her rape and subsequent mental problems.

Curiously, Aynalem says that she does not have female friends. Her manner of dress and occupation put women off, she says. Thus her spare time is spent relaxing with her male work-mates at one of the Tella houses in the Shola market and Megenagna areas.

Aynalem is the mother of four children, three girls and one boy. The oldest is seventeen and the youngest eight. The children were fathered by different men out of wedlock. Aynalem says that the men in her life have always been dishonest with her. Through promises of marriage and a better life, they had managed to get close to her, but when she became pregnant had deserted her.

Even though Aynalem is only thirty four years old, one gets the impression that her past experiences have exhausted her. Her face is lined, and her body not that of someone young. She says that at the center of her life now are her children. Through great sacrifice she and her mother are educating her children. She is striving to give to her children what she was denied - a chance for a better life. She also believes that by supporting her children, they might one day be able to support their mother.

Case Study 2

Zenebech was born about fifty years ago to a peasant Amhara couple near the town of Komblocha in Wollo. Her family was poor, and as a consequence neither she nor her five brothers were ever taught to read or write. Zenebech's childhood was spent helping her mother with chores around the house, as was the custom with girls in her area. However, when Zenebech was in her early teenage years, her parents decided to arrange a marriage for her with

one of the young peasant farmers of the neighbourhood. Zenebech says that she had no choice in the matter as no one asked her if she would like to marry. The whole arrangement was conducted between the elders of the area, and Zenebech entered the life of a married woman at a time when she was to young to understand the ways of he world, let alone love her husband.

After a few months of married life, Zenebech, being unhappy, decided to secretly run away form here husband and the area, to look for a better life elsewhere, but more importantly, to be able to be to control her own destiny. She first went to the town of Dessie in Wollo, not far from Kombolcha, to stay with a relative until she found a job. The relative helped Zenebech get a job as a domestic servant. She did this job for a few years, until she had saved enough money to pay for the bus fare to Addis Ababa, along with some extra money to live on until she could get a job. To arrange for her trip, she sought advice from people about the best and safest place in Addis Ababa to go to. Her friends told her that Addis Ababa was dangerous place for a single, poor newcomer, and told her that it would be best to got to the Shola Market of Addis Ababa, as there were people there who could help her. The bus route form Wollo runs by Shola Market, so it was easy for Zenebech to reach her destination.

Thus about three years after running away form her husband, Zenebech arrived in the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa. On arrival, as she had been told, Zenebech started asking around to be taken to people form Wollo who had settled in the neighborhood. Zenebech says that a lot of single young women from Wollo come to Shola Market to work in the bars as waitresses and prostitutes, as there is a demand for girls especially form Wollo, because they are considered particularly pretty. Zenebech was taken to one such bar where the girls took her to a place where she could stay with other migrant girls for a while, until she could decided what to do. The lodgings consisted of floor space for sleeping on in a large room, rented form an

individual, who in turn rented it from the Kebele. For about fifty cents a night, many girls like Zenebech have a place to stay until they have the resources to move on.

Zenebech says that the life of a prostitute was never attractive to her, and decided against becoming a bar girl. She stayed at his location while working as domestic savant in the area. Zenebech then says that she met a man who also hails form Kombolcha, and married him after less than a year in the capital. The man was a security guard at a beer factory, but despite the meager wagers he earned, they tried hard to moke their marriage work. Zenebech says that after her wedding, she stopped working entirely to begin the life of a housewife.

Initially, the couple lived in a room rented form a private individual, but because the rent was high, they obtained a Kebele house, where the rent was considerably cheaper. However, this was during the Dergue regime, and Zenebech's husband was drafted in to the army to fight in the North of Ethiopia against anti-government rebels.

This had happened after about five years of marriage. The husband was a way at the front for many years, and the fact that the husband's small salary had to be divided into two for both of them to live on, brought about deprivations on Zenebech in Addis Ababa. In 1991, Zenebech's husband was wounded in battle, and came home after an absence of many years to seek treatment. She says that he spent six months in hospital to recover form his wounds, and spent more months invalided at home.

After his recovery, Zenebech found that her husband was having an affair with a neighborhood girl. After he had a child with this woman, Zenebech decided to obtain a divorce on grounds of infidelity. She says that she was very upset that he had cheated on her, after she had nursed him far so long to recover form his wounds. On his part, her husband said that he had to seek another woman because she was childless.

After the divorce, her husband left her the house to move in with his new girlfriend and son. Zenebech says that she did not know what to do. Being illiterate, she had very few options. Through the advice of friends she decided to turn her house in to a Tella bet. This house, where she was interviewed and observed working, is a two roomed dwelling made of mud. One part of the house is laid out with benches and tables for customers, while the other room is where Zenebech sleeps and makes the Tella.

Zenebech says that she has been making a living by selling Tella for many years, and because the people in the area like the quality of her Tella, her establishment is very popular. I visited Zenebech on two occasions around mid-day, and found her busy with customers, so the interviews had to be conducted very early in the mornings.

Zenebech says that one of the reasons she has so many customers is because of the Falashas. The Falashas are Ethiopian Jews who hail form the Northern part of Ethiopia, including Wollo. These Falashas, Zenebech says, are being brought to Addis Ababa from the rural areas to stay near Shola Market while they wait for their emigration papers to Israel to be processed. These Falashas are very fond of Tella, and make up the bulk of Zenebech's customers.

Zenebech has finally achieved the independence she had run away form Wollo to achieve. The work is not easy, as the Tella has to be prepared through an elaborate and laborious process. The money Zenebech makes is enough to live on, but not enough to do anything much else with. Zenebech says that unlike the other establishments in Shola Market, she does not combine Tella selling with prostitution. She claims that her establishment is an honorable one, and she does not have any girls working for her as she does not approve of the sex trade.

One of Zenebech’s greatest worries is what to do when she is too old to work. She has been unable to have children, and has lived too long away form her relatives in Wollo to expect

any support form them. Without any substantial savings, Zenebech knows that she does not have a bright future in old age. But when pressed about her future plans, she shrugs her shoulders and says it is in god's hands.

Case study 3

Sintayehu is an Amhara woman who originally hails from the village of Mecheckel, near the town of Debre Markos in Gojjam. Her parents were peasant farmers who were to poor to send their children to school. Consequently, Sintayehu is illiterate, and does not know her exact age, but estimates that she must be in her late fifties.

Her parents died while she was still a child, and her older brother took over the responsibilities for the farm. Sintayehu lived with her brother and his wife and children until she was sixteen, at which time he told her that she must move out and start her own life and that she had no rights to the farm any more.

Sintayehu is still bitter about what her brother did to her. He had thrown her out of the house she should have had legal claims to. She blames the male biased nature of Gojjam's culture for the fact that she was thrown out of her parents house into the world without a penny.

Because Sintayehu was illiterate, she had no option but to seek work involving menial labor. Thus her first job was as a maid for a government official in the town of Debre Markos, Gojjam. The government official was an administrator for the local police, and Sintayehu became effectively his housekeeper, as he was unmarried. But her services did not just end with housekeeping. Because the man was single, Sintayehu also had to extend sexual favours to her employer. This type of service was not unusual during the imperial regime, and women such as that were known as "Yechin Gereds".

The wages were low and the responsibilities arduous, but Sintayehu considered herself lucky because she had been able to find shelter and food. After a year in Debre Markos, Sintayehu's employer was transferred to Addis Ababa by the government, and she followed him to the capital continuing her services. They stayed together in this manner for eight years when her employer was again transferred, this time to the town of Jimma in Southern Ethiopia. She kept house for her employer for about three years there, when he was recalled back to Addis Ababa. But this time Sintayehu wanted a separation from the man. She had spent many years with him, and after all she had done for him, he had refused to make their relationship formal by marrying her.

Subsequently Sintayehu decided to open a small Tella selling establishment. She had saved some money, and decided that this would be the best option to earn a livelihood and become independent. Her Tella house was a small rented hut in Jimma town, and much of the equipment to run the business, such as tables, benches and jars, were donated to her by friends. Sintayehu says that this period in her life was one of the happiest. The people liked the quality of her beer, and the business flourished for the four years she lived in Jimma.

