

**IMPACT OF MALE OUT - MIGRATION ON RURAL WOMEN'S
LIVELIHOOD THE CASE OF CHENCHA WOREDA,
SOUTH ETHIOPIA**

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**Impact of Male Out-Migration on Rural Women
Livelihood, the Case of Chencha Woreda,
South Ethiopia**

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ABBREVIATION

BOA: Bureau of Agriculture

CARE: Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere

CSA: Central Statistics Authority

DFID: Department for International Development

FAO: Food and Agricultural Development

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

ILO: International Labor Organization

PA: Peasant Association

S/N/N/P/R/S: Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State

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ABSTRACT

Migration is a selective process which encourages certain section of the community to involve more than the others. Gender is known to be one of the selective criteria of migration for a long time. Migration streams that are predominantly male or female have implications for the organization of gender roles in both communities of origin and destination.

Although rural-urban migration is dominated by women nationally in Ethiopia, the feature of out migration from certain parts of the country has been largely men's affair. Little is known how the livelihood of women is affected in the long run when their counterparts migrate out and the former assume the virtual headship of their households' in Ethiopia. This study is therefore, intended to assess how women cope up in the absence of their husbands and support their family and identify the major socioeconomic and institutional factors that influence their effort to improve their livelihood.

The result of the study indicates that male-out migration has greatly affected the livelihood of the women who are left behind. The labor gap created due to the absence of male head has negatively affected the agricultural production and the natural resource conservation activity in the study area. The work burden of the women has increased due to their high involvement in domestic and outdoor activities.

Moreover, access of women to Agricultural Extension Service, inputs and credit is constrained by lack of control over household resource and the male-biased agricultural extension orientation. To the dismay of most women remittance from most migrants is also found to be very low, irregular and unreliable.

Thus, to improve the lives of de facto women heads by mitigating the social, economic and cultural barriers which hinder their effort to win a decent livelihood, certain recommendation, gleaned out from this study are suggested.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

Livelihood: - is a means of supporting one's existence which comprises the capabilities, assets and activities.

Male headed household: - a household where most day to day decisions necessary for the survival of the household is made by a residing male adult.

Migrant: is a person who is borne in Chencha woreda and who is residing and working in urban area at the time of the survey and who has a family and property in the study Woreda.

Migration: - is a process of human mobility involving a permanent or temporary change of residence by an individual or a group from Chencha Woreda to other urban areas in Ethiopia.

De facto Women heads: - women whose partners are absent due to labor migration, but who have ongoing contact, normally accomplished by the sending home of remittance.

Sustainable livelihood: - is a livelihood which can cope up with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future while not undermining the natural resource base.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.2 Background to the Problem

Ethiopia is at a low level of urbanization, but stands presently among the rapidly urbanizing developing countries in Africa. Vast number of people are leaving the rural areas and joining the urban people everyday. The reason for this exodus to urban areas widely varies temporally and spatially. But most studies indicate the economic motives as the major driving force behind the recent very fast urbanization phenomenon in Ethiopia. For example, Desalegn (1984) had indicated that chronic lack of rural employment opportunities, rapidly increasing population pressure, absence of oxen for many farmers and land fragmentation were the major forces behind the high rural-urban migration in Ethiopia.

Although migration from rural area is known to cause a lot of economic and social pressure on the poorly developed and already congested urban areas in the Third World countries, it is not without its series of consequential impact on areas of origin. Specially notable is the selective nature of migration that encourages the migration of the most productive section of the community that are mostly young and better educated and informed, which leads to a severe consequence to rural livelihood. Palmer (1986) indicated that rural out migration of men was rising in many parts of the world as a result of development, leaving many women either temporarily or permanently in charge of their households in rural areas. However, the efforts of women are undermined by the laborious nature of farming, labor constraints or by lack of access to productive resources, in part because agricultural research and extension services were primarily oriented to male farmers. Similarly, Sharp and Spieigel(1990) stated that although the patriarchal customs and legal structures curbed women's control over land and agricultural production, women become de jure heads of households in the highly gendered

migrant labor system of South Africa. The prevalence of female-headed households in rural areas necessarily affects household and community livelihood strategies. It is estimated that three quarter of households' income in the former Bantustans is derived from remittances and 10-15 per cent from informal activities such as crafting and street vending (Levin and Weiner, 1997 cited in Oberhauser,A.M., 2000). The latter activities are largely undertaken by women and children since remittances from migrant labor are not always reliable and are frequently controlled by males. Maila Stivens, 1985 (quoted in Lynne et al, 1997), showed how male out migration led to an almost total neglect of agriculture in some rural communities in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia with the consequence that rice /the staple crop/ in the area has to be bought with wages earned in the cities.

Local study on the impact of rural-out migration on village life in Gurage by Worku Nida (1995) indicated that male out-migration from his study area had negatively affected agriculture and resulted in shortage of locally produced food. His study proved that remitted cash does not entirely offset the absent farm labor within the migrant households, since hired labor is more costly, less productive, less efficient and less intensive. Moreover, he further indicated that migration has changed the traditional roles and responsibilities of rural women due to the labor gap created for different farm and social activities resulting in a higher work burden on Gurage women.

Cheneha Woreda is one of the Woredas in Southern Ethiopia that has been experiencing out migration of its rural labor force for a long period of time. Rural urban migration from the Woreda dates back around the beginning of the 20th century, immediately following the incorporation of the Woreda into the rule of the Ethiopian Government.

Out-migration from the Woreda has been highly male-selective. This is so because of the fact that weaving, which is the major economic activity of migrants in urban areas, has been an exclusively male's business in the community. A survey conducted by Olmstead (1975) in one of the villages, where male out-migration was among the highest in the Woreda (Hollo), in early 1970's has shown that 70 per cent of the total population residing then in the village were female. Similarly, a recent study in Addis Ababa, where most of the urban directed migration from the Woreda takes place, found out a sex ratio of 350.7 for the Dorzes and 268.5 for the rest of the Gamo migrant people on a study of ethnic composition of recent migrants who settled in Addis Ababa within two years preceding the 1994 Census. This figure is very high even when compared to the next higher sex ratio of the Sebatbet Gurage which is 178.5. The age-old trend of male out-migration from the Woreda has forced rural women to manage the agricultural activity and the household chores alone with little or no remittance at all from the migrants.

Traditionally women of the Gamo community have been highly involved in the agricultural activities, which is highly labor-intensive. Olmstead (1975) wrote that "the farming system of the Gamo Highland is anomalous in Africa, and might best be compared to Asian systems which employ both male and female labor and which used land intensively". Especially the role of women in soil fertility maintenance is crucial for continuity of agricultural production on the fragile and less fertile soils of the Highland. Traditionally a Gamo man marries another wife when he acquires a new piece of land and wants to convert it into a fertile agricultural land. This is due to the central role of women in livestock management (which is the source of manure) and the transportation of manure to the field to be cultivated (Olmstead, 1975).

Male out-migration from the Woreda posed severe problems to rural women's livelihood and productivity. Besides the obvious labor-gap the absentee husband creates, women's access to

agricultural extension and other desirable inputs is constrained by the still male-biased agricultural extension system. For example, according to the Woreda office of Agriculture the number of women farmers who took part in the ongoing extension package program in the year 2001 was only 18 whereas 1049 male farmers took part in the program. On top of this the traditional land tenure system, which is still powerful in the Woreda, denies women of any right to have land title. This reduces women's motivation for long-term investment on the land in cases of extended absence of their husbands. As a result, the soil conservation and soil fertility maintenances that is vital for sustainable agricultural production on the Highland is highly neglected.

The situation gets more complicated to women due to the low amount of remittance sent back to the women from the migrant husbands. In most cases, the women are expected to be self-sufficient by the migrant male folk and the little remittance (if any) sent is for land tax payment purpose.

Taylor (2000) wrote ' how migration of humans out of rural areas affect those left behind is not only important from a social welfare point of view. In light of the increasing integration of markets, it also may have ramifications for economic growth outside of rural areas(e.g., by affecting food production, agricultural exports, the rural demand for manufactured goods, and future economic surplus in agriculture available for investment anywhere in the economy).And the economic welfare of non-migrants certainly influence future migration pressure.

The impact of male out-migration on rural women's livelihood is among the least researched areas in Ethiopia. Understanding the situation of rural women, as well as the social and economic forces affecting their livelihood in a dynamic way is vital for development

practitioners and policy makers to design appropriate interventions, and planning efforts which could benefit rural women and make them a major actor in development process.

1.2 Objective of the Study

In line with the above brief outline, the general objective of this research is to identify and investigate the major social, economic and institutional aspects that affect rural women's effort to secure livelihood for their family. The specific objectives of this research are:

- i) To investigate the impact of male out migration on agricultural production and natural resource conservation in the study area and the associated changes on women's traditional role in agriculture.
- ii) To identify the strategies rural women generally adopt to overcome problems associated with male out-migration.
- iii) To identify the major socioeconomic and institutional constraints that hinder rural women's efforts in livelihood diversification in the study area.
- iv) To suggest possible recommendations to improve the social and economic welfare of such women their families in the study area.

Research Questions

- ❖ What is the impact of male out-migration on women traditional role in agriculture?
How is the labor gap filled?

- ❖ What is the impact of male out migration on agricultural productivity and natural resource conservation activities?
- ❖ What are the major socioeconomic constraints on women search for livelihood?
- ❖ What coping strategies rural women adopt to overcome problems associated with male out migration?
- ❖ What is the role of remittance on rural women's livelihood?

1.3 Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the impacts of male out migration on the majority of rural women who are left behind to take up the roles and responsibilities of male migrant household heads, and factors that are directly related to their livelihood and their continuous struggle to survive amidst poverty. The study is limited to Chencha Woreda in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples regional State/ SNNPRS/ where out-migration of rural labor force is among the highest in the nation.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The understanding of the social dynamics in the rural area is very crucial for the success of any development intervention. Our country's dream of food security and sustained rural development cannot be realized without appropriate policies and development programs which take into account the dynamic forces that are shaping the rural social and economic landscape.

In view of this, this research hope to contribute towards the better understanding of the impact of male out-migration on rural women's livelihood and the social and economic constraints which hinder the realization of the full potentials of rural women.

This study hopes to prove useful for policy makers, development practitioners and researchers who in one way or another are involved in rural development endeavors.

1.5 Research Method

1.5.1 Source of Data

Both primary and secondary data sources are used to generate appropriate information for the study.

Primary data are collected from the study area using survey questionnaires, interview of key informants and focused group discussions with different women groups. Secondary data are gathered from different published and unpublished documents in the Woreda and elsewhere.

1.5.2 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

Prior to the actual survey a field trip was made to select the appropriate peasant association and households for the study. Four-peasant associations (3 from the upper highlands (Dega) and one from middle altitude (Woinadega) were purposively selected based on their accessibility and relevance to the proposed study.

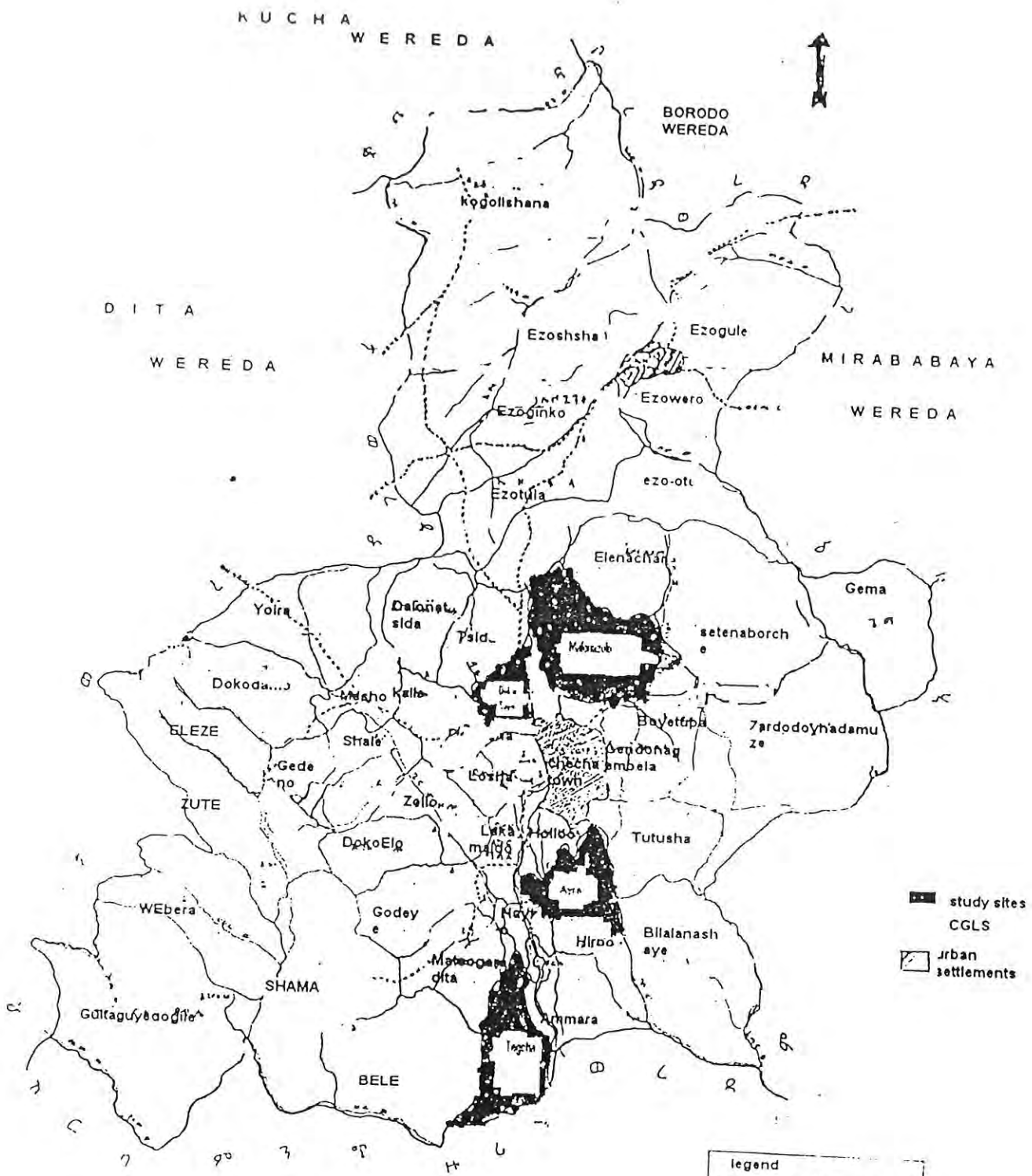
After the study PAs where identified, 20 households where the male household head is a migrant, is selected for each PA randomly from the list of households of migrant men presented by the Kebele Administration. Then 5 male-headed households were also selected randomly from each sampled PA so as to make comparisons with de facto women heads regarding access to resources and services in each PA.

The formal survey questionnaire was administered by the staff of the Woreda office of agriculture who have an educational qualification of above grade 12 and who speak the local language fluently. One day training was given for all enumerators on the objective of the research, the contents of the survey questioner and some basic principles of interview. The researcher was involved all through in close supervision and also undertaking interviews in some PAs.

Following the administration of formal questioners 2 focus group discussions were conducted in each PA. The participants in each focus group discussion were picked randomly from the list of de facto de facto women heads of each PA. Ten to fifteen de facto women heads took part in each discussion.

Finally the key informant interview is undertaken with selected elders in each PA. Interview was undertaken with 6 key informants. The informants were selected in consultation with the staff of the Woreda BOA and some members of each PA so that appropriate individuals are selected.

A checklist was used for both FGD and the interview of key informants so as to ensure that all key issues are covered during the discussion and interview.



- study sites
- CGLS
- urban settlements

legend

- wereda bound
- all weather road
- dry weather R
- river
- O

scale: 1:200,000

source: Adapted from GamoGofa Zone
 planning and Economic
 Development Department (2002)

Table 1.1. Summary of Participants in the research process

Name of PA	Number of Participants on the Survey		Number of Participants on FGD		Key Informants		Total
	Male	Women	Male	Women	Male	Women	
Ayra	5	20	-	24	1		50
Sula	5	20	-	21	2		47
Doko Shaye	5	20	-	18	2		45
Tegecha	5	20	-	22	1		48
Total	20	80		85	6		190

1.5.3 Data Analysis

The quantitative data is analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistical tools like mean, percentages and standard deviation.

The qualitative information is analyzed by cross checking with different data sources in the study area.

1.5.4 Analytical Model

An analytical model is required to break the complex human behavior into its constituent parts so that the human mind can effectively and systematically grasp the problem and deal with it.

An analytical framework guides an investigation in such a way that it determines the nature of data required, and the method of acquiring the necessary data.

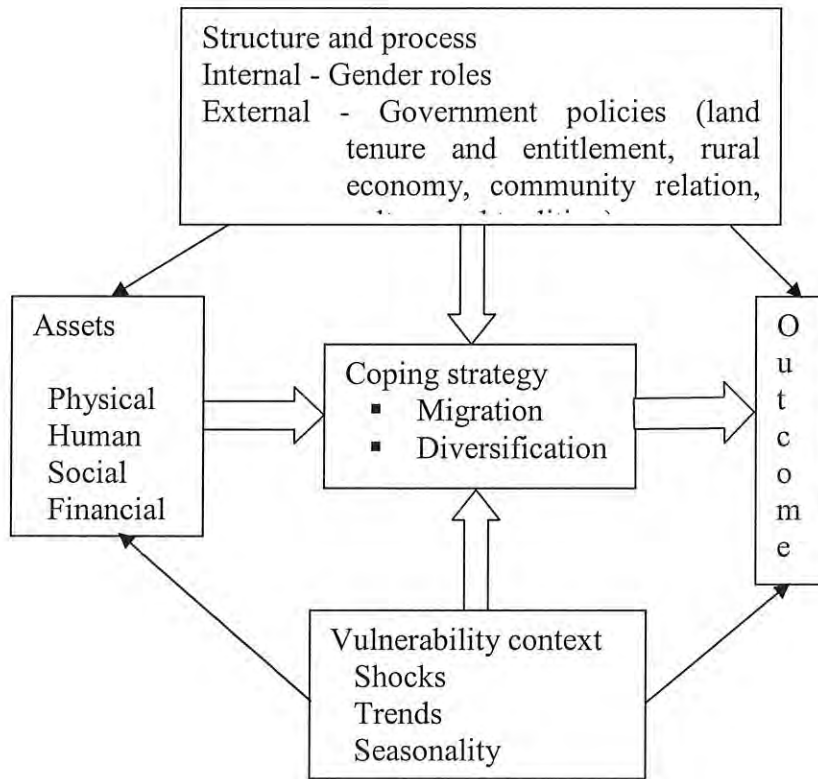
A number of models to analyze livelihood are suggested in the literature, among which are CARE's livelihood framework and DFID's sustainable livelihood framework.

The researcher found that the sustainable livelihood analytical model, originally developed by Carney (1998) and Drinkwater and Frankberg (1999) and slightly modified later by Fazeoha Azmi and used in the study of challenges to women's livelihood strategies in a dry zone peasant colonization scheme in rural Sir Lanka, most appropriate for this study.

The framework consists of five interactive components, which interact, in such a way as to determine the success or failure of households to win livelihood. The components are assets, structure and process, vulnerability context, coping strategies, and outcome.

Asset includes the natural, physical, human, social and financial resources at the disposal of a household. The asset status of the poor is fundamental to understand the choices open to them. The strategies people adopt to attain livelihoods is highly influenced by their asset position. Structure and processes influence the use, access and control of assets. Coping strategies reflect how people combine their assets, within limits of their context in order to arrive at certain results. Livelihood outcomes show whether or not households are successful in pursuing their livelihood strategies. The outcome may differ from what people were aiming at. Analysis of these outcomes shows the negative and positive results of the pursued coping strategies of different people.

Diagram 1: Sustainable livelihood framework, slightly modified by Fazeoha Azmiy



Source: Challenges to women's Livelihood Strategies in a dry zone Peasant Colonization Scheme in rural Sir Lanka,

CHAPTER 2: DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The Gamo highland is located in the south western part of Ethiopia in Gamo Gofa zone, which is one of the administrative Zones of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State/SNNPRS/. The Gamo highland is the southernmost extension of the north- western block of Ethiopian highlands. It rises from 1300 m above sea level to 3250 m above sea level.

Chencha Woreda is situated between 1300 m and 3.250m above sea level. It forms the upper rectangular landmass of the highland. Astronomically Chencha wereda is located between 37° 29' 57" East to 37° 39' 36" West and between 6° 08' 55" North and 6° 02' 30" South. The Woreda is bordered by Kucha and Boreda- Abbaya weredas in the North, Arbamich zuria Woreda in the South, Boreda Woreda in the East and Dita Dera malo in the West.

Due to a high altitudinal range, the area is characterized by diverse agro-climatic distribution and vegetation cover. The Woreda is divided into two agro-ecological zones, namely, Dega and Woina Dega, which account for about 82 and 18% of the total area respectively. Due to its rugged topography the highland area is very vulnerable to soil eroding forces.

The rainfall regime in the Woreda is bimodal. The first round of rain occurs between March to April. The second round of rain occurs from June to August. The rainfall distribution in Chencha varies from year to year and across seasons. The annual rainfall distribution in the Woreda varies between 900 mm to 1200mm. The minimum temperature in the Woreda varies between 11 to 13 degree centigrade, while the maximum temperature is in the range 18 to 23 degree centigrade.

The soils of the Woreda are primarily clay or clay loams which have evolved from volcanic rocks (basalt) and volcanic tuff in the higher altitudes of the study area. The dominant soil color is reddish brown to dark brown. The principal soil types are Cambisols and Nitosols. Lithosols are specially confined to severely eroded steeper parts of the wereda. These soils are very shallow and generally agriculturally unproductive (MoA/FAo, 1990)

.Many small rivers and streams originate from Chench highland. However, the main rivers of the highland are Cullufo. Zute, Hare, Gina, Shaye, Basso and kulano. These rivers are not providing any economic value in the highlands, except eroding away the vulnerable highland soils. But in their lower courses some of the rivers like Cullufo, Hare and Basso provide the life line for irrigation forms of the low land area around Arbaminch.

The current land use pattern in the Woreda consists of annual crops, perennial crops, forest and shrubs. Out of the 45,000 ha of the Woreda's total area 24,420 is covered by annual crops, 3102 by perennial crops, 3446 by grazing land, 6185 by natural and artificial forest and the rest 7847 by other crops, fallow land and marginal land.

2.2. THE SOCIO CULTURAL SETTING

2.2.1 The people

The Gamo people are one of the Omotic speaking groups of Southwestern Ethiopia. They speak a language that closely relates to Gofa, Wolayta and Dauro. The forty societies (Deres) of the Gamo highland live in areas ranging in size from five to fifty square miles

(Olmstead, 1975)

During the nineteenth century this area was politically autonomous and divided into small territorially discrete political units called Deres, each with its own hereditary king (Ka.o).

According to Dan Sperber (1973), neighboring Deres have similar institutions and also define themselves each as the constituency of a particular ka'o. A common language (with minor dialectical differences), a common culture, identical clans, occasional intermarriages, and a network of widely attended markets make the Gamo highlands much more than a simple juxtaposition of separate societies.

The Gamo highland was incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire in 1898. After incorporation into the bigger Ethiopian context, the local kings (Ka'o) are renamed as Balabat, and the individual Deres are rendered to the smallest units of territorial organization in the modern administrative hierarchies which in turn are grouped to form Woredas. Currently, the Gamo highland is divided into seven Woredas of which the study area (i.e Chenca Woreda) is one.

According to the S/N/N/P/R State's Statistics and Population Office demographic abstract the total population of the Woreda is 104,689, as of July 1998. Out of this population, 46024 are males and 58665 are females. The same document indicated that Ninety-five per cent of the Woreda population lives in rural area while only 9.5 % of the people are residents of urban areas. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy of the Woreda. However, a significant amount of people in the Woreda are engaged in weaving within the Woreda or as migrant weavers in major urban areas all over the country.

2.2.2 The Farming System

The Gamo highland is characterized by a very intensive system of agriculture. The intricate combination of field, pasture, and forest indicates centuries of human use and settlement. Agriculture in the highland is mainly subsistence oriented and is mainly aided by traditional farm implements and rich endogenous farming and land management techniques which are accumulated over many generations.

The altitudinal variation in the highland allows the cultivation of different types of crops. Cereals, pulses and horticultural crops of various types are cultivated on the highland. Barley is the most dominant cereal in the upper dega areas followed by wheat in lower altitudes. The pulses cultivated in the highland include faba bean and chickpeas, which are of a great value in soil fertility maintenance by crop rotation. Horticultural crops like enset, Koltso, Potatos and taro are also cultivated on the highland to various degrees.

Agriculture in Chenchha highlands is all round the year job. There are two cropping season in a year, which are locally known as Gebba and Silla seasons. Silla crops are planted in August and harvested in January, whilst the Gebba crops are planted in February and harvested in July. In the Dega region Silla crop is the most important. The Gabba crop consists only of barley and the yields are usually low.

The farming system in the Woreda is a mixed farming system where the crop sub-system and the livestock sub-system are equally important to each other. Due to low natural fertility, low amount of available nutrients and low permeability of the clay or clay loam soils of the highland, soil fertility maintenance is the number one priority to every farmer in the highland. Over years farmers have developed effective strategies to maintain soil fertility and sustain production in such a fragile soil condition.

The first strategy to maintain soil fertility is crop rotation. Leguminous crops like chickpeas or horse beans are sown on a field when barley crop begins to fail. The other method, which is now less practiced due to population pressure, is fallowing. The third and the most important method is application of manure. Because of the high demand for manure, animals and the pastures on which they feed are an essential part of highland agriculture. A certain balance between pasture and fields must be maintained if soil erosion and rapid loss of soil fertility is

to be avoided. This is why we still find grazing lands side by side with agricultural lands despite the extreme population pressure and shortage of agricultural land on the highland.

In general agriculture in Gamo highlands is highly labor intensive all through the year. Labor is required to level fields, create and maintain terraces, cut and carry fodder to animals, turn the soil of fields to be sown several times rather than once, carry all available manure to the fields, move the houses in which animals are penned in order to plant ensete on the wall manured floors of the animal pens, plant and tend the crops and herd the animals. The shortage of agricultural labor force in a household has severe implications on the agricultural production and natural resource management effort in any household.

Infrastructure and basic services

Chencha Woreda is connected to Arbaminch (the zonal capital) by on all weather road. The Woreda enjoys 24 hours electric supply from Koka hydroelectric station, although the supply is limited to the towns and the near by villages around the towns. In the Woreda there is one high school and 23 first and second cycle schools. There is 1 hospital and 2 rural drug vendors.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 An Overview of Internal Migration in Africa

Migration is the movement of people in space, often involving a change in the usual place of residence. It has been part of a human history and is often associated with the quest for better livelihood and more secure survival. In broader terms migration can be divided into two broad groups- international migration and internal migration.

International migration involves the movement of people across political boundaries to a different country than an area of origin where as internal migration is the movement of people within the national boundary of a specified country. Internal migration is by far the most important factor responsible for major demographic changes in Africa. Based on the direction of movement internal migration can be further divided into rural – rural, rural – urban, urban-rural and urban- urban.

Given that most people continue to live in rural areas, and that there is in all countries continuous and complex movement within rural societies, even at subsistence level of development, intrarural movements continue to be the most common of the four major directional types of movement in Africa (Oucho,J.O. et al, 1993). They are of many types and include movements of nomads as well as those of agriculturalists and other peoples and traders. These movements can be seasonal, long term or permanent based on the purpose of migration.

Although rural-urban migrants are not the largest group of internal migrants in Sub – Saharan African countries, rural – urban movement, whether circulation and for a temporary sojourn in town or for permanent urban residence, form by far the most significant system of movement

for the long term trend of spatial redistribution. In relative terms, rural – urban migration has attracted the attention of more researchers and is better explored by scholars from the fields of geography, anthropology, sociology, economics etc. in Africa.

Internal migration in Ethiopia is among the highest in Africa. The 1984 Census figures show that the country experienced a relatively high level of internal migration. According to that Census, 16 per cent of the country's enumerated population was reported as migrants. Migrants are defined as those who have moved at least once in their lifetime from a given geographical region or from the place in which they were born to any other part of the country, in order to make a living for a substantial period of time.

Analysis of migration patterns based on 1984 Census data indicates substantial regional variation in net loss or gain of population through migration. The regions that had experienced a net loss through migration in the years before the 1984 Census were Wello followed by Tigray and Gonder. These constitute the northern provinces of Ethiopia. In southern Ethiopia Gamo Gofa and Sidama were the only provinces that showed a net loss of population through migration during the 1984 Census.

Although interregional migration has showed a marked decline since the change of government in 1991 due to the restriction of the huge resettlement programs, which were responsible for the higher interregional population movement earlier, to localities within the same region, rural-urban migration has shown a tremendous increment in the country (Markos, 2001). In Amhara region, for example, the proportion of rural urban migration increased from about 12 per cent of total migrants in the 1980s to 22 per cent in 1990s (Markos,2001).

3.1.2 Nature of Internal Migration in Africa

Empirical studies in different parts of Africa have indicated that the causes of internal migration can widely vary from one area to another and from time to time based on specific socio-cultural, economic, political, environmental and other household and personal considerations. However nearly all migration studies recognize economic motives as the most important factor responsible for internal migration in many parts of Africa (Gugler, 1975).

However, migration is rarely a once-for-all move in Africa. Migrants maintain a strong link with fellow migrants as well as their people in area of origin. These situations help to build the tradition of migration to a certain area by the people of a certain region. Some studies in Africa have indicated that the presence of relatives at a destination is sometimes more important than economic motives because perspective migrants must start from a base at destination point before being self-reliant (Oucho, 1993). In fact, chain migration may be sustained within ethnic or kinship structures. Oucho (1993) further stated that in all parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, more than two-thirds of migrants visit their original home at least once a year. Related to the issue of return migration is the remittance that migrants send bring back to their home of origin. These remittances help to ensure that the migrants will be accepted back in their home should they need or want to return at some point of time in the future. In southwest Nigeria about 60 per cent of migrant heads of households in rural areas have been remitting to their home areas at least once a year. In Kenya in the early 1980s, more than 70 per cent of urban households were remitting income at least once a year (Oucho 1973).

Unlike the neo classical models of migration (for example Todaro's dual sector Economy or Lee's push-pull model of migration), which emphasize the role of individuals in migration decision, recent studies in most developing countries indicate that migration decisions are not entirely the domain of individuals. They take place within a larger context – typically the

household, which potentially consists of individuals with diverse preferences and differential access to income (Stark 1991). This situation creates what Weisner (1972) called "one family, two households system". The incidence of a family geographically separated into two households as a result of migration is familiar through out Sub-Saharan Africa and explains compatibility of urban employment and job search with the rural linkage of migrants in towns (Oucho, 1985a cited in Foote et al, 1993).

Similarly, Massey (1990) argues that migration is ultimately a social process that gains its own momentum, outstripping its economic origins. As human networks develop between migrant's place of origins and destination points, they contribute to the institutionalization of migration in sending communities. Over time, these ties become a source of social capital to residents, defined as the wealth of informal family, kinship and communities ties between migrants and others built up over the cumulative process of historical migration between two regions. For households, such capital means decreased risks of migration via greater information prior to migration, and facilitated border crossing, job connections and economic assistance (Messey,1990)

Sex differences in migration patterns have long attracted the attention of researchers and policy makers concerned with migration. In general, the developing world presents two main patterns of sex selectivity in migration: the first is the Latin American one, in which there is a predominance of females among migrants to cities and the second is the Afro – Asian one, in which there is a clear predominance of men.

Ethiopia stands in clear contrast with the rest of Africa with regard to sex selectivity in migration. Both the 1984 and 1994 national Censuses have showed the predominance of women in the rural – urban migration streams, although the gap has been shown as narrowing

from time to time. The reason for this is that since Ethiopia was never colonized by foreign powers labor migration of the type common in the former colonies where males were recruited for arduous tasks in the agricultural wage sector as well as in the mines, railways and road projects, and for the blue and white collar jobs in urban areas, has been rare in Ethiopia (Palen, J., 1976). However sex selectively in rural – urban migration in Ethiopia is not a uniform phenomenon throughout the country. Some areas especially in southern part of the country, display a higher dominance of male out migration unlike the northern parts of the country. For example the migration stream from the study area is highly dominated by males as indicated in the introduction part of this paper.

3.1.3. Historical Background of Rural – Urban Migration in Ethiopia

Studies on rural – urban migration in Ethiopia are very limited. The few studies that are available focus more on patterns and the distribution of urban centers in historical perspective rather than impacts of migration on origin or destination areas. Bjerer's (1985) study of migration to Shashmene can be considered as the first systematized migration study in Ethiopia. He had indicated in his review of urban studies in Ethiopia that there were few urban migration studies of any kind in Ethiopia before his study and no studies of migration. The few urban studies before Bjerer were Mesfin's (1970) article based on the first round of urban surveys, articles by Pankhurst (1957, 1961, 1962, 1965) about the historical development of towns in Ethiopia and Akalu's dissertation (1976) on urban development in Ethiopia in time and space perspective.