Sintayehu says that it was during this time that she fell in love with one of her customers, a soldier. After a few months of courtship, they got married in 1974. But when her husband was transferred to Addis Ababa, she decided to give up her business to live with him in the capital.

But things did not go well for the couple. The husband was eager to have children, but as it became apparent that Sintayehu was unable to conceive, her husband told her that he wanted a divorce. Thus after less than four years of marriage, Sintayehu had to start life all over again as a divorcee in 1977.

Her first job after the divorce was as a house maid in a family home. She did this for only three months before getting a job as a cook in a restaurant, because the wages were better. After about six years as a cook, Sintayehu says that she felt that she had saved enough money to try her hand again as a Tella seller. She could not afford to rent a room in one of the busier sections of Addis Ababa, so she went to the eastern outskirts of the capital called Kara where there was vacant land, and after obtaining permission from the local authorities, built a small two roomed hut to use both as a residence and a Tella house. Sintayehu believes that this was the greatest step in her difficult life, as she had succeeded in becoming both a home owner and a business woman.

Sintayehu says that she lived and worked in Kara for six years, when something happened to destroy all her hard work. It appears that Sintayehu's relations with her neighbors had been going from bad to worse for some time. As she tells it, her neighbours coveted her hut and land, and wanted her out. But she had refused all their approaches to sell. Then one night, Sintayehu was ambushed outside her house and severely beaten up. Her injuries, the scars of which she showed me, included a broken hand and rib. Sintayehu said that because she had been attacked in the dark, she was unable to identify her assailants, so they went unpunished.

It took Sintayehu nine months to recover form her injuries. She was too poor to go to a modern hospital, and was treated by traditional healers and medicine. She says that were it not for her friends who helped her get better, she would not have survived.

After she regained her health, Sintayehu realized that it was too dangerous to stay in Kara, and sold her property and moved to the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa to start form scratch, establishing a Tella selling business all over again. Sintayehu had found a large Keble owned mud hut in the market area, and rented it. It was here that she was interviewed for this research. The room measures about four meters by six meters, and two thirds of it is partitioned

by a curtain. This is where there are chairs, benches and tables, and is where Sintayehu serves her customers with Tella. The remaining third of the room serves as both a kitchen and bedroom.

There are many such establishments in the Shola market area where Tella is served, and prostitution is also practised. But Sintayehu says that neither she, nor the girls she hires to help her make the Tella engage in prostitution. But my key informant says that she denied it because it was too embarrassing a question, and that for the right price, he doubted if she would refuse sex.

Sintayehu is very conscious of the fact that when she grows too old to work, there will be no one to take care of her. She is childless, and has lost touch with her rural relatives. She says that she will work until she is able to, and that the rest is in gods hands. Since moving to the Shola market area, Sintayehu has been a regular, due paying member of a local burial association, and says that what ever happens to her, she is at least assured of a decent funeral.

4.1.3 The Gurage male migrants

Case Study 1

Zeynu is tall gaunt man in his mid fifties. He originally hails from the Ennemor area of Guragheland in Southern Ethiopia. Zeynu's parents were poor peasants and his early life involved helping his father plow their small plot of land, and in herding sheep and goats. The parents were so poor that they could not afford to send Zeynu to school, so Zeynu is illeterate. In his mid-teenage years, he decided to come to Addis Ababa to try his luck in the big city.

With the help of some relatives who had settled in Addis Ababa earlier, Zeyenu was able to get in to contact with brokers in the city who provide servants for homes, and with their help got his first job as a servant in a middle class home. His job involved the cleaning of the house, washing clothes, and any other chores that his employer wanted him to do. The hours were long and the pay was low.

Dissatisfied with being a servant, Zeynu then tried his hand at being a shoeshine boy. He did this for about a year in one of the commercial centers of the capital called Piazza.

While he was a shoeshine boy, a lady who owned a Tej bet, taught him how to be a waiter pouring drinks, and once he was good enough, hired him as her waiter. Zeynu did this job for about two years, during which time he saved enough money to become a trader. But because his capital was not enough, Zeynu opened a kiosk with two other Gurage friends as share holders. The arrangement enabled the friends to divide the opening hours amongst themselves, so that the kiosk could be open most hours of the day. After seven years of this, Zeynu then decided that he had saved enough money to operate his very own kiosk.

Consequently, Zeynu then erected a small kiosk by renting private land near the St. Paul Hospital of Addis Ababa. The business was good, and Zeynu felt that he was at last on the road to prosperity. However, after a year, the city authorities decided that Zeynu's Kiosk was an illegal construction, and demolished it. Thus Zeynu lost all his capital , and had to start all over again by being a waiter in a Tej bet. But this time Zeynu decided that he wanted to work outside Addis Abba. He first went to Arussi Negelle, and spent many years working in Tej Bets in various city's of the South. It was during this period twenty seven years ago, that Zeynu went to his homeland of Inemru and got married. The marriage produced two children, both of whom died in fancy, and his wife also died three years after their marriage.

Zeynu then returned to Addis Ababa and worked in various Tej bets for several years. About twenty years ago a tailor in the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa taught him how to sew and repair clothes, a trade he has been engaged in ever since.

In the northern section of Shola Market, there is a large area built by the state with a concrete floor and corrugated iron roofing, but without any walls. Various sections of this area are reserved for various kinds of trading; some sections are reserved for selling butter, others for vegetables, and there is a special area for tailors. It is here that Zeynu works with about ten other tailors gathered in a cluster. Zeynu, like many of the other tailors, does not own the sewing machine he works on, nor does he rent the work space himself. The machine on which Zeynu works is owned by businessman, who also rents the work space from the city authorities. The businessman then hires out the location and the sewing machine on a fifty-fifty profit sharing basis with Zeynu, who is too poor to rent the space himself. Zeynu is only able to repair clothes and make minor alterations, and does not have the technical skills necessary to sew on entire dress or suit.

About fourteen years ago, Zeynu got married again to a woman from Inemru. The woman over the years, bore him two girls and two boys, and these children are now the center of his life. He says that his main aim in life now is to see the fruits of his children, whom he is having educated at nearby government schools.

But Zeynu is having to take care of his children alone. This is because about two months before he was interviewed for this research, he had sent his wife to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates to work as a housemaid. Zeynu says that at first he was reluctant to send his wife abroad, because of some of the abuses that Ethiopian workers in Arabia are said to experience, as reported in the media. But some brokers in the Shola Market area whose job it is to find workers for people in Arabia, convinced him that Dubai is a liberal city and

nothing bad would happen to his wife. Zeynu discussed this with his wife, and they agreed that she should go to Dubai and that he should take care of the children. They agreed that out of their four children, one should live with his grandmother in another part of the city, to ease the burden on Zeynu.

Sending his wife to Dubai may at last be Zeynu's last big chance to better himself economically. The wife has written letters that she has arrived safely, but she has yet to send any money back home. On the one hand, Zeynu is very anxious for his wife, because she is alone in foreign land. But on the other hand, he is confident, because his wife used to sell vegetables in the open market in Shola, and hence is experienced in handling people and business.

However presently, while Zeynu awaits his wife's financial help, his main worry are the three children he has to take care off. He usually sets of for work at eight in the morning, living only about a kilometer away from his place of work. On arrival at work he arranges the sewing machine, and waits for customers. As they come he examines the work to be done, and gives appointments to his customers to pick up the repaired items. Lunch for Zeynu is often just tea and bread at his sewing machine. He continually works till about six in the evening, when he puts all of the clothes he is working on in a bag, ties it to the sewing machine and covers the whole thing with a large piece of cloth. He then tells the night watchman that he is leavening and sets off for home .

One night he invited me to observe him in his house, and after meeting at his workplace, we set off for his home. On the way, with his daily earnings, Zeynu bought vegetables, charcoal to cook with, fruits, and any thing he might need to feed his children. As we approached his home, Zeunu grew apprehensive. He explained to me that he lives in a large room that he rents from a private landlord, and that the landlord has recently indicated

that he wants to increase the rent. However, Zeynu says that the landlord has not increased the rent because he felt sorry for Zeynu's children, and did not want to make them homeless as Zeynu cannot afford to pay anymore. Zeynu thought that the sight of me taking notes, might make the landlord suspicious, and decided that it would be better if I not come into his house.