The 1980s in general have seen a good number of migration researches in relation to previous years. Alula (1995) has summarized the migration literature in Ethiopian system up to 1990s. He grouped the studies thus far into general and specific. The general studies attempted to describe migration on a national level (Bondestam 1972; Mclann 1987; CSA 1991; Ponsi

1982: Kloos and Aynalim Adugna 1969). The specific studies examined migration to particular areas. The specific studies include Prost – Toiurnier 1972 Palen 1975: Bioron 1984: Kloos 1982: Bekure 1984: Beyene 1985: Wood 1983: Hadgu and Asmerom 1985: Arkec 1985: Baker 1986: Almaz 1990). Some of those studies deal with labor migrations to the Awash valley and coffee – growing areas in terms of aggregate flow patterns, ethnic groups involved, some demographic characteristics and regions of out migration. However, only one of those studies (Beyene 1985) attempt to look into the spatial and temporal patterns and assess some of the impacts on areas of origin. Worku's (1995) anthropological study on the impacts of urban directed migration on Gurage village life is the single most important study on impact of migration on area of origin in Ethiopia to date.

Although the history of urban experience in Ethiopia dates back to the Axumite civilization, urbanization in Ethiopia is marked by high discontinuity and lack of stability. Mesfin (1976) wrote that the three prominent capitals of Axum, Lalibela and Gonder are but brief episodes in the long and essentially rural history of the country.

There was no permanent capital after Gonder until the birth of Addis Ababa in 1887 by emperor Menlik II. The major factors that contributed for the continuation of Addis Ababa as a capital, unlike the previous migratory capital towns of Ethiopia, are (1) territorial expansion, (2) development of new system of Administration and (3) development of communication and commerce and (4) the introduction of Eucalyptus seedlings which satisfied the fire wood needs of the ever growing urban population.

The territorial expansion of Menlik II, which almost tripled the size of the empire, had resulted in the emergence of urban centers in the south and southwestern part of the country also. Most of these towns were originally military garrisons during emperor Menlike's campaigns.

Moreover, the construction of the Djibouti – Addis Ababa railway in 1902 helped in the emergence of several commercially important railroad towns to the East of Addis Ababa.

The next major boost to the urbanization process in Ethiopia came, however, with the brief Italian occupation. The introduction of wage labor, the expansion of road networks and the introduction of money tax system during the occupation introduced modern urban characters to urban areas in Ethiopia. These factors strengthened the rural – urban linkages by facilitating movement of persons and merchandise, promoting trade and thus migration to commercial centers. However, Horvath (1970) indicated that urban decline followed the departure of the Italians who left Ethiopia with a war-torn economy until it picked up again to historic high from 1940 through to 1960s.

Rural-urban migration from the study area is more closely related to the growth and expansion of modern urban forms in Ethiopia.

3.1.4. Rural- Urban Migration from the Gamo Highlands

Although the Gamo community is among the highly migratory peoples of Ethiopia, no study has so far been conducted on the nature, impact and patterns of the Gamo community migration explicitly thus far. Some of the studies on the community which made a passing remark on the migratory nature of the Gamo community include Olmstead's Ph.D dissertation entitled female fertility, social structure and the economy: A controlled comparison of two Southern Ethiopian communities, the report of an Oxford University expedition team who made a socio-economic and land use survey of the Gamo highland in 1968. Samuel Tucho's BA thesis (1984) entitled The Dorze Weavers of Addis Ababa: with special emphasis on Shiromeda community,

In modern times the long distance migration of the Gamo community is strongly tied to the history of modern urban growth in Ethiopia. The conquest and incorporation of the Gamo highland into Ethiopia in 1998, and the resulting demand for cloths made by the community by the population in the emerging urban areas both in the south and northern parts of the country are the major factors responsible for the prominence of weaving business in the community. Indicating how and when weaving becomes an important business on the highland, Straube (cited in Olmstead, 1975) wrote, "*unlike the other tribes of the Gamo highland, the Dorze are not purely a peasant people, but are and were, within the limits of recorded history, first and foremost warriors and traders --- war-mongery ceased for the Dorze when southern Ethiopia was pacified by the Amharas. They then turned to weaving ---.*" It is this business of weaving which sustained the culture of migration from the Gamo highland over the last century.

The Gamo people began to arrive in Addis Ababa after the conquest and incorporation of Gamo Gofa into Menelik's Empire in 1898. Several factors contributed to the coming of the people to Addis Ababa at this particular time. Samuel (1984) indicated three important reasons that made possible the migration of a number of individuals from the highland in late 19th century. Firstly, there were the Halaqas, the elders, who were elected by the people to represent them at the capital. The Halaqas brought tax and tributes collected from the people and appealed to the Emperor through their spokesmen in case of problems. The Halaqas and their escorts, had little to do while they stayed in Addis Ababa and gradually they began to engage themselves in weaving, art they had already mastered at home. Moreover, due to the feudal negligence and inattention to the problems of subject people, they had to stay for a long time before they could find someone who received the taxes and tributes they had brought.

The second group of people was young men who came to accomplish labor obligations on behalf of the people. These also did not have enough provisions for their stay in Addis Ababa and had to take weaving for livelihood during their free time. It should be noted that they always carried their looms when they came for the services.

The third group, the most important in terms of number and founding of settlements, were those who escorted noblemen, governors or their representatives from Gamo Gofa. This group includes soldiers of lower position, porters, house servants, personal guards and those who fed one or two horses of their masters.

All these groups stayed in Addis Ababa until they accomplished their obligations. They even tended to stay longer when they got jobs by themselves or from the nobility or the government. Meanwhile, they mastered the weaving of the Shemma (the traditional Ethiopian custom cloth) and had distinguished themselves as the best weavers in the capital. Garretson (1974) stated that owing to their considerable prior skill in weaving about 50 of the first Gamo Highlanders brought to Addis Ababa after the conquest of Gamo Gofa were sent to Ankobar to be educated in the traditional Shoan method of weaving. According to Burley (cited in Samuel, 1984), the Dorze (the first migrants from the Gamo highland) were "probably the most skilled weavers in Addis Ababa" by 1905. Burley goes on to say that the Dorze had dominated the field of weaving between 1898 and 1910 that weaving had taken the ethnic identity of being a Dorze occupation.

Gradually, the number of migrants from Gamo highlands kept on increasing and the population of the Gamo community constituted a significant portion of the residents of the early Addis Ababa. Garretson estimated that about 3,000 people from the Gamo highlands were living in Addis Ababa by 1910.

Migration from Gamo highlands had continued to other parts of the country due to the growing demand for Shemma clothes by the newly emerging urban forms. Olmstead (1974) stated that the wearing of garments made of close was an important mark of civilization to the ruling elite: thus both the people from the north living in the garrison towns in the south and the local people desiring to emulate them wanted to buy cloth. This demands stimulated the migration of the highlanders to other emerging towns in the south besides Addis Ababa.

The brief Italian occupation which terminated the agricultural serfdom and introduced money tax system on the highland further facilitated migration from the highland. The need for cash by peasants to pay their annual tax obligation resulted in the expansion of wage labor by non-weaving communities to the weavers. This encouraged weavers to migrate to urban areas where they would generate better income, leaving their farm for wage labor under the care of their wives. Furthermore some households sent one or more member of their household to Addis Ababa to engage in weaving and remit them some money so that they could fulfill their tax obligation. Besides, the expansion of road network during the Italian occupation was another important factor that facilitated migration from the highland. Informants disclosed that they used to walk for 15 days to reach Addis Ababa in earlier days, whereas with the growth of transportation the trip was reduced to a day.

The fact that new comers did not find it hard to find jobs and residence as they came to large organized community of theirs further facilitated migration. Migrants stayed with a relative or hired themselves as apprentice until they found their own houses and weaving implements. Dexter Burley stated that:

"Migrants from the Gamo highland to Addis Ababa know that they could go directly to an established community in the city where the people speak their

language and practiced the custom of their highland community --- where they can assume a relatively high and constant cash income from their weaving."

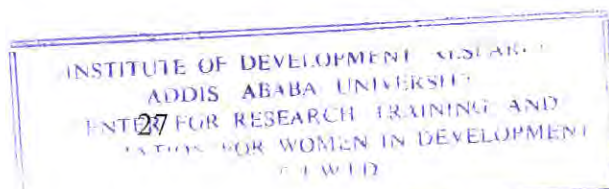
Gamo women did not come to Addis Ababa during the few years of the Gamo settlements in the capital. Migrants from the Gamo highlands left their wives under the care of their parents. The parents also wanted the service of these young women and did not want to let them go with their husbands. They also wanted the wives to remain behind so as to make their sons come for the sake of their wives. Migrants who have left their wives behind were also persuaded to send them some money usually through their fathers (Samuel, 1984).

Migration has changed the economic and the social landscape in the Gamo highland. Jackson et al. (1968) indicated that migration to Addis Ababa from Gamo highlands has relived the extreme population pressure in some areas of the highland and it also provided the economic lifeblood to the area. Migrant's remittance, which is disbursed among the highlanders in form of payment for food stuffs, marketing services, and agricultural labor, were the major sources of cash for the highlanders in earlier days before the expansion of other economic activities in the area.

Currently, the people of the study area are among the most urbanized people in Ethiopia. According to the 1984 Census, Dorzes are the second most urbanized ethnic groups in the nation, with 62 per cent of 43, 964 people living in urban areas next to Adere where 82 per cent of 29,518 population is urbanized (Abate, 1991).

3.1.5. Impact of male out migration on area of origin and the Women left behind

The impact of rural out migration on area of origin is highly disputed area of investigation. So far, research conducted in different parts of the world provided mixed outcomes. In general



terms, the possible impacts of out migration from rural areas are bracketed by two extremes which we might call the optimistic and the pessimistic scenarios

3.1.5.1 Optimistic scenarios

The most common economic theory in the optimistic line is the neoclassical economic approach. In this theory, migration whether temporary, seasonal or permanent is seen in terms of labor responding to market forces and therefore lessening factor price differentials among regions or between the city and the countryside. The theory asserts that the marginal product value from labor in rural area is less than the wage that can be earned from migration. The migrant is able to remit to his family a sum adequate to hire labor at the going wage rate to substitute for him if this is required. Furthermore, the migrant's net gains allow investment in new farm resources thereby overcoming past constraints on breaking out of low productivity agriculture. Farm output has not only to be maintained, but should actually increase. Rural income distribution improves. The decline in the supply of labor leads to a rise in wages benefiting the poorest section of the community.

The other approach in this line is the traditional kinship approach (Palmer, 1985). This approach recognizes that there is a specific seasonal need for the migrant's labor at home, and that it cannot be assumed that hired labor is available or affordable. Kinship relations (with extended family substituting for the migrant) and exchange labor provide adequate support. According to this theory, with slack periods during the annual agricultural timetable the absence of migrant's labor is felt only at specific times of the year when the total household labor force is fully employed. In large extended households this can be covered by new work arrangements. Where a nuclear household experiences difficulties because its principal or sole adult male is away, the husband's kins step into replace the missing labor.

Other optimists argue that migration can bring about rural transformation through the positive impact of return migrants on adoption of new technologies due to better financial capacity as well as knowledge and experience of alternative production techniques acquired elsewhere. An ILO sponsored study in the Indian Punjab by Oberai and Singh (1983), for example, has indicated that a higher proportion of return migrant and out – migrant households are using tractors and have adopted improved agricultural practices when compared with non – migrant households.

Some others argue that migrants can positively contribute to the areas of their origin by creating regional associations in urban areas. These associations help in coordinating the financial and human capabilities of migrants in urban areas and invest them in the development of their areas of origin.

3.1.5.2 The Pessimistic Scenarios

The pessimist argument towards the impact of migration on area of origin centers on the fact that migration drains the youngest, most innovative and best-trained and motivated population from rural areas. Pessimists argue that this loss of productive young individuals will affect rural production and in the long run result in economic stagnation and poverty.

Pessimistic studies argue that migration reduces income in migrant – sending areas because the marginal product of the migrant's labor is large prior to migration and migrants take away productive capital (including human capital) with them when they go away. Income remittances by migrants only partially compensate for these lost labor and lost capital effects. Some further the argument by stating that even the households receiving a good sum of remittance may not spend their income on goods or services offered by poor villagers, as their taste for goods and services will change to more sophisticated modern items produced

elsewhere in urban areas. This limit migration's potential to alleviate poverty through local expenditure linkage.

Other pessimists argue that migration worsens income differential in rural areas through its selectivity based on financial resource for initial movement. This is specially so for long term and long distance migrants. Migration always involves some costs of transportation and the abandonment of many of the few possessions the poor might have. The poorest of the poor cannot afford either risk or movement and as a result the poor of the poorest is very unlikely to benefit from any opportunities that might come from migration.

Based on evidence from field studies, some pessimists question the positive role of remittance in bringing about improvements that are likely to lead to increasing agricultural productivity and sustained development. Hugo (1979) has indicated in his study of the impact of migration on west Java villages that one of the most common ways in which migrant's urban earnings are invested in their village of origin is the construction of stone – walled, tile- roofed village prestigious houses. Research by Mary Myers et al (1995) in EI Ain communities in Sudan indicated that remittances are used to buy food and other necessities filling a 'cash gap' felt at village level that has been created by the decline in agricultural yields due to male out migration.

Pessimist studies on the impact of migration on social organization and structure points out the negative consequence of migration on the loss of social capital from the area of origin. Social capital is referred here as the features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. Stockdale (2002) stated that the selective out flow of young and motivated individuals involve the loss of much needed human and social capital from the donor community. This has a very negative

repercussion to donor societies, specially these days, when endogenous approaches to rural development are highly advocated. The study in El Ain, Sudan, had indicated that the absence of men from major social occasions like negotiations, feasts, and general meetings among villagers have reduced community interaction and management agreements among villagers in the region. As a result relation between villagers and neighboring pastoralists has deteriorated resulting in frequent clash (Mary Myers et al. 1995)

Similarly, a study by Hugo (1979) has indicated that high level of out migration from Java villages have resulted in a lack of able-bodied men to provide *gotong royong* (a non-voluntary organization of labor at the village level for local improvement such as the building an maintenance of schools, mosques, village offices etc.). In several villages surveyed, the researcher observed that the absence of large numbers of able young men, especially during the off-season of the agricultural cycle when most projects are mounted, has considerably reduced the effectiveness of *gotong royong* in carrying out general improvements around the village.

Generally, it is clear from the review of the limited studies on the impact of migration on area of origin that the true impact of migration is multifaceted and depends on a number of factors both at the origin and destination. After reviewing a number of cases in Asia, Priya Deshingkar (2004) correctly concluded that

“--- a loss of labor through migration may or may not reduce agricultural production, remittance may or may not increase access to assets by alleviating credit constraint: this in turn may or may not increase agricultural production and household incomes. Migrant remittance may or may not have a wider impact on the economy and on poverty. Given the rapidly changing “rural reality” more research is needed on the causes and impacts of

migration particularly in relation to labor markets, agricultural productivity and poverty reduction."

3.2 IMPACT OF MALE OUT- MIGRATION ON WOMEN LEFT BEHIND – REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES

Studies on the impact of male out migration on rural women are relatively scarce. Helen Ware (1987) has stated the impact of the departure of large numbers of men from rural areas is a topic that has received surprisingly little attention. However, in recent years the women who are left behind have received more attention, partly because of concern over stagnating or declining food production, and partly because of a feminist interest in how women cope up when their men are away (Helen Ware, 1987).

Migration streams that are predominantly male or female have implications for the organization of sex roles in both communities of origin and of destination. Fox (1978), cited in Francis (1998), has stated that in areas such as Botswana and Lesotho where heavy out migration of men from the rural economies to the mines and farms of south Africa involves up to a quarter of the total adult male labor force, the demographic composition of the rural areas is necessarily dramatically affected with a subsequent impact on the activities of women who are left behind. Essentially, the woman's role expands to carry the full weight of responsibility for domestic, economic and civic affairs.

Review of the limited researches conducted on the impact of male out migration from rural areas on women left behind showed different pictures from one area to another based on specific economic, social, institutional and cultural aspects of the community involved. Impacts of migration depend on the context like seasonality of movement; the length of time

spent away, assets, and social structures and institutions allowing women and other to pursue activities previously reserved for men and household heads (De hann, 2000, Connet et al, 1976)

In her survey of a number of works in the literature on the impact of male out migration on rural women where the gender division of labor was such that women were farmers, child care takers and reproducers while men involve in long distance trade or engage as politicians and religious specialists, Nici Nelson (1992) has identified four major factors that alter the situation of women who stay behind in rural households as men migrate out.

The first is the level of employment of the husband. The more secure and well paid his employment, the more likely it is that he will invest some of his earning in cash crops, which have historically been the province of man. In those cases women find themselves converted to unpaid family labor. Man in secure employment have more money to travel home with and will come home more often to confer with local agricultural extension agents and to give their wives instructions on what to produce and what to do with earnings. Conversely, women in families where the husband is poorly paid will have a strong decision making role in managing what land there is where the land is insufficient to provide a livelihood, the wife may decide to take casual wage labor or enter trading.

The second factor is distance between the rural home and the place of the husband's employment .The shorter it is the more likely men will contribute to both the labor process and to the decision making process. This obviously also relates to wage levels the unit cost of travel for a man with a good salary is less of a barrier to frequent travel back home than it would be for a low paid or unemployed worker, but it is clear that when men are away for extended periods of time, women have more scope for managing their own affairs autonomously.

The third factor is the amount of land at family's disposal. Women in land abundant households will be better off than those with small land holdings. Those families with sufficient land will have cash crops and probably can afford to hire labor to work those fields. Those women with insufficient land resort to the limited forms of poorly paid casual farm labor available or turn to trading.

The fourth factor is the strength of the patrilineal extended family or local lineage. If it is relatively weak, it is more likely that de facto female heads of households will be fairly autonomous in the management of the family farm. Where it is relatively strong, women will find themselves subject to the control of male affiances. Everywhere, de facto female heads of households are subject to pressure from, if not the outright control, of mothers-in-law, which is often a source of stress.

Rosalind David's case studies (1995, on the impact of male out migration on women's management of natural resource in four Sub Saharan African countries- Senegal, Burkina Faso, Mali and Sudan) is among the few studies that is frequently cited. Her study demonstrated that the impact of male out migration on women left behind depends on specific socio-cultural circumstances and the nature of migration from the area concerned. Her study indicated that the seasonal out migration of men from Al ain, Sudan, for example had different impacts from the long term male out migration from Passore, Burkina Faso, where long term migration was found to affect more profoundly labor allocation at village level and investment decision in natural resource improvement activity.

David's study further indicated that the economic wellbeing of migrants' wives depends on the family structure and the social support networks in the area. In the three west African cases of her study she found out that the extended family structure in the area effectively cover all

the gaps that are left behind by the migrants and women left behind in such environment are less vulnerable than those women in nucleated family like that of Al Ain, Sudan.

Most studies on the impact of male out migration revealed that it is the women and the children that are left behind who felt the full weight of the loss of male labor from a household. For example, Myers et al (1995) noted that the wives of seasonal migrants in El Ain, Sudan, assume complete responsibility for the household once their husbands leave, managing the household budget, children's welfare, small stock, crop storage, fuel, fodder, and water needs and marketing. They also noted that the labor gap that has been created as a result of male out migration caused women to take over men's role in some households. Many women in their sample had reported that they had taken over men's roles like cutting and clearing the fields and marketing crops. Reliance of migrants' wives on their children's labor is also reported as to be very common in El Ain. As a result, it was noted that children, particularly girls, are missing out on schooling because they are duty-bound to help shoulder their mothers' extra work burdens both at the farm and household.

Male-out migration in some part of the world is observed to cause changes in the usual combination of farming enterprises to adapt to labor constraints. Study by John Connel et al (1976) indicated that substantial labor migration in Saboke village in Liberia produced a shift in subsistence crops from rice to less labor intensive and less seasonally peaked crops such as cassava. Cohen (cited in John Connel et al) also reported that in some depopulated Arab villages in Israel crop production gave way to tobacco growing, which women and children could more easily manage, once men had done the initial ploughing. In fact, male out migration is observed to affect women's agricultural production and productivity in many subsistence agricultural areas. For example, Richards (quoted in Connel et al 1976) showed how migration of Bemba males (Zambia) resulted in labor deficiency in the Citemene

subsistence agricultural system which led to decline in agricultural production and ultimately malnutrition in the area.

Studies in some parts of Africa indicated that the low level of remittance from male migrants is another setback in women's effort to improve their livelihood. David's (1995) study in Diourbal (Senegal), El Ain and Passore indicated that on the whole, the remittance from male migrants is not enough either to hire labor, buy agricultural inputs (fertilizer, animal traction etc) or to invest in livestock. Disparities between food produced and food consumed in those areas means that much of the money is spent on buying extra food.

Other factors which are found to influence women productivity and production potential include the patrilineal nature of decision making on issues pertaining to the use and control of major resources in the household and the male-biased rural agricultural extension and credit systems. Jokes (quoted in Nelson, 1992) in his study of the situation of wives of Gikuyumen stated that women are not in full control of their households even in long term migration of their husbands. His study revealed that men retained a great deal of decision-making power and control of resource allocation even when absent from home. Gikuyu women are disadvantaged in their access to resources necessary to invest in, expand or improve agricultural production. There is limitation of extension service, which is only provided to households with a resident male or credit (because land is registered in men's name) or land. Furthermore Staudt (1982) indicated how women rarely attended meetings where demonstrations, information and advice are given. She further indicated that training centers offer farming training only to men while women are relegated to the home economics courses. She also revealed that agriculture extension workers are also biased towards male-headed households in their service provision. She found out that half of the women in her sample farmers were never visited at all, and these are the de facto and de jure head of households.

Moock (1978 cited in Nelson, 1992) found out that in Maragoli (Kenya) those farms managed by females standing in for absent husbands were not visited by extension staff either, so that these farmer managers had to pick up what they could about new farming techniques from wives of households with resident male heads. Explaining how the long term migration of male heads of the households under conditions that wives left behind lack control over household resources led to decline in agricultural production in colonial Kenya, Francis (2000) stated that

“--- Women took on the roles of occupants of household land, validating and protecting men’s right in land, and de facto farm managers. The kind of responsibilities that women took on made it unlikely that labor migration would lead to agricultural growth. They become guardians of land, rather than managers of farm enterprise. Their control over resources was strictly limited. A woman was relied on to guard the land and livestock, but she would not be able to acquire or dispose of these resources. Nor would she have the money needed to intensify farm production. It was a recipe for stagnation.”

From the review of few empirical studies made on the situation of women left behind in rural areas as the male household heads migrate out, it can be said that women’s effort to win a decent livelihood is constrained by cultural, economic and institutional factors that are fashioned after the traditional’ male bread-winner model’ conceptions that resulted in the gender imbalance in access to resource and services.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Personal Characteristics of respondents

4.1.1. Gender of Respondents

Since the study's focus is on the impact of male out migration on rural women's livelihood, out of the total of 100 respondents 80 were women whereas the rest (n=20) were male respondents. Male respondents are included so as to compare and contrast the reliance resource endowment, access to support services and other factors which influence livelihood of rural households between the households which are run by de facto de facto women heads of households and male headed households.

4.1.2. Age of Respondents

The average age of the household head in the study was 40.1 (sd=10.4). The age of the youngest respondent in the study was 18 years old whereas the oldest respondent was 74 years old. The average age for women respondents was found out to be 39.06 years (sd=9.6) whereas that of men was found to be 44.25 years (sd=12.6).

4.1.3. Marital Status

All the respondent of the survey are married. The culture of polygamy is still prevalent in the study area. Ten per cent of the men respondents to the survey reported that they are married to two wives, whereas the rest of the men are married to a single woman. Similarly thirty-four per cent of the women said that they are a second wife to their husband and the rest 66% of the women in the sample are the only wife to their husbands.

Table 4.1: Marital status of sampled households

Marital Status	Ayra		Tegecha		D. Shaye		Sula	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Monogamous	5	11	4	8	4	17	5	17
Polygamous	-	9	1	12	1	3	-	3

Source: Survey data, 2005

The table indicates that polygamous marriage is quite dominant in the PAs with a highest rate of male out migration (Ayra) and where the average land holding per individual is the highest (Tegecha).

4.1.4 Educational Status

Out of the total respondents 18 per cent are literate whereas 82 are found to be illiterate. Out of the male respondents 13(65%) are literate of which 2(10%) have attended high school classes and the rest attended elementary school and below that. Out of the 5(3.37%) of the literate women in the sample only one of them completed elementary school the rest are dropouts from elementary school at various levels. No one of the women in the sample attended high school.

Table 4.2: Education level of sampled respondents

Education	Types of Respondents		
	All Respondents (n=100)	De facto women heads (n=80)	Male Heads (n=20)
Education Status	No(%)	No(%)	No(%)
Illiterate	82(82)	75(93.7)	7(35)
Read and write	4(4)	-	4(20)
First cycle	11(11)	4(5)	7(35)
Above first cycle	3(3)	1(1.25)	2(10)

Source: Survey Data 2005.

4.1.5 Religion

All the respondents are either Orthodox Christians or Protestants. It was found out that 58% of the total respondents are Orthodox whereas 42 % are Protestants. Out of all women respondents 56% are Orthodox and the rest 44% are Protestant. Of the male respondents 60% are Orthodox whereas 40% are Protestants. However, it is to be noted that strong cultural elements and a set of taboos are strongly adhered to in the community as a whole.

4.2. Household Characteristics

4.2.1. Family Size

The average family size for the respondent households was found out to be 4.93 (sd=2.27). Which is slightly higher than the regional average of 4.7 (CSA, 1994). The minimum family size in the sample respondents was found to be 1 whereas the maximum was 10 persons. The average family size for de facto women head households was 4.52 (sd=2.01), whereas the average family size for male-headed households was 6.55 (sd=2.26). The age dependency

ration was found to be 1.04 which is higher than the regional figure of 0.85 (Regional Statistic and Population Office 2002).

4.2.2. Land Holding

The average landholding of the total respondents (n=100) is 0.49 ha. The average landholding of the women- headed households is found to be lower than that of male headed households. The average for women- headed households is 0.48 ha whereas that of male headed was found to be 0.57.

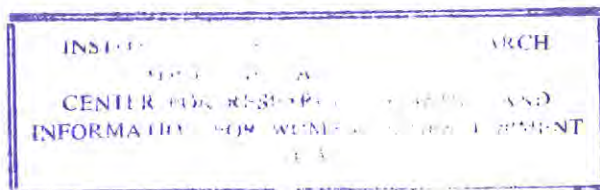


Table 4.3: Average Landholding by PA

Name of PA	Average landholding	Std. Dev.
Ayra	0.69	0.37
D. Shaye	0.27	0.14
Mago	0.26	0.11
Tegecha	0.78	0.36
Overall Mean	0.51	0.36

Source: Survey data, 2005

Depending on household labor availability and the management capacity of household head, land renting is practiced in the area. Out of the total respondents (n=100) in the study 13% have reported that they rented out their land during the last production season whereas 5% reported that they have rented in land in the same year. All those who rented out their land happen to be de facto women heads. Out of those who rented in land only, 1 of them was a woman whereas the rest 4 happen to be male-headed households.

Table 4.4: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Farm Size

	All Respondents (n=100)	De facto women head Household (n=80)	Male Headed Household (n=20)
	No (%)	No (%)	No (%)
< 0.5	70(70%)	64(80)	6(30)
0.5-1	21(21%)	12(15)	9(45)
> 1	9(9%)	4(5)	5(25)

Source: Survey data, 2005

4.2.3 Household Labor Supply

In the study area farm labor is the most critical input in the production process because of the highly labor intensive agricultural production system. In the study area family labor, hired labor and labor sharing arrangements are the most important sources of labor for agricultural activity.

Most of the respondent households in the survey have reported that they hire labor for different operation in the farming cycle. Out of the total of the surveyed women- heads, 66(82.5%) said that they relied on hired labor for some agricultural operations whereas only 6(30%) of the male-headed households reported that they hire labor for certain agricultural operation

It is to be noted that the reason of differential intensity for hiring labor between the male and women-heads of households is quite different. Sixteen (80 %) of the male-headed households interviewed reported that they engage in weaving simultaneously with agriculture. As a result, they prefer hiring labor for some agricultural activities rather than engaging themselves in it when they faced shortage of time and due to some calculations of opportunity cost. However, hiring of labor is a must for women to survive if they do not have other source of labor like

grownup children or any other member of the extended family who is fit enough for the farming operation in question. For example, ploughing the land and transplanting of Enset are practically impossible for women.

Traditional labor arrangements are also an important source of labor in the community. Male heads of households usually form a group of 2 to 4 men locally known as 'Yusha' or 'Debo' who work on group members' plots turn by turn, during land preparation and other agricultural activities. Since women-headed households cannot be part of such a group they cannot benefit from such arrangements, unless they have a son capable enough to join the work group. The most important work group (usually also known as 'Yusha' locally) of women is the group they form to transport manure from homestead to different plots. This work group is formed between neighboring women or women in an extended family during the period of land preparation.

4.2.4 Livestock Ownership

Out of the total of surveyed households 90 per cent own livestock of one or the other type. Out of the total households headed by women 70 (87.5%) own livestock whereas 19 (95%) of households headed by male own livestock. The average amount of different kinds of livestock owned by the male and de facto women head households is indicated on table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Average Animal Holding of sample households

Types of Animals	Types of Respondents		
	All Respondents (n=100)	De facto women head Households (n=80)	Male Headed Households (n=20)
Oxen	0.40	0.23	1.12
Cows	1.54	1.5	1.7
Sheep	2.10	2.03	2.30
Goats	2.00	1.00	2.67
Chicken	2.38	2.29	-
Horses	0.06	0.02	0.2
Mules	-	-	-

Source: Survey data, 2005

Table 4.5 indicates that in general terms the male headed households are better endowed with livestock resources than the de facto women head households. This would help them to better cope up with unexpected shock in livelihood or to satisfy an immediate cash need by selling animals as is common on the Highland. Higher number of livestock also means that better access to manure which is quite important for productivity of agriculture on the highland.

4.2.5 Livelihood Strategies

Mixed subsistence farming where the crop and the animal sub-sectors are mutually interdependent is the standard kind of livelihood for all households interviewed. All households, however, mentioned that crop production is more important than livestock production to them in terms of immediate food supply and income to the household. Livestock ownership is considered vital for access to manure and as an important means of survival in

case of unexpected crises and shock to livelihood due to natural or artificial reasons through sale of the animals as described in section 4.2.4.

Agriculture in the study area is highly subsistence-oriented and very few households manage to be self sufficient in food supply. Out of the surveyed 100 households only 23% of the households reported that they are food self-sufficient. Sex disaggregation of this data showed that while 50 per cent of the male-headed households are food self-sufficient, only 16.25 per cent of de facto women head households enjoy that status.

According to results of the survey, farm households mentioned a number of problems that constrain their agricultural livelihoods. Shortage of land, low level of soil fertility, shortage of manure, crop and animal disease, shortage of labor, pest and animal damage and drought are the most important constraints mentioned by the surveyed households. Common holding of livestock and land renting are also a common way of livelihood in the agricultural sector. The survey also indicated that a considerable number of households engage in off- farm activities to generate additional income for their household. In this regard de facto women heads seem to engage in more diversified off-farm activities in order to make up for their low level of farm productivity.

Table 4.6: Off-farm Activity of sample households

Off-Farm Activity	All Respondents (n=100)	De facto women heads (n=80)	Male Heads (n=20)
Waving	16	-	16
Petty trade	22	22	-
Wage labor	15	13	2
Fuel wood sale	13	13	-
Selling animal fodder	6	6	-

Source: Survey data, 2005

As is illustrated in table 4.6 above, a greater number of women engage in petty trade. This petty trade involves short distance migration to different markets, which take place on different day on the highland and neighboring low lands. Petty trade in the study area is the most laborious but less remunerative activity. A woman needs to carry a heavy load on her back and travel up to 15kms in order to reach the next market. It is the young and strong women that could engage in such activity. Some women engaged as daily laborer explained that they carry goods of merchants or other travelers as far as neighboring Woredas like Dita and then need to spend the night out of their house in insecure places. The women explained the profit from such activity is much more less than the labor and time spent on it but due to lack of any better alternative they keep on doing it for survival. It is worth to note that almost all women surveyed involve in cotton spinning for sale for local weavers besides the above off-farm activities. Cotton spinning is almost a tradition and girls begin learnig spinning early in their childhood. Although money generated from cotton spinning is small, it is reported as very important especially for very old or sick women who cannot engage in other off-farm activities.

4.2.6 Migration Characteristics

Rural-urban migration in the study area is closely related to the emergence of modern urban forms in Ethiopia. The demand for fine women clothes in the emerging urban areas at the beginning of the 20th century opened the opportunity for rural-urban migration from the study area. Currently migration is almost a culture in the community and constitutes an indispensable component of livelihood for many households.

The number of years the husbands of the respondent women first left for an urban area varies considerably. The average is 19.7(sd=14) years. The earliest migrant husband in the sample left 46 years ago for the first time whereas the latest one went 6 months before. However, migrants come back home to their wives occasionally to attend annual festivals (like Meskel) or express sorrow over the death of close relative.

The destination of most migrants, 58 (72.5%), is Addis Ababa. Some migrants also went to towns like Dilla (6.25 %), Awassa (1.25 %), Arbaminch (7.5 %), other areas (6.25 %) and not known destination (3.75%). Most migrant husbands (82.5%) in the surveyed households are engaged in weaving whereas very few are engaged in government work (7.5 %), trade (6.25 %) and other jobs (3.75%).