Zeynu seems to understand that urban life involves the manipulation of multiple relationships if one is to survive, and seems to have become adept at it. As one can a see from his life history, Zeynu has attempted many careers, and even though most have failed, he seems to have the capacity to start over again and again . His biggest gamble at present, is the sending of his wife to Dubai, and if it pays off, he stands to achieve the economic security that he has been craving for all his life.

Case Study 2

Fekadu was born about forty years ago in the Chaha area of Gurageland. His parents were illiterate poor peasants, and as a consequence, Fekadu never went to school. While still a child, Fekadu was sent by his father to his uncle in Chaha, who was a weaver by trade, to learn the rudiments of the craft of weaving the traditional cotton fabrics worn by Ethiopians. After an apprenticeship of many years, Fekadu returned to his father's house to begin working as a weaver on his own. Since he did not have enough capital to buy his own loom, his father lent him some money, and also allowed him to use his house as a place to weave the cloths.

At about the age of eighteen, as was the custom in Chaha, Fekiadu's parents arranged a marriage for him with a local girl. In the ensuing years, Fekadu's wife bore him five children. However, even though Fekadu worked hard at his trade far many years, he was never able to earn enough money so as to be able to live independently form his parents. Thus, when Fekadu

was in his mid twenties, his father told him that he was fed up with having to support him, and that it was time that he became independent.

Fekadu says that he did not mind leaving Chaha to seek his fortune elsewhere, but because he had a wife and five children to support, he was worried about what to do. At length, through the intercession of Fekadu's mother, it was agreed that Fekadu could leave his family behind in Chaha, while he sought employment in Addis Ababa.

To help him with finding a job and a place to live, people in Chaha gave him the addresses and telephone numbers of friends and relatives in Addis Ababa to contact. His uncle, especially told him that there was a Gurage weavers association in Addis Ababa, and by contacting some of its members, he would quickly be able to get a job as a weaver.

Thus, fifteen years ago, Fekadu arrived at the huge rural bus terminus of Merkato in Western Addis Ababa, to begin a new life. His contacts in Addis Ababa immediately took him to a place where he could find cheap accommodation. The house in which he was able to rent floor space to sleep on for thirty cents per night, was located in the section of Mercato called "American gibi". It consisted of a large room made of corrugated iron sheets where innumerable other rural-urban migrants also slept. Fekadu remembers this place as being especially uncomfortable, not only because of the cold floors he had to sleep on, but also because of nearby foul smelling rubbish dump.

Soon after his arrival in the capital, Fekadu had made contact with the members of the Gurage weavers association of Addis Ababa. He had told them that he wanted to set up his own weaving business, but that he did not have enough money for the enterprise. After deliberation, the association found an individual who was willing to lend him some money to help him get started. The loan was for one thousand birr at an interest of ten percent per month. Fekadu says that the interest was very high because it was extended without any collateral.

Consequently, with the small loan, Fekadu bought a loom and rented work space in Merkato, and began making and marketing the traditional Ethiopian cotton cloths. But as the months went by, Fekadu realized that his earnings were barely enough to live on, let alone pay off his debts. Defaulting on his loan payments was unthinkable because it would be regarded as a betrayal of trust. Moreover, if he left the loan unpaid, he would face ostractizaiton from the tightly unit Gurage weaving community, and that would negatively affect his future employment prospects in the business.

Fekadu was eventually able to discharge the debt all together by going around to his friends and relatives and asking for donations. After this unhappy endeavour, Fekadu then decided to give up the weaving profession all together, to concentrate on just peddling the cloths. This he was able to do because he found a weaver who would give him his products without purchase, to sell, so that they could divide up the profits later.

The peddling of these traditional cotton fabrics was hard work, but Fekadu preferred it to weaving. The peddling involved the walking of the major streets of Addis Ababa carrying the materials on his shoulders and in a plastic bag. His favourite areas to sell were the Tej and Tella selling establishments of Addis Ababa, because these places were frequented by people from the rural areas who were accustomed to wearing traditional garb.

But his exposure to these drinking establishments had a major side-effect. Instead of saving his earnings to send to his wife and children back home, Fekadu started using the money for Tej and Tella consumption for himself. Soon, he found himself addicted not only to alcohol, but also to cigarette smoking and chat chewing. Fekadu says that for a period of about three years, he led a very dissolute life where his main purpose in life was to feed his addictions.

Then one day, on one of his peddling rounds, Fekadu met with fundamentalist Christian preachers who persuaded him to attend one of their church gatherings. Fekadu was curious

about what the Pentecostalist Christians had to say, and his church attendance soon led to a discussion about his personal problems. Because they successfully advised him on ways to cure his addictions, Fekadu became a member of the Pentecostalist church. He believes the he was very fortunate to have become a Pentecostalist, because the new religion helped him attain a new outlook in life.

With his personal problems straightened out, Fekadu was able to save some money, which enabled him to send for this wife and children, and eleven years ago was reunited with them at a Kebele house he had rented in the Shola market area of Addis Ababa. At this time also, Fekadu was able to rent a small one and a half mater by three meters stall in the Shola Market area to sell the traditional cloths he buys form weavers in Merkato.

It was in his little shop that he was interviewed and observed for this research. Fekadu was the hardest person to talk to for this research. He would not consent to meeting in any of the cafés of Shola Market, because he wanted to be constantly at his business. As I talked to him, there would be frequent interruptions by customers interested in his goods. Thus the discussions involved several interview sessions.

As attested to by my key informant, Fekadu is indeed a hard worker. Not only does he spend many hours at his shop, but when he has to travel to Merkato to replenish his supplies of goods, he travels on foot. When one appreciates the fact that the distance between Shola Market and Merkato is many kilometres of often dusty roadway, his dedication is apparent. Even while carrying heavy loads, Fekadu walks rather than use public transport, in order to save money.

Fekadu says that he is making great sacrifices to have his children educated at nearby government schools. He says that presently, at the centre of his life, is his family and his devotion to his religion.

4.1.4 The Gurage female migrants

Case study 1

Zeria is a devout Mulsim woman who was born in the Gunchire area of Gurageland. Her parents were of peasant stock, and as was the custom regarding the women of her area, her parents never even considered the prospect of sending her to school. Thus Zeria is completely illiterate. One consequence of this is that Zeria does not know how old she is. She estimates that she must be somewhere between thirty five and forty years of age.

Zeria was married off to a peasant farmer when very young, and hence was early on initiated into the hard life of a poor peasant housewife in Gunchire. In the ensuing years, Zeria bore her husband five children - four boys and one girl.

Zeria first came to Addis Ababa when her husband was initially diagnosed with tuberculosis. The couple left their children and small plot of land to their kin in Gunchire, and came to stay in Addis Ababa with the husbands relations so that the husband could seek treatment. Zeria took care of her husband until he died of the disease three years ago. After the funeral, Zeria went back to Gunchire and attempted to till the land on her own, but found that she was too weak to make a success of it. She decided that farming was too much for a single woman, and decided to relocate to Addis Ababa permanently.

However, because she was too poor to fend for all her children, she decided to give up four of her oldest children to relatives. Her husband's relations were willing to divide them amongst themselves and take care of them, only on the condition that Zeria sever all ties to her children, permanently. This Zeria was agreed to do, only because she had no choice. But her youngest daughter, a three year old, she decided to keep with her.

Zeria first lived with her sister in a Kebele house in the Shola Market area. Her sister earned her living by selling vegetables in the market, and she taught Zeria the rudiments of the

trade so that they could help each other in the business. Today Zeria has her own space in the market where she sells fruits, charcoal or vegetables. This business is informal, because Zeria does not have a business license, hence she faces constant harassment from the Kebele guards in the market. Her daily routine varies little. By eight in the morning she is already laying out her wares and calling out to passers by to try her products. Zeria says that she usually tries to make twenty percent on everything she sells. A major constraint on her earnings is that the market is only busy on the market days of Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. This means that Zeria is forced to be idle on the non-market days of the week. As a result, she says that there are times when she does not even earn enough money to buy food.