Table 4.7: Destination of Migrants

	Addis Ababa	Awassa	Arbaminch	Dila	Other	Not known
Ayra	16	-	1	-	3	-
D. Shaye	12	-	1	4	1	2
Mago	17	-	-	-	2	1
Tegecha	13	1	4	-	2	-

Source: Survey data, 2005

The peculiar nature of migration from the study area is that children are also involved in the migration flow in great number from the area. Children are involved in weaving and preparing trades for the weaver in different forms in towns. Out of the total of the surveyed households headed by de facto women heads 49, (61.25%) reported that they have sent one or more of their children to urban areas along with their husbands.

4.3. Male Out- Migration and Impact on Agriculture

Male out migration engenders complex social, emotional, economic and ecological problems in the study area. In practice these impacts are interrelated. Impacts at the social level include stress on conjugal and filial relationships and problems associated with lack of male role model in the household, which is important for personality development of children and family cohesion. The economic impact of male out migration depends on the opportunity cost of migration and the level of income the migrant earns at the destination. At the ecological level the impact of male out migration is related to the reduction in natural resource conservation and soil fertility maintenance efforts due to reduced labor inputs for such activities.

Male out migration leaves women alone to manage the household chores and the farm activity by themselves with little or no assistance at all. Women who took farming business by themselves are faced with a number of problems due to the very nature of farming business such as high labor demand/and the institutional set up of the agricultural sectors which presuppose only males as farmers and bread winners to a household. The impact of male out migration on the households agricultural activity vis-à-vis its influence and relationship on labor availability, access to credit and extension and land tenure and decision making power are discussed below based on information from household survey and group discussions.

4.3.1 Male Out- Migration and Household Labor Availability

Labor is the most critical variable for agricultural production in the Gamo highlands. This has long been recognized by the farming community in the highland and the quest for additional labor in the form of slaves had been the central objectives of many of the ritualized warfare in the highland in earlier days. Olmsted (1975) has summarized the reasons as to why the economic spoils of earlier tribal wars on the highland are labor rather than land unlike in other parts of the world as follows.

“First agriculture is labor- intensive and could absorb increased amounts of work. Second, new land could not be utilized without establishment of a livestock-keeping household near it (which calls for increased labor to take care of livestock and cultivate the land). Third some households owned land which could not be utilized without an increment of labor. Finally, it was prestigious for a man to spend his time in warfare and politics rather than in cultivating his land himself”.

Currently the loss of male labor from this highly labor-intensive farming system of the highland through migration has created a complex set of problems to the women who are left behind.

4.3.1.1 Problems Associated With Hired Labor

Although hired labor is the sole source of labor for major agricultural operations (i.e, ploughing) for most women-headed households, it is not always abundant and easily accessible for them. Women mentioned several problems associated with hired labor during the survey and was also reported in focus group discussions.

4.3.1.1.1 Seasonal Availability of Labor

This problem relates to the availability of labor at the right time of the season. Since rain- fed agriculture is a highly seasonally rushed job and fluctuations in the appropriate time of each operation has a repercussion on the final yield, the availability of labor at the right time is a decisive factor for better yield. Out of all interviewed de facto women head households, 45 (56.25) reported that they face a chronic problem of getting hired labor at the right time of the season, especially for ploughing the land. Most of those women (75%) are found in Dorze Ayra and Tegecha PAs where male out migration is higher or the existing male population prefers weaving to wage labor. To these areas, wage laborers come from distant areas where weaving is not that common and wage labor is an important source of cash for the farming community. Women in these wage labor deficit PAs (Ayra and Togecha) explained that since the wage laborers came after they were through with their own field, it is natural that they came to the women owned fields late and the women's fields in general happen to be the last to be sown. The women also explained that it is not uncommon that the laborers may not turn up all together, and the land is left fallow.

4.3.1.1.2 Efficiency of Hired Labor

The next problem associated with hired labor is its efficiency. Almost two third (66.25%) of the women who use hired labor reported that they were not satisfied with the way hired laborers perform the assigned work especially during land preparation. According to the focus group discussions the major reason for this dissatisfaction of women is that the laborers

objective most of the time happens to be to maximize their income in these seasonally rushed jobs. As a result, they didn't cultivate the land very well or work efficiently to the owner's satisfaction. This aspect result in high weed infestation and lower germination rate with subsequent yield decline as compared to men owner managed plots. Some women have reported that they work together with the hired labor following his footsteps to make his performance better, even though most laborers do not feel comfortable being commented by women.

4.3.1.1.3 Managerial Problems

The other problem associated with hired labor for de facto women heads is the management aspect of hired labor. In the local culture the employer is expected to prepare the food and the drink for the wage laborers until they are through with the work, in addition to paying the required wage. Most women said that this was too costly task for them, due to the fact that they needed to buy food grains from the market for this purpose alone. The women also emphasized that the effectiveness of the hired labor depends to a grater extent on the kind of treatment he is offered in terms of food and drink.

The other managerial issue relates to the culture of the people of the study area, which declares unquestioned supremacy of male over women. This cultural obstacle placed women in a very difficult position to command the respect of hired labor. As a result, most women feel afraid to control and command the hired labor as they wish. Women explained that if they tighten control over the laborers and commented on their job a lot, they will not be willing to work for those women next year. So, women most of the time refrain from keeping tight control on the laborers. They rather revert to treating them better with the food and the drink they present him.

4.3.1.1.4 Price of wage labor

The growing price of wage labor is another very difficult problem mentioned by all the respondents. They mentioned that it has increased more than 300 per cent in the last ten years.

The reasons mentioned for this increment are:

- higher wage labor demand in the area due to increased male out migration.
- the demand for wage labor by most households at the same peak time in the season.
- the decrease in number of wage laborers because of the expansion of weaving business.
- the breakdown of former communal work forces and the expansion of weaving business which made even male-headed households to look for hired labor.
- the low esteem given to wage labor made many individuals to be unwilling to engage in it.

De facto women heads also mentioned that the way payment is effected to wage laborers have changed overtime to their disadvantage. They explained that laborers used to come in group of 3 to 4 men and work on the required job on credit basis. Payment was effected around September when the migrant husbands came back for the annual Meskel festival or when they send the money through somebody else coming for Meskel. The labors usually use the money to buy oxen for the Meskel festivity. But currently most laborers prefer payment on the completion of the job rather than waiting until Meskel so that they can maximize their income by lending the money for interest. Many women mentioned that this has forced them to reduce the acreage they cultivate or let the land fallow due to lack of money during periods of land preparation.

4.3.2 Impact of Male Out-Migration on Crop Production

The loss of labor as a result of migration has affected crop production activity of rural women in several ways. The most important manifestations of this impact are -decline in crop acreage, change in crop mix, leaving the land fallow, and decline in Enset population.

4.3.2.1 Decline in Acreage Cultivated

Male out migration greatly affected the ability of a household to cultivate all the available land at its disposal. This however depends on the amount and capability of labor force left behind in the household, as the male household head migrate out. Out of the total of interviewed de facto women heads 47.3% reported a decline in the acreage they cultivate each year after the migration of the male heads. Only one woman head with very small amount of land prior to her husband's migration reported renting in some more agricultural land from other women. In contrast 5 of the interviewed male heads (n=20) reported renting in more land for the sake of crop production.

Some de facto women head households have reported that they leave some of their plots fallow during some season. According to the results of the survey the major reason for decreasing the amount of land cultivated or leaving the land fallow altogether is the inability to cope with the labor required for cultivating all their land, and the inability to procure farm inputs. But all de facto women heads emphasized underlying all these reasons was the lack of adequate money to hire labor due to low amount or absence of remittance from their migrant husbands.

Moreover, some women mentioned that due to the low productivity of agriculture and its inadequacy to meet household food needs, they are forced to shift to off-farm activities to meet their immediate cash needs. This further reduces the time the women allocate for agricultural activity and consequently the amount of land they can cultivate.

Table4.8: Percentage of household that experienced decline in acreage

Name of the PA	Types of Respondents	
	De facto women heads (n=80)	Percentage (%)
Ayra	13	65
D. Shaye	6	30
Mafo	8	40
Tegecha	11	55
Total	38	47.5

Source: Survey data, 2005

The decline in cultivated land in some households involves leaving fallow most of their plots perennially. Women reported that they mostly cultivate plots very close to the household and leave those plots that are located far from their households as uncultivated. This is because of the shortage of manure (due to decline in livestock assets), shortage of time and labor to transport manure and problem of crop staggering. Women in PAs highly affected by male out-migration (e.g. Ayra) stated that due to the decline in agricultural activity and the conversion of former agricultural lands into bush lands crop damage by pests has increased significantly in contrast to earlier days.

4.3.2.2 Change in crop mix

With shortage of labor in the household and lack of resources to obtain agricultural input some households have resorted to changing their usual crop mix, in order to cope with the loss of household labor through migration and the shortage of cash. The more labor-intensive crops, as well as those requiring expensive inputs, have been dropped.

Table 4.9:- Households that change their crop mix

No	PA	No household that Change Crop Mix	Percentage
1	Ayra	8	40
2	D. Shaye	3	15
3	Mafo	8	40
4	Tegecha	10	50
Total		29	36.25

[Source: Survey data, 2005

As indicated in the table above the number of households that change their crop mix is higher in Tegecha PA. This is probably due to the conduciveness of the climate and the soil type in the PA which allows better diversification than the highland PAs. Women in Tegecha PA stated that due to lack of adequate labor for field crops and the higher incidence of crop damage by wild animals they concentrate more on root crops and crops grown around the homestead. Similarly, some households in Ayra PA stated that they prefer these days to sow triticale (Beshekela) than the usual barely due greater attack on barely by apes than in case of triticale. The women stated that since triticale is hard to thrush and not easily palatable it is less preferred by apes and relatively less attacked by animals on the field.

The other very important change that has equally affected both agro-ecologies is the change in population density and coverage of Enset plant at the household level. Enset is the central crop to the sustainable agriculture of the high land. Enset constitute an indispensable component of every meal by the highlanders. It is only 20% of all households interviewed who produce enough amount of cereal which can last them up to the next production seasons. The decline in

number of Enset plant around the household is very closely related to poverty and high vulnerability to natural and household income shocks.

According to the survey results 68 (85%) of the women reported that their Enset population declined after their husband migrated out.

The major reason given by women as to why the Enset population has declined is the labor intensive nature of Enset cultivation. Women reported that subsequent stages of Enset transplanting are highly labor-intensive and cannot be normally done by women. Women have to hire labor for such operations. Lack of financial capacities to hire labor in most cases discourages them from hiring labor, resulting finally in the decline of Enset population as the existing stalk get consumed. The other reason is that due to the low agricultural productivity and the limited number of other sources of income, women depend more on Enset products for their daily foods, resulting in high consumption of the household reserve Enset plant which is an important asset against crop failure and food shortage due to artificial and natural disasters.

On the other hand, 8 (40%) of the male heads said that their Enset plant population has increased in the last five years, whereas only 20% of the male headed households reported decline in this regard. The reasons for the increment in Enset plant population by male headed households is the culture held in some households to plant some more Enset for each baby born. Enset bacterial wilt is the major disease responsible for the decline in Enset population, especially in mid-altitude areas.

In the complex farming system like in the Gamo highland the decline in the Enset population causes a chain of problems, which ultimately result in lower agricultural productivity. In the study area Enset is one of an important source of animal feed for stall feeding. The decline in Enset population causes a decline in livestock food supply and thus it affects the number of

At household level, on-farm measures of soil conservation activities are also less practiced by the study women. The survey indicate that only 15 (18.75%) of the interviewed de facto women heads apply on farm soil conservation measures, whereas better number of male-headed households (55%) undertake the same. The high labor demand of the construction of soil conservation structures and the knowledge differential between men and women due to difference in access to information and farm experience are the most important reasons mentioned by de facto women heads for not taking soil conservation measures on their farm. Moreover some de facto women heads mentioned that the use of hired labor has also a negative repercussion on soil conservation activities. This is primarily due to the fact that since hired laborers wants to complete their job as fast as possible, they didn't care to make appropriate channels that would reduce erosion or plough in the right direction of contours to minimize run off.

The discussions with the women group and key informants further disclosed that the traditional soil fertility maintenance methods such as application of manure, crop rotation and fallowing are all in decline. The decline in livestock population, crop disease and population pressure are the most important reasons for such decline respectively.

The decline in the natural resource base is greatly felt in the agricultural livelihood of most households. According to key informants the decline in soil fertility has affected the agricultural livelihood in some households to the point of leaving the farming business altogether and engaging in rural-urban migration activity. Most farmers have shifted from growing barely (which used to be the major crop of the highland) to 'Beshekela' which gives better yield on less fertile soil but less preferred for food due to the difficulty in threshing due to its hard cover and low palatability in local dishes as compared to Barely.

animal a household can manage. This in turn affects the amount of manure a household can obtain for its agricultural activity. The lower the number of livestock, the lower the amount of manure a household can generate and the lower the fertility of soil which in turn causes lower agricultural productivity.

4.4 Male Out- Migration and Natural Resource Conservation

Sustained effort in natural resource conservation and soil fertility maintenance are an important component of the agricultural activity, which is vital to sustain the agricultural livelihood of rural households. Given the low natural fertility of the soil and the vulnerability of the undulating land form of the highland for soil eroding forces, soil conservation and soil fertility maintenance are very decisive factors that influence farm productivity in the study area.

Natural resource conservation activity in the study area consists of rich indigenous knowledge and techniques, and several institutions, which evolved over generations. Informants have stated that a complex set of customary laws used to apply for forestland, grazing land and agricultural land use and management, as well as resolution of conflict in case of clash and disagreement in use of these resources. However, currently many of such institutions and customary laws which used to regulate the use and management of natural resources in the study area are rendered powerless and are being disintegrating. Most key informants have disclosed that given the major role of men in such institutions, the out migration of men from the study area is one of the major factors behind the disintegration and powerlessness of the indigenous institutions and customary laws. Key informants agree that the current high rate of mismanagement and unsustainable use of natural resource is partly the result of the disintegration of such indigenous institutions also.

4.5. Women's access to Basic Services

Access to basic services provided by governmental or a non-government organization is decisive and crucial to improve productivity and improve the livelihood of poor rural households. However, due to the long standing male biased and 'male bread winner model' policies of the extension approaches rural women are excluded directly or indirectly from the major services offered by different organization. A recent FAO survey showed that female farmers receive only five percent of all agricultural extension services worldwide and that only 15 per cent of the world's extension agents are women (FAO, 2005).

Out of the total of 80 de facto women head households surveyed only 24 (34%) reported that they utilized the extension service in one form or another whereas relatively better numbers of males (60%) reported access to the extension service. Out of the 20 households surveyed 12 (60%) utilized some of the extension services in the Woreda. According to the respondents the most important services being rendered by the Woreda agricultural office include, technical advice, artificial insemination, market information and advice on credit provision for inputs. Out the interviewed valid cases 22 (25.5%) women and 11 (55%) male have stated that they receive technical advice from extension workers on demand. Similarly, 4 (20%) of the male and 1 (1.25%) female head reported getting artificial insemination services provided by the Woreda. When asked about whether they have attended field day or demonstrations where improved agricultural technologies are introduced to farmers only 9 (11.25%) of the women were found to attended field days or demonstration whereas 13 (65%) of the male farmers attended to these events once or more in the last five years.

In terms of access to credit provision from formal credit sources for input in the last 5 years 7 (35%) males reported getting credit from the Woreda agricultural office whereas only 4 (5%)

female respondent have reported access to credit in the same year. Women expressed different reason for not get credit. Most of the women 60 (78.9%) said that they were not interested in credit because of fear of failure to pay back incase of crop failure due to a high uncertainty of their agricultural production whereas 8 (1.5%) women have said that they did not take credit because of the small size of their plot which made application of fertilizer or any other input very uneconomical. The rest of the women give reasons like lack of adequate money to pay the dawn payment, and lack of information on credit, ad hoe nature of their involvement in agriculture and unwillingness of their migrant partners.

Discussion with NGOs and GOs working in the Woreda, however, confirmed that women's were reluctant to take credit in most cases. The writer believes that this reluctance emanates from the lack of women's command on household resources which could be used to repay debt in case of failure in any investment. As a result, women try to avoid credit as much as possible due to the vulnerability of their business and lack of financial resource to pay back in case of failure.

The other most important issue, which hinders women from getting access to service rendered by the development agents, is their lack of ownership right on household resources. The fact that the migrant male maintain control over major household resources even though he lives in urban area made women afraid to take credit due to lack of any other asset which could be sold and used to repaying debt, in case of their failure. This associated with the strong cultural elements rendered services inaccessible to de facto women head households.

Agricultural extension approach principles indicate that indicate that the availability of female extension agents and supervisors is an important variable to break the cultural variables and facilitate communication with rural women for smooth transfer of technology and to identify

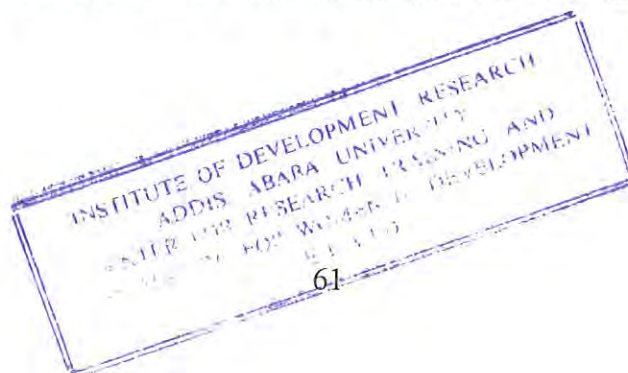
problems encountered by rural women. In the study area, although the number of female farmers is quite superior to the number of male farmers in the Woreda, there was not female extension agent in the Woreda until recently. Currently there are no female extension supervisor and only 5 women development agents. Out of the study PAs only one of the Pas has female extension agent but all the others have male development agents. This will definitely reduce the interaction and the initiation of women farmers and extension agents due to cultural problems.

4.6. Problems Associated With Land Tenure and Decision Making Power

The land tenure system in a particular area has a great deal of influence on the agricultural production process. It determines the kind of incentive/disincentive for any kind of investment that an individual undertakes on a piece of land.

The issue of land is among the most sensitive issue in the study area. Land belongs to men in the culture of the community and all inheritance laws and norms operate in such away that family and clan land remain within the control of the lineage. So the inheritance system in the study area is patrilineal, where by succession and inheritance of property are determined through the male line, and only sons or other males inherit land form the family.

Women's access to land is mediated through a husband or a male kin. But informants have stated that under certain circumstance fathers can inherit land to their beloved daughters under condition that the land will revert to the son or other male kin when she gets married or passed away.



Male out-migration did not bring any change with respect to women's right to land. The migrant male folk keep its title to land no matter how long he stays away from home. Women reported that most men believe paying the annual land tax by sending remittance is enough to keep their land title and control it. Women reported that they need to get the blessing of their husband to rent out land in case they cannot cultivate their piece of land for different reasons. Also, the sell of livestock in case of household extreme cash constraint needs a prior consultation and acceptance by the migrant husband. Women's household resource control is limited to the sell of the meager crop produced and livestock products like milk which is used to satisfy the immediate cash needs of the household.

However, most women reported that there is little intervention from male migrants on the decision-making on the agricultural activities of women. Fifty-six (70%) of the interviewed women have said that they decide by themselves on what to cultivate, how much to cultivate and how to dispose of or use the output of their effort whereas the rest of the women respondents have said that their husbands take part in some of the decision in the agricultural production to various degree. Mostly those men who took some part in the agricultural decision-making are those who have relatively better land endowment and those who make a frequent trip back home within a year. But all women respondents have emphasized that control over most household resource still remains in the hands of the migrant men. However, wives of migrant and non-migrant men alike have control over income derived from off-farm activities in most cases.

Although women acquired certain degree of control and decision making over certain agricultural operations and the meager agricultural output, it is difficult to say that in the study area the strong patriarchal controls under which women operate has given way to more autonomous decision making by the women left behind. This higher autonomy of women in

agriculture is acquired not due to any structural change in gender relations but rather due to the indifference of the migrant male folk in agriculture due to lack of any marketable surplus from the sector. So it is not higher autonomy and control over resources that the women that are left behind gain as a result of male out migration in the study area but it is rather more tension and vulnerability that the women face as the male effectively excuse themselves from the uncertain and harsh rural life.

4.7. Change in the Role of Women

Male out migration and the resulting shortage of labor have forced women to take up some roles which were traditionally within the sphere of the responsibility of men in the study area. Seventy three per cent of the women in the study area have reported such changes in their households.

In the traditional agriculture of the Gamo community land clearing, ploughing and sowing are more or less exclusively the tasks of male. However, nowadays due to male out-migration and the resulting labor shortages women have started taking over some these tasks when faced with no other options.

Both the survey and the group discussion results have indicated such changes in the roles of women in the study area. Twenty three per cent of the interviewed women have stated taking part in such activities when they lack money to hire labor or due to the smallness of their plot of land. Group discussions revealed that women are also highly involved in the out door community activity representing their household. Women in all study PAs have complained about the excessive time they spent on community work which they have to attend 2-3 times per week. These community works are organized most of the time by the Woreda sector bureaus in which the community participates by contributing labor.

The works that women take part include projects that call for the contribution of the community in the form of labor such as building schools, clinics other and natural resource conservation efforts like terracing of degraded areas and afforestation. Women have reported that attending these activities is mandatory and absence result in punishment in different forms. It is clear that women involvement in such activities on top of their agricultural activity and the household chores have a very negative repercussion on agricultural production and other means of livelihood, specially to those women who lack able bodied household member who can lend a hand, by reducing the time they spent on their plot or attending other off farm business.

4.8. Wife's of Migrant Men and membership in Local Organizations

In the sustainable livelihood framework social capital is defined as the social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

Results of the survey and group discussions with women groups revealed that the access of wives of migrant men to major social capital is limited. For example none of the respondent women are member of the currently strong and profitable cooperative of apple fruit producers in the Woreda. It is also observed that it is the migrant husband who is residing in urban area who is registered as the member of the peasant association in most cases in the study area due to the fact that land is owned and registered by his name.

Women's access to traditional pull labors (Yusha or Zurra) is also very limited, although labor is the most limiting factor in their productivity. This is because of the fact that this traditional labor sharing arrangements are composed of only male members. Women can benefit from

this group only when they have grown up children who can join this group. The major women work group /locally known as Yusha/ is the one which is made by women in a neighborhood to transport manure to farm fields just before the on set of the rain season.

Women's important support in terms of advice and some labor assistance come from kin members and neighbors next to their children. Around 19% of the women interviewed had responded that they get some assistance from members of their kin or neighbors when they are faced with some problems in their agricultural operation.

Edirs are the most common institutions where almost every de facto women head household (98%) is a member. Although the major purpose of these Edirs in the community is to sponsor funerals and other ceremonies during the time of death in the community, they act as an important forums where women exchange information and learn about what is going on in there area and obtain, information about the well being of their migrant husband or children living in urban areas from those who came to attend funerals or express their sorrow to the family of the deceased.

4.9 Migration and Remittance

Remittance is the most important variable that bridges the rural and the urban economy .Sixty five (81.25%) of the women surveyed said they receive remittance from their migrant husbands once or more after their husband has migrated to urban areas whereas 15 (18.75%) of the women respondents have said they have never received remittance from their migrant husbands since after they have left for urban area. The number of times a migrant sent remittance to his wife in rural area varies considerably from one household to the other. Most respondents said that remittances are irregular and usually sent following the annual festivals like Timket, Meskel, Gena etc. through the hands of individuals coming to attend this festivals

at home. The average number of times a migrant husband sent remittance to his wife per year is 0.6 times. The highest number of times a migrant sent remittance back to home is found out to be 10 times whereas the least frequent times a remittance is sent was found to be once in 6 years. In general terms it was found out that those who are engaged in activities different from weaving i.e. government employees and traders sent remittance more regularly than the weavers. The average number of times a weaver sent remittance per year is found out to be 0.4 times, whereas a government employee sent 8 times per year. This is most probably due to the low level of income from weaving and lack of saving habits.

For some households husbands are not the only source of remittance. Eleven (13.5) of the women interviewed had reported that they receive remittance from the children living in urban areas too.

The amount of remittance sent also varies depending on the occupation the migrant is engaged at destination. The average remittance sent by weavers is 104.50 Birr per year (sd=80.8) whereas the average remittance sent by government employee and merchants is 172.50 Birr per year (sd=117.5).

The survey indicated that the amount of remittance received by most de facto women head households is very small. Around 43% of the valid cases receive a remittance of less than 100 Birr/year, whereas 52% receive remittance money between 100 to 200 Birr. The rest 5% receive a remittance of greater than 200 Birr. Most women respondents stated that the migrant male folk prefer to bring the money they saved during one of the annual festivals, especially Meskel, and spent it over consumption items during the festivals. According to discussions with women group some men even spend more than they saved and need to get a lone or sale some animals from their household or some item they bought from urban area to go back to

urban areas. This action by migrants made women more vulnerable to drought or any other shock to livelihood by depleting household resource.

Studies elsewhere indicate that the way remittances are utilized at origin has an impact on the economic activity and overall development of the area. Skeldon (2003) wrote the uses to which the savings are put and the impact the remittances are likely to have on the areas of origin of migration is more important than the actual amounts received. He further stated that the critical issue in the migration and poverty equation is whether remittances can help to alleviate poverty.

In the study area the three major purposes on which the bulk of remittances are spent are purchase of food item, wage labor and land tax payment. Some other minor areas of expenditure mentioned by some households include payment for children schooling, for social obligations like Edir, Maheber etc. and purchase of clothes.

The survey indicated that nearly 87% of the de facto women head households surveyed can't produce enough food which can last them all through the year. So for this households remittance constitute an indispensable source of income to purchase food items from market. The highest reliance of households on remittance for fulfillment of their food deficit is evident from the fact that more than 60 per cent of the households surveyed relied on food purchased from the market for more than 6 months in a year.

Similarly payment for hired labor figures the 2nd most important area of expenditure of remittance in the study area. The loss of household labor as a result of male out migration make it mandatory for women to relay on hired labor for certain crucial agricultural operations in the highly labor intensive agriculture of the study area. Women have reported that the growing price of hired labor has forced them to allocate more and more of the remitted money

from their husbands to hired labor every year. Most of the time the remittance for hired labor is ear marked and is sent just before the rainy season.

Table4.10: Items of Expenditure of Remittance by household

Purpose the Remittance is Put Into	No of Household (n=65)	Percentage From Total
Purchase of food for household	65	100
Hiring of labor and purchase of seed	52	65
Land taxation	41	51.3
Closing	6	7.5
Saving	6	7.5
School fee, medication etc.	6	7.5
Social obligation	15	18.8

Source: Survey data, 2005

The amount of remittance varies from one PA to the other as shown on table 4.11. The average remittance to Tegecha PA is lower than the others. This may be explained by the fact that most migrants from this PA travel back home more frequently than migrants from other PAs and thus brought back the money they saved themselves than sending it to others.

Table4.11: Amount of Remittance by PA

Name of PA	No	Average Remittance
Ayra	18	141.76
D. Shaye	15	190.00
Mafo	14	103.93
Tegecha	18	97.39
Total	65	159.84

Source: Survey data, 2005

On the other hand the largest average amount of remittance is received in Doko Shaye PA where the average land holding is the smallest and most de facto women head households relay on food purchased from market for survival.

In the study area payment of land tax is the major preoccupation of land owner migrant to urban area. According to informants payment of land tax is supposed to guarantee the land ownership and the future use right of the migrant in case of failure in urban areas or old age retirement back to the study area. For example, informants disclosed that many migrant men had flocked back home and started farming during the 1987 drought in Ethiopia which weakened the economic activity in the country and resulted in very low demand for clothes in most urban areas.

As a result, even the very poor migrant makes it his priority to send money for land taxation purpose as much as possible, although he may not has capacity to send money to meet other demands at his household. So remittances in a way is used as a remote control for the migrant male folk to make all major decision over land and maintain the patrilineal patter of decision making even in long term absence of male heads of a household.

4.10 Perceptions of Women on the Migration of their Husbands

The perception of women towards the migration of their husbands differ from household to household based on specific characteristics of the household and the best combination of livelihood based on the resource endowment of the household. When asked about whether they prefer that their husband should stay in urban area or should comeback to rural area, 82.5% of the women responded that they prefer that their husband to comeback and live with them whereas 17.5% of the women responded that they prefer that their husband stay in urban areas and send them remittance as long as they pay a visit to their households on regular bases.

It is observed that women with very small or no land prefer that their husband stay in urban area and send them remittance however small that might be. Most of this group of women has stated that they could manage to cultivate their piece of land by themselves or with very little support from their children or hired labor. So the absence of the husband and perhaps some of the children will be advantageous to the household in that it will reduce the number of mouths that feed from the household's limited agricultural production and it will also make some amount of remittance available.

However, women who are not satisfied with the amount of remittance and face a lot of trouble to win a livelihood have stated that their life would have been better if their husband stayed in rural areas and keep on farming and weaving at home rather than migrating to urban areas. Most women in this group have stated that they could better utilize their land and adopt new agricultural technologies had their husband been at home.

It is also found out that the proportion of women who said that life would be better if the migrant husband returned back to rural area altogether is higher for polygamous households.

Twenty-two (81.5%) of the women in the polygamous marriage has said that life would be better if their husband come back and engage in agriculture where as 34(64%) of the monogamous households stated the same. These could be explained by the fact that men in the polygamy marriage spend most of their income in urban areas and sent very low remittance whereas those who are monogamous have low urban expenditure and manage to send better remittance as compared to those who are married to a second wife in urban area. Moreover, the survey result shows that those in monogamous marriage come to rural areas more often on average bases (0.41 times per year) than those in polygamous marriage (who travel 0.25 times per year on average). This in itself will help them to make their presence felt in the rural household and involve more in farming and other issues that are vital to a household.

However, this does not mean that all women in the monogamous marriage have benefited from the migration of their husband. It is to be noted that 34 per cent of the women in the monogamous marriage have said that life would be better if their husband stayed in rural area and keep on farming and weaving at home. This may be due to the number of problems that are related to the natural environment of the study area which make farming very difficult for women unlike the hoe cultures in most Sub-Saharan Africa where women effectively take over men's role when the male household head migrates. The other reason may be the very low and erratic remittance which kept on declining for most households as the husband stays more in urban areas.

The complex problems that arise from the migration of male household heads have forced de facto women heads to adopt various coping mechanisms to survive and support their family. The survival strategies and the coping mechanisms of the women will be examined in terms of its sustainability in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: IMPACT OF MALE-OUT MIGRATION AND WOMEN'S COPING MECHANISMS

5.1 Food self-sufficiency and Vulnerability of Women Left Behind

The discussions in the previous sections have shown that the out-migration of male heads of the household (and also children) poses a serious problem on agricultural production and other means of livelihood of the women left behind. The reliance of rural women on hired labor for major agricultural operations, the very small and erratic nature of remittance, the limited access of women to Agricultural Extension and Credit Services, and lack of control by women over major assets of the household even in the long term absence of her husband made women's effort to attain decent livelihood very difficult.

Results of the survey and group discussions have proved that most de facto women head households in the study area are not food self-sufficient and relay on purchased food for most part of the year. Out of the total of the interviewed women only 13.5 per cent have said that they produce enough cereals for their year round consumption along with the usual Enset food whereas 10 (50%) of the interviewed male heads stated that they produce enough cereals for year round consumption during good harvest seasons.

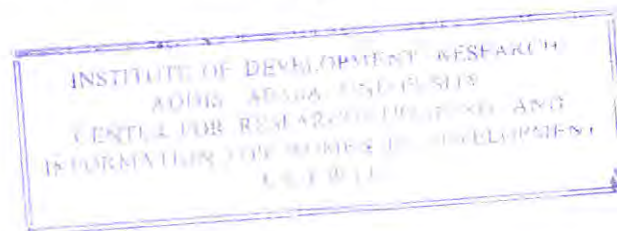


Table4:12 Status of food self sufficiency

PA	No of food self sufficient households		Total
	Male headed	de facto women head	
Ayra	3	7	10
D. shaye	1	1	2
Mafo	2	-	2
Tegecha	4	2	6

Source: Survey data, 2005

Table 13 shows that a better number of households are food self Sufficient in Tegecha and Ayra PAs. This may be because of a relatively greater average land holding in both PAs and conducive climatic condition especially in Tegecha PA which allows the cultivation of more diversified crop varieties.

The average number of months the produce of the food deficit households covers the consumption needs of each household also shows considerable variation due to the various problems women face in their agricultural production activities. On average the food deficit de facto women head households produce an amount that cover their consumption needs only for 3.1 months whereas the food deficit male headed households produce an amount that covers their consumption needs for 6.7 months of the year.

Given the limited number of other income sources, the lack of adequate food supply by the farm households in the study area creates a great stress to women household heads. Most de facto women heads of the food deficit households have reported that they fill the food gap in their household by purchasing food from the market by engaging in different arduous off-farm activities like petty trade, fuel wood sell and wage labor in the near by Chenchu town and using remittance sent to them from their husband or children living in urban areas.