Because of these economic constraints, a year ago, Zeria left her sister to stay with a relatively better-off cousin in the Megenagna area. This cousin, who also lives in a kebele house, used to be for many years a firewood trader. However, since his children had grown up and left for Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, he had retired to live off the remittances of his children. With the children gone, and with vacant rooms in his house, Zeria's cousin agreed to let her live with him. In exchange for the lodgings and food, it was agreed that Zeria would help her cousin with he housekeeping on the days she was not busy in the market.

Zeria is a sad woman today, because she constantly thinks about and misses her children. But she knows that she must keep her word and not see them for their own good. She also misses the quiet life of Gunchire, but admits that for a single woman, the peasant way of life is impossible. At least in Addis Ababa, she can find ways of earning a living, however meager. Her biggest ambition is to be successful in business, so that she can emulate the lifestyles of her better off urban relations.

Case study 2

Mulatua was born thirty years ago in the Indegen area of Gurageland. She was the third of six children, born to peasant parents. Mulauta does not remember how old she was when she was brought to Addis Ababa, but says that she has lived in he capital for around twenty years.

Her parents wanted to have to least one child educated, and chose her to be sent to her uncle in the capital. Mulatua's uncle was admired by the family as one of those who had "made it" in the big city. Not only was he educated - he has a technical diploma from a Vocational School - but he has what his relatives believe to be a respectable job and income - working for the United Nations in Addis Ababa as a technician. The uncle was a bachelor, and decided to take Mulatua under his wing and educate her, in part because he wanted someone to do the housekeeping for him at his house in Megenagna.

Mulatua says that her uncle was very generous to her. Her helped her finish high school, and later sent her to a commercial college where she obtained a diploma in accounting. Mulatua admits that without her uncle's unreserved support, her education would not have progressed so much.

But after her graduation from college, her uncle's attitude towards her changed. She was now a grown and educated woman who wanted to make her own way in the world, but her uncle did not want to let her go. He refused to help her find a job. He was a bachelor and did not want to lose his housekeeper. Mulatua says that she was unable to reason with him, because he seemed to believe that a woman's place was in the home and not outside it. Then five years ago, unable to bear with the restrictions her uncle was placing on her, Mulauta left her uncle for good to live with a friend. Their break was such that they even stopped taking to each other.

Mulatua was unable to get a job in her profession on her own, so she took the first job that became available to her - washing clothes in Shola Market for paying customers. She did this for about a year before she began selling used clothes, a trade she has been involved in ever since. The used clothes Mulatua sells, are imported ones from the developed world. Once a week, she goes to the Kolfe area of eastern Addis Ababa, and buys from wholesalers, the goods she feels she can peddle on the streets of Shola Market.

Mulatua cannot afford a stall of her own in the market, so instead carries the clothes she intends to sell on her shoulders and in plastic bags. Peddlers like Mulatua do not pay taxes to the local authorities, and so are regarded as a nuisance by the guards in the market. They often chase Mulauta and those like her away, sometimes even seizing their goods.

Mulatua is not happy about her present occupation, but sees it as the only way to pay the rent and put food on the table. She and her roommate live in a Kebele house, and divide the rent and other expenses equally. In times of difficulty, when money is short, for example, they support each other. Mulatua's roommate also comes from Indega in Gurageland, and hence the two have a lot in common.

Mulatua says that she does not have a boyfriend, but would like to settle down, get married and have children if the right man comes along. It is here that she says that she has come into conflict with her relations in Indega. They want to arrange a husband for her so that she can become “respectable” in their eyes. To them, a single woman of Mulatua's age is unheard of in Indega, especially in 'respectable' circles. But Mulatua says that each time she visits Indega, she realizes how different she has become culturally, and rejects all suggestions from them to arrange a marriage, because she wants to marry someone ho is educated like her, and whom she loves.

Mulatua still has dreams of getting a job as an accountant. She is constantly applying for vacancies when they are advertised, but believes that this will take a while because she does not have any connections, friends or a patron to help her along. She believes that such networks are essential for success in the capital.

Case Study 3

Mulu originally hails from the Gunchire area of Gurageland, born to peasant parents about twenty three years ago. Her parents were so poor that they could not afford to send Mulu or her five brothers to school. Recalling her childhood, Mulu says that her life was hard because her entire family had to work on the family farm for long hours to make ends meet.

While still a teenager, Mulu was married off to an Inset farmer in Gunchine by her parents. Mulu says that her marriage did not make much of a change in her economic condition, because she was still involved in difficult farm work to survive. Seeking solutions to their low economic status, Mulu and her husband, after much deliberation, decided to find ways to migrate to Addis Ababa. Mulu already had a sister who was a trader in the Shola Market area of Addis Ababa, and they agreed to ask her about the possibilities of joining her. Mulu's sister sent back word saying that she could accept them if they had a certain amount of capital to live on until they established themselves.

Mulu and her husband had very little money, so the couple agreed to spend a few years saving up. For about three years, Mulu and her husband put all the extra cash they could muster into a village Ikub to accumulate. When there was enough money saved up, the couple decided that Mulu should go to Addis Ababa first to establish herself while her husband stayed back to work on the farm with their three children.

Thus about three years ago, Mulu came to the Shola Market area of the capital to live with her sister. Mulu's sister made her living by selling bananas on the streets, and through her help, within days of her arrival, Mulu also began selling banannas.

Mulu worked hard at this trade for about a year, and by saving every extra cent, was able to move out of her sister's house by renting a privately owned small hut in Shola Market. The main purpose for this step was to be able to have her husband and her children join her, which they did soon after.

Her husband he faced many hardships after he came to Addis Ababa, because his skills as an Inset farmer were useless to him in an urban environment. Many of the available jobs in Shola market involved menial labor, but Mulu's husband felt that he did not have the physical strength to earn a living as a menial laborer. With the advice of friends and relatives, Mulu's husband decided to learn the trade of basket weaving, so that he may eventually go into business for himself. The training period lasted for about three months, during which the family lived off the earnings of Mulu.

After his period of apprenticeship, Mulu's husband set up shop on the road-side in Megenaga making baskets and shelves from bamboo, a trade he has been involved in for the past two years.

Both Mulu and her husband are involved in the informal trade, ie., they conduct their businesses without any licenses and they do not pay any taxes. Because of this, they are often harassed by Kebele guards who frequently seize their goods or chase them away.

When they migrated, the couple left their rural farm in the care of relatives, without relinquishing their ownership of the land. Mulu says that even though life in Addis Ababa is still hard, she feels that it is much better than in Gunchire, especially for the children, who now have the opportunity of going to better schools in the capital.

Once a year, either Mulu or her husband go back to Gunchire to visit relatives and see how their land is being taken care of. On these occasions, they take money and gifts to help their rural kin. Mulu feels that she has faced many obstacles to complete integration into Addis Ababa's urban society. The Kebeles in Shola Market have declined her request for an identification card because she cannot present a letter from Gunchire stating that she has left for good. The reason for this is that if she tells the authorities in Gunchire that she wants to leave permanently, she will be forced to relinquish all claims to any land. Because Mulu and her husband do not want to do this, they have been blocked from becoming formal residents of the capital. This inability means they cannot easily access government hospitals, government schools for their children, and would find it difficult to obtain formal business licenses. But Mulu and her husband feel that despite all these difficulties, Addis Ababa is the land of opportunities.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

A Comparative Analysis of the Case Studies

Introduction

Abrahams (1982: 195), had said that one should study events and the experiences of individuals because of their sociological significance as markers of transitions. All of the research subjects had peasant subsistence agricultural roots, but on coming to the capital assumed new roles as traders, laborers and builders. The migrants allocated their efforts in terms the opportunities for social and economic mobility, and hence their livelihood strategies can be seen as sensitive barometers for social change.

It is important to note here that the subjects of this research never expressed any resentment at having to uproot themselves from their rural lives. Similar to Aronson's (1978), Worku Nida's (1995) and Shimelis Bonsa's (1997) findings, their assuming of new roles was seen as an expression of the contemporary realities of life and not as a breakdown of their culture or society. They migrated to Addis Ababa not just for financial considerations but to learn new and better ways and customs. In fact, the opportunities gained by migrating along with the multi-cultural contacts that involves, were seen as factors enhancing the survival chances of their ethnic group and culture. Thus like the views of Pratt (1992: 6-7), Manger (2002), Mann (1986) and Rollowagen (1980: 371), this study shows that urban environments are arenas of overlapping cultures where people make their own history by contesting, borrowing and reconstructing.

In the following pages will be presented a comparison of the various strands emerging from the individual life histories.

5.1 The state and rural-urban migrants

The subjects of this research make their livelihoods in the informal economy, because their economic activities are carried out without the involvement of the tax or licensing authorities. Lourenco-Lindell (2001) had commented on the increasingly important role the informal sector plays in the economies of African cities, and the life histories of the migrants of this research provide more examples of this phenomenon.

Social networks are difficult to study because of their fluidity and ad hoc nature. However, similar to Simone's (Ibid) conclusions, this research has also found that it is the very fluidity of social networks that makes them valuable tools for responding to changing environments.

None of the interviewees reported receiving any direct assistance from the state in their struggle to integrate into the social and economic fabric of urban society. But this research has uncovered certain indirect ways in which the state is involved in the livelihoods of the migrants; and they are as follows:

a) Housing

In contemporary Addis Ababa, there can be said to be two categories of rental housing. One type are the state owned houses that are rented out to the general public by the state through the kebeles. These are the houses that were nationalized from private individuals in the 1974 socialist revolution. The other type of housing are those owned and rented out by private individuals.

These two categories of housing differ markedly in the terms in which they are rented out to the public. Kebele houses tend to have much cheaper rental prices than private homes, and the Kebeles also tend to be much more lenient in the manner in which they treat their clients. For example, a Kebele house resident may forego any payment of rent for months, before any legal action is brought against the tenant, while a private house tenant is never treated with such leniency, according to my key informant, Demiss.

When rural-urban migrants initially come to the city, if they do not have friends or relatives to stay with, first live in the numerous lodgings in Addis Ababa, including Shola Market, that have been especially established with their needs in mind. These lodgings can vary, as reported by the subjects of this research. In Shola Market, one finds the verandas of houses that may go for thirty cents a night, and others might rent halls made of mud or corrugated iron sheets for fifty cents a night. These places only offer floor space for sleeping on, and often have few other amenities.

According to my key informant, these places provide shelter for rural-urban migrants until they can find work and a better place to live. The lodgings are rented out to the migrants by individuals who themselves have rented the dwellings from the Kebeles. What makes it profitable for these people to carry on such a business, are the relatively low rents charged by the state for Kebele houses.

The subjects of this research say that had it not been for these types of housing, many rural-urban migrants would have faced homelessness or even been deterred from migrating in the first place. Thus, it can be concluded that in the form of Kebele housing, the state indirectly subsides rural-urban migrants livelihoods.

b) The question of Kebele identity cards

One of the discoveries of this research, has been the important role kebele identification documents play in the livelihoods of rural-urban migrants. In Addis Ababa, Kebele identity cards are used to legitimize residence in the city. When one is recognized as a legal resident of the city, one can also have easier access to the government institutions like schools and hospitals. These institutions are subsidized by the state to provide modern but affordable health care and education to the poor. But to gain proper access these services, my informant says that one must possess an Addis Ababa identification card or a referral letter from the rural area.

Four of the respondents of this research, Demiss, Zeria, Tessema and Mulu, have reported that they have been unable to benefit from many of the services provided by the government, because they find that they cannot obtain identity cards. One of the requirements to obtain a Kebele identity card, is that one must present a letter from the previous locality stating that the person has relocated for good. Such a relocation entails with it the loss of any land rights in the rural homeland, because according to the laws of Ethiopia all land belongs to the government, and hence Demiss, Zeria, and Mulu are reluctant to take such a step, because they still have land, and other assets in their lands of origin which they do not want to relinquish. Tessema never bothered to obtain a kebele identity card because he had stayed away from Gondar for too long to obtain a letter of release.

Thus, according to my key informant, while many rural-urban migrants actually live in the city, they are not formally recognized as residents by the state, and this places important barriers in their struggle to succeed in the urban environment.

However, conversely, those who have been able to formalize their residence in the city, find themselves able to benefit from the relatively better facilities to be found in Addis Ababa. This is an important consideration, because the migrants interviewed for this research repeatedly

stressed the point that an important reason they chose to migrate to Addis Ababa, was to take advantage of the capital's better schools, hospitals and other facilities.

c) Crime and Migrancy

My key informant, Demiss, says that rural-urban migrants are not easily accepted by urban society. In his experience of Shola Market, many migrants are unable to obtain work because people do not trust them. They often lack proper identifications documents, have a transient life style, and have no fixed addresses. Thus people are inclined not to entrust them with important tasks or property. The laborers interviewed for this study were able to obtain work because they spent much time building up respectable reputations and social networks. Thus, for example Demiss, spent much time being polite and nice to people and sometimes even did free work, before it paid off for him eventually, because people remembered him when there was work, and hired his services.

But Demiss says that many rural-urban migrants are involved in crime. Taking advantage of the fact that they can, if they desire, easily hide their real names and places of origin, migrants find that they can steal and hide almost anywhere without being discovered. Hence the reason for much of the mistrust regarding rural-urban migrants, and the premium placed on the establishment of trust.

Demiss says that when a crime is reported in Shola Market, the police are particularly suspicious of rural-urban migrants. This is because many migrants make their living on the streets, either trading or acting as laborers, and so the police think that they are the most likely people to know about criminal activity on the streets, and hence are more likely to be rounded up for questioning.

5.2 The Social Problems of Migrants

In the course of my interviews, I would often smell alcohol on the breadth or clothes of my male research subjects. This was especially troubling, because most of the interviews were conducted in the mornings. So I asked if alcoholism was a problem affecting the livelihoods of the migrants. All of my interviewees, except Fekadu, denied being addicted to alcohol. They claimed that they only drank Tella to relieve themselves of thirst, or for its perceived healthful benefits. In Ethiopian culture, it is true that people believe Tella is a respectable and healthy drink. When I visited Sintayehu and Zenebech in their Tella selling establishments, I would often find the places crowded in the mornings, with people from all ages.

However, when I asked my interviewees if they knew other rural-urban migrants who were addicted to alcohol, they would all admit that it was a major problem and that many lives had been ruined by alcoholism.

On several occasions, when I walked with Demiss through Shola Market, he would point out men on the streets who were friends of his, and tell me that they used to be hard workers, making good money, until alcohol became the center of their lives, consuming their money and ruining their health's.

Of the twelve migrants interviewed for this research, only Fekadu and Mulu had their spouses with them. All of the others either were not married or had their spouses in the rural homeland. Zeynu was the only interviewee who said that his wife was out of the country. However, when asked about loneliness and their sex lives, most were reluctant to talk about such personal matters. I visited Demiss, my key informant, at different hours, and noticed that he would often not be at home during nights. But he insisted that he was faithful to his wife in Debre Markos, and as a religious man, would never think of being unfaithful to her.

To better understand the social lives of my research subjects, I visited the Tella selling establishments most frequented by migrants in Shola Market, and noticed that most also had sex for sale. A typical evening not only entails drinking Tella, but also singing and even dancing, and towards the end of the night some of the migrants spend the night with the girls there. But everyone I met was too reluctant to discuss alcoholism and the visiting of prostitutes because they were topics considered too taboo to discuss openly.

But alcoholism and the visiting of prostitutes pose serious dangers to the health's of the migrants to be taken lightly, and one can conclude that the ready cash earned by the male migrants in petty trade and portering, finds easy outlet in these drinking and prostitution establishments, often to the detriment of their welfare.

Majumdar and Majumdar's study (1978), had commented on the effect of the relative social permissiveness of urban society on new migrants. Their observations regarding migrants in New Delhi, closely followed Fekadu's experiences, because he reported becoming addicted to alcohol, tobacco and chat not long after his arrival in Addis Ababa. Fekadu says that his addictions consumed much of his earnings for about three years, and he blames this on the relative permissiveness of urban society.