However, most women stressed that income from the above sources are inadequate and very unreliable that they use different coping mechanisms to survive under a situation of seasonal food deficit. The following table shows the coping mechanisms of food deficit de facto women head households of the study PAs.

Table 4:13 Women's coping mechanisms under situation of food deficit

Coping Mechanism	No of De facto women head Households (n=80)	%
Total reliance on Enset for part of the year	67	83.75
Consuming premature Enset corn	48	60
Consuming premature field crops	36	45
Food for work	42	52.5
Reducing number of meals per day	72	90
Food assistance from NGOs	27	33.75
Food assistance from kin or children	11	13.75
Money borrowing at high interest rate	13	16.25

Source: Survey data, 2005

In the Enset based farming systems like that of the study area the number of Enset plant one owns serve as an indicator of wealth and an insurance against hunger in case of crop failure or

temporary shock to livelihood. A household with a larger number of Enset at its backyard has a better capacity to stand any shock in livelihood.

Out of the total of the interviewed women 62 (77.5%) have said that their Enset possessions have declined over years after their husband had migrated out for urban area. The reason for such a decline as discussed earlier, are lack of adequate labor and/or lack of money to hire labor for the highly labor intensive Enset cultivation, over reliance on Enset for food due to a decline in the productivity of agriculture and lack of adequate manure for Enset fields due to decline in livestock asset.

Most studies in the Enset-based farming systems of Southern Ethiopia indicate that Enset plays a central role in the sustainable livelihood of the Enset-based agriculture. The potential of Enset to support more people per hectare, its resistance to drought and its versatile use for human and animal consumption are sited as its advantage over cereals.

However under situation of low cereal production and over reliance on Enset as food for human and animal consumption the sustainability of Enset-based farming system falls under greater risk as is the case in poor women-headed households of the study area. That fact that the agricultural livelihood of the study area is based on a close integration of crop and livestock sub-sectors as reflected in activities related to land cultivation, animal feed supply and income earning for the purpose of investing has made problems that occur in one of the sub sectors to have a series of repercussion on the other. The decline in Enset population, for example, reduces the availability of livestock feed for stall-feeding at household level, and this in turn reduces the number of livestock a household can support. Again the reduction in the number of livestock can affect the soil fertility of the household's plot by directly limiting the amount of available manure for soil fertility maintenance. So in this way the short term

vulnerability of de facto women head households in terms of low cereal production transforms it self into long term vulnerability by affecting the natural resource base (i.e. the soil) of the household which could endanger the survival of the household.

In general terms the relation between male out migration and the vulnerability of women who are left behind can be depicted as shown in the following diagram.

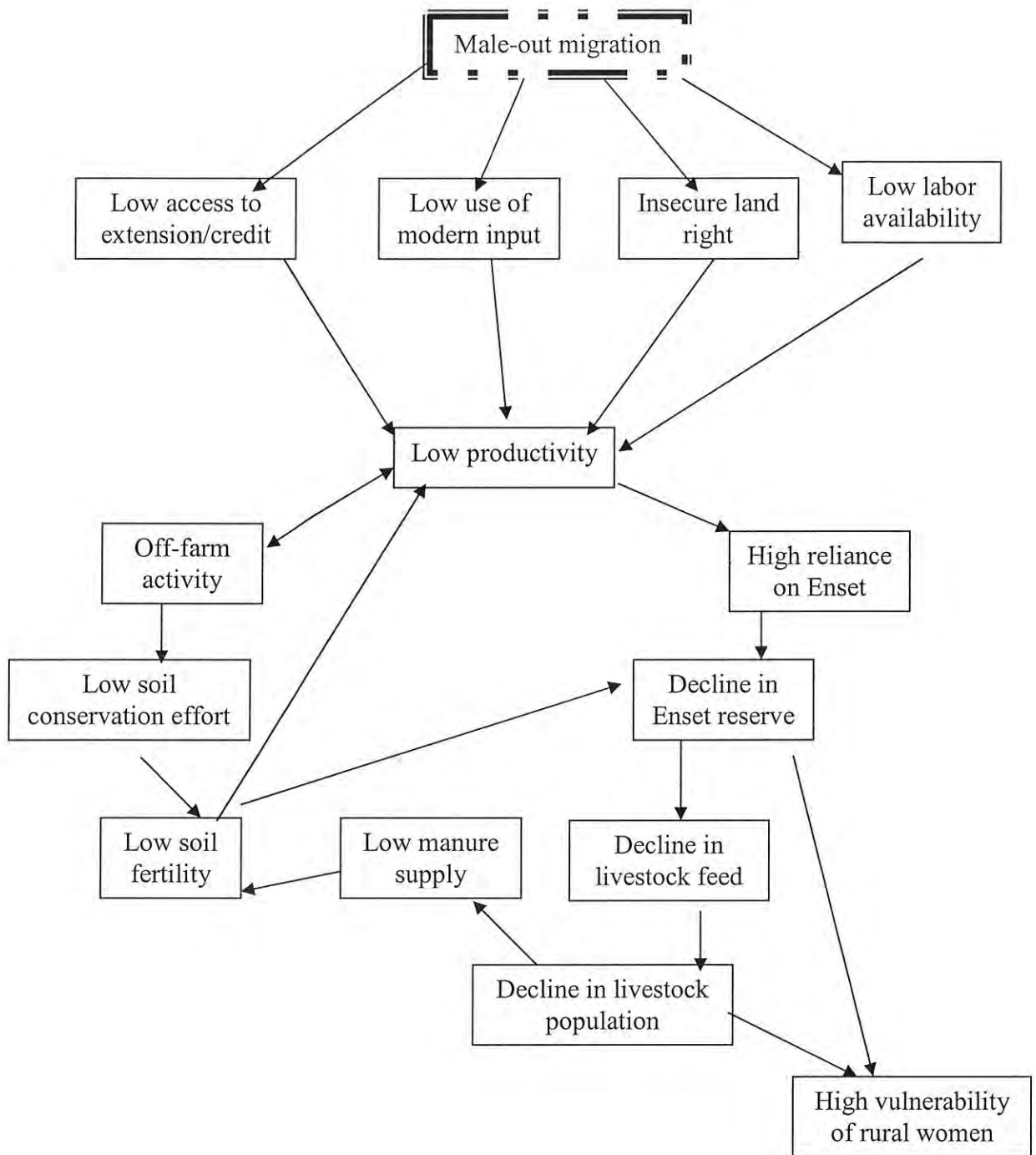


Diagram 1: Male out-migration and women’s vulnerability context

5.2 Factor that Determine the Intensity of Impact

The intensity of the impact of male out migration on the women left behind depends on a number of factors that are specific to each household. This section analysis the variables that determine the intensity of impact that male out migration from a household poses on the women left behind.

5.2.1. Number of years the husband is away from home

The number of years a husband is away from home has a direct impact on the livelihood of the women back at home. Most women (80 %) have reported that the amount of remittance a husband sends home to have declined as the number of years he stayed in urban areas increases. This may be because of the fact that migrants tend to get married in urban areas and establish another household as the number of years they stay in urban area increases. Moreover as the number of years they stayed in urban area increases, migrants tend to be integrated more into the urban way of life and their demand and expenditure increases there by making it difficult for them to send back remittance to area of origin.

Most women also reported that as the number of years the husband stays away from home increases the frequency of his visit to home area declines very much. This further distances the husband from decision making on major issues that might require his involvement like the issue of argument over land with neighbors, the case of discipling children etc. Women also reported that as male heads of the household stayed longer away from home the fence around their house and the house itself are not usually well maintained and look disserted specially when the women is too poor or receives less remittance or cannot get assistance from male kin. Further more, the focus group discussions with women group revealed that as the migrant

male folk stay long in the urban area their interest to get involved in agricultural activities and their agricultural skill and endurance to engage in farming declines. This makes their limited role in agriculture disappear as the years go by.

5.2.2. Household resource endowment

The resource endowment of a household determines the household's capability to stand any livelihood shock including those caused by male out migration and the associated loss of capable human power. The survey has indicated that households with better resource endowment have a better capacity to diversify and earn a living using certain coping mechanisms. For example households endowed with ample amount of land rent out part of their land and earn some amount of money when they lack adequate manpower to till all the land they got.

Similarly, it is observed during the course of the study that households with a good number of livestock give some of their cattle to households with no or few livestock and made arrangements in which both households benefit from the arrangement. This kind of livestock sharing arrangement is locally known as 'Kotso'. In this arrangement the owner of the cow will take the first off-sprig and subsequent off-springs are shared between the owner and the individual who adopt the cow. The milk is shared in such away that the owner of the cow and the adopter take turns in 15 days in taking the milk. The adopter also gets access to manure which is quite useful for its agricultural activity.

Similarly, de facto women heads of households who own an ox or oxen usually made arrangements with male heads of households with a single ox or no oxen in which they exchange the service of their ox on the individuals plot for ploughing their plot by the guy who rent the ox from them.

5.2.3. Support from male kin or family member

De facto women head households who can command support from relatives or kin tend to be less affected by male out-migration from the household. The availability of support to women for some of the agricultural or household chores helps women to improve production and gain some more time to pursue other livelihood alternatives. The survey results indicate that 14 per cent of the women interviewed responded that lack of support to look for children and their house in their absence is the major factor hindering their involvement in the off-farm activities.

As discussed earlier the major source of assistance for de facto women head households come from children whose support is quite instrumental in some of the agricultural operations. Support from kin or close relatives is not that common to wives of the migrant men. Only 16 per cent of the interviewed women have said that they get support from close relatives in their agricultural activities.

However, the livelihood of women who belong to households which still retain the strong extended family structure is little affected by the out migration of the husband. In these households the father or the mother of the migrant men will act as head to the whole extended family and takes major decisions and responsibilities to major agricultural operations. The wife of the migrant including her children are considered as the members of the household, work together with others on the field and eat from the same granary. However, under these kinds of households the women has very limited right and independence. For example, remittance is directly sent to the mother or the father of the migrant and the women access to it is indirect. Only 6(7.5%) of the sampled women belong to such a strong extended family in this study.

5.2.4. Nature of the work the migrant is engaged at destination

As described in section 4.9, the nature of the work the migrant male is engaged in has a direct impact on the livelihood of the women who are left behind by determining the level of income the individual gets and consequently his ability to send remittance. The survey result reveals that wives of migrants who are engaged in salaried government jobs receive better amount of remittance on regular bases as compared to most of the migrants who are engaged in weaving. It was found out that the average remittance received per annum by a non-weaver migrant wife was 172.5 Birr (s.d = 117.5). Whereas the average remittance received by wives of weavers in urban area was found to be 104.9 Birr/year (s.d = 0.9).

5.2.5. Presence of alternative income sources

Involvement in the off-farm activity is very common by women in the study area. Sixty seven per cent of the surveyed de facto women heads involve in one or the other kind of off-farm activity. Involvement in the off-farm activity helps women to generate additional income to support their household and hire labor. Those women who did not involve in off-farm activities are dependent mostly on the limited remittance sent from urban areas and their own agricultural produce. So a decline in the income from any one of these sources has a higher impact in these households. Those women who did not involve in off-farm activities mentioned a number of problems which constrain their involvement in the off-farm activities. The most important problems mentioned by the women are:

- Lack of time
- Lack of assistance to look for the house or children in the women's absence
- Health problem

5.3 Coping Strategies of Migrant Wives

5.3.1. Off-farm Activities

A number of wife's of the migrant men engage in off-farm activities to various degrees to make up for the low level of productivity in agriculture and the low and uncertain nature of remittance from their husbands. As indicated in chapter four, 67.5 per cent of the interviewed de facto de facto women heads engage in different kinds of off farm activities depending on their resource potential and options available to them.

However, all women have stated that the profits from their off-farm activities are too low that they are hardly worth the time and energy they spent on it. Most of the off-farm activities by the women are a destitution measures or a survival strategy in the face of poverty rather than a creative diversification of livelihood.

5.3.2. Leasing Out Land

Leasing land out is usually practiced by households with excess land or by households who can't fully utilize their lands either due to lack of inputs like seed, manure etc or labor. In the local land leasing arrangement the landowner receives half of the produce after an amount used as a seed is subtracted from the total produce. Thirteen per cent of the women interviewed during the survey reported that they rent out part of their land to other individuals and get some amount of crop rather than leaving the land fallow during certain years.

However, wives of migrant men have mentioned that renting land out is not with out its own problem these days. The women have mentioned that the land renter may refuse to share the produce according to arrangement by making different pretexts, or after utilizing the land for

some years he may totally refuse to give any of the produce and in some cases may claim the land for his own. As a result, of these kind of risk and unnecessary arguments most women have said that they prefer to leave the land fallow than renting it out. The key informants have also confirmed that the traditional share cropping (locally known as Kotso) has reduced over years due to the risks associated with renting out land because of the growing powerlessness of the traditional land tenure system. The survey indicated that a number of households prefer leaving the land fallow and benefit from the grass that grow on the land either through selling the fodder or using for own livestock.

5.3.3. Common Holding of Livestock

As described earlier, households with no or few livestock but with access to animal feed (e.g. fallow land), take livestock from other households who have more livestock than they can keep, and made arrangements so that both households benefit from such arrangements. Out of the surveyed de facto women head households 26(32 %) said that they took livestock in such arrangements from other households.

5.3.4. Food for Work Activities

A number of women in the Woreda are involved in the food for work activities which is organized by the Woreda Rural development coordination office.

According to the results of the survey 34 (42.5 %) de facto women heads reported that they took part in the food for work activity in the past. However, the interviewed women disclosed that the food for work activity is not always available and only certain selected households will take part based on certain criteria's set by the Woreda administration.

5.3.5. Sending Children to Urban Areas

Some de facto women heads send their children to urban areas when they find it difficult to support all their children with in the livelihood options open to them or in hope of getting assistance in the form of remittance. The household survey revealed that 27(33.75) of the interviewed women have sent one or more of their children to urban areas for work. It is also learnt that 11(13.5%) of the interviewed women receive remittance from their children who migrate to urban areas. However, key informants in the study area and study on child labor abuse in Addis Ababa (Lomi, 2000) indicated that children migrating to urban areas, especially to Addis Ababa, are exposed to high child labor abuse in urban areas and are mostly deprived of their basic rights to education.

5.3.6. Ox Sharing and Hiring Labor on Credit Basis

Ox sharing arrangements are undertaken by de facto women head households who own an ox or oxen but no able bodied men to carry out ploughing the land. Women in this kind of households lend their ox to a man who has no ox or has a single ox so that he will cultivate his own land as well as that of the lender women one after the other. In this arrangement the women benefit from the labor of the man and the man benefits from the service of oxen power of the women. The survey indicated that 8 (10%) of the interviewed women use such arrangements with neighboring men to get their land ploughed.

On the other hand women in poor households who do not receive remittance on regular basis revert to hiring agricultural labor on credit basis. On this arrangement the hired laborers (usually a group of 3-4 individuals) cultivate the field of the women whose husband is in urban area and get paid when he came back for the annual Meskel festival or when he sent

money on people coming for Meskle. However, informants have stated that such arrangement is not that common these days because most laborers request payment upon completion of the job. Currently this kind of credit labor arrangement is made when the laborers know very closely the husband of the women who is living in urban area and are sure of his trust worthiness to pay during the stated time. Only 6 (7.5) of the interviewed women stated that they use such arrangements to get their land ploughed.

5.3.7. Leaving for Urban Areas or Divorce

The last resort to women who cannot cope up with life in rural area is to follow the footsteps of her husband to urban area or get a divorce and leave for her parent. According to informants this measure is taken by the women when her husband fails to send her any remittance for a number of years and life gets intolerable to her. Informants in Dorze Ayra area have stated that their community had coined a rule in earlier days that states 'a woman had to wait for two years if she has not bore a child and three if she had got children, without seeing her husband.' After this time the women is free to remarry. But informants have disclosed that there are a number of women who stayed much more than the stated time without seeing their husband and even sometimes with out knowing there whereabouts. Informants have further disclosed that under the situation of prolonged absence of migrant husbands the support from kin members is quite instrumental for survival of the women and her children.

The key informants and the group discussions also revealed that divorce due to prolonged absence of migrant husbands is very common. According to informants, divorce is especially high if the woman involved is very young and do not give birth to a child. Moreover the number of women who migrate from the Gamo highlands to Addis Ababa to engage in daily labor work and fuel wood sell is increasing from time to time(personal observation).

6. Conclusion

The role of migration as an important avenue to diversify household economy out of agriculture is highly recognized these days. Many research outcomes in the third world countries emphasize the role of circular or short-term migration to sustainable rural livelihood. However, the impact of long- term-long distance internal migration on the women left behind in rural areas is less explored area of research.

This research indicates that the livelihood of women who are left behind as the male household head migrates out is highly affected by the labor gap and the social, cultural and institutional barriers, which constrain women's effort to improve and diversify their livelihood and come out of poverty and food insecurity.