5.3 The value of remittances

> ***Remittances are an important livelihood strategy for migrants. They are the avenues with which they maintain interests in different places. The only migrants who had severed any contacts with relatives were Tessemma, Sintayehu and Zenebech. And they were resigned to uncertain old ages because they have no kin to look after them. But all of the other migrants keep***

some sort of contact with their relatives. This may include visits on holidays bearing gifts, or outright monthly support in cash like Demiss.

Earlier, Shimelis Bonsa's (1997) findings regarding the interdependence of rural and urban Kistane has been discussed. Likewise, this research shows that through the remittances of the urban migrants, powerful social relations are maintained that are mutually beneficial. For the urban migrant, gifts or remittances to rural kin ensures that assets such as land, houses and cattle are maintained as investments or safety nets. The rural kin on the other hand, in addition to gaining money with which to improve their material condition, also have someone in the city who could help them in times of need such as when they need hospital treatment or when they want to send a child to go to school in the city. Thus for example Mulatua came to Addis Ababa as a little girl to live with her uncle and to go to school. When Zeria's husband became ill with tuberculosis, he came to stay with relatives in Addis Ababa while seeking treatment. These examples show us that despite the distances involved, community relationships are maintained across the rural-urban divide.

5.4 Migration and adaptation

The migration of rural peoples to cities is essentially an adaptive strategy. As can be seen from the life histories, all had faced landlessness, overcrowding and poverty in their rural homeland. Thus by migrating they seek to escape these problems. But when they come to the city they find that they must change to new ways to survive in a radically new environment.

In chapter two Gutkind's (1974) analysis of the situations facing the new migrant have been discussed. The new urban environment rewards those with special skills,

examples of which are Kassa and Workeneh. They learned the skills of house building and painting to improve their incomes. Many of the migrants of this research are traders, and hence entrepreneurship skills are also critical.

But as Kassa's life history especially points out, tenacity in the pursuit of livelihood strategies is also important. He had persevered and worked hard for many decades, and his sacrifices to educate his children and send them abroad, ultimately paid off for him because it meant that he could retire as a result of their financial help. Thus migrants must not only strategize well, but must also have the will and strength to overcome the odds to succeed. But tenacity is not the only valuable adaptive strategy. The life histories of Kassa and Demiss, point out the tremendous value of being thrifty. Tessema was able to save so much money because he avoided drunkenness and waste. Demiss also speaks about how he carefully allocates his earnings for his living expenses, his family and to save for the future.

5.5 The influence of gender in the formulation of livelihood strategies.

The case studies of this research show that gender plays an important role in the choice of an occupation, and ultimately success in integration in to the urban way of life.

The most lucrative jobs, according to the interviewees for this research, were the jobs involving portering. For example Demiss, was able to cover not only his own living expenses in Addis Ababa, but was also able to take care of his farm and family in Gojjam with his earnings from portering. Tessema also, can be regarded as having achieved some measure of success by being able to save an amount of money from portering envied by his colleagues. But entry into this profession is limited for the most part to men. Aynalem was the only exception,

and even she had to dress up like a man in order to work in what is essentially regarded by all I met in Shola Market as a male profession.

This may have something to do with physical ability, but I have noticed that not all the loads carried by porters are heavy, as people often hire laborers to carry sheep, chicken or groceries. So it was my impression that the argument that says that women are not good laborers because they do not have the physical strength, is not accurate for the most part. During my discussions with Aynalem, she said that people, including women, prefer to hire a man to carry their goods because of cultural attitudes regarding portering as being a male profession.

The women migrants interviewed for this research, said that the men in their lives had important influences in the paths of their careers. Zenebech ran away to Addis Ababa from Wollo, to escape a marriage that was forced on her. Sintayehu was forced out of her parents farm by her brother, only to become a servant whose services included sexual favors. Zeria first came to the capital to take care of her seriously ill husband. Mulatua was brought to Addis Ababa to live with her uncle so she could do his housekeeping. Even though he educated her, he finally forced her out of his house when she became too independent. Ayanalem was a promising student until her rape by a neighbor as a child, which led her to interrupt her education as a result of mental problems.

In contrast, however, the men interviewees would talk at length about their lives, and only as an afterthought mention that they were married. The only male respondent who admitted that his wife was important to his future, was Zeynu, because he had sent her to Saudi Arabia, and was looking to her to provide the means of escaping poverty. The other male respondents seemed to regard themselves as relatively economically independent from their wives.

Similar to Gunilla Bjeren's findings (1985), this study also shows that women tend to be concentrated in petty trade. Sintayehu and Zenebech sold Tella. Mulu and Zeria sold bananas,

vegetables and charcoal on the streets. Mulatua was a used clothes peddler. Thus even though there is a gender differentiation of occupations, women still have a number of livelihood strategy choices they can access, and contradicts Metasebia Solomon's (1999) assertion that women were consigned to poverty because they usually perform the least profitable economic activities.

In terms of types of occupations, the men exhibited a greater variety. They were involved in a variety of trades. Demiss and Tessema were laborers. Kassa and Workeneh were skilled painters and builders. Zeynu was a tailor. Only Fekadu could be said to be involved in petty trade, as he had a small stall selling traditional fabrics. So one can conclude that the men have more livelihood strategy choices open to them than women.

5.6 The influence of kinship and ethnicity in the formulation of livelihood strategies

All of the subjects of this research, regardless of ethnicity, said that their main goal in life was to become successful businessmen and businesswomen.

However, the Gurage migrants were more likely to engage in petty trade than the Amhara migrants. All of the Gurage male and female interviewees, with the exception of Zeynu, were involved in some kind of buying and selling, while none of the Amhara migrants were involved in petty trades like selling fruits, charcoal and vegetables on the streets. The reasons for this lie in the social networks that each migrant has available.

Mulu and Zeria became involved in buying and selling on the streets because of their sisters, who had migrated to Shola Market earlier, and were familiar with the business. Mulatua became involved in buying and selling used clothes through a friend of her's who was from her native area in Gurageland. Fekadu came to Addis Ababa to become a member of a Gurage weavers association, and eventually became a peddler of traditional cloths. Even

Zeynu, though a tailor when interviewed, used to be a shopkeeper with other Gurages as shareholders.

By contrast, among the Amharas only Sintayehu and Zenebech, were involved in any kind of commercial activity, and they were brewers and sellers of Tella. Their entry into this business was not as a result of any marketing ability or social networks, but was as a result of their skills in making good quality Tella, skills they had learned from their mothers while growing up.

I asked the Amhara migrants why, if that was their ultimate goal, they were not involved in commerce. Their answers revolved around their lack of networks and business knowledge to confidently engage in business.

Thus one finds more Gurages involved in commerce than Amharas, because the former are more likely to be successful at it because they have ethnic and kinship based social networks to resource. And similar to Vermeulen and Govers (2000) assertions, the basis of these migrant ethnic social networks are closely tied to kinship and local community genealogies in the land of origin.

This has important implications for the anthropological understanding of ethnicity in the urban context. Mention has been made in the introductory part of this chapter of how urban centers are arenas of overlapping cultures, where migrants do not hesitate to adapt to new ways to improve their situation in life. But regardless of period of residence in the city, migrants also maintain a certain sense of ethnic separateness. The subjects of this research all dress similarly, essentially eat the same types of foods for economic reasons and work and live in similar environments. But in spite of these commonalities, they regard themselves as different. The answers to this paradox may be found by looking at the benefits to be gained. Migrants are quick to change because it opens up new opportunities. But the maintenance of an ethnic

identity provides them with a sense of security in an essentially fast changing environment. Most of the research subjects of this research go to great lengths to maintain community ties with their ethnic kin because they are often the ones they can turn to in times of need. The feeling of ethnic group and community togetherness, thus in effect is a livelihood strategy that serves as a spring board for survival in the city.

5.7 The question of retirement

The question of how to gracefully live out ones old age, was an issue that repeatedly came up during my interviews with the research subjects. Six of them were fifty or more years old, and understand that as they become more frail with age, they will no longer be able to provide for themselves. Most of the research subjects have children who could be expected to take care of them in old age, but the others understand that they face loneliness along with poverty in old age. My key informant says that those who have no money and no one to take care of them in old age usually end up begging on the streets. This shows that even in the urban environment, children are an important livelihood strategy in social and economic reproduction.

5.8 The importance of education

Of those featured in the case studies, Workeneh is the most educated individual, as he had completed eleventh grade. Demiss was taught to read and write while still a child, but went back to school as an adult and completed sixth grade because he saw education as an important career advancement tool. Aynalem and Mulatua are the only literate females in this study.

Demiss was able to join the Ethiopian police force because of his literacy, and eventually was able to reach the rank of lieutenant, in part because he had completed sixth grade. Workeneh also was able to join the police force because of his education, but his quick learning

abilities were noticed by his superiors, who soon made him a member of the country's elite security forces. Even when dismissed from the police, Workeneh was not unemployed for long. He joined a construction gang, and while others just saw it as an opportunity to earn some money, he saw it as a chance to learn a trade. Because of his knowledge of English and mathematics, he was able to communicate with his foreign bosses and absorb the rudiments of the art of house construction. Of those interviewed for this research, Workeneh was the only one who could afford to have his own utilities like water, telephone and electricity in his house. Something that amazes his migrant friends and neighbors.

It is not a coincidence that the most educated of the group of individuals interviewed for this study, is the most successful in adapting to changing circumstances, and attaining a relatively comfortable lifestyle.

Education is very important to climbing the ladder of social and economic success in Addis Ababa. Most of the migrants of this study are illiterate, and this places important barriers in their abilities to formulate successful livelihood strategies. For example Tessema, even though he has some money to invest in a business venture, is reluctant to do so because he knows that he does not have the knowledge required to run a successful enterprise.

The migrant women of this study say that they suffer more than the men because they are least likely to receive any education. Time and time again, they report that their parents, if they had to choose to send a child to school, prefer to send a male child.

But the case of Mulatua shows that even when a level of education has been achieved, there are important barriers to be overcome. Mulatua says that even though she has a diploma in accounting, she has been unable to find a job commensurate with her qualifications because she does not have the right social networks. Thus, education alone is not enough, the right contacts must go with the proper qualifications for finding a good job.

The subjects of this study who have children, report that they are making considerable sacrifices to have their children educated. They understand that the only hope their children have of escaping poverty, lies in education. However, Kassa's case shows us that an educational investment in children can also be regarded as an investment for the parent, because the children can be expected to contribute towards the retirement of their parents.

5.9 Migration and globalization

In Chapter two some of the authors who had challenged the isolationist approach to cultures and societies have been mentioned (Manger 2002; Rollowagen 1980; Mann 1986; Pratt 1992). They have said that research among migrants in cities is indicative of the interdependence of cultures, and the history of colonialism, the trans Atlantic slave trade, the industrial revolution, development and underdevelopment, can only be understood by adopting such an approach.

This implies that the forces of globalization have always been with us, and are not phenomenon's of recent origin. In this research, we have seen how two of the migrants have sent family members abroad as livelihood strategies. Zeynu had sent his wife to Dubai to work as a maid so he could live of her remittances. Kassa had been able to send his children to Sweden, and they were supporting him financially.

Mention has already been made earlier regarding the critical roles of cities in the world as engines fueling the process of globalization. (Rollowagen 1980). But how do the forces of today's globalization compare with earlier times? Is there a balanced interdependency of cultures as Manger (2002) suggest. Today, strict visa restrictions on international travel place important barriers to those who want to travel from poor countries to rich ones, while those in

the developed parts of the world face few such restriction. This implies that the cultures of the rich countries are disproportionately more influential than the cultures of poor nations.

In this research we have seen how strict regulations regarding the issuance of identity cards in Addis Ababa can hamper integration. So despite the claims by Manger (2002) and others, the contemporary processes of globalization are structured in such a way that the influence of Western culture is greater than any other.

5.10 The value of the processual approach in studying migrant's livelihood strategies

Utilizing the processual approach this research was designed to present vivid accounts of the livelihood strategies employed across time and space.

Kassa for example tells us about his career spanning more than sixty years in the capital. Even Mulu, at twenty-three years of age the youngest interviewee, tells us about the strategies she and her husband employed to come to and live in Addis Ababa over several years. All of the research subjects tell us how the spatial extension of their family and ethnic kin affected them. For example Tessemma, Sintayehu and Zenebech, have lost all contact with their rural homeland, and this means that they have no kin to depend on in times of need. The other migrants visit their rural relatives frequently, and many of them still maintain assets in their rural homeland as livelihood strategies.

Such insightful information across time and space, illustrates the value of "micro" level approaches to analyze livelihood strategies. Many of the "macro" level studies cited in the literature section fail to give us such vivid glimpses into the daily struggles of migrants because they utilize methodologies that are too general and categorical, in an area where flexibility is a methodological asset.

Manger (2002), was mentioned in the literature review section as being one of the strongest proponents of the processual approach. But he had gone beyond the livelihood strategies of individuals to compile a genealogical assessment of the migration history of the Hadrami. This approach tends to overstress the influence of past generations, and was not considered valuable for the research.

It is important to note here that this research only looked at the livelihood strategies of twelve individuals, in a city where an estimated half of the population comes from the rural areas. No doubt, because of the inherent dynamic nature of rural-urban migration, other studies will uncover other emergent issues that are critical to the formulation of livelihood strategies. But it is this very dynamism that makes the processual approach a particularly useful tool for researching the adaptive strategies of migrants.

SOURCES

Interview selection and scheduling

With the exception of Kassa, Demiss was the key informant who provided the interviewees for this research. I met Kassa as a result of the recommendations of Workeneh, an interviewee. A number of potential interviewees had been considered for this research, but for various reasons have not been included. The following were the various attempts.

Zeria - had wanted me to interview her sister, and I was very willing to talk to her, but she decided that being seen in public with a male stranger was an un-Muslim thing to do and refused.

Mulatua - had contacted two friends of her's, a young man and her roommate. I refused to interview the young man because he was still in school and had not embarked on his career. But Mulatua's roommate refused to be interviewed because she was to uncomfortable about personal questions.

Zeynu - had tried to contact some of his tailor friends, but they were not understanding about the purpose of the research.

Demiss - had wanted me to talk to a businessman in Shola Market, but he proved to be too busy for the purpose after many attempts. Demiss had also asked some bar girls if they wanted to be interviewed, but their suspicions about the motives were insurmountable.

All in all, the subjects of the research were chosen for their openness as well as for their extensive life histories.

The following are the individual details and interview schedules for the sources:

(**Note:** To protect the privacy of the oral sources it has been agreed with them that only nicknames or just first names would be used; All interviews were conducted in Shola Market).

Aynalem: Amhara ethnic group; Age 34; Female; Interviewed on Nov. 3, 2001.

Demiss: " " " ; Age about 50; Male; Interviewed on Sept. 2,6,12,15,21, 2001.

Fekadu: Gurage ethnic group; Age about 40; Male; Interviewed on Oct. 15,22, 2001.

Kassa: Amhara ethnic group; Age around mid-seventies; Male; Interviewed on Sept. 13, 2001.

Mulatua: Gurage ethnic group; Age 30; Female; Interviewed on Oct. 10, 2001.

Mulu: Gurage ethnic group; Age 23; Female; Interviewed on Jan. 5,8, 2002.

Sintayehu: Amhara ethnic group; Age late fifties; Female; Interviewed on Dec. 19, 22, 2001.

Tessema: Amhara ethnic group; Age early fifties; Male; (Information about Tessema was supplied by Demiss).

Workeneh: Amhara ethnic group; Age forty; Male; Interviewed on Sept. 4,11,25, 2001.

Zenebech: Amhara ethnic group; Age about fifty; Female; Interviewed on Nov. 5,8, 2001.

Zeria: Gurage ethnic group; Age late thirties. Female; Interviewed on Oct. 25,28, 2001.