Labor gap at household level has forced most women to reduce the acreage of land they cultivate or leave some of their plots fallow. As a result most de facto de facto women heads reported a decline in their agricultural production and high reliance on purchased food for survival.

Unlike the hoe cultures of most Sub- Saharan African countries where women effectively take over agricultural activities when household heads migrate out, in the study area the labor demanding tasks like land preparation and Enset transplanting are practically impossible for

women dependence on male due to low level of agricultural productivity which forces women to look for remittance even to fulfill the food requirements of the household.

Physical and mental stress has increased for women due to increased domestic and out door activities and the need to provide anyhow the family with daily bread. This for some households is aggravated by the persistent food shortage, which forces the household to cut off some meals or rely on Enset food only at least for some part of the year.

In general, wives of migrant men are very vulnerable to natural or artificial shocks to livelihood due to the erosion of household assets like livestock and Enset over years as the husband stays longer away from home. The decline in livestock population is observed to jeopardize the future agricultural production potential of the household by limiting the amount of manure available for soil fertility maintenance. Moreover, as reported from most households the low level of application of soil conservation structures by most de facto women heads on the vulnerable landscape of the high land and the use of hired labor which do not take much care to protect the soil from erosive forces are observed to affect the sustainability of agriculture by women head.

Recommendation

1. It is clearly established fact that female extension agents would help to break some cultural barriers and make better communication with women farmers. This would help to better communicate with women farmers and understand their problems and needs. So the number of female extension workers in the Woreda should be increased so as to reach as many women farmers as possible.
2. The major limiting factor for women in the agricultural operation appears to be labor. The local ploughing implement 'tsoyle' is too heavy for women to carry up and dig the soil. So agricultural research centers should work on and come up with a labor saving technology by improving the existing local ploughing implement. This will help to reduce women high reliance on hired labor and improve their productivity.
3. Creating good local market opportunities for clothes produced by weavers in the study area by organizing them under cooperatives which involve in 'exporting' clothes from the Highland and 'importing' raw materials from urban markets for weavers will help them to receive better price and help to reduce out-migration of male household heads and enable them to better synchronize weaving with the agricultural activity for better household income. This will also help to reduce family separation and avoid the various social evils associated with it.
4. In the study area the low productivity of agriculture forces many women to involve in off-farm activities to generate additional income to support their family. So efforts should be made by all actors of development in the Woreda to support women in terms of training, credit provision and creating market opportunities so that they can diversify their livelihood.

5. The governmental and the non-governmental organizations working in the Woreda should work intensively to raise the level of awareness of the whole community on gender issues. This will help to empower women to understand and defend their rights better, and involve actively in the development process by correcting the wrong perceptions held about women by the rest of the community.

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Appendix

Survey Questionnaire for Female Headed and Male Headed Households

Name of enumerator _____ Date/month _____

Name of respondent _____ Serial No _____

1. Household Location

1.1 Name of PA

1.2 Name of village

1.3 Type of Agro-ecological zone (Dega=1, Woyna Dega = 2, Kolla = 3)

2. General

2.1 Household type (Male headed = 1, female headed = 2)

2.2 Age

2.3 Marital status (Married = 1, Widowed = 2, Divorced = 3, Separated = 4 unmarried = 5)

2.4 If married, what is the nature of marriage in your household?

A. polygamous B. Monogamous

2.5 Family size

2.6 Total number of children you give birth to

2.7 No of girls living with you

2.8 No of boys living with you

2.9 No of household members less than 15 years of age -----

2.10 Educational status (literate = 44, illiterate 55)

2.11 If literate, What is the level of your education?

A. Read and write only

B. First cycle

C. Second cycle

D. High school

2.12 Religion (Orthodox Christian 1, Protestant 2, Muslim 3, other 4)

3. Household resources and means of livelihood

3.1 What is the main occupation of the household?

(Crop production = 01, animal husbandry = 02, mixed farming = 03, handicraft = 04, petty trade = 05, other (specify)

3.2 What other means of income do you have besides the main occupation?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

3.3 Do your household currently own agricultural land (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.4 If the answer for Q No 3.2 is yes, what is the total size of your land

3.5 For what purpose have you been utilizing your land in the last two years?

3.4.1 Annual crops (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.4.2 Tree crops (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.4.3 Pasture (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.4.4 Fallow land (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.4.5 If other (specify) _____

3.6 What percent of your land is under

Annual crops _____

Tree crops _____

Pasture _____

Fallow land _____

3.7 Did you use your land for your self or rented it out?

3.6.1 Rented (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.6.2 Partly rented and partly own used (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.8 In the case of share cropping, what share of the output is given to your household by the tenants _____

3.9 What are the major constraints that affect the agricultural livelihood of your household?

d. _____

e. -----

f. -----

3.10 Do you apply soil conservation measures on your plot? (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.11 If the answer for Q 3.8 is yes, what type of soil conservation method do you apply?

3.9.1 Stone bunds (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.9.2 Soil bunds (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.9.3 Mulching (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.9.4 Terraces (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.9.5 Grass lines (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.9.6 If other (specify) _____

3.12 If the answer for Q 2.8 is No, why can't you apply soil conservation method?

Lack of labour = 1

Lack of knowledge = 2

Lack of time = 3

Not my problem = 4

If other reason (specify) _____

3.13 Do you apply any kind of soil fertility maintenance method?

a. yes

b. no

3.14 If your answer to Q. 3.12 is yes, what methods do you use?

a. _____

b. -----

c. _____

3.15 Does your household own livestock (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.16 What is the nature of livestock holding in your household?

A. Owen livestock B. common holding from other individual

C. Both common holding and Owen livestock

3.17 If the answer for Q No 3.11 is yes, what and how many?

3.17.1 Ox

3.17.2 Cow

3.17.3 Donkey

3.17.4 Horse/mule

3.17.5 Goat/sheep

3.17.6 Poultry

3.18 What are your household's sources of animal feed?

3.18.1 Communal grazing (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.18.2 Household own grazing land (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.18.3 Cut and carry grass or fodder plants (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.18.4 Crop residue (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.18.5 Weeding plant (Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.19 Do you produce enough amount food crops that satisfy your household food requirement?

A. Yes

b. No

3.20 If no, how long your produce last on average? _____

3.21 Did you brought to market any of your produce livestock/crop last production season?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

3.22 If the answer to Q 3.14 is yes. What are the produce and the amount of cash earned?

3.22.1 Annual crops(yes=1,No=2)

3.22.2 Tree crops(yes=1,No=2)

3.22.3 Sell of livestock and livestock product (yes=1,No=2)

3.22.4 If other (specify) _____

4. Household labour availability

4.1 What are the sources of your agricultural labor?

- a. -----
- b. -----
- c. -----

4.2 Have you ever faced labor constraint for your farming activity?
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.3 If the answer to Q 4.1 is yes, how did you solve the problem?

- 4.3.1 Hireling in labour (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.3.2 By working with neighbors (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.3.3 With the help of children (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.3.4 With the help of extended family (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.3.5 Reducing acreage cultivated (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.4 In which season do you face labour constraint?
(Belg = 1, Meher = 2)

4.5 If you hire labor, is hired labour as effective as own labour? (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.6 Have you ever faced problem in managing hired labour?
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.7 If the answer to Q 4.5 is yes. What are the problems associated with hired labour.

4.8 For which of the agricultural activities do you hire labor?

- 4.8.1 Ploughing (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.8.2 Weeding (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.8.3 Harvesting (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.8.4 Trashing (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.8.5 Crop tending (Yes = 1, No = 2)
- 4.8.6 Transporting (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.9 Do you get hired labour at the right time of the season? (yes = 1, No = 2)

4.10 If the answer to Q 4.8 is No what do you think is the impact on production?

4.10.1 Yield decline (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.10.2 Has no impact (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.10.3 I don't know (Yes = 1, No = 2)

4.10.4 If other (specify) _____

4.11 How do you evaluate the current wage rate in your area with past wage rates?
(Increased =1, decreased =2, no change 3)

5. Access to agricultural extension and credit

5.1 Have you been involved in the extension package program that has been implemented in the woreda?
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.2 In what forms do you utilize the services?

5.2.1 Technical advice (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.2.2 Artificial insemination (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.2.3 Market information (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.2.4 Advice on credit source (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.2.5 If other specify _____

5.3 Have you ever attended field days or extension demonstration? (Yes =
1, No = 2)

5.4 If the answer to Q 5.3 is no, what is the reason?

5.4.1 I was no invited (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.4.2 I didn't have time (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.4.3 I feel that only men should attend (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.4.4 If other (specify) _____

5.5 Did you get credit from any institution for either agricultural production or other off farm business in the last 3 years?
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.6 If the answer to Q 5.5 is yes, from which institutions do you take credit

5.7 Who made the decision in your household to take credit?

5.8 If the answer to Q 5.5 is no, why can't you get credit?

5.8.1 Lack of collateral (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.8.2 Lack of credit institution (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.8.3 I didn't need credit (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.8.4 My husband/wife didn't approve (Yes = 1, No = 2)

5.8.5 If other reason (specify) _____

6. Access to agricultural inputs and membership in cooperatives

6.1 Have you applied fertilizer to your land in crop production in the last 3 years?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.2 If the answer to Q 6.1 is yes, where do you get the fertilizer?

6.2.1 Bought from market (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.2.2 Obtained through credit (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.2.3 Assistance from NGOs (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.2.4 If other (specify) _____

6.3 If the answer to Q 6.1 No, why didn't your apply?

6.3.1 I didn't have enough money (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.3.2 I don't have access to credit (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.3.3 My husband/wife do not approved (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.3.4 I didn't grow annual crop (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.3.5 I use manure only (Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.3.6 If other (specify) _____

6.4 Are you member of farmers' cooperative in your area?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

6.5 If the answer to Q 6.4 is no what is the reason?

6.5.1 I didn't have money to contribute

6.5.2 Women are not allowed to be member

6.5.3 My husband didn't approve

6.5.4 If other (specify) _____

Survey Questions to wives of migrant men Only

7. Nature of migration

7.1 How long is it since your husband migrated?

7.2 Where is he by now?

7.2.1 Addis Ababa

7.2.2 Awassa

7.2.3 Dilla

7.2.4 If other (specify) _____

7.3 What is he engaged in the destination area

7.3.1 Weaving (yes = 1, No = 2)

7.3.2 Government work (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.3.3 Trading (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.3.4 If other specify _____

7.4 Why did your husband migrated?

7.4.1 Due to shortage of land (yes = 1, No = 2)

7.4.2 Due to very low agriculture productivity (yes = 1, No = 2)

7.4.3 Due to drought (yes = 1, No = 2)

7.4.4 He don't have agricultural land (yes = 1, No = 2)

7.4.5 If other (specify) _____

7.5 In what time interval did he come back home?

7.6 Is he engaged in agriculture when he comes back home?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.7 Who else has migrated from your household besides your husband?

7.8 Do you believe that your husband will ultimately come back and engage in agriculture?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9 If your answer to Q 7.8 is No, what is the reason?

7.9.1 He has another family where he is (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9.2 He has no agricultural skill (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9.3 He is too old to farm (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9.4 We have very small land (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9.5 We have no land (Yes = 1, No = 2)

7.9.6 If other (specify) _____

8. Male out migration and impact on agriculture

8.1 Has male out migration affected the agricultural activity of your household?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.2 If the answer to Q 8.1 is yes, what changes occurred with respect to your agricultural activity?

8.2.1 Change in crop mix (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.2.2 Change in hectare ploughed (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.2.3 Change in labour allocation (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.2.4 Change in agricultural technology (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.2.5 If other (specify) _____

8.3 If the answer to 8.2.1 is yes, what change in crops grown has occurred after your husband migration?

8.4 If the answer to 8.2.2 is yes, what changes occurred with respect to hectare your cultivate

Increased =1 decreased = 2

8.5 If the answer to 8.2.3 is yes, what change in labour allocation is made in your household _____

8.6 If the answer to 8.2.4 is yes, what changes with respect to agriculture you have made

8.7 Do you utilize all the land available to your household economically from year to year?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.8 If the answer to Q 8.7 is no, what is the reason

8.8.1 Lack of adequate labour (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.8.2 Lack of money to hire labour (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.8.3 Lack of time (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.8.4 If other (specify) _____

8.9 Does any body assist you in case of labour constraint for certain agricultural activities?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.9.1 If the answer to Q 8.9 is yes, who assist you with respect to the following agricultural activity? Tick on the appropriate column.

Activity	Husband	Children	Relatives of friends	Hired labor
Preparing land				
Fertilization				
Plowing				
Planting				
Hoeing				
Weeding				
Harvesting				
Sorting and storing				

8.10 Who decides on the crops that are to be cultivated each year

(Me = 1, my husband = 2)

8.11 Who do you refer to when you are faced with some crop or animal production problem?

8.11.1 To relatives or neighbors (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.11.2 To extension agent (Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.11.3 If other specify _____

8.12 Have you full right to utilize all the income from farming for the purpose you deem desirable?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

8.13 If the answer to Q 8.13 is No, who decides on the money?

9. Off farm employment/activity

9.1 Do you engage in any off farm activity

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

9.2 If the answer to Q 9.1 is yes, in which of the following are your engaged in

9.2.1 Petty trade (Yes = 1, No = 2)

9.2.2 Selling fuel wood (Yes = 1, No = 2)

9.2.3 Wage labor (Yes = 1, No = 2)

9.2.4 Selling animal fodder (Yes = 1, No = 2)

9.2.5 If other specify _____

9.3 What are the major problems limiting your off farm activity?

9.4 If the answer to Q 9.1 is No, what is the reason

9.5 Do you have full right to utilize all income form off farm activity to purpose you deem necessary?

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

10. Role of remittance

10.1 Did your husband sent your remittance

(Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.2 If the answer to 10.1 is yes, how often did he sent remittance?

10.2.1 Monthly

10.2.2 Once in six months

10.2.3 Once in a year

10.2.4 If other (specify) _____

10.3 What is the amount of remittance you receive annually?

10.4 To what use do you put remittances for in most cases?

10.4.1 Agricultural investment (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.4.2 Household consumption (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.4.3 Saving (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.4.4 Land tax payment (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.4.5 Clothing (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.4.6 If other (specify) _____

10.5 Are remittances ear marked by your husband for specific purposes
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.6 In what form do you receive remittances?

10.6.1 Cash (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.6.2 In kind (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.7 Are you satisfied with the amount of remittance you are receiving from your husband (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.8 How do you evaluate the amount of remittance your are receiving from your husband in the last 3 years

10.8.1 It remained constant

10.8.2 It increased

10.8.3 It decreased

10.9 Is there anybody who sent you remittance except your husband?
(Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.10 If the answer to Q 10.9 is yes, who is he _____

10.11 Who receive the remittance sent form your husband directly

10.11.1 Me

10.11.2 My husbands mother

10.11.3 My husbands father

10.11.4 The other wife

10.11.5 If other (specify) _____

10.12 Who else does you husband sent remittance for besides you?

10.12.1 His mother father (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.12.2 Sisters/brothers (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.12.3 His other wife (Yes = 1, No = 2)

10.12.4 If other specify _____

10.13 In general terms, how do you think your life would improve

10.13.1 If my husband stayed in urban area

10.13.2 If leave urban areas all together and engage in agriculture at home.

Check list for group Discussion

- What is the advantage of being wife of a migrant?
- What is the disadvantage?
- Is there any special support you get from GOs or NGOs for being a wife of a migrant
- What are the major problems faced by wives of migrant men?
- What changes with respect to role of women occurred as result of male out-migration?
- What is the major source of agricultural activity for wives of migrant men?
- Did the extension workers visit you as much as the male farmers?
- Do migrants engage in agriculture when they come back to home from urban areas?
- What are the problems of hired labor?
- Are you all members of farmer's cooperatives?
- What problems do you face to be a member?
- What are the major problems in your agricultural activity that are related to male out migration?
- Did out migration increase your control over household resource?
- How do women cope up with food shortage?
- What is the impact of male out migration on your children?
- How do you describe the role of remittance?
- What problems occur as the husband stays longer in urban areas?
- What is the last resort to women when they can not any more stand life by themselves?

Check list for Key informant interview

- How did migration started from this area?
- Where was the first destination of migration?
- What were the driving forces for migration from this area?
- What do you think are the major changes that are the result of male out migration from your area?
 - Environmental (forest, land use, conservation activity, grazing land management, soil fertility maintenance, etc.
 - Social
 - Institutional
 - Cultural
- What changes have you observed with respect to agricultural activity do to male out-migration
- What changes have occurred with respect to women's household and social role due to male out-migration?
- What changes do you observe with respect to the life style of rural family of migrant male?
- Why did men marry more than one wife in your area?
- Did most migrants return home when they retire?
- How do you evaluate the impact of migration on economic development of the area?