Zeynu: Gurage ethnic group; Age mid-fifties; Male; Interviewed on Oct. 7,3, 2001.

Bibliography

Abrahams, P., 1982. Historical Sociology. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Alemayehu Seifu., (1969). Eder in Addis Ababa: A sociological study. In: *Ethiopian Observer*, (vol. 12), no. (1-4): pp.8.

Alula Abate., 1974. The growth and development of small and medium sized ketema settlements in the Harar Highlands. In: *Proceedings of the 4th International congress of Ethiopian studies*. Rome: Academia National dei Lincei.

Akalou W. Michael., 1968. Some thoughts on the process of urbanization in pre-twentieth century Ethiopia. In: *Ethiopian geographical journal*, (vol.2): pp.35-40.

----------., 1966. The impermancy of royal capitals in Ethiopia. In: *Association of pacific coast geographers year book, (*vol.28): pp.35-56.

Addis Ababa city council., 1989. Addis Ababa centenary commemorative book. Addis Ababa.

Addis Ababa City Administration Woreda 16 Economic Section., 2002. 1998-2002 Development Plan. Unpublished.

Angrosino, M., 1989. Documents of interraction. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Aronson, D., 1978. The city is our farm: Seven migrant Ijebu Yoruba families. Rochester, VT: Schenkman books.

Barth, F., 1967. On the study of social change. In: *American Anthropologist*, (vol. LXIX): 661-69.

----------., 1969. Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference. Boston: Little Brown.

Becker, H., 1966. Introduction. In: C. Shaw, *The Jack-roller*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Berhane Keleta., 1993. Migrant's attributes and some of the causative factors of migration: The case of Awassa town. Ma-Thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University School of Graduate studies.

Bernard, H., 1988. Research methods in cultural anthropology. Beverly Hills: Sage publishers.

Bilsborrow, R.. and A. Oberai (eds.)., 1984. Migration surveys in low income countries: Guidelines for surveys and questionnaire design. London: Croom Helm.

Bozzoli, B., 1991. Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, life strategy and emergency in South Africa 1900-1983. Johannesburg: Ravan.

----------., 1985. Migrant women and South African social change: Biographicalapproaches to social change. In: *African studies*, (vol. 44): pp 87-96.

Bjeren, G., 1985. Migration to Shashemene. Uppsala: Scandinavian institute of African studies.

Central Statistics Authority., 1995. The 1994 population and housing census of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: C.S.A.

Comhaire, J., 1968. Urbanization in Ethiopia. In: *Dialogue*, (vol. 1), No.(1): pp. 26-33.

Cadwallader, M., 1989. A conceptual framework for analysing migration behaviour in the developed world. In: *Progress in human geography*, (vol. 13): pp.494-511.

Crapanzano, V., 1984. Life-histories. In: *American anthropologist*, (vol. 86): pp. 953-59.

Fekadu Gadamu., 1973. Urbanization, polytechnic group voluntary associations and national integrating in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Haile Sellassie University.

----------., 1966. The social and cultural foundations of Gurage associations. Addis Ababa: Haile Sellassie University.

Geiger, S., 1985. Women's life histories: Method and content. In: *Signs*, (vol. 11), no.(1): pp 334-51.

Giddens, A., 1989. Sociology. Oxford: Polity press.

Garretson, P., 2000. A history of Addis Ababa from its foundation in 1886 to 1910. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz verlag.

Gutkind, P., 1974. Urban anthropology: Perspectives on Third World' Urbanisation and Urbanism. Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Comp. B.V.

Horvath, R. J., 1968. Towns in Ethiopia. In: *Erdukunde*, (vol. 23): 43-511.

----------1969. The wandering capitals of Ethiopia. In: *Journal of African History*, (vol. 10): 205-19.

----------., 1966. Around Addis Ababa. Los Angeles: University of California.

Kebede mammo., 1991. Migration and urban development in Ethiopia: The case of Nazareth town. MA-Thesis. Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies.

----------., 1994. Migration and urban development in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education.

Keegan, T., 1988. Portraits of black lives in rural South Africa. Johannesburg: David Phillip.

Little, K., 1980., Explanation and individual lives: A reconsideration of life writing in anthropology. In: *Dialectical anthropology*, (vol. 5): pp.215.26.

Lourenco-Lindell, I., 2001. Social Networks and Urban Vulnerability to Hunger. In: Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa (eds.), *Associational life in African cities*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Langess, L. and G. frank., 1981. Lives: An anthropological approach to biography. Novato, CA: Chandler and Sharp.

Manger, L., 2002. People With History: The Hadrami. Bergen: University of Bergen

Mann, J., 1986. The sources of social power, V. 1, A history of power from the beginning to AD 1760. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Majumdar, P. and I. Majumdar., 1978. Rural migrants in an urban setting. New Delhi: Hindustan Publishing.

Master plan revision project for Addis Ababa (M.P.R.P)., 2001. Addis Ababa: Unpublished..

Miles, M., 1993. Swazi female migration to South Africa: A socio-economic assessment. Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

----------., 2001. Women's groups and urban poverty: The Swaziland experience. In: Tostesnsen, Tvedten and Vaa (eds.), *Associational life in African cities*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Mitchell, J. C., 1969. The concept of social networks. In:

Mitchell, C. (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: Analysis of personal relationships in central African towns*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Metasebia Solomon., 1999. Survival strategies of female headed households. Senior essay. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology.

Mesfin W. Mariam., 1965. Some aspects of urbanization in pre-twentieth century Ethiopia. In: *Ethiopian geographical journal*, (vol.3), No.(2): pp.13-70.

Mirza, S. and M. Strobel., 1989. Three Swahili women: Life histories from Mombassa, Kenya. Indianapolis, Indiana: U. P.

Ottenberg, P., 1980. In: Hannerz, U. (ed.), *Exploring the city: Inquiries toward an urban anthropology*. New York; Columbia University Press.

Pankhurst, R., 1965. Notes on the demographic history of Ethiopian towns and villages. *In: Ethiopian observer*, (vol.9), no.(1): pp.60-80.

Pelto, J. and G. Pelto., 1970. Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Pratt, M. L., 1992. Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation. London: Routeledge.

Rollowagen, J., 1980. Cities and the world system: Toward an evolutionary presprctive in the study of urban anthropology. In: Thomas Collins (ed.), *Urban Anthropology: Cities in a hierarchical context. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings*, (vol. 14). Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Roosens, E., 2000. In: Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Schutze, F., 1978. Die technik de narrativen interviews in

interaktionsfeldstudien dargestellt an einem project zur Erforschung von kommunalen mastrukturen. Bielefeld: unpublished paper.

Shack, W., 1973. Urban ethnicity and cultural process of urbanization in Ethiopia. In: *Urban anthropology*. New York: Oxford Univ.Press.

Stubbs, J., 1984. Some thoughts on the life story method in labour history and research on rural women. In: *IDS Bulletin*, (vol. 5): pp. 34-37.

Shemelis Bonsa., 1997. Migation, urbanization and urban labour undertakings: The case of the Kistane of Addis Ababa 1900-1944. Ma thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies.

Stoller, P., 1986. The reconstruction of ethnography. In: *Discourse and the social life of meaning*, Chock and Wyman (eds.). London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Simone, A., 2001. Between ghetto and globe: Remaking urban life in Africa. In: Tostesnsen, Tvedten and Vaa (eds.), *Associational life in Africal cities*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Taylor, S. and R.. Bogdan., 1984. Introduction to qualitative research methods. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Tegegne Gebre Egziabher., 2000. Perspectives and issues of urban development in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, R.L.D.S.

Thomas, W. I. and F. Zaniecki., 1966. The Polish peasant in Europe and America. New York: Dover.

Unicef., 1983. *Report on the workshop on urban basic services 4-8 Oct., 1983*. Addis Ababa.

White, S., 1980. A philosophical dichotomy in migration research. In: *Professional Geographer*, (vol. 32): 6-13.

Worku Nida., 1995. The impacts of urban migration on village life. Ma thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University School of Graduate studies

Yigezue Solomon., 1997. Migation to Addis Ababa and its causes and consequences. Senior essay. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Department of Geography.